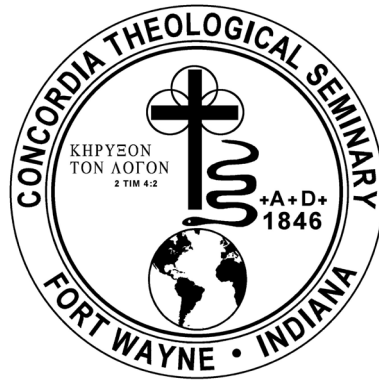


CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL QUARTERLY



Volume 85:2

April 2021

Table of Contents

Birth Announcement of Concordia Theological Seminary: The Lutheran Seminary at Fort Wayne	
Wilhelm Sihler	99
Concordia Theological Seminary: Practical Lessons from its German Period (1846–1945)	
Charles P. Schaum	103
Concordia Springfield as the “Conservative” Alternative to St. Louis	
Cameron A. MacKenzie	127
Christ under God’s Wrath: A Pauline Perspective	
Adam C. Koontz	141
The Splintering of Missouri: How Our American Context Gave Rise to Micro-Synods as a Solution to Theological Conflict	
Todd A. Peperkorn	155
Theological Observer	171
An Introduction to the Seminary Curriculum	
Worship at CTSFW	
Paul on Same-Sex Relations in Romans	
Book Reviews	181

Concordia Theological Seminary: Practical Lessons from its German Period (1846–1945)

Charles P. Schaum

Introduction

Christians, like any other people, respond to systemic challenges when cooperating for the sake of the Gospel.¹ Here we remember both joys and challenges in the life of Concordia Theological Seminary (CTS) before 1945. During this time, it was housed in Fort Wayne, Indiana (1846–1861), merged with Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri (1861–1875), and located in Springfield, Illinois (1875–1976). See the first nine chapters of Heintzen’s *Prairie School of the Prophets*.² We seek the best perspective of the past to prepare for the future as we study CTS within the larger context of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod (LCMS).³

Why Two Seminaries?

The early LCMS developed from the cooperation of two strong-minded, independent groups, each with its own seminary. The Saxon immigrants were located with C. Ferdinand W. Walther (1811–1887) and others in and around St. Louis and Altenburg, Missouri. The Franconians were located with F. August Crämer (1812–1891) around Frankenmuth, Michigan. Crämer was the pastor of St. Lorenz, who also engaged in missionary work with local American Indians.⁴ Crämer, with Friedrich C. D. Wyneken (1810–1876) in Fort Wayne and Wilhelm Sihler (1801–1885) in Pomeroy, Ohio, laid the early groundwork for the formation of the LCMS by separating from the Ohio and Michigan synods,

¹ The approach of this article is informed by Sidney Dekker, *The Field Guide to Understanding 'Human Error'* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006).

² Erich H. Heintzen, *Prairie School of the Prophets: The Anatomy of a Seminary 1846–1976* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1989).

³ “Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.” George Santayana, *The Life of Reason or the Phases of Human Progress*, 5 vols. (London: Archibald Constable, 1905–1921), 1:284. We use “LCMS” and “The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod” also to mean *Die deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten*.

⁴ Ludwig E. Fürbringer, *Persons and Events* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1947), 14–19. A number of LCMS sources refer to Crämer as “August[us] Friedrich.”

Charles P. Schaum is pastor of Christ the King Lutheran Church, Muscle Shoals, Alabama. He can be contacted at charles.schaum@comcast.net.

supported by J. K. Wilhelm Löhe (1808–1872) in 1845–1846.⁵ Yet LCMS history mostly became Saxon history by 1866. Both Johann F. Köstering (1830–1908) and Christian F. Hochstetter (1828–1905) give Wyneken a secondary role, even though he was first in the country.⁶ Still, both Walther and Wyneken were valued for their respective talents. Walther was an administrator, author, and professor, while Wyneken was a preacher and missionary: “As the saying went, with respect to doctrine, wherewith Professor Walther brings the true Light, Wyneken’s word [preaching] is like thunder that follows lightning!”⁷

Group origin did not cause strict factionalism. Many immigrants set aside their pride of origin and liturgical traditions for the sake of LCMS unity. For example, only after the Great War (First World War) did Concordia Publishing House print an agenda with more than Saxon dialectal spellings and liturgical forms. Ironically, the transition to English during that time rendered the issue moot.⁸ Nevertheless, some regionalisms from the “old country” persisted for some time.⁹ To many LCMS

⁵ See August R. Suelflow, “The Missouri Synod Organized,” in *Moving Frontiers*, ed. Carl S. Meyer (St. Louis: Concordia, 1964) 142–143; Christoph Barnbrock, “Composing a Constitution in Context: Analytical Observations on the First Draft of the Missouri Synod’s Constitution (1846),” *Concordia Journal* 27, no. 1 (2001): 38–56.

⁶ Johann F. Köstering, *Auswanderung der sächsischen Lutheraner im Jahre 1838* (St. Louis: Wiebusch, 1866), 66–84; Christian F. Hochstetter, *Die Geschichte der Evangelisch-lutherischen Missouri-Synode in Nord-Amerika, und ihrer Lehrkämpfe* (Dresden: Heinrich J. Naumann, 1885), 91–119; William H. T. Dau, ed., *Ebenezer: Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1922), 1–52; Georg Mezger, ed., *Denkstein zum fünfundsiebzigjährigen Jubiläum der Missourisynode* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1922), 1–37. Compare Augustus L. Graebner, *Kurzgefaßte Geschichte der Missouri-Synode* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1893).

⁷ Hochstetter, *Geschichte*, 116: “Man pflegte zu sagen, im Verhältnis zu der Lehre, womit Professor Walther das rechte Licht bringe, sei Wynekens Wort wie der Donner, der dem Blitze folge!” All translations are by the present author unless otherwise noted. See also H. G. Sauer and J. W. Miller, *Geschichte der Deutschen Ev.-Luth. St. Pauls-Gemeinde zu Fort Wayne, Ind., vom Jahre 1837 bis zum Jahre 1912* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1912), 16; Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 18–19; J. W. Theiss, “F. C. D. Wyneken,” in Dau, *Ebenezer*, 52–65.

⁸ Compare LCMS, *Kirchen-Agende für Evang.-Luth. Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1902) and LCMS, *Kirchenagende für Ev.-Luth. Gemeinden ungeänderter Augsburgischer Confession* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1922). The 1902 agenda preserves, for example, a form of the Lord’s Prayer in the Hauptgottesdienst that has spellings and usage from old Saxon agendas (e.g., *Brod* for *Brot*, p. 55), while the 1922 agenda follows the 1901 spelling reform. Wilhelm Löhe’s *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* was used among the Franconians at least for a time in the LCMS, then presented its influence through the Common Service that entered the LCMS in 1911 with the English Synod merger. The Saxons in Missouri had a noted antipathy toward the Common Service before heartily embracing it in English. See John W. Fenton, “Wilhelm Löhe’s Hauptgottesdienst (1844) as Critique of Luther’s Deutsche Messe,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2000): 127–148; C. F. William Dallmann, *My Life* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1945), 56–58.

⁹ For example, Ludwig Fürbringer recalled the difficulty that Franz A. O. Pieper faced when dealing with the Franconians and Bavarians around Frankenmuth. This was exacerbated by Pieper’s background as a speaker of *Plattdüütsch*, Low German. See Ludwig E. Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1944), 152–153.

members today, such conservation might seem quaint. Yet such acts reaffirmed love of family, close community, and group history in a strange new land. Dresden and Neuendettelsau (New Dettel's Meadow) are about half the distance by highway as are St. Louis and Fort Wayne. Yet (Upper) Saxony and (Middle) Franconia are distant with respect to history and culture.

Lutheranism was born and given official privilege in Saxony, yet the electoral Albertine branch of the House of Wettin became Roman Catholic when offered the Polish-Lithuanian crown in 1697, which it lost in 1763. The Wettins aided the Habsburgs against Brandenburg-Prussia's House of Hohenzollern. Rationalist Lutheran court preachers dominated the theology and worship life of the Saxon territorial church.¹⁰ In 1806, Napoleon (1769–1821) created the Kingdom of Saxony to offset Prussia. At the 1815 Congress of Vienna, Prussian king Frederick William III (1770–1840) partitioned the Saxon kingdom and took both the city and university of Wittenberg, subsuming the latter into the university at Halle. The Prussian Union Church became a sociopolitical tool.¹¹

Franconia was a hodgepodge of small territories connected to both Catholic bishops and Protestant nobility, including the Brandenburg-Ansbach branch of House Hohenzollern. Franconia was adjacent to the Upper Palatinate, an exclave of the Rhenish Palatinate, which had ties to Calvinism and the Jacobite monarchs of England. The Upper Palatinate was annexed by Bavaria in 1623 during the Thirty Years' War. Franconia was absorbed into Bavaria by the Treaty of Paris, 1814. Both were dominated by the regional Catholicism. The faithful, confessional Lutherans in Franconia had not experienced the political favor and identification of Lutheranism with a large "established church" that existed in Saxony. Yet a key part of the German revival movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*) arose in Franconia. The theological faculty in Erlangen and Löhe's work in Neuendettelsau helped to grow a pietistic, liturgically Lutheran confessional renewal.¹² The Saxons were informed by this work, as well as that of Johann G. Scheibel (1783–1843) in Prussian Silesia.

¹⁰ See *Reinhard und von Ammon als Dogmatiker: oder kritische Bemerkungen über Ammon's Summa theologiae christianae mit steter Rücksicht auf Reinhard's Vorlesungen über die Dogmatik* (Leipzig: Steinacker, 1813); Frederick C. Beiser, *The Fate of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 210–214. Franz V. Reinhard was of the older Tübingen School, while Christoph Friedrich von Ammon was closer to Schleiermacher's mediating theology. Both were Rationalists.

¹¹ G. C. Adolf von Harleß and Theodor Kliefoth, "Selected Lectures from Die allgemeine lutherische Konferenz in Hannover, am 1. und 2. Juli 1868," in *International Lutheran Council—26th (11th) Conference, 25–28 September 2018, Antwerp, Belgium*, trans. Charles P. Schaum (St. Louis: Concordia, 2018), 134–158.

¹² See additionally Gottfried Thomasius, *Das Wiedererwachen des evangelischen Lebens in der lutherischen Kirche Bayerns* (Erlangen: Deichert, 1867); Charles P. Schaum, "Church and Ministry before Altenburg: Franz Adolph Marbach and the Saxon Parish Order," in C. F. W. Walther: *Churchman and Theologian*, ed. Edward A. Engelbrecht (St. Louis: Concordia, 2011), 86–111.

The Saxon immigrants tried to escape Rationalism, only to be ensnared by the sins of Martin Stephan Sr. (1777–1846). After his ouster, they adopted the Saxon Parish Order (*Parochialordnung*) of 1839–1840, which established congregationalism and lay ruling elders. They also avoided private confession and absolution due to Stephan.¹³ Prussian emigrant pastor Johannes A. A. Grabau (1804–1879) of the Buffalo Synod sharply criticized the Saxons in the *Kirchliches Informatorium* and other publications. He even suggested that the Saxons deserved their lot by choosing Stephan.¹⁴ The Saxons, who felt deep guilt from seeing their kin perish because of their choices, became highly defensive and mistrustful, even sparring hotly at times with the Franconians.¹⁵ The latter had very different, more positive experiences with clergy. Related tensions flared up periodically in the LCMS, at least through the 1880s.¹⁶

Such tensions, coupled with the “theoretical-practical” seminary paradigm, created distance between the Saxons and Franconians. When Löhe ceased his support in 1853, the early LCMS coalesced around the Saxons in St. Louis.¹⁷ Unity remained a common goal. LCMS conventions were held in both St. Louis and Fort Wayne. Wyneken was called to Trinity in St. Louis to assist Walther. Saxon Ottomar Fürbringer (1810–1892) was called to St. Lorenz in Frankenmuth to replace Crämer. Sihler followed Wyneken at St. Paul’s in Fort Wayne. Both the latter remained until

¹³ Conflict over private absolution in the LCMS erupted in 1847. See LCMS, *Erster Synodalbericht der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten vom Jahre 1847* (St. Louis: Arthur Olshausen, 1847), 6–8.

¹⁴ Schaum, “Church and Ministry before Altenburg,” 106. Prussian Lutheran immigrants believed that they had suffered more for resisting the Union Church than had the Saxons within their territorial church. For why that might be, see Johann G. Scheibel, *Actenmäßige Geschichte der neuesten Unternehmung einer Union zwischen der reformierten und lutherischen Kirche vorzüglich durch gemeinschaftliche Agende in Deutschland und besonders in dem preußischen Staate*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1834).

¹⁵ Both Ernst Moritz Bürger (1806–1890) and C. F. W. Walther struggled with the sin of abandoning their parishes in Germany. See Bürger, *Sendschreiben an die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche zunächst in Wisconsin, Missouri, Preußen und Sachsen* (Leipzig: Kößling’sche Buchhandlung, 1846), 15; Martin Günther, *Dr. C. F. W. Walther: Lebensbild* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1890), 41–42.

¹⁶ Charles P. Schaum and Albert B. Collver III, *Breath of God, Yet Work of Man: Scripture, Philosophy, Dialogue, and Conflict* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2019), 129–143; Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1953); Albert B. Collver III, “Lay Elders—A Brief Overview of their Origin in the Missouri Synod: Implications for Elders Today,” *Concordia Journal* 32, no. 1 (2006): 38–53.

¹⁷ Carl A. W. Röbbelen, *Wie stehen wir zu Herrn Pfarrer Löhe?* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1855). In 1848, the constitutional amendment granting congregational polity failed. In 1854, congregationalism was incorporated into the “New Constitution.” See LCMS, *Die Neue Verfassung oder Constitution der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten* (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1854), 5.

they died.¹⁸ Yet “growing pains” amid resource shortfalls tested that unity and affected the seminaries.

Which “Seminary” Came First?

From Altenburg onward, today’s Concordia Seminary, St. Louis (CSL) was the first to “graduate” five ministerial candidates between 1847 and 1850. Yet it was not the first seminary of the Missouri Synod. Both seminaries have been known at times as “Concordia College” (the official name of CSL), “*Concordia Seminar*,” and “Concordia Theological Seminary.”¹⁹

In the minutes of the first LCMS convention in 1847, the institution in Fort Wayne was called a “seminary” (*Seminar*), while the school in Altenburg was referred to as a “theological college” (*theologisches Collegium*).²⁰ Already in 1846, there had been some talk of moving the Altenburg *Gymnasium* (prep school) to Fort Wayne and joining it with the practical seminary.²¹ Since the Franconians financially supported their own seminary, as did the Saxons their own theological college, that original plan never came to fruition.

After convening on Monday, April 26, 1847, the LCMS discussed CTS on Friday, April 30, and CSL on Monday, May 3.²² CTS, with Sihler as president, traced its history to Wyneken’s 1844 tutelage of candidates in his Fort Wayne parsonage and the financial backing of Wilhelm Löhe in 1846. The synod directed its new president, C. F. W. Walther, and secretary, F. Wilhelm Husmann (1807–1881), to write a letter (May 6) to Löhe, asking him to transfer well-funded CTS, with its large campus and growing physical plant, to the young synod. In a letter dated September 8, 1847, Löhe warmly granted this request. In 1848, the synod officially thanked Löhe and drafted governing statutes for CTS.²³ The charter of the “German Theological Seminary” in Fort Wayne was approved on January 21, 1850. The original campus has been owned by Indiana Institute of Technology since 1953.

¹⁸ Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 5–25; Dennis R. Rathert, *A History of Trinity Lutheran Church and School* (St. Louis: Trinity Lutheran Church, 1989), 29.

¹⁹ Carl S. Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1965), 20–21. N. p., *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum des praktischen evang.-lutherischen Concordia-Seminars zu Springfield, Ill. (1846–1896)* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1896), *passim*; Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 86; Norman F. Elliott, ed. *Patterson’s American Education* (Mount Prospect, Ill.: Educational Directories, Inc., 1962), 654, 686.

²⁰ *Erster Synodalbericht*, 9, 11.

²¹ *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 100.

²² *Erster Synodalbericht*, 9, 11.

²³ Text of the documents is in *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 57–65; LCMS, *Zweiter Synodalbericht der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten vom Jahre 1848* (St. Louis: Arthur Olshausen, 1848), 15–17. Only here does CTS come first; from 1849 onward, CSL always gets pride of place.

Three of the five members on the first CTS board of directors had ties to the Altenburg college: pastors Walther, Christoph Heinrich Löber (1828–1897), and Ernst G. W. Keyl (1804–1872). The other two were from Fort Wayne: “Pastor Dr. Sihler” and layman Christian Piepenbrink. Thus, CTS became the first seminary of the Missouri Synod.²⁴

In 1848, the Altenburg college was still the property of the Saxon congregations. The term *college*, a university prep school, was the equivalent of a German *Gymnasium*. The school was founded and advertised as such in August 1839. In St. Louis, Ferdinand’s elder brother O. Hermann Walther (1809–1841) handled admissions.²⁵ The school opened in December 1839 and was coeducational before 1843. It occupied the historic log cabin in early 1841, but instructors J. Friedrich Bünger (1810–1882), Ottomar Fürbringer, and Ferdinand Walther all received calls elsewhere during 1841. Instructor Theodore J. Brohm (1808–1881) received a call in 1843, leaving the college in the parsonage of pastor Gotthold H. Löber (1797–1849). The deaths of both Hermann Walther in 1841 and Löber in 1849 left about nine students with pastor Ernst G. W. Keyl and instructor Johann J. Gönner (1807–1864).

Ferdinand Walther’s leadership was key to moving the college from Altenburg to South Jefferson Avenue, St. Louis. In 1847, the *Gymnasium* had started to become distinct from the seminary program, completing that process in 1850 with the call of Adolf F. T. Biewend (1816–1858) from CTS.²⁶ In St. Louis, Walther led CSL to become a scholarly “theoretical seminary,” together with a classical *Gymnasium*. CSL’s 1850 deed of transfer and its statutes are similar to the 1848 documents for CTS.²⁷ “Concordia College” was chartered on February 23, 1853, and approved on March 22 of that year.

²⁴ LCMS, *Synodalhandbuch der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und Andern Staaten* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1924), 105–109; Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 20, 30–39. We dismiss the 1826 activity of General Synod pastor Benjamin Kurtz (1795–1865) mentioned in *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 3. This date was proposed to deflect an 1896 threat to close the Springfield seminary.

²⁵ Köstering and Walther, *Auswanderung*, 66–71; Fuerbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 17; *Geschichte des Concordia-Collegiums der Ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. St. zu Fort Wayne, Indiana* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1889), 14.

²⁶ *Geschichte des Concordia-Collegiums*, 15–16; Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 16–26.

²⁷ LCMS, *Vierter Synodalbericht der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten vom Jahre [1850]* (St. Louis: Niedner, 1851), 15–20. The title page has a misprint that shows 1851 as the convention year. See also *Zweiter Synodalbericht*, 15–17.

The Itinerant “Practical Seminary”

In the 1847 constitution of the LCMS, the plan (Chapter V, §9) was to develop two kinds of educational institutions:

It shall be the duty of Synod to erect, support, and supervise institutions for the preparation of future pastors and teachers for service in the Church: These institutions may be of two kinds. In one kind the goal is to be a thorough theological training. In the other kind the goal is to be a predominantly practical training.²⁸

On the one hand, this approach wisely understood both the immediate need to engage the American mission field and the long-term need to provide a strong, comprehensive doctrinal foundation. On the other hand, this approach led to organizational stratification and helped to enable ethnocentrism. For example, CSL pastors were curated and preferred for leadership over those at CTS. In the 1880s, missionaries usually were paid \$400 per year, while at least one missionary to English-speakers received only \$300 per year.²⁹ Nevertheless, the “practical seminary” thrived during the 1850s, blessed also by the indefatigable August Crämer.³⁰ Most of the Missouri Synod’s pastors before 1870 came from the practical program, at times by a two-to-one margin.³¹

In the 1850s, the practical seminary hosted other fledgling programs while the theoretical seminary stabilized itself. In 1857, CTS hosted the first synod-wide teacher training program. Today’s Concordia University Chicago began with LCMS convention action in 1857, which built on the education of teachers at CTS (1846–1857) and private teacher training in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (1855–1857) under pastors Friedrich J. C. Lochner (1822–1902), Philipp Fleischmann (1815–1878), and Ludwig Dulitz. Fleischmann became the director of the program in 1857. Christian A. T. Selle (1819–1898) was called to the presidency of the growing teacher seminary in 1861, which moved to Addison, Illinois, in July 1864.³²

Additionally in 1857, CTS helped with the founding of a short-lived English Academy in Fort Wayne run by Swiss immigrant Arnold Sutermeister (1830–1907),

²⁸ William G. Polack, “Our First Synodical Constitution,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1943): 7.

²⁹ Dallmann, *My Life*, 33–35. William Dallmann, onetime president of the English Synod, recalled struggles about language, culture, and money.

³⁰ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 42–53.

³¹ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 39.

³² Compare Köstering and Walther, *Auswanderung*, 82–84; and the more detailed account in Alfred J. Freitag, *College with a Cause: A History of Concordia Teachers College* (River Forest, Ill.: Concordia Teachers College, 1964), 20–32. Compare again the speculative analysis in Carl S. Meyer, “Teacher Training in the Missouri Synod to 1864,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (1957): 97–99.

a mathematics instructor who, during the US Civil War, became captain of the 11th Independent Battery Indiana Light Artillery. This academy cast a long shadow. It influenced the formal study of doctrine at district and synodical conventions in the LCMS into the 1920s.³³

Despite these early successes, the storm clouds of the Civil War were gathering. Missouri exempted students of divinity from military service; Indiana did not. This situation gave impetus to the merger of CTS and CSL in 1861, while the *Gymnasium* was moved to Fort Wayne. The *Gymnasium* continued to trace its roots to the schools in Altenburg and St. Louis.³⁴ The relocation also unified all sources of funding to support one larger enterprise whose leadership was in St. Louis. Wilhelm Sihler wrote that this move caused hurt feelings in Fort Wayne, even if most agreed to it.³⁵

In Fort Wayne, the *Gymnasium*, officially still Concordia College, operated under the original CTS charter together with CTS in Springfield, Illinois, from 1875 to 1921. That was not in compliance with Indiana law. An act of the Indiana legislature amended the charter of the “German Theological Seminary” to legalize all actions up to April 5, 1881.³⁶ By 1889, the *Gymnasium* had 200 students and eight instructors. Starting in 1911, students who were not planning to study in St. Louis could enroll at the *Gymnasium*. In 1916, LCMS congregations in Fort Wayne established a Luther Institute for business vocations. That merged with the *Gymnasium* in 1935, becoming today’s Concordia Lutheran High School (at its present campus since 1964). The *Gymnasium* offered an Associate of Arts degree from 1952 to its closure in 1957.³⁷

Below is a summary of seven points made at the 1860 synodical convention, which are covered fully in Sihler’s *Denkschrift (Memorial)* that was designed to explain the actions of that year. At the time, Sihler did believe the move to be the best course of action for the following reasons:

1. The greater number of instructors assembled in one location would promote the understanding of true doctrine and provide a greater defense against false doctrinal tendencies.

³³ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 127; *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 93–94; W. Czamanske, “Synodical Conventions and Pastoral Conferences in the Missouri Synod,” in Dau, *Ebenezer*, 484–485; W. Broecker, “Dr. William Sihler,” in Dau, *Ebenezer*, 76. The best information on Sutermeister is at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arnold_Sutermeister.

³⁴ *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 39, 109–111; *Geschichte des Concordia-Collegiums*, 8–16.

³⁵ Wilhelm Sihler, *Lebenslauf von W. Sihler als lutherischer Pastor, u.s.w.: Auf mehrfachen Begehren von ihm selbst beschrieben* (New York: Lutherischer Verlags-Verein, 1878–1880), 2:187.

³⁶ *Synodalhandbuch* [1924], 109.

³⁷ *Geschichte des Concordia-Collegiums*, 55; Concordia Senior College opened in 1957, remaining until 1975. Only in 1976 did CTS return to the city of its birth, taking up residence at the Senior College campus.

2. The various abilities (*Gaben*) of the instructors could be used more profitably to meet the goal of educating the pupils. Since the instructors would be able to concentrate more on those abilities related to the subjects in which they were trained, a generally higher level of education could be reached. This would hinder the situation where one had to be responsible for everything, subdivide one's efforts, and thus, regardless of how much effort and time were invested, produce nothing profitable in any subject of education. Thus, more sufficient results could be obtained from the pupils.

3. With the addition of new instructors, it is not only necessary but also imperative that they find colleagues who can help orient them as they adapt to the duties of their office, that one need not fear with every change of an instructor that there is also a change in the method of instruction or even a change in seminary administration.

4. Simpler oversight regarding the abilities of the developing students (*Zöglinge*) during their education, with specific aim to mitigate any misconceptions that could develop into irrecoverable errors.

5. In part, students who are more mature in years and have a few more Christian experiences behind them can have a positive influence on the younger pupils who are being schooled from their youth onward. In part, students who have received less preparatory instruction might have greater interaction with those students who are more accomplished in a scholarly way and thus develop a greater ambition to press on and mitigate possible bias. With this, it is hoped that through such common life, one might see a salutary melding of group and mutual instruction.

6. The theological faculty could work in wholly different, more influential directions, such as publishing theological periodicals, drafting theological concerns, and raising a voice concerning contemporary issues.

7. The union of the seminaries is advantageous with respect to budgetary issues.³⁸

While serving as pastor of St. Paul's, Wilhelm Sihler presided over the practical seminary (1846–1861) and the *Gymnasium* (1861–1885). In the latter institution, he worked with, among others, directors Alexander Saxer and C. J. Otto Hanser (1832–1910, later at Trinity, St. Louis), assistant headmaster R. Bischoff (1847–1916), instructor C. H. Rudolph Lange (1825–1892, later called to CSL), and “Rector” Georg Schick (1831–1915), who served 1856–1914 and, like August Crämer, was

³⁸ *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 102–106. This is a paraphrased translation for the sake of brevity. Compare the full version in Wilhelm Sihler, *Denkschrift zur eingehenden Darlegung der Gründe für die Vereinigung der beiden theologischen Lehranstalten in St. Louis und für die Verpflanzung des Gymnasiums nach Fort Wayne nach einmüthigen Beschlusses der vom 10. bis 20. October A.D. 1860 zu St. Louis abgehaltenen Versammlung der allgemeinen Synode* (St. Louis: August Wiebusch und Sohn, 1860).

remembered for being a tough, yet beloved leader. Later, Sihler regretted the events of 1860–1861:

In any case, the experience of later years apparently has indicated that quite a few aspects of those seven points of fact that were advanced at the time have not been fulfilled, and no small number of us, myself included, later came to the opinion that it would have been better to leave the *Gymnasium* in its natural connection to the theological seminary in St. Louis, and to leave the so-called practical seminary here in Fort Wayne.³⁹

Still, Walther did not neglect the practical division after it had been absorbed into CSL. In 1860, at Walther's urging, a pre-seminary prep school (*Proseminar*) was established by Pastor Friedrich Brunn (1819–1895) in Steeden, Nassau, in the German state of Hesse. The practical division at CSL had its own *Proseminar* in St. Louis. Adding to that were students from Hermannsburg in the Lüneburg Heath in Lower Saxony. They were sent by Louis Harms, who founded the Hermannsburg Mission, noted for work in South Africa and India. Into the 1880s, pro-German sentiments and connections with Germany existed at the *Gymnasium* and at the seminaries.⁴⁰

Walther and others disliked having too many pastors with minimal education—whether in St. Louis or in Springfield.⁴¹ This bias emerged among two parties on the issue of moving the practical seminary to Springfield, as seen in the 1874 *Proceedings* of the Western District (now the Missouri District). The discussion occurred at the district level because synodical institutions were locally funded. Not until the late 1870s did the income provided to the synod by Concordia Publishing House (CPH) begin to allow the LCMS and its educational institutions to gain financial independence and develop a separate institutional character. We summarize the convention discussion over the next several paragraphs.⁴²

³⁹ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 55; Sihler, *Lebenslauf*, 2:187: "Uebrigens hat es die Erfahrung späterer Jahre so ziemlich ausgewiesen, daß gar Manches in jenen 7 Gründen angeführte nicht in Erfüllung gegangen ist; und nicht wenige von uns, darunter auch ich, sind später der Meinung geworden, es wäre besser gewesen, das Gymnasium in der naturgemäßen Verbindung mit dem theologischen Seminar in St. Louis gelassen zu haben und das sogen[annte] praktische Seminar hier in Fort Wayne."

⁴⁰ *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 39; Meyer, *Log Cabin*, 46–48; Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 53, 57–59, 65, 127–128; W. Wöhling, *Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Freikirche in Sachsen u. a. Staaten* (Zwickau/Sachsen: Verlag des Schriftvereins [E. Klärner], 1925), 18–20; Ernst Gottlieb Sihler, "College and Seminary Life in the Olden Days," in Dau, *Ebenezer*, 261; Schaum and Collver, *Breath of God*, 157–159.

⁴¹ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 66–67.

⁴² Charles P. Schaum, "The Highest and Ultimate Gift of God: A Brief History of Concordia Publishing House in the German-Era LCMS," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 83, nos. 1–2 (2019): 14–16. See LCMS, *Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Westlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth.*

Fresh from the financial panic of 1873, one party wished to expand the St. Louis campus by building a new central structure (*Mittelgebäude*) between the two recently enlarged seminary wings, therewith keeping all future building projects related to the combined seminary in St. Louis. They claimed that this course would minimize future costs. They opposed moving the practical seminary to Springfield because it and the recently relocated *Proseminar* would experience overcrowding and create even more building costs. Despite advancing cost minimization as their position, the “stay combined” party argued that, since a physical plant for a St. Louis congregation costs about \$100,000 to build, the synod should have no problems raising \$200,000 for seminary renovations. Yet they presented no reckoning of any costs related to Springfield.⁴³

The “relocation” party stated that the need for space was so pressing and the costs so immediate that a building program in St. Louis was infeasible. They questioned expressly why no student yet had died due to unsafe conditions. They maintained that relocation is an adiaphoron, thus a business decision and not one of doctrine and conscience.

The convention examined both sides of the issue. The advantages for keeping the seminaries together included the following: (1) Financial: Instructor salaries were saved due to no duplication. (2) Social and academic: Both types of student lived together and established friendships. (3) Homiletical: All preachers would be cast from the same mold.

The disadvantages for staying combined included the following: (1) One had to refrain from a full scholarly presentation in lectures because too much consideration needed to be given to the needs of the practical students. Separation would increase the level of scholarship for the students in the theoretical program. (2) Then again, since one also had to give consideration to the scholarly presentation, the practical students were always going to remain at a loss in some regard. While this effect was minimal in practical theology, it presented a major problem in, for example, historical theology. The original-language sources in the CSL library were essential to the curriculum.⁴⁴

Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, Anno Domini 1874 (St. Louis: Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1874), 62–63.

⁴³ No one addressed the costs of the *Gymnasium*, borne by the congregations in and around Fort Wayne without the benefits once provided by the practical seminary. The LCMS funded capital improvements at Springfield from 1884–1891. Economic uncertainty from the financial panics of 1893 and 1907 led the synod to withhold capital funding until the end of 1916. See Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 92, 115.

⁴⁴ The library catalog was published in book form: LCMS, *Katalog der Theologischen Bibliothek des Evangelisch-Lutherischen Concordia Collegiums zu St. Louis* (Druckerei der ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1874). The book followed the same structure as C. F. W. Walther, “Lutherisch-theologische Pfarrers-Bibliothek,” *Lehre und Wehre* 1–4 (1855–1858).

A motion came to the floor of the convention: That the district-synod consider it to be appropriate, given the current circumstances, to move the practical seminary to Springfield, to establish the required professorships, and to provide for faculty housing and other domestic needs. Many delegates balked at that motion, so it was set aside. Instead, it was moved 89–57 that (1) the district-synod recommend to the general presidency (*das allgemeine Präsidium*) to call a special convention of the general delegate-synod in the current year [1874] for discussing this business, and that (2) it be recommended that the convention be called to assemble in St. Louis. Later that year, a special session of the LCMS general delegate-synod voted overwhelmingly (117–21) to move the practical seminary to Springfield.⁴⁵

The Springfield campus to which the practical seminary relocated was the site of an earlier project in Lutheran education, with hopes to educate the West for Christ. In 1847, the Synod of Illinois chartered and founded the “Literary and Theological Institute” in Hillsboro, Illinois, under the leadership of Rev. Francis Springer (1810–1892), who had been educated at Gettysburg Theological Seminary. In 1851, plans were underway to move the institute to a new “Melancthon College” in Springfield. The name was changed to “Illinois State University,” which was not a state school, nor quite a university. Despite the support of future US president Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) and Lutheran leader William A. Passavant (1821–1894), this Lutheran school could not overcome theological disagreements between strict and lax Lutheranism. The institution closed in 1869. Springfield-area LCMS congregations, especially Trinity, took action in 1873 to purchase the campus.⁴⁶

In 1874, the synod voted for the relocation, and August Crämer had to move again. Doctrinal and moral fidelity to the Bible and the Book of Concord turned a failed university into a thriving seminary. CTS did business in Springfield under the old Indiana charter, even though that charter was amended in 1881 to include the Fort Wayne *Gymnasium*. This arrangement was nullified by an Illinois court in 1921, leaving Springfield with no charter. A new charter was obtained in 1939.⁴⁷

In 1896, the general convention *Proceedings* listed nine institutions: the seminaries in St. Louis and Springfield; the teacher seminaries in Addison, Illinois, and Seward, Nebraska; the *Gymnasien* in Fort Wayne, Milwaukee, and St. Paul,

⁴⁵ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 65–66. The LCMS *Praesidium* first included the general president and the district presidents. Later, the district presidents formed the College of Presidents (*das Präsidies-Kollegium*), and the *Praesidium* was defined as the general president and vice presidents of the synod. See Jacob A. O. Preus II, *The Council of Presidents, the Synodical President, and the District Presidents, with Reference to Their Duties under the Constitution and Bylaws of the Synod* (St. Louis: The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, September 1974).

⁴⁶ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 69–82. Among fundraising and other activities, Passavant brought the Lutheran deaconess movement from its connections in Kaiserswerth and Neuendettelsau to the US.

⁴⁷ *Synodalhandbuch* [1924], 99–122; Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 151–152.

Minnesota; and the *Progymnasien* in Concordia, Missouri, and Neperan (Hawthorne), New York.⁴⁸ CSL reported in the same *Proceedings* that it was growing and needed money. CTS reported that it was celebrating its fiftieth jubilee and that it was both growing and successful.

The LCMS had been incorporated since 1894, and it did business from CPH in St. Louis until 1951. The old Saxon-Franconian dynamic gave way to a new desire for corporate centralization. Immediately after CTS gave a favorable report to the convention, a certain party suggested closing the Springfield seminary. A heated discussion smoldered for the entire afternoon session of the convention. The result was this:

1. Springfield was limited to 175 students, starting with the 1897–1898 academic year. The other points also would apply as of that year.
2. Students younger than 17 and older than 25 could no longer be accepted at Springfield.
3. Pupils from any other LCMS prep school could only be accepted at Springfield if so recommended by the respective faculties of said schools. (Otherwise, they would go to St. Louis.)
4. These regulations had to be followed, except in the rarest of cases.
5. Pastors were urged to recommend for study at Springfield primarily those men studying at secular (*falschgläubige*) institutions, who developed an interest for the ministry.

In contrast, CSL received full support from the synod and was allowed to grow unhindered.⁴⁹ The Springfield faculty claimed that CTS was the premier practical and mission seminary of the LCMS, engaged with aspects of US church relations.⁵⁰

Practical engagement was needed as American culture and the LCMS changed. Americanization and increasing use of English rankled the old guard, even at Springfield.⁵¹ The English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States taught students German at Concordia College, Conover, North Carolina, so that they could study at LCMS seminaries. Yet these English Synod pastors served English-speaking congregations.⁵² The Concordia system educated laymen who

⁴⁸ LCMS, *Dreiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, versammelt als achte Delegatensynode zu Fort Wayne, Ind. im Jahre 1896* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1896), 47–74.

⁴⁹ Condensed from *Dreiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht*, 47–54. See also Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 102–103; Meyer, *Log Cabin*, 144–146.

⁵⁰ *Zum 50jährigen Jubiläum*, 4–5.

⁵¹ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 126–132. Dallmann reported on a significant amount of pro-German bias in *My Life*, 33, 36–38, 41–42, 57–58, 63–65.

⁵² See Henry P. Eckhardt, *The English District: A Historical Sketch by H. P. Eckhardt* (St. Louis: English District of the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, 1946).

became doctors, lawyers, diplomats, and businessmen—all American leaders. Change increased with persecution during and after the Great War.⁵³

The changing idea of being “practical” affected more than just the “practical” seminary. Social and mission needs were causing realignments that united graduates of both seminaries in new ways. In 1901, the Associated Lutheran Charities was founded in Chicago by F. W. Herzberger (1859–1930), August Schlechte (1868–1920), and Frederick Theodore Ruhland (1873–1945). In 1919, the Lutheran Deaconess (now, Diaconal) Association was formed in Fort Wayne, supported by the Charity Conference (*Wohltätigkeitskonferenz*) of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America and Associated Lutheran Charities. Between 1911 (when St. John’s College in Winfield, Kansas, founded in 1893 by layman John Baden, became coeducational) and 1917 (considering the growth of Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois), coeducational institutions went from being an outrage to becoming an accepted reality in the LCMS.⁵⁴

In New York, Henry Ressmeyer helped to form the Lutheran Education Society in 1907, which moved the *Progymnasium*, later Concordia Collegiate Academy, from Neperan (Hawthorne) to Bronxville, New York, in 1908. He supported the American Lutheran Publicity Bureau, founded January 21, 1914.⁵⁵ Both Ressmeyer and the ALPB promoted a pan-Lutheran outlook. The ALPB used its *American Lutheran* magazine to great effect in such efforts.⁵⁶ This created an ambiguity of praxis between the Scholastic exegesis of the LCMS and the Hegelian exegesis of the United Lutheran Church in America, formed in 1917.⁵⁷

Although it lost a seminary in 1861, Fort Wayne continued to be a center for Lutheran higher education. Circa 1919, Pastor John C. Baur, a CTS graduate serving in Fort Wayne, emerged as executive secretary of a Midwestern, lay-centered movement: the American Luther League (ALL). The LCMS lost over 400 schools during the war years. The ALL was part of a larger effort to standardize and protect

⁵³ Dallmann, *My Life*, 21, 33–35; Stephen Scott Gurgel, “The War to End All Germans: Wisconsin Synod Lutherans and the First World War” (MA thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2012).

⁵⁴ Richard Baepler, *Flame of Faith, Lamp of Learning: A History of Valparaiso University* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2001), 136–138; Freitag, *College with a Cause*, 136–137. One finds a different treatment in Mary Todd, *Authority Vested* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

⁵⁵ The bureau had the same acronym (ALPB) as the English Synod’s American Lutheran Publication Board, which had merged with CPH in 1911. Henry P. Eckhardt, who had served as president of both the English Synod and the English District, was also bureau president.

⁵⁶ Charles L. Fry, “The World’s Debt to the Reformation,” in *Manual of Practical Church Work*, 4th ed. (New York: Lutheran Press, 1945), 174. The *Manual* contained reprints from *American Lutheran*.

⁵⁷ Schaum and Collver, *Breath of God*, 65–66, 273–294; Baepler, *Flame of Faith*, 136–138.

LCMS education against secularism. Several districts took the lead.⁵⁸ From such efforts, again with Baur at the forefront, emerged the Lutheran University Association (founded July 15, 1925), which still does business as Valparaiso University (VU) in Valparaiso, Indiana.

Others recognized the need to do more than circle the wagons. Founded in 1917 in Milwaukee, with the support of St. Louis-based LCMS treasurer and CPH general manager Edmund Seuel (1865–1951), the Lutheran Laymen's League (LLL) helped to pay off a \$100,000 debt owed by the synod. On December 14, 1924, it established KFUE, "The Gospel Voice." In 1930–1931, then from 1935 onward, the LLL, with KFUE and CSL professors John H. C. Fritz and Walter A. Maier, launched a world-reaching juggernaut, *The Lutheran Hour*.⁵⁹ Both the ALL (which fizzled during the Great Depression) and the LLL channeled lay funding and effort in ways previously unknown to the synod. Imagine the original 1846 plan bearing fruit, locating the practical seminary and the *Gymnasium* in Fort Wayne. Imagine Baur leading those institutions to greater heights. Instead, VU helped to define an ecosystem where LCMS institutions either changed or failed. Ironically, the presence of VU may have saved Springfield from being closed.

New leaders emerged from the English Synod and English District, including two former presidents of Concordia, Conover. VU called William H. T. Dau (1864–1944) to be president (1926–1929); he had been president in Conover (1892–1899) and a professor in St. Louis (1905–1926).⁶⁰ Henry B. Hemmelter (1869–1948) had served three terms as president in Conover (1902–1905; 1914–1918; 1928–1935, its closing year). He became president at Springfield (1936–1945), leading CTS safely through the Great Depression. After Dau at VU was Oscar C. Kreinheder (1877–1946) from 1930–1939, who had been president of the English District from 1918–1927 and was the brother of Conover president Oliver W. Kreinheder (1885–1970), who served from 1917–1928. Following next at VU from 1940–1968 was O. P. Kretzmann (1901–1975), who had been a professor at CTS from 1924–1934, as well as executive secretary of the Walther League from 1934–1940. No longer was being "practical" seen as foreign to being scholarly. Under Louis J. Sieck, seminary

⁵⁸ A. C. Stellhorn, *History of the Superintendents Conference: Supervision and Promotion of Christian Education by The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1956).

⁵⁹ Baeppler, *Flame of Faith*, 131–144; Arthur Preuss, *A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies* (St. Louis: Herder, 1924), 504; Paul L. Maier, *A Man Spoke, a World Listened: The Story of Walter A. Maier and the Lutheran Hour* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963), 110–126, 164–191. Compare also the analysis in Milton L. Rudnick, *Fundamentalism and the Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1966), 92–102.

⁶⁰ Baeppler, *Flame of Faith*, 152–155.

president from 1944–1952, even CSL began to embrace a more “practical” posture, albeit one beginning to favor mainline Protestantism.⁶¹

Some voices had been reminded in convention debate that decisions about LCMS institutions are adiaphora, not doctrine. Other voices began to “reimagine” points of doctrine in a paradigm whose metric for truth was the worshiping community seen through a Hegelian lens. Between these poles, many simply wanted to maintain the pure teaching of the word and administration of the sacraments (the criteria of unity in AC VII). Still, the Lord mercifully continued to provide faithful pastors for his church, both from St. Louis and from Springfield.

Walther and Sihler Compared

From 1847 to 1945, much was made of the distinction between the “theoretical seminary” and the “practical seminary.” Here and in the next section, we consider the first presidents of those seminaries. The “practical” nature of CTS depended on the conditions under which Wilhelm Löhe, with Johann F. Wucherer (1803–1881), deeded the school to the LCMS. Yet in 1847, it seemed that Sihler would be the scholar and Walther would be the practical theologian.

Dr. Wilhelm Sihler (1801–1885) matriculated at Breslau and graduated in 1829 from Berlin. Before university, he completed *Gymnasium* and entered the military at eighteen, following his father. This second lieutenant studied with the best, including future German chief of staff, the elder Helmuth von Moltke (1800–1891). Sihler left the army to become a professor. His teachers were elites: for classical studies, August Böckh (1785–1867); for literature, August W. Schlegel (1767–1845, brother of linguist Friedrich Schlegel [1772–1829]). Sihler disliked the philosophy of Georg W. F. Hegel (1770–1831); instead, he was drawn to Friedrich D. E. Schleiermacher (1768–1834), whom he later rejected. Sihler knew several major literary figures; his circle also included composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809–1847). By 1828, Sihler had published two volumes: *Arabesques* (*Arabesken*), a collection of humorous essays in the manner of Jean Paul (Johann Paul Friedrich Richter, 1763–1825), and *Symbolology of the Face* (*Symbolik des Antlitzes*). The latter book gained immediate fame; later, Sihler rejected it.⁶²

⁶¹ Baepler, *Flame of Faith*, 163f., 193f.; James R. Blackwood, “Inside Missouri Synod,” *Concordia Theological Monthly* 23, no. 6 (1952): 428–443.

⁶² The pseudoscience of physiognomy was popular throughout the nineteenth century, but debunked already in the 1860s. See Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 34. Compare Sihler, *Lebenslauf*, 1:65. Fürbringer is incorrect when he claims that Johann K. Lavater (1741–1801) influenced Sihler (35). Sihler states (1:65) that his *Symbolology* was “derived from life experiences, without knowledge of Lavater’s *Physiognomics*.”

Sihler tutored in Breslau for a year, then became an instructor of geography and other subjects at the Blochmann Institute in Dresden (1830–1838). He got to know Friedrich A. Philippi (1809–1882), had a conversion experience, and gained a mentor in Andreas G. Rudelbach (1792–1862), who warned him about Martin Stephan (1777–1846). Sihler tutored in the Baltic region (1838–1843) until heeding Wyneken's *Notruf* (distress call). With Löhe's urging, Sihler planned to become a professor of theology at Capital University in Columbus, Ohio. The Saxon Territorial Church permitted Rudelbach to examine Sihler for the ministry. Rudelbach published Sihler's written exam work, which was critical of Pietism, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*.⁶³ In Columbus, Sihler was directed to the parish in Pomeroy; in 1845, he replaced Wyneken in Fort Wayne.⁶⁴ There he served St. Paul's and guided CTS, publishing a sermon collection, journal articles, and an autobiography.

When the two seminaries were merged, Ferdinand Walther presided over both theoretical and practical divisions. Walther started out as a regular pastor, in contrast to the grand image of "Professor Dr. Walther" that we see throughout Hochstetter's history. He matriculated at Leipzig and passed his first exams in 1833. He served as a private tutor in Kahla (1834–1836) and passed his second exams. He received a call to Good Shepherd (*Zum guten Hirten*) in Bräunsdorf, where he was ordained on January 15, 1837. He resigned his call on September 30, 1838⁶⁵ to immigrate with the Stephanites to Missouri. In 1841, Ferdinand defeated the position of attorney F. Adolph Marbach on the doctrine of the church, thereby creating his first major theological work, the theses of the Altenburg Debate.⁶⁶

In the same year, Ferdinand received a call from Trinity, St. Louis, to follow in his brother Hermann's footsteps after the latter's death. Ferdinand began to flourish as a gifted preacher and an outgoing, decisive leader. Trinity also began to flourish with its new pastor. In 1842, Trinity occupied its first church building at Third and Lombard in St. Louis. In 1844, Ferdinand launched *Der Lutheraner*. His prodigious publishing efforts shaped the synod for the remainder of the century. His storied synodical presidency remains precedent-setting in the LCMS to the present day. Yet he did not become "Professor Dr. Walther" until January 25, 1878. He had rejected an honorary doctorate from Göttingen in 1855 for his work in 1852, *Die Stimme unserer Kirche in der Frage von Kirche und Amt* (*The Voice of Our Church in the Debate concerning Church and Office*). In its general session (October 23–25, 1877),

⁶³ Sihler, *Lebenslauf*, 1:153.

⁶⁴ Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 40.

⁶⁵ Günther, *Dr. C. F. W. Walther*, 13–32. Father Gottlob Walther was unsympathetic to his sons and his son-in-law Keyl. Extreme actions ruptured family relations. See August R. Suellflow, *Servant of the Word: The Life and Ministry of C. F. W. Walther* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2000), 36.

⁶⁶ Günther, *Dr. C. F. W. Walther*, 44–46.

the Ohio Synod directed Capital University to grant Walther the title *Doctor Theologiae*.⁶⁷ Ironically, Löhe had encouraged Sihler to teach there.

Walther and Sihler on Slavery

Few in the LCMS have discussed this topic at length with a thorough depth of scholarship, yet through it we might get a better glimpse of theological challenges during the Civil War years. No people in the LCMS were known to own slaves, and none condoned cruelty. Yet both Ferdinand Walther and Wilhelm Sihler wrote against abolitionism.⁶⁸ Both men observed that socialists, communists, atheists, and others used the abolitionist movement to advance their own causes. Both pointed out that many abolitionists rejected original sin and promoted human self-perfection, thereby nullifying the vicarious atonement of Christ. Both observed that abolitionists offered no clearly defined outcome for freed slaves, focusing rather on harsh penalties against slave owners. Both feared the misuse of Scripture for political goals.⁶⁹ Both attributed slavery to original sin. Both wrote that God will punish any abuse of slaves, and that they should be treated with kindness.⁷⁰ Additionally, Sihler urged Christians to work within the established political system to make incremental change.⁷¹

We recognize some major shortcomings. Both Walther and Sihler built on a naive principle of servitude (*Knechtschaft*) already extant in the 1850s.⁷² This principle equated ancient slavery, European serfdom, and American slavery. It

⁶⁷ Günther, *Dr. C. F. W. Walther*, 128–137.

⁶⁸ See Carl S. Meyer, “Early Growth of the Missouri Synod,” in *Moving Frontiers*, 234. Walther personally opposed slavery, but he supported states’ rights; see Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 220–229. Walther had no quarrel with Frederick Bertram, a member of his congregation who enlisted in the Union army; see Dallmann, *My Life*, 44–45. Walther believed that the Union was the properly instituted government, even if he disagreed with it; see Andrea Schultz, “C. F. W. Walther and the Civil War,” *Historical Footnotes* 57, no. 1 (St. Louis: Concordia Historical Institute, 2012): 5–6. Some who characterize the LCMS and Walther as “pro-slavery” are quick to identify German ethnicity with supporting slavery; see Nicholas Tavuchis, *Pastors and Immigrants: The Role of a Religious Elite in the Absorption of Norwegian Immigrants* (Dordrecht: Springer, 1963), 55–70. Such analysis correlates poorly with the sources; see Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi*, 217, 313–314, 487–488.

⁶⁹ C. F. W. Walther, “Vorwort,” *Lehre und Wehre* 9, no. 2 (1863): 1–8, 33–46; Wilhelm Sihler, *Die Sklaverei im Lichte der heiligen Schrift betrachtet* (Baltimore: A. Schlitt, 1863). Sihler’s language can cause offense to modern readers, while Walther is more reserved. See also Cameron A. MacKenzie, “The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and the Public Square in the Era of C. F. W. Walther” in David L. Adams and Ken Schurb, *The Anonymous God* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2004), 93–119.

⁷⁰ C. F. W. Walther, “Vorwort,” 39, 45; Sihler, *Sklaverei*, 3–4, 8, 18.

⁷¹ Sihler, *Sklaverei*, 23f.

⁷² Compare K. B., “Die Sklaverei und die Bibel,” *Lehre und Wehre* 2, no. 8 (1856): 225–233; “Luther und Melanchthon über die Sklaverei,” *Lehre und Wehre* 2, no. 11 (1856): 352.

sidestepped assertions that Black people were less than human. William Dallmann confronted such racism in the Ozarks during the 1880s.⁷³ Neither Walther nor Sihler examined the christological implications of such prejudice in light of verses like Matthew 25:34–40 and 1 Corinthians 13:1–3. We do not see racism here; rather, we see a cultural ignorance that failed to oppose it.

Reflecting a defensive stance in the LCMS that had emerged since the 1859 publication of Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, both Walther and Sihler focused on the defense of doctrine, even though they expressed concern for their Black neighbors.⁷⁴ Neither man supported slavery. The LCMS was committed to loving people even as it opposed the politics of the 1860s, which mutated into a failed Reconstruction, Blaine amendments, attacks on parochial schools from 1875 to 1925, and Woodrow Wilson's "100 Percent Americanism." In the 1870s, LCMS parochial schools in St. Louis allowed Black children to enroll. In contrast, St. Louis public schools did not desegregate until 1947–1954.⁷⁵

St. Louis Needed the Practical Seminary

In 1849, Walther struggled to turn a college with nine students into a top-tier institution. He relied on CTS, which had at least sixteen students. CTS lost instructor C. L. August Wolter (1818–1849) to cholera. Adolf Biewend had come to the United States with Wyneken, serving as a pastor in Washington, DC, and as an instructor at Columbian College, the original college of George Washington University. At the urging of Sihler and Wyneken, Biewend replaced Wolter at CTS. In 1850, Walther recruited the talented young Biewend as the deputy headmaster (*Konrektor*), later, headmaster of the *Gymnasium* in St. Louis. There Biewend remained, a champion of English instruction, community outreach, and educational excellence, until his untimely death on April 10, 1858.⁷⁶

Walther continued to search for qualified instructors. Apart from adjunct instructors in the *Gymnasium*, some of whom were seminary students, Georg Schick was installed in 1856. Gustav Seyffarth (1796–1885), a noted scholar from the

⁷³ Dallmann, *My Life*, 40, 44–45.

⁷⁴ The Sihler family personally experienced discrimination; see Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 50. On the defensive climate in the LCMS, see Schaum and Collver, *Breath of God*, 153–156.

⁷⁵ C. F. W. Walther, *Law and Gospel: How to Read and Apply the Bible*, ed. Charles P. Schaum, John P. Hellwege Jr., and Thomas E. Manteufel, trans. Christian C. Tiews (St. Louis: Concordia, 2010), 308; Schaum and Collver, *Breath of God*, 17–24. See the helpful scholarship in John G. Nordling, *Philemon*, Concordia Commentary (St. Louis: Concordia, 2004). Compare also Samuel L. Hoard, *The Truth Will Set You Free* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2004); Richard C. Dickinson, *Roses and Thorns* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1977); Jeff G. Johnson, *Black Christians: The Untold Lutheran Story* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1991).

⁷⁶ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 39–40; Meyer, *Log Cabin*, 28–30.

University of Leipzig, was a professor of theology (1856–1859). He left CSL because he was an abolitionist and lacked scholarly resources in St. Louis.⁷⁷ Hermann Baumstark (1839–1876, *Proseminar* instructor 1865–1869) and Eduard Preuss (1834–1904, professor 1869–1872) both converted to Roman Catholicism.⁷⁸ Only with the 1878 arrival of Licentiate K. Georg Stöckhardt (1842–1913) did permanent stability arise.⁷⁹ CSL continued to draw faculty from Springfield, including former Michigan District president Theodore C. Engelder (1865–1949, at CTS 1914–1926; at CSL 1926–1946) and Frederick E. Mayer (1892–1954, at CTS 1926–1937; at CSL 1937–1954).⁸⁰ Both seminaries had well-qualified faculty.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the seminaries was not the instructors; rather, it was the six years of formation at the *Gymnasium* before going to CSL. From age eleven or twelve onward, pupils learned how future pastors ought to learn, think, speak, and act. At CSL, they had no rough edges, or they were experts at hiding them.⁸¹ CSL professors were older colleagues.

The practical students had a later, shorter period of formation. They were not allowed to form a student government with the same voice and influence as their St. Louis counterparts. Even so, in 1857 they formed a *Kollegium Fratrum* that turned from a student club into a mission and social welfare society. After 1910, more incidents of conflict between students and faculty arose, escalating in severity.⁸² CTS professors had to be more authoritarian because they needed to break in the raw recruits, unlike their CSL counterparts.

Notable Instructors

Pride of place among faculty members must go to Friedrich August Crämer, CTS president (1875–1891) following Sihler (1846–1861) and Walther (1861–1875). Crämer was so thoroughly “August” that Ludwig Fürbringer presents him as “August Friedrich,” while Erich Heintzen uses both name forms. From 1850 to 1875, he served as an instructor before becoming president.

⁷⁷ Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 216–221.

⁷⁸ Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 164–170; Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 230–238; Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 55–56.

⁷⁹ Some faculty members at Fort Wayne and St. Louis presented their lectures almost verbatim from books. Competence in topics could vary; see Dallmann, *My Life*, 14–15, 24.

⁸⁰ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 218; Meyer, *Log Cabin*, 297–298.

⁸¹ Dallmann, *My Life*, 11–35; Fürbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years*, 26–144; Sihler, “College and Seminary Life,” 247–264; Bruce Cameron, *The Word of the Lord Endures Forever* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1994), 17.

⁸² Compare Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 50–52, 63–65, 94–95, 104, 109–110, 112–115, 126–146; Meyer, *Log Cabin to Luther Tower*, 115–143, 205–232.

“Onkel” Crämer was known as a verbose lecturer, yet he was a gifted scholar with much to share. He spent six years in prison for the student uprising in Frankfurt-am-Main during the 1833 session of the German parliament. After acquittal, he completed his university studies in Munich, had a conversion experience, and was sponsored by Count Carl Friedrich Hildebrand von Einsiedel (1805–1876), a staunch Lutheran who helped Crämer become a tutor in the home of William King, Earl of Lovelace, and his wife, Augusta Ada King, Countess of Lovelace. She was the only legitimate child of Lord Byron and was one of the top mathematicians of the day, a collaborator with computer pioneer Charles Babbage. Influenced by William Frend and others, she and her husband were Unitarian and incompatible with Crämer. He tutored German at Oxford before clashing with the Tractarians and returning to Germany. Löhe steered Crämer toward work in America, thence to St. Lorenz.⁸³

Reinhold Pieper (1850–1920) was a parish pastor before and after he succeeded Crämer as CTS president (1891–1914). During his presidency, his works were just as influential as those of brother Franz, president of CSL. Chief among them was his *Homiletik* (Homiletics).⁸⁴ With doctrinal proceedings, *Lehre und Wehre*, and *Der Lutheraner*, Pieper’s *Homiletik* is one of the most frequently cited sources in Ernst Eckhardt’s *Reallexikon*. One might call it a “practical dogmatics.”⁸⁵ Pieper’s compendious study of Luther’s Small Catechism superseded the work of E. G. W. Keyl.⁸⁶ In addition to sermon collections, Pieper also updated the list of scholarly works that a pastor should consult, thereby updating the work of Ferdinand Walther.⁸⁷ Instructor J. H. Herzer (active 1892–1914) produced the most thorough treatment of catechetics in the LCMS.⁸⁸ Reinhold Pieper’s leadership brought a level of scholarship comparable to the theoretical seminary.

Richard D. Biedermann (1864–1921) was the first American-born president of CTS from 1915–1921. He improved facilities, tightened up finances, and successfully

⁸³ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 42–43; Fürbringer, *Persons and Events*, 1–31; Robin Hammerman and Andrew L. Russell, *Ada’s Legacy*, ACM Books #7 (n. p.: Association for Computing Machinery and Morgan & Claypool Publishers, 2016). See also Lawrence R. Rast Jr., “Friedrich August Crämer: Faithful Servant in Christ’s Church,” *CTQ* 64, no. 1 (January 2000): 39–60.

⁸⁴ See Adam C. Koontz, “Speak as the Oracles of God: Reinhold Pieper’s Classical Lutheran Homiletic,” *CTQ* 85, no. 1 (January 2021): 23–36.

⁸⁵ Reinhold Pieper, *Evangelisch-Lutherische Homiletik: Nach der Erläuterung über die Praecepta Homiletica von Dr. J. J. Rambach* (Milwaukee: Germania, 1895); Ernst Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon nebst Index Rerum*, 8 vols. (St. Louis: Success, 1907–1917).

⁸⁶ Reinhold Pieper, *Der kleine Katechismus Luthers aus der Heiligen Schrift und Luthers Werken*, 3 vols. (Milwaukee: Germania, 1899); Ernst G. W. Keyl, *Katechismauslegung aus Dr. Luthers Schriften und den symbolischen Büchern*, 4 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1878–1889).

⁸⁷ Reinhold Pieper, *Wegweiser durch die theologischen Disciplinen und deren Literatur* (Milwaukee: Germania, 1900). See Schaum and Collver, *Breath of God*, 190–202.

⁸⁸ J. H. Herzer, *Evangelisch-lutherische Katechetik* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1911).

retained the pre-seminary class (*Vorklasse* or *Proseminar*), solidifying the identity of CTS as a practical, pastoral institution. He struggled with the limits on enrollment set in 1896 (see above), and defended CTS from wartime anti-German hysteria. He died suddenly of heart problems before the 75th anniversary of the practical seminary.⁸⁹

Henry A. Klein (1869–1935) oversaw a number of faculty changes and continued to preserve a markedly pastoral character for CTS during his time as president from 1922–1935. In 1928, students with neither German nor Latin skills were admitted to the pre-seminary class for the first time. Development of a campus master plan and the clear acquisition of deeds and titles to land that had been donated in patchwork occurred at this time. The affectionately known “Daddy” Klein and his wife died in an automobile accident before Christmas, 1935.⁹⁰

Henry B. Hemmeter, president from 1936–1945, steered CTS through the Great Depression, when there were too many candidates and too few calls. New Testament Greek became a mandatory course. He oversaw the reestablishment of a corporate charter in 1939. He managed interaction with draft boards and civic leaders during the Second World War, and retired after V-E Day, May 8, 1945.

Conclusion

This article has attempted to show the deeds of individuals and groups as part of a larger set of pressures and dynamics that motivated people to take certain actions. By learning about those dynamics, one can understand better the decisions that were made. The goal is to understand our forebears as vulnerable sinner-saints who faced challenges similar to our own, yet who were still committed to good-faith cooperation in the gospel.⁹¹

The history of Concordia Theological Seminary during its early years is uniquely suited to teach practical lessons about leadership decisions amid the vicissitudes of life, especially when facing a dearth of resources. The study of history is neither looking in the synod’s “attic,” nor finding “pieces of the past” to be mildly diverting. The study of history creates a better focus on the present in preparation for the future.

CTS history shows us that mistakes are recoverable. Jockeying for position today may have unintended consequences tomorrow. God can bless the church greatly through a stalwart “backbencher” who shores up the faithful. *Kritisch*

⁸⁹ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 111–122.

⁹⁰ Heintzen, *Prairie School*, 124–125, 129–130, 143–144. Through 1938, opposition arose against full use of English.

⁹¹ Challenges of LCMS historiography are shown in Schaum and Collver, *Breath of God*, 401–406.

betrachten, to appraise something critically, is a time-honored German academic tradition. Trouble happens when one is not more critical of oneself than of one's neighbor. Let us not deceive ourselves, as if we had no sin (1 John 1:8).

As the LCMS prepares to face coming trials, such as decreasing membership, closure of congregations, decrease of calls, closure of institutions, and societal and cultural challenges, we can take comfort in knowing that our forebears faced similar challenges. They turned to the Lord, sought forgiveness in Christ, and commended themselves into his care. Hopefully, we can learn from their mistakes and make their strengths our own, as we walk together in the churchly unity confessed by AC VII.