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Canadian Lutheran History Sources and Resources Presentation: Remembering for the Sake of the Gospel

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Canadian Lutheran History Sources and Resources Presentation: Remembering for the Sake of the Gospel

WEBINAR II

Karen Kuhnert*

Norman Antler¹ was a member of the Canadian Lutheran Historical Association, and he wrote to every congregation in Canada (every ELCIC congregation) and asked them to send him their congregational histories. As a result, we have an incredible resource of Canadian Lutheran congregational histories written almost exclusively by lay-leaders from coast to coast to coast—organized by ELCIC synod.

When I picked up his collection from his home in Pembroke Ontario, his works reminded me of those little brag-books that grandmothers used to keep in their purses, and when they were gathered with a group of friends, they would reach into their purse and pull out their brag-book and show off all of the photographs of their grandchildren and great-grandchildren and tell the stories of the development of their lives and how proud they were of all of those who have carried on their legacy.

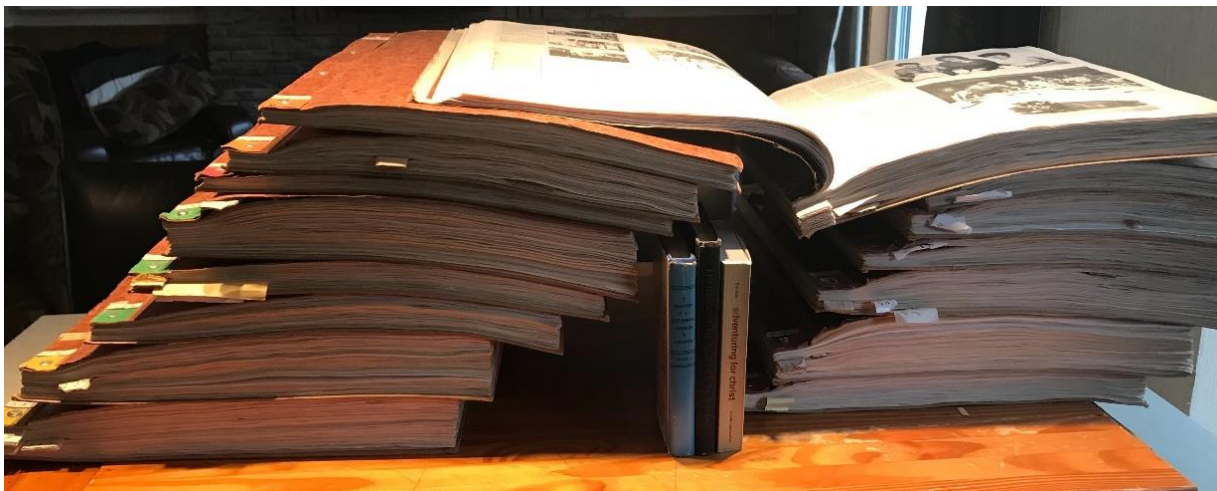


Figure 1 - This photo sets Norm Antler's collection of congregational histories—organized by ELCIC Synod—alongside the works of the compiled histories by pastors² Carl Cronmiller,³ Validmar Eylands,⁴ and George Evenson.⁵ Photo courtesy of Karen Kuhnert.

One Theme in a Three-Part Presentation to Address Sources and Resources⁶

One aspect of our webinar program tonight is called “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—For the Sake of the Gospel.” In this section of the webinar, I am going to offer you two propositional histories. What is a “*propositional history*?” A *propositional history* is a history that admits that the content is incomplete, and invites the community to join in the work of enfleshing the story for added dimension and accuracy.

In these propositional histories tonight, I am opening up *my* read of these two stories, and the resources at my disposal, in order to *suggest* new aspects of the histories and then I

* See the Foreword of this issue of *Consensus* for biographical information.

am inviting you, the reader, the listener, the fellow Canadian Lutheran, to join me in *discovering* the extent to which the proposed history is full or accurate or complete.⁷ I am inviting you to join me in remembering “Canadian Lutheran world relief” (our theme) as you have experienced it, or as you know it from the stories that you have read, and as part of the Call for Papers for our upcoming conference.⁸

And so tonight, I invite you into the story of Canadian Lutheran world relief (not CLWR specifically). That CLWR *corporate history* I leave to the staff of CLWR who have been doing an exceptional job of creating videos—and particularly so for the 75th anniversary of CLWR that just passed last year. To those I would turn you with all enthusiasm to watch; they are excellent remembering.

But “Canadian Lutheran world relief” is somewhat bigger than CLWR. And in many ways it undergirded the institution of CLWR (est. 1946). Canadian Lutheran world relief *is part of our being* as Canadian Lutherans. It is part of our response to the gospel call. It is *who we have been* and *who we are*; CLWR is one outward expression of that inner reality of our experience of the gospel, and our living that out in the context of our lives from coast to coast to coast in Canada—since Lutherans arrived in “Canada” [in 1619]—and not just since CLWR began in 1946.

So tonight I’m going to tell you two of three stories that relate to our roots—our Canadian Lutheran world relief roots. The first story I call “Relationships: Coastal Compassion.”⁹ The second I call “Mid-century Concord and Discord.”¹⁰ These stories will take us all across Canada in different time periods—across geographies and generations.

Again, I am offering these stories to you because it is my hope that, by *my* opening up *these stories and diverse resources*, that you may be able to think about how *you might raise up stories* of our legacy as we *together* remember today for the church of tomorrow and respond to the gospel for the sake of the gospel.

1. A Word About *Standard Sources and Resources*

Having read an enormous amount of Canadian Lutheran history sources, I’d like to offer a word about our standard source books, and make reference to histories that are not in our current history books.¹¹

Pastor Valdimar Eyland’s book *Lutherans in Canada* was published in 1945. He had been a member of the Norwegian, Icelandic, and Pacific synods. And he was compiling contributions from others, such as John Reble and Rex Schneider and using commemorative publications to do original research. His congregation in Winnipeg—of the Icelandic Synod—was a member of the ULCA (the United Lutheran Church in America). In his August 1945 Introduction to Eylands’ book, ULCA President Franklin Clark Fry noted that the formation of a “*Canadian Lutheran Council*” was imagined to be in hand.¹²

So Eyland’s book was written with a *kind of union* in mind.¹³ And the book is organized by major Synodical groupings. And it is ethnicity-forward so that the different Lutheran groups in Canada could get to know each other and form the “Canadian Lutheran Council.” It is a great book for understanding, for example, Danish and Finnish Lutherans in Canada.¹⁴

Pastor Norman Threinen¹⁵ and Pastor Carl Cronmiller published after Pastor Eylands. These authors build on his work. And each of these adds considerable careful, original research to the picture of Canadian Lutheran history. Threinen leans more so towards the understanding of the Missouri Synod (MS) and LC-C (Lutheran Church–Canada) and “western,” prairie, German-Lutheran perspectives, while Cronmiller leans towards the

understanding of the ULCA and the (later) Lutheran Church in America (LCA), particularly English-speaking and “eastern” perspectives.¹⁶

Pastor George Evenson, in contrast, leans heavily on Western-Canadian experiences to tell the stories of the people who became together the Canada District of the American Lutheran Church in 1961 (CD-ALC), people of a Church that was then officially (in 1967) recognized as the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, the ELCC. Evenson writes towards the possibility of *merger* for all Canadian Lutherans in the 1970s. He was a member of the Joint Commission on Inter-Lutheran Relationships in 1970 at the launch of the *Affirmation and Appeal*, and he was a speaker at the 1954 Today-Tomorrow Conference.¹⁷ So all of these writers have done great Canadian Lutheran history, but they’ve done so in a *sitz im leben*, a setting in life. Their books were published—towards a purpose.

It has been too long since we have had a new history book that relates to *our* current realities. For example, beginning in 2007, my husband served Maranatha Caribbean Lutheran Mission congregation in Waterloo.



Figure 2 - Photo courtesy of Karen Kuhnert as Archivist for the Eastern Synod, ELCIC

Maranatha’s 30-year congregational history is not reflected at all in the books by Eylands or Cronmiller or Threinen or Evenson. This is, in part, because their history comes after these other writers. But also—in part—because the Maranatha Caribbean Lutherans would be a minority community within the larger church.¹⁸ In these two online *Consensus* articles by myself,¹⁹ there are a significant number of citations and *hyperlinks* to Canadian history and Lutheran history to expand insights beyond what is available from the standard source texts. Providing them is to the end that, wherever you are in Canada or around the world, you can source and conduct your own research.²⁰ This is all to the end that we can together make a history book that more truly reflects Canadian Lutheran history today for the sake of the church tomorrow.

2. Coastal Compassion—Missing Voices and Perspectives²¹

During tonight’s webinar in the section on Canadian Lutheran world relief: Coastal Compassion, I will begin where George Evenson began in his book *Adventuring for Christ*, which is a history of the ELCC—the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, a predecessor to our current ELCIC, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. I will couple the work of

George Evenson with the work of Norm Antler.²² I'll begin with Evenson's launch among the BC Lutherans of the ELCIC to get us thinking about our roots and the stories that we choose to remember and choose not to remember, and then I will turn to the Norm Antler Collection to fill out the story.

Norman Antler was a member of the Canadian Lutheran Historical Association, a lay-leader driven movement of historians across Canada who wrote about 1) local Canadian Lutheran history—as well as—2) synodical, regional, national, international, and ethnic-specific history. Their research is seen prominently in "For the Record: the Newsletter of the Canadian Lutheran Historical Association."²³ Sam Weicker of Kitchener, another member of the Association, was known to track leadership stories right across Canada, and to resource church historians in the LC-C and LCA traditions and even scholars in Europe. Sam Weicker and Sister Florence Weicker were related to the Lay-leader behind the "Stuermer Appeal."²⁴

3. Mid-Century Concord and Discord—Different Understandings²⁵

In the second story, Mid-Century Concord and Discord, I am going to bring forward the writings of two *American* Lutheran historians, E. Theodore Bachmann and Mark Granquist, who will help us understand aspects of the time period of the General Synod at mid-century that Gordon referred to during our last webinar.²⁶

The use of "Concord" and "Discord" here is a foreshadowing that this storyline is about agreements (concord) and disagreements (discord). It is also a nod to original language *Book of Concord* and the Concordia of 1580 which relate to the foundational articulations and agreements in the formation of Lutheranism including the *Augsburg Confession*.²⁷ It is a nod to the Gettysburg roots of Rev. Henry Eyster Jacobs (born in 1844 and ordained in 1865—at Gettysburg) who Edited the "Peoples'" English-language version of the *Book of Concord* for the North American General Council. This version was intended for use in Canada.²⁸ It is also, finally, a nod to the American "shot heard round the world" from the battles of Lexington and Concord (Massachusetts) that began the American War of Independence against Britain that brought the United States into nationhood and created refugee Lutheran Loyalists in "Canada."²⁹ These Lutheran Loyalists were forced into displacement in the north of the former British colonies, re-established in a land that, by the British North America Act of 1867, became the Dominion of Canada.

I am going to couple the works by the two American Lutherans Bachmann and Granquist with the work of Canadian-Lutheran historian Carl Cronmiller, who gives us insight into what was happening in Canada before the *Definitive Platform* controversy began in the United States over *American* Lutheranism. And to this I will add just a very little bit from Frank Malinski³⁰ whom Gordon referenced, as Malinsky tells the Lutheran Church-Canada, or Missouri Synod, perspective.³¹ In this story I'll tell you about *Canadian* Lutheranism in 1853 when there was concord, and three years later—there was discord.

Canadian Lutheranism in 1853 existed between the two polar opposites of "Schmucker" and "Walther" as leadership spokespeople for the continental General Synod and the expanding Missouri Synod, respectively. To my read of the historical account, in 1853, there would have been NO Lutheran congregations or clergy who completely agreed with either Schmucker or Walther at the time of their conflicts.³² Schmucker and his writing partners (because he didn't write the *Definite Synodical Platform* of 1855 alone) were doing *American* contextual theology.³³ They were, in some senses, having a seminary-led "thought experiment" in theology (Gettysburg Seminary & Wittenberg College). And this Recension

was being prepared for the *consideration* of the General Synod; it was not a document giving *direction* to the General Synod.³⁴ Their thought experiment was released and circulated anonymously, and it was controversial.³⁵ And most pre-Confederation Canadian Lutherans and their clergy were associated with the General Synod at the time. The controversial thought exercise in *American* Lutheranism spilled over into Canada.

In 1846, Samuel Simon Schmucker had been with William Passavant attending a global ecumenical conference in Europe, and Passavant was laid over in Halifax on route; this we know from Carl Cronmiller.³⁶ At the conference in Europe, Schmucker encountered *Swedish* Lutheranism and *Norwegian* Lutheranism (and so on)—manifestations of the gospel as it was received and passed down in *those ethnic and geographical contexts*. But there was no *American* Lutheranism, and Schmucker was exploring that—just as we are exploring *Canadian* Lutheranism now.

And also in 1846, *at about this same time*, we know from Frank Malinski that Johann Adam Ernst was reading writings by C. F. W. Walther and wondering about an alliance of Ernst's Ohio colleagues with Walther and his Missouri fellows. Within a year, quoting Granquist,

“Meeting in Chicago in 1847 the Saxon Missouri pastors, along with the Bavarian pastors from Michigan, Indiana and Ohio met and formed the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, subsequently often referred to as the Missouri Synod.”

The collision between Schmucker and Walther—these two poles and personalities in Lutheranism *in the United States in the mid-1800s*—should remind us of the collision of the two poles in Lutheran America in the 1700s between Muhlenberg and Zinzendorf.³⁷

And we in the 1900s have had our own big personality clashes and the collision of Lutheranism in Canada as well. We are, perhaps now, in a time period in North American Lutheran history like that one in the mid-1850s. There are now, as there were then, lots of splintered groups saying, “Here I Stand,” but doing so in separate enclaves or conclaves, separate spaces trying to discern discipleship paths to understand what Lutherans were called to—for the sake of the gospel.

But in 1853 *in Canada*,

- there would have been NO congregations or clergy who agreed with C. F. W. Walther, because there were—at the time—NO Missouri Synod Lutheran churches or clergy in Canada (as per Malinsky). And similarly,
- there would have been NO clergy or congregations who believed in the *Definitive Platform* of Samuel Simon Schmucker, Benjamin Kurtz, and Samuel Sprecher because the *Canadian* Lutheran experience was so different than the *American* experience.

In “Mid-Century Concord and Discord” tonight, I’ll unpack that story more, and note why the reference to 1853 in Canada should be more significant in our own history books.

Unhelpfully, their fighting for two different versions of *Lutheranism for America* (with little attention to *NORTH America*) had impacts *in pre-Confederation Canada*—especially for women and persons of diverse racial and ethnic identities. Their fighting splintered

congregations and families. And it impeded the ability of Canadian Lutherans to meet the needs of the hurting and hungry in their communities and around the world. This is the “So what?” of the Mid-Century *propositional history* that I am presenting—it is a part of our past that is continuing into our present. In this example, there is an “Only If” moment, that calls for an “If Only” response. It is my hope that after hearing these stories later in the webinar,

- that you will be inspired to join me and Steve and Gordon and Don and many others in remembering today for the church of tomorrow.
- that you will join us in looking again at our histories so that we can reflect on our legacy, and our Call, for the Sake of the Gospel,
- that you might write and send in your own submissions or presentation papers for the conference that we hope to hold in 2023.

Endnotes

¹ For more on Norman Antler and the *three meters* of congregational histories stored in Waterloo as deposited from his home, see <https://libarchives.wlu.ca/index.php/norman-antler-collection>.

² The emphasis here is on the writers as having both unique and correlative context/s and leanings as Canadian Lutheran historians. I am also a pastor and a Canadian Lutheran historian with context/s and leanings. I point out my purpose in researching and writing in Karen Kuhnert, (2012) "Only If: Lutheran Identity in Canada," *Consensus*, 34, no. 1, Article 3, <https://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol34/iss1/3>. In that writing I noted that the way Canadian Lutherans have been keeping our history and fixating on the “If Onlys” of our history impedes our identity formation, and this creates Canadian Lutheran problems *coram Deo*. The standard Canadian Lutheran History texts are written by male clergy as opposed to their contemporary counterparts—academically and theologically trained female deaconesses. These men attended seminaries in a common era and were likely trained in similar academic and Lutheran Systematic forms to one another. Each of these men had to submit their work for review to panels of other men with even greater authority. These writings are in many ways *corporate histories*. By way of contrast, the writings collected by Norman Antler are typically commemorations. Commemorations are of a different genre in the field of the study of History. The content in Antler’s collection is the work of more diverse researchers and writers. Often these writers are responsible to an “Anniversary” collective made up of the pastor and representatives of diverse segments of the congregation. The audience for the writing is typically the congregational community, and also former and potential members of the congregation, all of whom need to “see themselves” represented in the writing for the commemorative work to be regarded as “a good history” worth distributing. All writers have leanings; readers and researchers are wise to reflect upon what’s included in a history and why, as well as what is missing, and why. A valuable question is: How would this story be told differently if there were more people with real relationships in the research and writing rooms?

³ Carl R. Cronmiller, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada, Vol. 1*, n.p. (The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1961).

⁴ Valdimar J. Eylands, *Lutherans in Canada*. (The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America, Winnipeg: The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America, 1945).

⁵ George Evenson, *Adventuring for Christ* (Calgary: Foothills Lutheran Press, 1974).

⁶ A word on the standard sources we’ve used to get to the histories we have today “Coastal Compassion” an example of using different source material to recover missing voices and perspectives. “Mid-Century Concord and Discord” an example of using different source material to explore different historical understandings

⁷ Matthew Anderson posted “From Old Montreal to Kahnawake: a 34-km pilgrimage to combat ignorance” on June 18, 2014 for Concordia University, Kanien’kehá:ka Nation Traditional Territory, Montreal. Anderson’s posting is a quick and valuable read. It quickly demonstrates why “imaginative gridlock” is problematic and can be harmful for identity formation. It also valuably demonstrates how having a “Spirit of Adventure” can be liberative and advance reconciliation. In this writing Anderson provides an excellent example of running into “You can’t get there from here” thinking while leading a pilgrimage of students seeking to break down racism and to advance Reconciliation with First Peoples, <https://www.concordia.ca/cunews/main/stories/2014/06/18/from-old->

[montreal/kahnawakea34kmpilgrimage/combatingignorance.html](https://www.concordia.ca/montreal/kahnawakea34kmpilgrimage/combatingignorance.html). Among the many people who made time for the Concordia university pilgrims were Tom Deer and Kenneth Deer.

⁸ Notably, several submissions have already come forward since November 15, 2022, that deal with Canadian Lutheran world relief. More submissions are welcome. One of these submissions is presented in this Issue, and it was featured in a May 15, 2023 webinar; see “Transcript for Webinar III Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR) and the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada, May 15, 2023.” Within the transcript, readers will find the presentation “Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada: A Forerunner of CLWR” by Marcus Busch, a former Director and President of CLWR. Readers will also find information about CLWR from Karin Achtelstetter, who is currently the Executive Director of Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR), Immigration Historian Jennifer Ardon, who is a Refugee Resettlement Manager for CLWR who earned a Master of Arts Degree in History from the University of Waterloo, Senait B, who is the Director of Refugee Resettlement for Canadian Lutheran World Relief, and Racheal Manyon, who is currently a Refugee Resettlement Assistant serving out of the CLWR regional office in British Columbia. For more on CLWR see [CLWR.org](https://www.clwr.org) and <https://www.youtube.com/@CLWRvideo/videos>.

⁹ “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Coastal Compassion, *A Propositional History*, Webinar II” in this Issue.

¹⁰ “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, *A Propositional History*, Webinar II” in this Issue.

¹¹ In this Issue of *Consensus*, in the Studies and Observations Section, readers will find a “Selected Bibliography from the files of the Lutheran Council in Canada with Entries Relating to ‘Canadian Lutheranism.’” On our website at <https://canadianlutheranhistory.ca/sources>, readers will find additional source selections with some annotations by Gordon Jensen and Karen Kuhnert. Highlighted Archive collections can be found at <https://canadianlutheranhistory.ca/archives>. *Consensus* readers are invited to send additional “recommended readings” with Book Reviews and/or annotations to Karen Kuhnert or Gordon Jensen at canadianlutheranhistory@gmail.com. Book Reviews may be passed on to the Editors of the *Consensus* Journal for publication.

¹² For more on the efforts to launch or block the formation of a “*Canadian Lutheran Council*” in 1944, see “Confessional Lutheran Identities in the Canadian Context: An Overview of Free Conferences by Gordon Jensen, with Introduction by Stephen Larson, Webinar I” in this Issue. To understand the misunderstanding about the designation of the 1944 national gathering of Lutheran leaders as a Free Conference, see the Reports of the invitation, the event, and the follow up meetings in the Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada (Canada Synod) (1944–1947) alongside Dr. Threinen’s Dissertation writing for defense among the Missouri Synod Faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri in 1980; see *Fifty Years of Lutheran Convergence*, citation below. Aug. R. Sueflow, Editor of publications for the Lutheran Historical Conference, says the work “provides the reader with an objectivity not often noted in similar studies.” (Foreword). By 1970, the *Affirmation and Appeal* document makes clear that Lutheran authorities after 1945 were choosing to be much more specific about their definitions and understandings with each other, and also that the people of the church were still not exercising similar vernacular or theological precision. This point is taken up in “Panel Discussion: Consideration of the Affirmation and Appeal with appreciations for the work of Norman J. Threinen, *CHAT Questions, Answers, Learnings*, moderated by Stephen Larson with panelists Don Sjoberg, Karen Kuhnert, and Gordon Jensen, Webinar I” in this Issue. It is to Dr. Threinen’s credit as a careful historian that the many *perspectival* Inter-Lutheran misunderstandings can be helpfully researched and better understood.

¹³ Regarding a use of the concept of unionism and inerrancy of Scripture, see Malinsky, 12–13 (source citation below). On the complicated intersection of the terms and concepts of Lutheran “union,” “merger,” “cooperating,” “unionism” and how these relate to the “inerrancy of Scripture” see “Transcript for Webinar III Canadian Lutheran World Relief and the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada, May 15, 2023, in the conversation based around Endnotes 102 and 103 and follow back to “Panel Discussion,” and “Confessional Lutheranism” and “Living Out Confessional Lutheranism” in this Issue. Not to be lost in the reading is Jensen’s fundamental point that while Canadian Lutherans have had misunderstandings, they also need to get back to at least talking to one another for the Sake of the Gospel.

¹⁴ The Table of Contents for *Lutherans in Canada* by Eylands sets out very clearly that Lutheranism in Canada in 1945 was comprised of *many* diverse heritages and languages.

¹⁵ Norman J. Threinen’s *Fifty-years of Lutheran Convergence: The Canadian Case-study*, (Dubuque: Lutheran Historical Conference, 1983) is the publication of Threinen’s Dissertation work. Threinen’s 2006 text, *A Religious-*

Cultural Mosaic: A History of Lutherans in Canada, Lutheran Historical Institute Monograph Series, Number 1 (Vulcan: Today's Reformation Press, 2006), moves Threinen's Dissertation work from the 1970s and 1980s forward to 2006 with *some* additions: what could be said about "The Role of Women in the Church" is barely covered on pages 195 and 196; "Homosexuality" and Inclusiveness are covered on pages 192 and 193; there are some excellent source citations regarding Lutherans Concerned and "Caring Conversations" in these pages. There are significant overlaps between the writings of Evenson (1974) and Threinen (1983) in part due to "western" perspectives and perhaps because the authorities of these traditions found common cause in 1944–1945 over the formation of the Canadian Lutheran Council. The writings in the tradition of Cronmiller (ULCA/LCA, Eastern, 1961) and of Threinen (MS/LC-C, Western, 1983) are most likely to be at odds with one another in the recounting of histories. Yet Cronmiller and Threinen are both careful historians. Cronmiller's 1961 text is a reliable text for the inclusion of stories about women, for example. Threinen's 1983 text is a reliable source for the inclusion of Institutional detail (dates, places, decisions).

¹⁶ Cronmiller is thoughtful of both the English-speaking and German-speaking congregations founded in Eastern Canada in the 1700s and 1800s. A challenge for most Canadian Lutheran History books is that time seems to stand still in the Atlantic once immigration moves into Ontario and then further West. In this Issue of *Consensus*, Peter Oickle in "Called to Serve, Bridgewater, Lunenburg County: Chapter Four from *St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church Bridgewater, Nova Scotia: A history of Lutheran Faith in Lunenburg County*" valuably moves the history of the Atlantic from Cossman's formation in Sachsenberg, Germany and Gorlitz, Silesia around 1820, right up to the time of Rev. James Slack Jr. in 2003.

¹⁷ Evenson, publishing in 1974, was eagerly anticipating a greater oneness among Lutherans in Canada. He was consistently careful in telling the stories of the ELCC—and telling stories *about* the LCA-CS and *about* the LC-C going back to the 1940s when predecessors of the ELCC sided with MS against the ULCA, and in the 1950s when ELCC predecessors sided with the ULCA Canadians against the MS Canadians.

¹⁸ Maranatha Caribbean Lutheran *Mission* congregation never owned a building. Buildings were routinely part of the organizing taxonomy for the kinds of histories written into the history books in the 1900s. The use of the word "mission" came to be connected to "mission-start-ups," meaning buildings." Buildings created ministry-bases; they were markers of achievement that made claims to physical/geographical territory and to the humans within that territory. A key reading in this is from Frank Malinsky, *Grace and Blessing. A History of the Ontario District of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (Elmira: Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1954), 11–14. The category of "synodically-recognized ministries" did not exist when these historians were writing. See also Endnote 20 on Maranatha in "Mid-Century Concord and Discord." Frank Malinsky is a Canadian writer more so of the German-Lutheran heritage Lutheranisms from the Missouri Synod and LC-C traditions. The following is a tangent for reader reflection: In the early 2000s, the word "mission" among Lutherans in Canada was associated with a trajectory for "care of neighbour" as an extension of the Gospel Call as interpreted by Martin Luther. This is the backbone of the oft-repeated Canadian Lutheran theme of being "In Mission for Others." The use of *for* in that phrase—within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada—began to come undone in 2011 when Indigenous Elders in KAIROS began to talk to the ecumenical Coalition Churches about the Church being called—from their perspective—to be "With" NOT "For" Indigenous Peoples who themselves have agency and the right to self-determination (See the Endnotes in "Acknowledging—Webinar I" in this Issue). The Elders asserted that indigenizing/decolonizing the Churches would involve the Churches more intentionally forming *real relationships of mutuality as a sign of respect*, after which the people of the Church and indigenous Peoples would have a reset from which to do programming and also advocacy campaigns (KAIROS Spring Circles Gathering, 2012, Toronto, ON). They specifically articulated that developing real relationships would have to be the *first step* in living into a different and reconciled future. This sentiment is recognized in the more recent use of the phrase "Nothing about us, without us." Allen Jorgenson echoed this sentiment of "with not for" from his own work with Indigenous scholars including Ray Aldred beginning in the *pre-TRC Final Report* time period. Jorgenson put his findings to the Eastern Synod gathered in Assembly in June of 2014 at the launch of the Biennium Reconciliation Initiative with Commissioner Marie Wilson and Residential School Survivors among the guests to the Assembly. Do see Allen G. Jorgenson's *Indigenous and Christian Perspectives in Dialogue: Kairotic Place and Borders*, Lexington Books, Maryland, 2021. The publishing date for Jorgenson's text may mislead researchers by putting his work among scholars who entered into Reconciliation work after the TRC process was launched. However Jorgenson's personal and professional roots in "Lutheran and Indigenous" matters began in much earlier decades in Alberta. Additionally, Jorgenson's text research and writing came from his sabbatical in 2011–2012 and continues through to 2021. This text is a must-read

for Canadian Lutheran History and Canadian Lutheran Theology; it is an essential read on Lutheran and Indigenous Reconciliation. Listening and responding to the insights and requests of Indigenous Lutherans, Elders, Faithkeepers, and Indigenous Scholars that developing “real relationships” had to “come first” was a 1) specific, 2) actionable, 3) measurable ask put to the ELCIC beginning in 2011. When ELCIC National Bishop Susan Johnson made her presentation to the Survivors of the Indian Residential Schools, family and descendants of survivors, elders and youth, at the TRC National Gathering in Edmonton in March of 2014, Johnson’s remarks indicate that the ELCIC leadership (National Bishop and National Church Council) were listening and responding as asked. Johnson said (see “Gathering and Sending Webinar II), “We now give you our word that our church is committed to an ongoing process of finding truth and reconciliation together. It is our hope that the sincerity of our covenant will be demonstrated in our actions and in our attitudes. We understand this to be both an urgent and a long-term commitment.” The evidence for the sincerity of the Lutheran covenant in action is best discovered by analyzing the Tweets Archived for the ELCIC and Synods as they document the growth of the formation of real relationships across the country, and also, the ways that these real relationships are being sustained in cooperative efforts that happen from a “with not for” approach. By the end of 2015 the word “mission” had become highly correlated with conversations about the Doctrine of Discovery and colonization. The articulation of “mission” as “CARE *for* neighbour” shifted to focusing on “HARM *to* neighbours,” see in this Issue, “Acknowledgement of Indigenous Neighbours and Territories by Young Canadian Lutheran Hanne Kuhnert Webinar III” and also “Remembering Canadians in Global Missions and World Service: Draft One” and also “A Decolonial Vision of God: Relationships Between Indigenous Peoples and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada by Danika Jorgensen-Skakum with Introduction by Gordon A. Jensen.” Danika Jorgensen-Skakum invites readers to think about colonization, privilege, and “space– or place-based theology” with emphasis on community rather than on the individual. That “Decolonial Vision of God” intersects significantly with Allen Jorgenson’s text, (readers may wish to turn to Jorgenson’s Chapter 5: Place at the Margins, Hope, and Living Interfaithfully”) which begins with “Learning on the Land.” Next to this, Sherry Coman and Young Canadian Lutherans (YCL) are advancing understandings about space– and place-less “Online” community gathering (see “Deacon Dialogue” in this Issue). The communities of Coman’s *LutheransConnect* and YCL gather on the world-wide web wherever devices can connect. That does not mean, however, that they don’t Acknowledge the rootedness of those who gather in First Peoples’ territories, nor that they reject physically “spacing,” (though I do understand that being building-focused—as congregations can become—would be problematic for all of these). What does it mean to be building-focused? Around the launch of the ELCIC (1985–1986) the *Canada Lutheran* publication had a feature series called “Lutheran Landmarks” which focused on the history of congregations with the attachment of their identifiable images—their buildings—in official photos along with the official photos of their pastors. In the Eastern Synod a turn began to be made in the mid-2000s when Kelly Fryer, author of *Reclaiming the “L” Word: Renewing the Church from the Lutheran Core*, reminded the LutherHostel delegates in Waterloo in 2006 “We don’t go to Church—we are the Church” and this flowed into the theme of being “In Mission *for* Others.” However, by 2009, it became apparent that church websites were dominated by images of congregational buildings with closed doors. As the 150th Anniversary of the Eastern Synod approached, an initiative called the “Five Photo Challenge” was launched to have congregations and ministries send to the Synod Office five photos of how they would like to be remembered as *God’s people* being in Mission for Others. As those photos came in from across Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, it became clear that the people of the Synod were eager to proudly articulate multiple dimensions of their own diversity that had previously been hidden behind their closed doors. This was an “aha” moment. In response, efforts shifted to archive and promote Twitter account posts and reposts of people so that the Church might better see itself—as it is—in reality. The Synod’s Reconciliation efforts are best examined by analyzing embodied encounters verifiable by Tweets rather than by researching text documents. As a lesser alternative, readers can look for information in the Reports to the Synods in Assembly; in the Eastern Synod these are found in the Bulletin of Reports or the Minute Books following the Synod Assembly.

¹⁹ Karen Kuhnert, ““Only If”, Lutheran Identity in Canada” was written concurrently with the TRC Northern National Event in Inuvik, NWT, and also the 150th anniversary of the Eastern Synod of the ELCIC and the 100th anniversary of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary and its extension to Wilfrid Laurier University. It begins to address topics related to intersections of “Lutherans and Indigenous Peoples in Canada, missing histories in Canadian Lutheranism.” The 2022 article “2SLGBTQSI+ Sexuality in Changing Canadian Lutheran Contexts and Identities” opens up human intersectionalities and the cross-sections between Canadian Lutheran history, Inter-

Lutheran history in Canada, Canadian history, the ordination of women, and 2SLGBTQIA+ realities in Canadian Lutheran History.

²⁰ Laurier Archives and Special Collections in Waterloo has become the largest repository for documentation on the Lutheran Church in Canada. The vastness of the Collections are made accessible by request. The consolidation has been a loss for those who appreciated resources being kept more regionally; however, the hours of availability for staff, and the mediums of accessibility for users across the country, have increased considerably. Responses to the Remembering Project Call for Papers may be posted to our website <http://www.canadianlutheranhistory.ca>.

²¹ See “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Coastal Compassion, A Propositional History Webinar II” in this issue of *Consensus*.

²² Coupling Norman Antler’s collection of content directly from congregations on the BC Coast and George Evenson’s well-vetted resource on the Church at large was an intentional juxtaposition aimed to tell stories of the lived experiences and expressions of compassion by these Lutheran peoples that institutional publications only touch upon or miss. Together these should raise up missing voices and perspectives.

²³ An example of a work from “For the Record: the Newsletter of the Lutheran Historical Association of Canada” is “German Lutherans on the Prairies before the First World War: Some concepts, Issues and Sources” by John M. Cobb, Volume 10, No. 1, August 1987. John Cobb was an editor of “For the Record.”

²⁴ Research into the “Stuermer Appeal” and the “Stuermer Movement” provides opportunity to consider Lay-leader specific perspectives on the Canadian Lutheran church in the Inter-war period of the 1920s, particularly on the prairies. Researchers will find, through reading this subject matter, interesting observations about Lutheran identity, mission, perspectives on land use, clerical influence, Confessional Lutheranism, and denominationalism.

²⁵ See “Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, A Propositional History, Webinar II” in this Issue.

²⁶ E. Theodore Bachmann (*The United Lutheran Church in America, 1918–1962*, Augsburg Fortress Publishing, 1997) is an American from the ULCA tradition with strong connections to the Deaconess movement. Mark Alan Granquist (*Lutherans in America: A New History*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2015) often uses Swedish and Norwegian examples in his recent excellent history. On the General Synod at Mid-Century see, “Confessional Lutheran Identities in the Canadian Context: An Overview of Free Conferences by Gordon Jensen, with Introduction by Stephen Larson Webinar I” in this Issue, see especially the section *History and Purpose of Free Conferences*; see also “Living Out Confessional Lutheranism: Past Experiences and Current Questions by Gordon Jensen, with Introduction by Stephen Larson Webinar II” in this Issue, see especially the section beginning *The 1970 Affirmation and Appeal Agreement*.

²⁷ See Mark Granquist for more on how Immigration from 1840 to before the American Civil War brought a “large German-speaking Lutheran population into the United States significantly populating the US Midwest.”

“What marked these new Midwestern German synods (Buffalo 1845, Missouri 1847 and Iowa 1854) was a stricter adherence to the sixteenth-century Lutheran confessional documents, including not just the Augsburg Confession but the entire Book of Concord, hence the use of the term Concordia for some of the institutions of the Missouri Synod. Many of their Lutheran leaders who emigrated from Germany were deeply upset by rationalism and “unionism” of German territorial churches and their lack of strong Lutheran identity. When they came to the United States and viewed the established Lutheran synods, they were equally displeased, and considered many of them, especially the General Synod, to be barely Lutheran, if at all” (Granquist, 161).

²⁸ David and Rebecca Eyster ran the Gettysburg Female Institute from 1856 to 1871, following Professor Haupt. This was the original building Schmucker used at the start of Gettysburg Seminary in 1827. The Eysters were related to Professor Michael Jacobs of Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg), he is the father of Henry Eyster Jacobs (born 1844 Gettysburg) who is well remembered in Lutheran history in the General Synod and General Council traditions as he became Dean at Gettysburg and is a significant author and publisher in North American Lutheran history. In Rev. Henry Eyster Jacobs’ words of Preface to his 1911 English “People’s Edition” of the *Book of Concord*, he writes,

“But the popular edition, here offered, fulfills the hope of the editor from the very beginning, to have the Confessions published at such price that they may be scattered broadcast throughout all English-speaking lands, where there are confessors of the Lutheran faith—for Canada and Australia, for South Africa and India, for the West Indies and South America, as well as for the United States of America. Such edition will serve an important office in deepening and strengthening the faith of our people in drawing them together

in the bonds of a common fellowship, and in enabling them to appreciate all the more highly their heritage.” February 27, 1911, p. 18, *The Book of Concord: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, “People’s Edition,” By Authority of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America*, 1911, reprinted in 2019, available at <https://scripturalreview.com/doctrine/jacobs-book-of-concord.pdf>.

²⁹ Bachmann notes with regards to the immigration boom of the era,

“At least half the Germans and nearly all the Scandinavians arrived as Lutherans, although many were happy to leave behind an oppressive church state system. Many remained in the eastern United States, but the large majority followed the route of earlier comers to the Midwest. And via the Midwest to Canada’s **Prairie provinces**. As a result, those Lutherans who could be retained by their church and the percentage was not high, gave Lutheranism in America a second center of gravity, this one in the Midwest.”

(Bachmann, 55, here is launching his chapter that indicates that the General Synod took 3 blows between 1861 and the start of the Civil War, and the reunification year of 1918: 1) the departure of Scandinavians in early 1860s and the formation of the Scandinavian Augustana Synod, 2) the removal of the “Southern” Confederate States meeting at Concord, North Carolina in anticipation of the American Civil War—where they use the phrase Word of God as the “only infallible rule of faith and practice,” and 3) the removal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium et. al to create the General Council; these groups re-formed as the ULCA in 1918. Bachmann, 56–57.)

³⁰ Malinsky, Frank. *Grace and Blessing. A History of the Ontario District of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (Elmira: Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1954), 11–14.

³¹ The juxtaposition of these writers (Bachmann, Granquist, Cronmiller, Malinsky) is intended to highlight that researchers and writers in Canadian Lutheran history will want to be thoughtful about the multiple dimensions of concord and discord among historians who keep and tell our common “Canadian Lutheran” stories. In this combination there is a mix of citizenships, Lutheranism, and ethnic and linguistic heritages to be considered.

³² Calling back to the insights from earlier in Webinar I, see “Confessional Lutheran Identities” and “Panel Discussion” from Webinar I in this Issue.

³³ See Granquist, 163–65, and Bachmann, 50–51.

³⁴ Bachmann, 50.

³⁵ Bachmann, 50–51.

³⁶ Since the webinar presentation, we also know this Halifax lay-over from the writing of Peter Oickle, see “Called to Serve, Bridgewater, Lunenburg County: Chapter Four from *St. Paul’s Evangelical Lutheran Church Bridgewater, Nova Scotia: A History of Lutheran Faith in Lunenburg County*” in this Issue. From Cronmiller and Oickle we know that only a few years later, William Passavant and the Pittsburgh Synod sent William W. Bowers to serve in the Nova Scotia Synod after his graduation from Gettysburg Seminary. Bowers served in Lunenburg County from 1855 until he returned to the U. S. because of the American Civil War in 1863. From G. H. Gerberding in *Life and Letters of William Passavant*, we also know that while in Europe at the conference, Schmucker was exploring Lutheranism while Passavant was making preparations to go immediately to Germany to meet Theodore Fliedner at the Deaconess Motherhouse in Kaiserwerth (see “Deaconess Dialogue” in this Issue).

³⁷ Notably, in 2023 the ELCIC is moving forward with relationships with the Moravian Church. See also, Kuhnert *Consensus* 2012, “Only If,” for a Lutheran and Moravian theological conversation in Haudenosaunee Homeland in 1755, Endnote 22.