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Experiencing Gospel: Luther, Men, Women, and Children around the Table in Reformation and Contemporary Eras; A Tribute to Gordon Jensen

Karen Kuhnert

In the Foreword to *Experiencing Gospel*, Robert Kolb described author Gordon Jensen's diligent investigative success in his 2023 writing with an image that holds special meaning to Canadian prairie people. Kolb said Jensen was *pioneering*.¹ For people of the Canadian prairies, the term "pioneering" admirably recognizes faithful planning, hard labour, endless work, and deep hope for new life possibilities. Canadian prairie *pioneers* cultivate hope. Kolb wrote:

[Jensen's] research and analysis highlights in pioneering fashion Luther's accentuation of certain phrases through the capitalization of every letter.

[Jensen's] unfolding of the significance of four phrases provides fresh insights into the reformer's perceptive appreciation of the possibilities of communication in print...."

Jensen's unparalleled investigation has led to a treasure trove of insights into the "how" of the construction of the 1534 Luther Bible and the "why" behind the decisions of Luther and the committee for specific formulations.²

Indeed! Jensen's faithful planning, hard labour, and endless work produced detailed insights into the "how," and also the physical and theological "why" of the Wittenberg Bible. Jensen's "how" and "why" also revealed a much more diverse "who" of the 1534 Bible Project. A "who" that is especially hopeful as the 500th Anniversary of the 1534 publication draws closer.

It is this larger and more diverse "who" of the Luther Bible Project that is of most significance to this essay. Can Jensen's *Experiencing Gospel*, in combination with the work of Kirsi Stjerna and other scholars, yield a new harvest of fresh insights for emerging scholarship around genders, generations, and geographies in Reformation era contexts?³ Yes! Can Jensen's 2023 work about Reformation era men, and Stjerna's work about Reformation era women, bring forward a variety of new topics of inquiry for learning more about Reformation history and theology in wider contexts?⁴ Yes! Can a feast of fresh insights and new topics of inquiry lead to more life-giving understandings of the lives of ordinary Canadians who live out Reformation history and theology in contemporary contexts? Certainly.⁵

For example, the work of Jensen and Stjerna can lead to better understanding the lives of people like Elisabeth Van Der Smissen and Louisa Cossman Bowers. Their faith stories are under-represented in Canadian Lutheran history. The work of Jensen and Stjerna can motivate scholarship to the cause of remembering lives of faith well-lived and growing hope that strengthens people today.

Elisabeth Van Der Smissen was a never-married pre-Confederation Canadian immigrant who relocated to the north shore of Lake Ontario before Toronto even had its first Lutheran church. She was born at Hanerau in the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein of

Netherlander heritage.⁶ Her family was well connected through the Hamburg-Altona Mennonite community, but Elisabeth arrived in North America as an ecumenically open Lutheran. Three Canadian universities hold records for Elisabeth's family, and yet Elisabeth is hardly remembered.⁷ By Elisabeth's efforts in 1860 to 1861, an amount of over \$1800 in 1861 currency was collected to pay off the debt, finish construction, and complete the furnishing of First Lutheran Church on Bond Street in Toronto. Elisabeth raised the funds by gathering people around places where the Scriptures were read, bread was broken, and wine outpoured ecumenically.

Elisabeth gathered a "Who is Who" of mainline and sect communities in Canada and across Europe. This is known because Elisabeth's diary of endorsements and donor signatures remains intact. She met religious leaders in Canada, and also in Elberfeld, Barmen, Langenberg, Lennen, Dusseldorf, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Geneva, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hannover, Hull, London, Edinburgh, Leith, Dundee, Glasgow, Manchester, and more.⁸ Lutherans and non-Lutherans donated generously to help Elisabeth complete her Lutheran church in North America. The geographical locations where Elisabeth found ecumenical welcome in 1861 are interesting for Canadian immigration history in general. They are also especially interesting as a little over one hundred years earlier, Lutheran immigrants moved from places around Hamburg, Strasbourg, and Geneva to colonial Canada. What links might be found between the peoples of these eras? The Lutheran church in Canada became organized by settler people like Elisabeth who immigrated to Canada and risked launching congregations outside the state-church systems that they had become used to after the Reformation era's doctrinal and political realignments.⁹ It is time to better understand how Elisabeth and other immigrating settlers *experienced* Gospel. It is time to reconsider how their stories can inspire today.

Louisa Matilda Amelia Cossman was baptized on August 3, 1838.¹⁰ The sacramental liturgy of her baptism was informed by the liturgical piety of her father and the liturgical practices permitted to him as pastor to their County congregation in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia.¹¹ Louisa's father came to Lunenburg County from Halle near Wittenberg on the Elbe, but the original Lunenburg Lutheran settlers more numerically emigrated from the high countries nearer to the Alps.¹² Her father Cossman spoke a dialect of German from Sachsenberg, yet descendants of some of the original Lutheran settlers spoke French from Montbéliard.¹³ Unbeknownst to many, the people of Lunenburg were not so much Hanoverians from Lüneburg as they were from the Rhone and the Rhine. Louisa was born into a pre-Confederation *Canadian* religious-cultural mosaic.

It can be said that Louisa gave her whole life in service to her church because she was a Halle Cossman who married a Gettysburg-Hagerstown Bowers.¹⁴ What does that mean? It means, in part, that while her father preached "in German," and his assistant Bowers preached "in English," she proclaimed from cradle to grave the broader vernacular of the County people. She then contributed to, and strengthened, the vitality of the local mosaic as a daughter, wife, and mother of three generations of pastors and their Lutheran peoples, and then also as the matriarch of her own children, grandchildren, and the fifteen orphaned children she served as the "Housemother" of the Bethany Orphan's Home.

A formative narrative told in Louisa's congregations was of the time before Louisa's birth, when the Lunenburg Lutheran children were stolen from their parents and church—at their very own altar.¹⁵ From the perspective of the Lutheran parents and church elders, the young ones were receiving preparation in Luther's Catechism by an ordained Lutheran

pastor in anticipation of their first Holy Communion. After the Confirmation, however, during the communion, the minister used a ritual liturgy to consecrate the bread and wine that was in the form of the Church of England as opposed to being in the manner of the Lutheran faith tradition.¹⁶ There are many versions of what actually happened during that Easter Service in 1768. There are many versions of what it meant.¹⁷ What is not in dispute, is that the Lutheran settlers felt deceived, and they protested.¹⁸ An “acrimonious theological altercation” occurred between representatives of the Lutherans and the local British colonial authorities,

One of our number was obliged to repeat before the authorities our confession of faith, i.e., that we believe we take in the Lord's Supper, in, with and under the consecrated Bread and Wine, the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. The highest officer in the government declared this could not be, but we held firmly to our faith.... Then we received as our answer that they would not assist us, nor would they [endorse] our call as we desired.”¹⁹

For twenty years all tallied, the first pioneering settlers to Nova Scotia worked purposefully to find someone who would baptize, preach, teach, consecrate, and bury them to eternal life in the “in, with and under” theology passed down from the Wittenberg Bible translation table.²⁰

Memories like this have shaped Canadian Lutheran identity.²¹ In the last 275 years, some of these memories have become unhelpfully distorted.²² In light of Gordon Jensen’s incredible legacy as a Historical Theologian of the living Word, and his involvement with domestic and global Ecumenical Dialogues, is now a good time to open up complicated narratives with new scholarship and see what hope will grow and yield?²³

This essay will couple Jensen’s work on recognizing Luther’s theology, with Stjerna’s work to place people of diverse genders, generations, and geographies around the Wittenberg Bible translation table, and then extend their Reformation table into contemporary North American contexts.²⁴ The final word then will go to honour Gordon Jensen who, like Martin Luther among others, has cared deeply about people in their vernaculars, and points to Christ that all might *listen to Him*, the *Word* speaking, and *take*, eat and live Gospel *forgiveness* of *sin* faithfully.

Meeting Luther, Jensen and Stjerna’s Women at the Table

In *Experiencing Gospel: The History and Creativity of Martin Luther’s 1534 Bible Project* (2023), Canadian historical theologian Gordon Jensen once again reminds readers that Martin Luther considered the proclamation of the Good News of Jesus Christ as his greatest calling. Jensen makes obvious that Luther did *everything* he could to point to Christ the Living Word who could be experienced and encountered,

The guiding question that was always on Luther’s mind was “how is Christ being pushed or driven into human hearts? How is Christ experienced? He was concerned with the Word that, in speaking and being spoken, created new realities. It was not just the written Word of Scripture that was important. Even more important was that people would experience and encounter the Word.”²⁵

Experiencing Gospel details directly how Luther, the primary interpreter and translator of Christian texts in his time, formally called together a collaborative team of scholarly men (whom he nicknamed the Wittenberg “sanhedrin” (meaning literally *those who sit together*) to achieve a translation of Scripture that was most faithful to Holy Word less constricted by human language.”²⁶

For seven months in 1521, after the Diet of Worms, Luther (a declared heretic) had been secluded at the Wartberg Castle. He missed his community, he missed his colleagues; and so he snuck back to Wittenberg for Christmas. He wanted to leave translation by correspondence behind him at Wartburg. Jensen writes,

[Luther] was committed to proclaiming the gospel, so that all could hear with their ears and eyes, in words and images, the life-giving Word. Translating was thus a high priority for him. But it was not enough to translate literally the text from Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He wanted to translate in such a way that the bible came alive for people.²⁷

Luther was eager to bring people together who would share the Good News of the Gospel as the *viva vox evangelii* (the living voice of the gospel) in their community and around the world. In January of 1522, nearing the end of his almost singular translation of the New Testament, Luther wrote to Philip Melanchthon and Nicholas von Amsdorf, saying essentially, “Let’s find a [safe] secret place to translate, and let’s do it together.” That was what Luther was used to. He benefited from the community of Brotherly scholars he enjoyed at the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt. Luther arrived back in Wittenberg at the beginning of March and immediately gathered with colleagues to complete the New Testament as a group *sitting together*.²⁸

The Wittenberg sanhedrin dedicated themselves to an “idea to idea” translation of meaning. They sought out understandable words so that “the Word breathed by the Holy Spirit would more easily pass through the ears and eyes of the hearer or reader and into the heart.”²⁹ “It happened quite often,” Luther wrote,

that we looked and asked for a single word for two weeks, even three or four, and sometimes did not find it.” The German text was supposed to resemble the language of “the mother at home,” “the children on the street,” “the men on the marketplace.” “Only then they understand and realise, it is German we speak. At the same time the translation was to be as near as possible to the Hebrew original.”³⁰

The words the translators were looking for needed to bear the living Word of the Gospel to the people. And additionally, it was not just the choices for the translated words of the Word that mattered; the words had to be printed carefully to accurately yield attention away from the words to the meaning of the Word behind the words. Luther and the translators were angry when the printing of Scripture interfered with their dedicated efforts, especially when it was done “carelessly.”³¹ From Wartburg Luther had little control, but in Wittenberg he could even get his hands dirty among the men who worked the printing presses.

In *Experiencing Gospel*, Jensen takes readers into the Cranach Workshop where, for example, the artisans and tradesmen worked together with Luther on the texts. They were his other sanhedrin translating the visual signals that communicated the Word. The

Cranachs understood quality communication. While the translators found understandable language for the Word, the artists and printers created a material object of Scripture that cradled the Word like a manger.³² When the work of these two collectivities converged, the more artful *Septembertestament* (New Testament translation) was born. It included twenty-one full page illustrations in the book of Revelation and additional ornamentation. The 1522 publication was a feast for the eyes! So too, for the ears! The language choices sounded Christ when read aloud.

There would be no going back! Luther had launched a more *creative* Bible Project by working collectively with multi-talented others who had experienced the Gospel personally and together.³³ How is it that Canada's Gordon Jensen came to recognize that something significant had begun to change in 1522? A change that yielded a very different Bible in 1534? Jensen was *in-spired*.³⁴ While on a sabbatical in Wittenberg, Jensen was looking at a 1534 "Luther Bible" and noticed that some words in Romans were in "ALL CAPS." He valuably asked the Lutheran catechetical question: "What does this mean?" No one had an answer.³⁵

Jensen inquired further on his Study Trip: "What does it mean that these few words in precise phrases have been highlighted—as though in yellow highlighter?" After an extensive investigation, Jensen concluded in his 2023 publication that the Wittenberg Bible was uniquely highlighted by Martin Luther so as to focus readers theologically. When the highlighted words and phrases came together, a clearer picture of Luther's goal for his Bible project appeared. Luther's intention was that people would not just hear the word of God in the Bible but that they would experience and encounter this living Word through Word and sacrament. "When a person experiences the gospel for themselves in the living Word proclaimed in Word and sacrament, Jensen says, "they are driven into the community to be 'Christ's one to another and do to our neighbours as Christ does to us.'"³⁶

Given that Luther can be shown throughout scholarship to do *everything* he could to point to Christ the Living Word speaking and being spoken, it has always seemed unlikely to many people that Luther drew a gender line of exclusion when it came to engaging the help and insights of women. It has also seemed improbable that he was capable of being so absolutely compartmentalized given his endless translating, creating, and theologizing. Whether he could have resisted sharing his insights and his excitement with his theologically knowledgeable wife—when he so often worked from home—is something to ponder.

In 1525, Martin Luther and Katharina von Bora married in a small service that included Barbara Cranach and some of the sanhedrin men. What difference did having a wife make for Martin Luther? What specific influence might Katharina von Bora have specifically had on him? What evidence is there to prove such suspicions? Who benefits from excluding or including her?

There was a time in the 1980s when there seemed to be a growing openness to recognizing the contributions of Katharina von Bora to the Reformation Movement as a Reformer *per se*. That openness ended—for a variety of reasons. After a thorough investigative effort to 2009, even celebrated von Bora scholar, Kirsi Stjerna, acknowledged that validating evidence could not yet be found to affirm Katharina as a Reformer.³⁷ An obvious question after reading Stjerna's excellent 2009 text was, "A Reformer—by whose definition?"³⁸

Was Katharina von Bora Luther ever just a Reformer's "frau"? Never. She had a life in Christ apart from Luther's faith even before marriage.³⁹ "Did Katharina have any influence on Luther's theological work? That is an intriguing, and somewhat enigmatic question,"

Stjerna wrote in *Women and the Reformation*. “In previous assessments her influence has been downplayed.”⁴⁰ In *Katharina von Bora, Martin Luthers Frau: Ein Lebens-und Charakterbild* (1906), Katharina’s biographer E. Kroker minimized Katharina’s influence on Martin’s theology. Many scholars have done so. Yet Kroker’s work of over a century ago persists in significance by the rules of historical method.

In the end, Stjerna concluded her own 2009 investigation by writing,

Katharina offered (an ambitious and) multifaceted model for what to aspire for, and what not, as a pastor’s and professor’s wife: her spouse acknowledged her wisdom in practical matters and welcomed her leadership in that area, *but he did not invite her to business outside the house*. Even if he mischievously and tenderly addressed her as a doctor, preacher, and lord, Katharina did not exercise any authority as a theologian or a proclaimer of the Word outside her domestic domain—neither did Luther encourage his wife in such activity. (See Stolt 1999, 25–26; Oehmig 1999, 97–108, 114–16).⁴¹ (Italics added)

That precis persisted to 2017. Thankfully, Stjerna also persisted in her own pioneering work. After 2009, she gathered a sanhedrin herself. Thirty-three scholars went to the Archives to create profiles of Women Reformers of early modern Europe. They worked to see if they might yield a more helpful and more hopeful harvest of new evidence to meet the needs of the historical method. They did.

Martin J. Lohrmann applauded *Women Reformers of Early Modern Europe: Profiles, Texts and Contexts* (2022) in the following manner:

This volume merits appreciation as a reference work in the still-growing study of women in the Reformation. Even more valuable, however, is the way that the essays consistently invite and guide readers into the best of Reformation history and scholarship. Throughout, the historical profiles and primary sources tell stories full of rich personal experience, deep religious concern, and complicated social settings, in which women of diverse backgrounds expressed their faith with courage and conviction.⁴²

Stjerna’s 2022 volume features an opening section on “Women Theologians and the Printed Word,” and Jensen’s 2023 *Experiencing Gospel* focusses on the Word printed.⁴³ Do these two converge? Truly.

Coupling Jensen’s work in *Experiencing Gospel* with Stjerna’s edited *Women Reformers* (2022) and her own foundational *Women and the Reformation* (2009) opens up exciting new lines of inquiry into the Reformation as a whole, and also women’s roles within it. Better still, together they focus on the Word that wants to be heard. Together, these works send scholars back to new areas of the Archives to explore fresh questions by evidence-based historical methods.⁴⁴ Two lines of inquiry are worth noting in this essay. Only one fits here within this Introduction. The other will follow later.

In Jensen’s section on “The Developing Printing Industry” Jensen notes that when Martin Luther was at the Coburg Castle in 1530, he asked Katharina, his spouse of five years, to provide oversight to his print-publishing work in Wittenberg.⁴⁵ Ostensibly, Martin Luther did in fact invite Katharina Luther to do Reformation business outside the house. Martin asked his theologically knowledgeable Katharina to exercise leadership for his business out

in the public sphere beyond any domestic role and space. The content of Martin's letter—his needing her to help with his printing Reformation theology—is a major insight.

In *Experiencing Gospel*, Jensen makes it abundantly clear, and in great detail, that Martin Luther was anxious about the quality and safety of his print publications. His works had been physically stolen, blatantly copied without attribution, and changed theologically by missteps or mischief at the printers. The Rhau-Grunenberg printers had been careless with their proof-reading and even the Lotter Press needed Luther's own careful supervision. The Cranachs were close friends of the Luthers, and Martin was their long-time collaborator. Katharina had even lived in their home before her marriage—so there was trust between all of them. If Martin could have just asked a Cranach for help, he likely would have. There was something about her that Luther needed. So, on April 24, 1530, the Reformer-husband asked his wife to do what needed to be done to protect the work at the print shops.⁴⁶ And the timing of the request is most notable.

On April 24, 1530, Luther recognized he could not provide the necessary in-person supervision himself because he and the sanhedrin were in the midst of the preparations for the *apologia* (defense) that has become known as *the Augsburg Confession*. In Jensen's entry on the "Augsburg Confession" in the *Dictionary of Luther and Lutheran Tradition*, he specifies that in early March of 1530 the Elector John of Saxony received the invitation to prepare a defense (*apologia*) of their Reformation theology for presentation to Emperor Charles V. On April 24, Luther understood his reputation, his neck, his understanding of the Gospel, all of these, were on the line.⁴⁷ There was no room for errors. Martin asked for Kathie's help with his publishing work.

Did Katharina von Bora Luther have any influence on Luther's theological work? That is next to be determined. What matters here, however, is that it can no longer be denied that Martin asked Katharina to participate in his theological business, and the previous scholarship that downplayed her contributions initially may yet help in the new investigations. That is the strength of the historical method! That is why its rigor must be protected. What of the letter? Luther wrote it. Did Katharina get it? What did she do with it? With scholarly acumen, energetic writing, and copious footnotes, Jensen's work will help scholars investigate the Coburg letter through old and new source materials in new ways. A timely opportunity is presenting itself as the 500th Anniversary of the *Augsburg Confession* approaches even before the commemoration of the 500th Anniversary of the 1534 Bible.⁴⁸

This essay now moves into presenting a timeline of cross-over insights from Jensen's book and Stjerna's publications. It encourages readers to think again about gender, generations, and geography in the Reformation movement. This essay highlights how Luther, men, women, and children were experiencing Gospel together around the 1534 Bible Project translation table, a table that extended from Wittenberg in the Reformation era to our Contemporary now, by the living Word that speaks to hearts and drives hearers into the community to be "Christ's" one to another.

Creatively Communicating Christ for all People

For almost 500 years, scholars in all disciplines have remembered and continued to research the 1534 Bible as a work of a small group of men: Philip Melancthon, Johannes Bugenhagen, Caspar Cruciger, Matthäus Goldhahn (Aurogallus), Justus Jonas, and particularly Martin Luther, and all these as against their nemesis Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor. History and theology have remembered these Reformers as diligently exegeting

and interpreting Scriptures into an easily readable German-language work. Yet the many volumes of the Wittenberg story leave out Elisabeth von Meseritz Cruciger being published in the same printings as Luther in 1524. “Dear Els” did theology in Wittenberg concurrent with the afore-mentioned men. Her Reformation theology was communicated in the medium of music, which also spread out with Luther’s hymns, psalms, and prayers beyond Wittenberg.⁴⁹

It was still risky in the 1520s to speak up, to publish, and to print. It was risky to interfere with the status quo. While the sanhedrin men were prayerfully considering their destinies at the hands of Emperor Charles V, the Abess Marie Dentiere in Tournai was also prayerfully considering her future under threat from the Emperor’s former Guardian and aunt, Margaret of Burgundy and Savoy.⁵⁰ Similarly, Elisabeth Oldenburg, daughter of the King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, also risked to advance the Reform movement with her brother Christian II who was married to the sister of Charles V.⁵¹ Interfering in the status quo was risky for all people in all stations of life. Yet men and women found their courage. These people changed the course of history such that the Reformation moved out, for example, from Wittenberg to Denmark and then to New Denmark in New Brunswick, Canada.

Like many theologians in the earliest 1500s, Luther initially composed his writings independently and worked personally with local printers to prepare quick-print products. Jensen described Luther’s situation succinctly,

Unknown in 1515, four years later Luther was Europe’s most published author. In the next four years he published forty-five titles, which turned into 291 editions by the time the printers had moved on to other projects. Luther’s short books and pamphlets were easily typeset and printed in a few days.⁵²

To put it another way, on October 31, 1517, Luther nailed his 95 Theses to the Castle Church door—and almost immediately notice of his points of contention moved along trade routes to lands far from Wittenberg.⁵³ To the east of Wittenberg, Luther’s writings made it to Treptow in Pomerania where Elisabeth von Meseritz was at a convent at Marienbusch. Nearby, priest Johannes Bugenhagen was a teacher at the monastic school. These two were each exposed to Luther’s early writings and they each chose to relocate to Wittenberg. To the west of Wittenberg, Luther’s Augustinian Brothers in Antwerp knew of Luther’s ideas by their attendance at the Heidelberg Disputation. Luther’s writings began selling across the Low Countries (the Netherlands) by at least 1518.⁵⁴ When exactly their Augustinian Sisters in Northern France and Flanders heard about or read works by Luther is difficult to specify, but Prioress Marie Dentiere began to follow Luther’s writings about this time.⁵⁵ By 1520, Luther’s writings were additionally being pressed in the Low Countries and circulated in the high lands around the Alps. Ulrich of Wurtemberg, Count of Montbéliard, for example, advanced Luther’s theology about this time among the Swiss and the French. By 1520, all of Europe knew the power of the press in communicating theology.⁵⁶

News of Luther’s contentions spread quickly and widely; dissent always did. The Governor of the Habsburg Netherlands, Margaret of Burgundy and Savoy, noticed.⁵⁷ She wrote to the Council of Brabant on January 29, 1520, and she took her concerns to her nephew, Emperor Charles V. Charles was born near Ghent, while his sister Isabella was born closer to Brussels/Brabant. Margaret raised them to both rule an expansive empire and she

had Charles elevated to the crown in 1519. Their family legacy was one of expansive empire, and what Charles could do as Emperor was only one part of their vast family reach.

Luther pressed on. He produced the *Treatise on Good Works* in German, and *The Freedom of a Christian* in German and Latin (in June and November of 1520). He wanted his understanding of the Gospel to spread. He wanted his meanings to be widely known. He called for new Scripture texts to be made available to children—boys and girls. His *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* was radical, it was exciting. “Above all,” he wrote in August of 1520,

the foremost reading for everybody, both in the universities and in the schools should be Holy Scripture—and for the younger boys, the Gospels. And would to God that every town had a girls’ school as well where girls would be taught the Gospel for an hour every day either in German or Latin... Is it not only right that every Christian man [sic person] know the entire holy Gospel by the age of nine or ten?⁵⁸

Luther had in mind that all people of every language should know the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. All people should know the God who forgives freely. Children could understand the Gospel and they could spread it.⁵⁹ By 1520, all of Europe knew the power of the pressed Word in the hands of the people.

In 1521, Bugenhagen was sharing a home in Wittenberg with Philip Melancthon. Caspar Cruciger also arrived in town from Leipzig to study Hebrew. That spring, Augustinian Brothers Hendrik van Zutphen and Jacob Proost arrived in Wittenberg. The Augustinian Black Cloister was bustling. Luther met up with Zutphen and Proost just before leaving for the Diet of Worms on April 2, 1521. Before the end of April, the formal accusation of heresy was levelled at Luther by the Diet, and the Diet insisted Luther recant his many writings, but Luther refused to recant. By May, he was declared a heretic and an outlaw. Junker Jorg became his temporary name and the Wartburg Castle his temporary home. The Wartburg was near Eisenach, close to his parents’ home in Eisleben, and close to his Augustinian Kloster at Erfurt, but for safety, Martin was cut off from his own family and communities.

From Spring through Fall, Junker Jorg met many international travellers who came and went through the Wartburg on pilgrimage in memory of the canonized child-bride Elisabeth of Hungary. Elisabeth’s Miracle of the Roses was known across Europe. Around the age of fourteen she began to feed the hungry-poor the table bread she smuggled out under her apron. Mid-winter, she was discovered on an outbound trail from the castle. It was demanded of her that she reveal what she was concealing. Upon uncovering the bread, her inquisitor saw only a bouquet of mid-winter roses. Elisabeth had fed many at the risk of her own life, and then her life was spared by divine intervention. Later, when Elisabeth was widowed and her dowry returned, Elisabeth created hospitals and laboured among the sick with her own hands. Luther was influenced by the child-bride’s legacy of brave faith. She persisted when her life was at stake.⁶⁰

After Charles V issued his condemnation of Luther following the Diet of Worms, François Van der Hulst of the Council of Brabant was appointed Inquisitor. Four hundred of Luther’s writings were then burned in Antwerp. Yet by September, Proost was back in Antwerp preaching against indulgences. Proost persisted though his life was at stake.

Their bravery encouraged Luther, the Reformer in hiding, to persist in proclaiming the Gospel at the risk of his own life. In early December, Proost was arrested. Luther snuck

back to Wittenberg for Christmas with the Cranachs. And then in January he wrote Melancthon and Von Amsdorf asking for arrangements to be made for safe, in-person—in secret—translating in Wittenberg. Luther's independent work on the New Testament translation was nearing completion, and Luther left the Wartburg permanently against the precautions of Elector Frederick the Wise.⁶¹

Perhaps it is time to pause and ponder if it is even possible that these life-threatening and inspiring stories—these realities of Luther's *sitz im leben*—didn't influence Luther's translating? Of course they did. They were ubiquitously part of his understanding of how Christ communicates, and people hear, and respond.

Then, however, on February 9, Proost recanted. After weeks of persecution, he yielded to interrogation and then he escaped to Wittenberg.⁶² Proost's story spread. Like writings of dissent, persecution accounts sold, and circulated quickly. Printers like Margarethe Pruss in Strasbourg were working hard to keep up with demand. It became clear to Marie Dentiere, the Augustinian Abess from Tournier, that Strasbourg was among the places she could go to more safely pursue her theology.⁶³ Proost had the chance to personally tell Luther and the Brothers what happened with his interrogation and his recanting. This happened just as the pages of the *Septembertestament* were being prepared for release in Wittenberg. The *Septembertestament* they had worked so hard to create went into circulation as a publication of holiness that could be seen, heard, and held in a new way by everyday people as a source of encouragement and inspiration.

On September 29, 1522, Zutphen was imprisoned in Antwerp's Abbey of St. Michael's. Three hundred women responded, and they physically broke him out of his cell! Margaret of Burgundy and Savoy had lost him, at least temporarily, to an unholy mob. Yet undeterred, on October 8 she had the entirety of the Antwerp Augustinian House imprisoned. Among the imprisoned, Friars Jan van Essen and Hendrik Vos refused to recant. On July 1, 1523, they were both burned at the stake in Brussels. Though the public display was meant as a deterrent to dissent by the Hapsburgs on the Spanish throne, it actually sent Scripture readers into the forests to freely explore their experiences of the Gospel beyond the observation of governments. Martyrdom movements grew. Reformation theology spread faster. Pruss' presses were increasingly busy. The deaths by fire in Brussels created radicals and waves of unregulated religious migrations on water routes to and from the Savoy Alps to Rotterdam and up the Jutland coasts. From Bremen and Buxtehude, Von Zutphen pushed proclamation until he too was martyred. But even death was not the end of Von Zutphen, for Martin Luther memorialized him in a song.⁶⁴

Luther's *Preface to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* was released in August of 1522, and it was circulated just before Zutphen's first arrest and the heroic response of the women with their weapons of sticks and brooms, knives and pans. "It is worthy," wrote Luther,

not only that every Christian should know Romans word for word, by heart, but also that he should occupy himself with it every day, as the daily bread of the soul. We can never read it or ponder over it too much; for the more we deal with it, the more precious it becomes and better it tastes.

The *Septembertestament* was studied, memorized, and like Luther's other works, it was consequential. Luther's opponent Colchaeus noted that it was

read (as the source of all wisdom no less) by tailors and shoemakers, even women and simpletons, many of whom carried it around and learned it by heart, and eventually became bold enough to dispute with priests, monks, even masters and doctors of Holy Scriptures about faith and the gospels.

Among the many readers, simpletons and women, were Elisabeth Von Meseritz, Marie Dentiere, and Margaret of Burgundy and Savoy, Margarethe Pruss, and the warrior women of Antwerp, and so too the convent Sisters of Marienthron in Nimbschen, and among them Katharina von Bora and Magdalena von Staupitz. Women and men were reading the Scriptures and making the Reformation happen!⁶⁵

Elisabeth von Meseritz moved to Wittenberg in late 1521 or early 1522. Johannes and Walpurga Bugenhagen married on October 13, 1522, and after their marriage, Elisabeth began to live with them. Her biographer Mary Jane Haemig has wondered if Elisabeth's hymn, *Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn*, "The Only Son from Heaven," was first published in Low German around 1521 or 1522 and only rendered into high German in 1523. As noted, Elisabeth's hymn was published alongside hymns by Luther in 1524.⁶⁶ She married Caspar Cruciger on June 14, 1524, and Luther performed the ceremony for his good friend Cruciger and promising pupil, "Dear Els." Was Elisabeth more than Caspar Cruciger's frau? Definitely! Her theology circulated even in the Swedish language by the 1520s. After 1517, Men and women were both increasingly reading, protesting, and singing life-changing Reformation theology.

In 1524, Martin Luther was granted a designation to authenticate his printings, as at times his Reformation theology had been changed at the press—and this would not do as the meanings mattered. Lucas Cranach and Christian Döring centered a "Luther Rose" amid two cherubs in the art for Luther's 1524 address to the Councillors of the cities calling for a municipal education system. This writing, *An die Radhern aller stedt Deutsches lands: das sie Christliche schulen auffrichten und halten sollen*, set out his "appeal to eliminate illiteracy and ignorance," and to educate powerful leaders who were capable of service for the sake of generations to come. The Wartburg Permanent Exhibition says, "the ensuing educational campaign spawned a municipal and village school system as well as university reforms. The crux of his concern was salvation history: renewal of the church required that God's Word be read and understood." Of the Cistercian sisters who left Nimbschen for Wittenberg, Magdalena von Staupitz and Elsa von Canitz became two of the first female teachers for female students in the public education system the Reformers called into being in 1524.⁶⁷

In Luther's day, St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was most notably impactful among the works of the *Septembertestament*; so too in this contemporary era. It was while looking at Romans in Luther's 1534 Bible in Wittenberg that Gordon Jensen (on a sabbatical) noted that some words in Romans were in "All Caps" in ways that could not easily be explained. After extensive investigation, Jensen confirmed that the 1534 Wittenberg Bible was visually highlighted as though with a yellow marker so as to focus readers and verbal proclaimers. On noticing the majuscules, Jensen valuably asked the Lutheran catechetical question during his time of study: "What does it mean that these few words in precise phrases in the 1534 Bible have been highlighted?" Jensen's findings are at the heart of his writing *Experiencing Gospel*.

Jensen concluded that Luther utilized majuscules to highlight core places (*kernstellen* as Hövelmann calls them) to focus readers to find the essential theological emphases within his writing.

Luther's use of capitalizing the first letter in a word for emphasis eventually evolved into capitalizing every letter in certain words or phrases. In the 1534 Bible, Luther deliberately highlighted his theology by using capital letters (majuscules) for every single letter in seven specific words or phrases. This practice was first used by Luther in his 1529 translation of Wisdom of Solomon 16:12, and every Luther Bible from 1534 onward used this same form of emphasis.⁶⁸

In 1529 Luther began using majuscules in *kernstellen* to highlight his most essential theological understandings in some of his writings. For Jensen, sharing the theological depth of the capitalized words and phrases in the Luther Bible was the primary project of his 2023 book. Jensen wrote,

The third, main section of [*Experiencing Gospel*], (chapters 5 to 8), explores one of the most fascinating, albeit overlooked, features of the 1534 Luther Bible: his deliberate decision to highlight seven specific words or phrases by means of using all capital letters, that, when put together, give a concise summary of Luther's Reformation theology. ... The focus of these chapters, therefore, is not simply to identify the word or phrase on the pages of Scripture but to explore the importance of that word or phrase in Luther's theology and writings.⁶⁹

Jensen concluded his opening Introduction with these words:

Luther wanted people to experience the Christ who speaks a Word of forgiveness to a people in need. His translation thus offered an alternative to a system of forgiveness that relied on purchasing indulgences, a system that made forgiveness a comfort for those Christians in purgatory, a monetary transaction that decidedly favoured those who could afford it. His alternative relied instead on an encounter with the One who is the Word, the One to whom all people are called to listen. In that encounter with the Living Word, the Gospel is experienced as forgiveness is proclaimed and tasted. This is what made Luther's Bible translation project worthwhile."⁷⁰

In Jensen's understanding of Luther's agenda, readers hear both the intention of Luther and also the heart and life's work of Jensen. Luther had no control over what others republished, circulated or sold, but he had control over what theology and foci went out under his name. Luther's intention was to share the compassion of Christ for all people in need of it—in Wittenberg and everywhere around the world.

The Presence of Christ among Men, Women, and Children at the Wittenberg Table

As Jensen explains, Luther started using ALL Caps to identify what readers should theologically focus on. Luther continued this practice for his entire life. In 1530, Luther had to be away from Wittenberg at the Coburg Castle for many months during the creation of the *Augsburg Confession*, and so too other members of the translating team. It is in this

chronological context, then, that Martin Luther asked Katharina von Bora Luther, his wife of five years, to provide oversight to his publications.

When the translating sanhedrin gathered again after the Augsburg Confession in mid-January of 1531, they were ready and eager to once again discuss idea-to-idea meanings of the Scriptures that bore Christ who comforted those in need. They met fifteen times between mid-January and mid-March of 1531, and they continued to meet until the publication of the 1534 Wittenberg Bible. Soon thereafter, they began to meet as a minor Revision Committee, and they increased their dedicated pace between July 17, 1539 and February 8, 1541, when they met between sixty and seventy times in preparation for that 1541 revision! After the Minor Revision of the First Edition was printed, they began to meet as a Major Revision committee. They met, and they met, and they met! The sanhedrin met a lot. They met—until Luther died.⁷¹ But here is what often goes unnoticed, and what Gordon Jensen makes plain: in *Experiencing Gospel* Jensen makes it clearer that the 1534 Bible Project table was in the Luthers' home. The Project participants helped to create an idea-to-idea translation of the meaning of the Word speaking and being spoken—within the Luthers' personal home that was open to the public. Men, women, and children came and went to and from the table as needed.⁷² A handful of scholarly men did not meet in an isolated conference space sequestered away from wives and children while translating. Rather, the 1534 Bible and its major and minor revisions were crafted with care amidst the families and communities gathered around the cross in the home of the Luthers where there was humour, and heartache, and the stuff of life at the table. After the Luthers married in 1525, the Black Cloister was gifted to them as their family home, and so a much more diverse sanhedrin than has been remembered met there until Luther died.

At the table, Elisabeth von Meseritz Cruciger asked Martin Luther what she should do if a priest elevated the communion bread, and Luther's reply is well remembered in the *Table Talks*. By beginning his reply with a salutary endearment, "Dear Els," scholars and students of Lutheran history and theology have remembered the encounter but downplayed her inclusion at the table. It is clearer now that of course she was part of the idea-to-idea meaning discourse. So too, it is remembered that Katharina took Martin to task over his views regarding Abraham potentially sacrificing his son in Scripture, and so of course she was a conversation participant at the table. The home of the Luthers was a popular gathering place, a setting for lots of serious conversations, and even lots of parties. A quality education, twenty years in convent life, and independent time before marriage had prepared Katharina well for wide-ranging theological conversations with her husband and their guests in their home around their table. In the cases of Katharina Luther and Elisabeth Cruciger in particular, these women also brought print and publishing knowledge to the conversations. Similarly, Barbara Cranach likely knew much about the work of their family's Workshop (given the example of Margarethe Pruss and her family print business). All of these, men and women, and their children, were part of the creative idea-to-idea conversations that infused the 1534 Project.⁷³

The translation table was neither in an office nor in an exclusive private domestic domain, it was in a location where people sat together and shared their lives as they gathered with Christ as their centre. The relationships of these families were close and personal, not distanced and formal; they were not gender segregated. The families raised their children together and they grieved their deaths together. The Luther's eight-month-old infant Elisabeth died in 1528. Elisabeth Cruciger died in 1535, when she was only thirty-five years

old. A “difficult miscarriage nearly killed Katharina,” in 1840, and in 1842, Magdalena, their community’s “Lenchen,” died at the age of thirteen.⁷⁴ How could these realities not have impacted their idea-to-idea translations and Reformation theology. “Never before would I have believed,” Luther wrote after Magdalena’s death, “that a father’s heart could have such tender feelings for his child.” Luther’s overdue awareness was self-revelatory. The Crucigers, the Melanchthons, the Bugenhagens, the Jonases, all suffered *oratio, tentatio, meditatio* and *anfechtung* together. Their lives and loves poured out in their understandings of the meanings of the Scriptures. How could these shocks to their experiences of the Gospel not have impacted their understanding of what constituted a *kernstellen*? What they knew of God, and experienced of the Gospel, was ubiquitously articulated in their printed proclamations—their Bibles, hymns, catechetical instruction books, and prayer books. Their contextual understandings of the living God who comforts people suffering and in need resonated with people because they were experiencing Gospel as they were together creating the idea-to-idea translation, and the material object of the Bible, a manger of meanings that cradled the Word speaking to them in their need.⁷⁵ Of course Katharina influenced Martin Luther’s theological work, no question about it.

The Wittenberg Table Extended

In his final two chapters of *Experiencing Gospel*, Jensen thoughtfully answers the reader’s next obvious question: “Then what happened?” What happened after the release of the first edition of the 1534 Bible was that even more diverse people from all over Europe came to explore Reformation theology for themselves in Wittenberg. Among them, for example, was Finnish student Mikael Agricola. He was present at the table of the Luthers by at least 1537. So too, at the table for several months in 1537, was Elizabeth Oldenberg, daughter of the former King of Denmark, Sweden (including Finland), and Norway. After her marriage, Elisabeth was known as “Elisabeth of Brandenburg.”⁷⁶ In 2009, Stjerna explains,

How did Elisabeth come to be involved with the Lutheran faith? Her major influences were her own brother King Christian II and his wife Isabella (the Lutheran sister of the Catholic Emperor Charles V), who legalized the Reformation in Denmark after they acceded to the throne in 1513. While in exile after the violent rejection of his rule in Sweden by the Swedish nobility and having forced through his reforms, he visited Wittenberg, where he absorbed Luther’s theology. He remained in personal contact with the reformer through the years, and Elisabeth being close to Christian and Isabella, was influenced by their theology.⁷⁷

Christian had a tutor who took him to hear Luther proclaim the Gospel at the Diet of Worms in 1521. Consequently (when he could), he used his influence to promote Protestantism. While Bridgettine (Birgittine) nuns had begun to translate the New Testament into Danish in the 1480s, in 1524, Christian had their work adapted to create a *Septembertestament* in the Danish language. Elizabeth could read Scripture and writings by Luther in German and in Danish on her own. She could ponder Reformation theology independently, and she did. She even had her own daughter, Elisabeth, reading Luther’s writings by 1524—at the age of fourteen. And all of this within months of Isabella’s aunt (Margaret of Burgundy and Savoy, the Governor of Brussels) having had Von Essen and Vos burned at the stake. With Cruciger’s hymn being translated and circulated in Danish and Swedish by 1524, people from the Alps

all the way to the Norwegian and Barents Seas were singing Reformation theology within months of the martyrdoms of Von Essen and Vos.⁷⁸

Elizabeth Oldenburg became an activist who defied her husband's Catholicism by daring to take communion in both bread and wine at the Spandau citadel in the Spring of 1527. Taking Communion in bread and wine at that time was a privilege preserved for the Pope. Elisabeth's defiant action at the altar table was both a religious and a political problem. Elisabeth's husband, a Hohenzollern, was profiting from indulgences, and Elizabeth's taking communion in both kinds at the altar (even in private) threatened to destabilize her husband's power as an Elector in the Holy Roman Empire.⁷⁹ Joachim I Nestor complained to Charles V, and to Elizabeth's uncle (Elector Johann the Steadfast) and so Elisabeth relocated to the Saxon territories for safety. By 1527, her brother Christian was no longer King of Denmark and Norway, so he could not help her. Their Uncle, Elector Frederick III the Wise, took her in against the wishes of the two other Electors and the Emperor himself.

From this it becomes clearer that the Reformation was about many things, including a family fight. The conversion of states from Catholicism to Lutheranism brought the Reformation officially to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland. It also brought Christian, Elizabeth, and then Elisabeth's daughter to the Luthers' table in Wittenberg, where theological ideas intermingled among guests and hosts.⁸⁰ Luther's personal copy of the 1537 Bible (printed in 1538 by Hans Lufft in Wittenberg) with Luther's own hand-written notes on the paper is extant. Some pages are even viewable online. What influences, if any, did the Oldenbergs bring to Luther's Reformation theology? What imprints did they leave behind?

The Reformation was about spiritual reformation, accessibility to Christ's means of forgiving grace to sooth personal consciences. It was political; it was about religion and power and economics. It was additionally personal, a battle within families and dynasties for the right to benevolently reign or punitively rule. The activism of Reforming men and women had far-reaching consequences in the decade before and after the widespread distribution of the 1534 Bible.

Elisabeth the younger, the fourteen-year-old educated in Luther's writings in 1524, spent weeks visiting her mother in the home of Martin and Katharina Luther and their children in 1537.⁸¹ It is clear that she was influenced by the experience. After she was married and widowed, she became the Regent of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1540 to 1545). She governed at the same time as Christian III in Denmark. Scholar Eric Lund writes in the *Dictionary of Luther and Lutheran Traditions*, "After emerging victorious from a two-year civil war between Protestant and Catholic sympathizers, Christian III took the decisive final steps to make the Danish church Lutheran." Lund continues by writing that Bugenhagen was called upon to create the "ordinances for an independent state church."⁸² Yet Elisabeth did not have any such clear authority from 1540 to 1545; she governed only in the stead of her minor son Erich II.⁸³ And yet she spread Lutheranism to the ducal territories of Braunschweig, Calenberg, and Göttingen not by governing by authority to rule but by securing agreement one family Estate and power-broker group at a time.⁸⁴ She helped to write and politically launch the Lutheran Church Order for Calenberg.⁸⁵ In this Order were "instructions on, for instance,"

adherence to the Principles of the Augsburg Confession (1530); the teaching and education of the laity, the theology and practice of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper,

stipulations for cloister life and the fate of the existing cloisters and relief for the poor in their region.⁸⁶

These were not simply church Orders (as they might be imagined as a congregational constitution in Canada). They were State Orders in Europe. Sometimes these works were referred to as *Agendas*. In the *Dictionary of Luther and the Lutheran Traditions*, Martin Lohrmann makes it clear that Bugenhagen had a hand in the creation of Orders between 1528 and 1544 for “Brunswick, Hamburg, Lubeck, Pomerania, Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and Hildesheim.” Bugenhagen presided at Luther’s funeral in 1546.⁸⁷ So Bugenhagen, and Elisabeth must have been only some of the people working on the Orders. What factors went into these governmental decisions? What influence did young Elisabeth bring with her to the Wittenberg table? What contributions did she make to the idea-to-idea revisions while she was there? How did her influence (if any) move out from Wittenberg, and did it reach North America? Can such be proven? The case of the Danish King’s theology moving to the New World is far easier to prove. Yet Elisabeth’s imprint may also be found yet in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia (in 1816) in the work of Rev. Conrad Ferdinand Temme, Godson of Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel, pastor to the people of Zion Lunenburg, Canada’s oldest congregation. It is time to travel from Wittenberg through Europe to North America.

Extending the Table Powerfully to North America and the Contemporary Era

Captain Jens Munck and Chaplain Rasmus Jensen, *The First Lutheran Communion in North America, 1619*

Using evidence from the diary of Explorer Jens Munck, readers will find Munck and his crew at worship in the Holmens Church in Copenhagen, May 9, 1619. The King himself blessed them on their way, and when they landed at the Churchill River that September, they took possession of the *terre firma* as *Nova Dania* for King Christian IV.⁸⁸ In *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic: A History of Lutherans in Canada*, Norman Threinen asked, “How did it happen that these Danish and Norwegian sailors were Lutherans?” He answered that the Reformation moved into Scandinavia across commercial shipping connections between Hamburg, Copenhagen, Bergen, Stockholm, Wisby, and the Hanseatic League. It turns out that Lutheranism was spread by both powerful and ordinary people.⁸⁹

In Copenhagen, the King blessed the captain and crew in the name of the Holy God. He blessed Munck, with whom he had a challenging relationship.⁹⁰ He blessed Rasmus Jensen, a Danish Lutheran chaplain from Aarhus. And he blessed the sailors for their going out and their coming back in. Many went out; few came back in.⁹¹

The Holmens Church in 1619 was nearing its own blessing as the new church was going to be consecrated that September. The 1550 Bible of King Christian III was used for both Munck’s departure and the Church’s consecration as it was the Scripture Standard in use until Christian IV released the new edition in 1663. Christian IV was the brother of Anne of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland by her husband King James Charles Stuart (1566–1625, King James I of England). He also had a new Bible translation created.

In 1619, what did they sing during the Copenhagen service of Godspeed? Elisabeth Cruciger’s hymn was already translated into Danish and Swedish, and even into English in

1535 (notably, the year of her death)—did it appear in the Danish hymnal of 1569? Could this be what they sang? The 1569 hymn book was the first substantial book of Danish hymns. This was the music Standard until 1699, and the hymnal of the people of the Holmens Church as the *Lamprenen* and the *Unicorn* moved out into the Sound.⁹² What hymn books and Bibles were aboard the King's ships for comfort and for courage? What version of the nativity was read from the material manger that cradled Christ that first Christmas Eve in Canada? No one can tell. Though "Lo How a Rose Ever Blooming" may have been sung that first Christmas, no evidence exists to that effect.⁹³ But Munck's prayers tell us much about his hopes,

O, Thou Lamb of God that bearest the sins of the world have mercy upon us, and grant us graciously a fair wind, and speed us well thither, where we wish to be, so that His Royal Majesty's expedition and voyage may well be performed, that I may deserve thanks, and have the good will of my master and the grace of God, friendship and a good conscience; that I may not do my neighbour any hurt, further than what I am graciously commanded. Be with me, O God, in all my ways, and be always my true companion and true guide, for the sake of Thy Holy Name, Amen.⁹⁴

Munck returned to the King having tasted the Lord's Supper in the New World of new Denmark. The next Danes to settle in the far-northern Nova Dania of North America settled inland. They arrived at New Denmark, New Brunswick in the early 1870s. Soon thereafter, Niels Mikkelsen (N. M.) Hansen of Haderslev, South Jutland, landed ashore in Canada and became their pastor.⁹⁵ These Danish Lutherans continue in their culture, language and Lutheran faith still. Their Bibles and hymn books have survived, and these Lutherans still recall many details about how their ancestors experienced Gospel.⁹⁶

Before Mikkelsen came to Canada from Haderslev, South Jutland, Elizabeth Van Der Smissen made the same immigrant journey with her sister and brother-in-law from nearby Hanerau. Only one hundred and fifty kilometers separated the homes of Mikkelsen (a Danish Lutheran) and Van Der Smissen (a German-Lutheran of Netherlander heritage). Between them was the village of Kropp, and the Kropp Seminary. While it is undeniable that Gettysburg Seminary in Pennsylvania produced the most significant leaders for the launch of the first Lutheran Conference and Synod in Canada, it is also true that Kropp seminary made an enormous impact once the church bodies formed. For seventy of the first ninety-two years of the Canada Synod's life, among the small handful of executive leaders was either a Van Der Smissen or a Kropp clergyman. These leaders gave life to the Manitoba Synod, and they exported Kropp graduate and Canada Synod executive Jürgen Goos to the Canadian prairies, and so too Heinrich Becker, Thomas Hartig, and George Juettner. In the East, Ottomar Lincke bridged the clergy of the Canadian east and west, and also the Kropp seminary graduates and the Halle seminary graduates (as Lincke attended both schools). Both Lutheran seminaries in Canada were launched by Kropp graduates from the Danish Peninsula.⁹⁷

[Elisabeth Van Der Smissen, 1814–1896 Called to Ecumenism](#)

Elisabeth Van Der Smissen was born in 1814 at Hanerau, in Holstein, on the Danish Peninsula of Jutland. She was descended from Gysbert I Van Der Smissen (1540–1626) who chose to leave Brussels in 1576 near the end of the first period of the Dutch Revolt from Spanish rule. The Revolt followed the period of religious persecution of Protestants by Charles V when his Inquisitor (Van der Hulst) had Voets and Van Essen burned at the stake

near the Van Der Smissen family bakery. These monks were referred to as the “first Martyrs of Protestantism,” and sometimes as the “first Lutheran Martyrs.” It is said that they were tortured to death for believing that “the Scriptures were authoritative even over church tradition, and that bishops—including the pope—were themselves subject to the authority of Scripture.”⁹⁸

The persecution of Protestants continued. By the time Gysbert I left Brussels, Anabaptists across the Netherlands were being specifically targeted.⁹⁹ Anabaptists were persecuted by both the Catholic Inquisition and fellow Protestants—including Lutherans. An example of authorized Lutheran persecution of Anabaptists is the 1569 case of Dirk (Durk) Willems, imprisoned and facing death for being a Dutch Anabaptist. When he had successfully escaped imprisonment across a frozen body of water, Willems’ captor (who was chasing him), fell through the ice to his certain death. Willems returned and saved the pursuer. Still the Burgomaster of the territory forced the saved pursuer to re-arrest Willems who was then martyred. The stories of Anabaptist persecution and martyrdom were well known and widely circulated by the time that Gysbert I Bogaard/Bogaart (1540–1626, Van Der Smissen) left Brussels in 1576. Gysbert I left Brussels for Goch, a place made famous for Anabaptists in 1547.

At Goch, Catholic priest Menno Simons, Franciscan Friar Dirk Philips, and Adam Pastor (Rudolph Martin) debated the Trinity. Later the Van Der Smissens moved from Goch to Haarlem outside of Antwerp to be part of the Dutch Anabaptist movement in the North. Menno Simons had moved his family across the Elbe into Holstein under the control of the rulers of Denmark. In time, Simons and others advanced the cause of creating communities of Anabaptist refuge with Lutheran leaders (though the degree of welcome shifted with contexts). The Peasants Revolt of 1525 was followed by the controversy with the “Müntzerites” south of Hamburg in 1535; this created significant fear of social upheaval and economic interruption tied to Anabaptists. Just outside the gates of the Free Imperial city, Anabaptists established the fishing village of Altona (founded in 1535). Between 1535 and 1575, followers of Menno Simons and Ulrich Zwingli passed through a period of suspicion in Hamburg, a city of the Hanseatic League.¹⁰⁰ Altona was a naturally safe river crossing on the Danish side of the Elbe across from the entrance to the Este River and Buxtehude on the south shore. On the south shore to the west was the region of Bremen Verden and the North Sea with access to Norway and to the British Isles across from Bremerhaven. To the east was the source of the Elbe in the Giant Mountains that caused the river to flow past Dresden towards Wittenberg and towards Hamburg before going out to the North Sea. Goods and ideas flowed, and so too printing and publications. Religious ideas also moved along waterways.¹⁰¹

The need for capital, and the opportunities for innovation that came with religious refugees, made religious accommodation something rulers carefully considered. By 1601 the Hamburg-Altona Mennonite Meeting House was officially started when they were exempted from swearing Oaths. The religious welcome by Christian IV to Anabaptists was for swearing oaths in the territories under his rule as “King of Denmark, Norway, Wenden, and Gothen; Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormann, Dithmarschen....” In 1617 King Christian IV established Gluckstadt in Holstein (for example) on the open shoreline of the Elbe. In Holstein, acceptance of refugees of diverse religious beliefs was first strategically negotiated and limited, then granted privileges, followed by oversight being provided by Councils and religious Superintendents. The underlying intention could reasonably be seen as pressure to

convert or assimilate. Meanwhile, through businesses along the waterways, diverse religious views spread quickly, and by the mid-1600s Mennonites and Lutherans around Hamburg had relationships and common connections to England's Baptists and Dompelaars. The King and Lutheran nobles even attended sermons by Dompelaar Jakob Donner at Hamburg around 1730. A Van Der Smissen married into the Donner family and Father Jakob presided at the wedding. The husband remained Mennonite and the children became Dompelaars.¹⁰²

Hinrich Van Der Smissen IV's children were born and spent their earliest years not at Altona but at Hanerau, avoiding the chaos and threats of living on the shoreline of the Elbe during the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815).¹⁰³ Elisabeth's father was born at Altona on the Elbe in 1774. Hinrich IV (1774–1848) enjoyed life with more religious freedom than many of his ancestors and even his own family. He lived in an era when their post-Brussels fortune had been regained and lost in a fire, and then regained and lost by war measures. These were maritime mariner Mennonites (not farmland Mennonites); they were wealthy for a time. They had been a family on the rise connected to the shipping elite in London and Rotterdam, but the Siege of Hamburg on Christmas Eve, 1813 marked a timestamp of change. That year they learned that even Hamburg could belong to the French! The French had control of the movement of goods and ideas along the waterways! The family moved offshore to the interior and opened a bakery at Hanerau. In 1833 a nephew immigrated to Canada.

The Canadian adventurer Van Der Smissen had studied under a Lutheran tutor named Mannhardt hired for his cousins at Hanerau. At the age of 16, Henry was sent to London for business and finance studies and by the time he returned in 1825 the family was bankrupt.¹⁰⁴ Continuing his studies and an accounting apprenticeship in London, he decided to make a fresh start in York in 1833 (this was before the *new* York was incorporated as Toronto). York's "Vander" Smissen was remembered for keeping the business he managed on Younge Street open during the Upper Canada Rebellion.¹⁰⁵

On a return trip to Hanerau in 1838, Henrik married Johanna *Louise* Marie (1809–1849) Van Der Smissen at Hanerau. She and her sister Johanna Maria *Elisabeth* Van Der Smissen moved to Canada with Henrik. The sisters had lost their mother in 1824 and they were glad to relocate. When the Van Der Smissen family moved into Toronto from Stouffville in 1841, the population of York/Toronto was around 40,000 people and there was still no Lutheran church, no clergy of their own to provide sacraments (though they greatly appreciated their varied communities of believers).¹⁰⁶ Henry and Louise's oldest child died before his first birthday. Louise gave birth to William Henry in 1844, and then she died in 1849.¹⁰⁷ Still no local Lutheran church, no pastor, no communion, no comfort of conscience.

At Advent of 1850, Henrik and Elisabeth were some of the Lutherans seeking to organize a Lutheran home-worship community. Months later they convinced Pastor Diehl, a missionary from the Pennsylvania Synod, to officially gather them for organized worship at the public school on Dundas Street East, at Crookshank St. He presided over the first Communion service and agreed to return once per month from his location at nearby Zion, Maple. Henry led the other three Sundays in a month from the *Hofacker Wurttemberg* sermon collection. The first baptism was done by Diehl, in 1852, almost twenty-years after Henry's arrival. In June of 1853, Diehl and two other Gettysburg Seminary graduates in Canada formed the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod. Then only months later, in October, the Evangelical Lutheran Union of Canada was successfully formed as an Inter-Lutheran ministerial of clergy from the Pittsburgh Synod and the New York Ministerium. The Union clergy passed an immediate resolution "making it the duty of the ministers to supply

destitute congregations with Word and Sacrament.” In 1857, these Lutherans began construction of the Lutheran Church on Bond Street.¹⁰⁸

When material costs soared for the Lutheran church under construction on Bond Street, Henrik travelled back to Altona, and he returned with an unexpected and much welcomed gift of \$140 of ecumenical generosity.¹⁰⁹ In 1860, the church debt again threatened.¹¹⁰ Elizabeth volunteered to travel from Upper Canada through Lower Canada and across Europe raising sufficient funds on her own. She secured written endorsements from leading religious figures in Toronto who can be identified by their locations of service.¹¹¹ Among the clergy endorsements were:

Rev. Edmund Baldwin, MA, Assistant, Cathedral Church of St. James, Toronto
 Rev. Thomas Scales Ellerby, Pastor at Zion Congregational Chapel, Toronto
 Rev. W. Samson, Church of the Holy Trinity, Toronto West
 Rev. C. E. Eardley, New Coventry, London
 Rev. Francis Henry Marling, Bond Street Congregational Church
 Rev. Robert Burns, D. D. Professor of Church History, Knox College, Toronto
 Rev. William Reid, D. D., Presbyterian
 Rev. Charles F. W. Rechenberg, Lutheran, born at Barnikow in 1817

A notable testimonial was provided by Professor Merle d’Aubigne of Geneva, Switzerland, “I knew Miss van der Smissen’s family at Altona forty years ago. Their house was the resort of all those who loved the Lord.”¹¹² Amazing! The implication of the testimonials is the recognition of an extraordinarily diverse Protestant ecumenical alliance existing across Europe in the 1820s that extended from Geneva to North America and around the world. On her fund-raising tour, Elisabeth raised \$1824.84 and retired the congregation’s debt. Her efforts were celebrated on September 18, 1861.¹¹³ This amount was \$125 over the amount needed to payoff and complete the church building. The ecumenical competency needed to accomplish such an exceptional task in her era both in Toronto and across Europe is astonishing. What now needs to happen so that Elisabeth can be profiled as a woman of the Reformation whose story is recognized as being full of rich personal experience, deep religious concern, and complicated social settings?

[Louisa Cossman, 1838–1917 Daughter, Wife, and Mother Cossman from the Lunenburg Parsonages](#)

In the memorial to Louisa Cossman Bowers in the *Bridgewater Bulletin* on April 3, 1917, Louisa was described as a person of “rare intelligence and strength of character.” She served. She served first as the daughter to Rev. Carl Charles Ernst Cossman, then wife to Rev. William W. Bowers, and next as mother to Rev. Frederick Anspach Bowers. Each of these pastors served the people of Lunenburg County.¹¹⁴ Each was granted the keys to the parsonage in exchange for serving from the altar table. Louisa served Bread of Life from several parsonage tables and then from the Orphans Home. Her ministry of service has gone unrecognized. The clergymen in her life water-washed and Confirmed the children, but for almost eighty years Louisa made sure they were all fed.¹¹⁵

Indeed, the stories of the Lutheran altars and pulpits of Nova Scotia are appropriately celebrated. Rightly, much has been documented about the pastors. A significant amount has been written specifically about Louisa’s father—as her father became the most famous “Father Cossman of Nova Scotia,” the “Muhlenberg of the North.” Cecile Naugler, in his *Days*

of *Ox'n Organ*, explained the affirmation given to Louisa's dad, "We usually address our Lutheran ministers as 'Pastor' so when we hear the word 'Father,' it shows a special endearment."¹¹⁶ Father Cossman was especially dear to the people of Nova Scotia. The Archives are full of amazing stories of pulpits and parsonages, pastors and even Fathers of the Church, and yet very little of the content has been used to bring attention to the legacy of the Mothers of the Church, and the mothers of the children whose lives also revolved around Christ's cross in the center.

After her baptismal service at Zion Church in 1838, Louisa Matilda Amelia Cossman was taken back to her parsonage home.¹¹⁷ Her father (himself the son of a cantor) had presided over her sacramental liturgy of Word and water.¹¹⁸ For Lunenburg Lutherans, this washing at the font provided the indelible mark of the Gospel, the baptismal gift of grace given in infancy so children could be educated through Luther's Catechism to taste the sustaining Bread of Life in Holy Communion. Sacramental living was of utmost concern to the settlers of Nova Scotia. When British Governor Cornwallis landed on the shores of Merliguesch Bay in 1749, he knew he was intentionally bringing "foreign protestants" to populate the British colony. His orders were to work in lockstep with the British Board of Trade and Plantations and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in Foreign Parts. Securing a Lutheran pastor to meet the spiritual and cultural needs of the Lutherans was intended—some would even say promised.¹¹⁹

The SPG Directors first heard the pleas of the Nova Scotia Lutherans for a minister in 1754. They confirmed their intent with the Board of Trade—six clergy and six schoolmasters of diverse protestant faith traditions for the six townships. Yet good intentions were not good enough. Even with Lutherans serving as Directors of the Society, no Lutheran clergy were secured for the first twenty-three years of settlement. Why?

Why the people were without a Lutheran minister is the subject of much speculation, and this is overdue for reconsidering with ecumenical grace and honesty. In the early period, many of the faith needs of the Lutherans were provided for by Schoolmasters—teachers some would say, cantors others would argue. Mutual care and consolation, confession and absolution, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, all these were best provided by a Lutheran minister. But the sacrament of the Lord's Supper—the Holy Communion—with Christ truly, really, present...well, that was different. Christ's affirmation to *take* and eat in connection with *listen* and *forgive* were at the very heart of the people's deepest faith and the cause of the historic religious wars that pushed their immigrations. There could be no compromising on Holy Communion.¹²⁰

Until the arrival of Frederick Schultz in 1772, the people had been spiritually without everything they needed. A minister had come and had been admitted to the esteemed German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of North America, and was, prior to this, examined by no less than pastors Muhlenberg, Gerock, and the Swedish Provost Von Wrangle. But a year after his arrival, something happened on that Easter Sunday of 1768. While the minister was providing Holy Communion after Confirmation to the young people, the parents' eyes were opened in the breaking of the bread when their ears heard the words of institution from the voice of the minister they entrusted their children to. The wine was blessed, and the bread broken, and then, so too their bond of trust. There could be no compromising on the presence of Christ in with and under the sacrament that strengthens believers to live, love, and serve. For the elderly, their lives were weakened without

communion—but launched. They could wait in hope of a more fulsome communion. But the faith lives of their children and grandchildren, well, they had not yet fully begun.

Unbeknownst to the Lutheran and Reformed parents who attended worship each week in English at 10 am, French at 12 Noon, or German at 2 pm Sunday after Sunday, the minister had been re-ordained by the Church of England before arriving in Lunenburg. What did this mean? Had he recanted his Lutheran faith? While the parents were actively in the pew week after week, the minister had claimed their children from the classroom and the altar table. They protested. Six representatives of the Lutheran families met with their local governors. One of the six was “obliged” to repeat their confession of faith, “we believe we take in the Lord’s Supper, in, with and under the consecrated Bread and Wine, the true Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. The highest officer in the government declared this could not be.”¹²¹ Thereafter the local officials refused to assist or support the Lunenburg Lutherans in any further effort to secure a pastor of the Lutheran faith. They were on their own. There would be no religious accommodation for them.

Lutheran lay-leaders like Lorentz Conrad appealed in-person to Muhlenberg at Philadelphia, and a non-Lutheran (Senator Kaulbach) arranged meetings in New York with Gerock. Eventually the name of Frederick Schultz came forward as a person who would accept a temporary assignment. Within two weeks of his arrival, in November of 1772, Rev. Schultz Confirmed and then gave the sacrament of Holy Communion to thirty-five boys and girls. They had been trained in Luther’s Catechism by the lay-leader Schoolmaster. So too Zion Lutheran Church was dedicated. At last! A Lutheran Church dedicated and served by a Lutheran minister, and a new generation of young people strengthened! But Schultz only agreed to a temporary stay.

From 1753 to 1916 the lives of the Nova Scotia Lunenburg Lutherans can be told through the stories of many pastors but just three women, beginning with Maria Schultz, the wife of the congregation’s first pastor. When the winter thawed in the Spring of 1773, the Zion Lunenburg parsonage was built. It was built to secure Maria Schultz to the County so that her husband would agree to accept a permanent Call. He did. *Her* arrival was a game changer. Zion’s parsonage was built by the settlers for Maria Schultz. She served the people through the American Revolution and the Shelburne Race Riots (and usually her husband did as well).¹²² Their seventeen-year-old, Samuel Schultz, was interred beneath the pulpit. Maria Barbara Schmeiser Temme then followed. In the fifty years of ministry through which Maria Barbara and her mother held the parsonage, 3020 children were baptized, 1516 were confirmed, 581 marriages were conducted, and 791 burials were held.¹²³

Maria Schmeisser, like Louisa Cossman, was first brought home to the Zion parsonage by her parents. Rev. Schmeisser was from Konigsberg, Prussia, her mother was “a Local,” a person descended from original settlers, meaning her father “married up.” Maria then married her father’s successor; he too “married up.” The men came from away, but the women were of the people and the place. They better understood the dynamic local complexities; the women knew the peoples of faith in all their vernaculars.

The Temme’s saw their neighbours through the continental War of 1812, and they also survived the congregational war of 1812. Rev. Temme publicly excommunicated four members of the congregation. In so doing, he denied the former members future access to sacramental ministries, participation in baptisms and Holy Communions, and he denied them the right to a Christian burial and an eternal resting place alongside their families in the Church cemeteries. Immediately after the incident, the Temmes and their neighbours

worked to create a Church Order for Nova Scotia so something like that could never happen again.¹²⁴ Rev. Dr. Professor Temme, Ph.D., wrote *Evangelisch-lutherische Kirchen-agende: oder Formulare und Gebete zur Taufe, Trauung, Confirmation, Administration des heiligen Abendmals: nebst den allgemeinem Kirchen-Gebeten an Sonn- und Bustagen in der lutherischen Kirche zu Lunenburg in Nova Scotia*, published in 1816, and signed it “Conrad Ferdinand Temme, Prof. und Pastor zu Lunenburg, in Nova Scotia, und wirlichen Mitgleide der Societat in England, and dedicated the work to his alma mater, the “Theological Faculty of the Academy of Helmstadt in the Dukedom of Brunswick in Germany.” He also wrote *Dr. Martin Luthers Katechismus erklart und mit den vornehmsten Beweisspruchen der Heiligen Schrift verschen: nebst einem anhang für die evangelische-lutherischen Christen in dem englischen Nord-Amerika*, and this was published and circulated across the continent in 1816.

Following the pastorates of the Schmeissers and Temmes, Louisa’s father arrived with training under a world-famous lexicographer. He was not trained to be a field missionary, yet he extended the ministry beyond the town of Lunenburg. This was also a game-changer.¹²⁵ When the Cossmans arrived there were 3000 Lutherans who had been without the Bread of Life for more than two years. The congregations had become weaker. Caroline, the pastor’s bride, understood her husband’s passion to communicate Christ when she agreed to marry him and move to Nova Scotia.¹²⁶ The years were not easy. In his autobiography, Cossman admitted that there were times when he was so exhausted from travelling out to help other families in need that he could not even remember the names of his own children standing before him.¹²⁷ Louisa’s name was one of the names her father could not remember. Instead of growing resentment, they cultivated compassion. They understood the meaning of the word Father.¹²⁸

At Father Cossman’s funeral, attended by thousands of Nova Scotians, 600 school children processed with the Cossman children and their generations of descendants from *Freideberg* to the Upper Cemetery.¹²⁹ Their Father had married 625 couples, baptized 3940 children, and Confirmed 1516 young people to their first Holy Communion.¹³⁰ After sixty-two years of service by her dad, Louisa’s son Frederick and his bride Mary Rosina then brought their babies home to their great-grandfather’s altar and their grandmother’s parsonage table.

The meanings of the Gospel infused into the idea-to-idea translation of the 1534 Bible Project travelled from Wittenberg to new worlds and new eras. People are still seeing and hearing this same Word of forgiveness given freely. All people are still being called in to take and eat at the table and to be strengthened to go out bravely for service to neighbours and the world.

A Tribute to Gordon Jensen

Experiencing Gospel is Jensen’s follow up to *The Wittenberg Concord: Creating Space for Dialogue* (2018) also published by Lutheran Quarterly.¹³¹ In these two recent books, and in the comprehensive list of publications by Jensen listed in this *festschrift*, it becomes clear that Jensen is a widely-talented historian and a scholarly theologian with a pastor’s heart.¹³² Jensen deeply treasures Luther’s *theologia crucis*, his Theology of the Cross. His award-winning 1992 Doctoral Dissertation was titled “The Significance of Luther’s Theology of the Cross for Contemporary Political and Contextual Theologies.”¹³³ And Jensen has kept the significance of the cross and context close together throughout his pastoral ministry and academic career. He encourages the same for parishioners, students, colleagues, and the

church in the world: keep cross and context close; the Word is speaking; listen to Him; take, eat, forgive and live.

Formed in the traditions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (ELCC, 1978–1986), Gordon often fondly recalls the inter-Lutheran collegiality of his seminary years. He took that inter-Lutheran momentum into the merged Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC, 1986). As a Member of the ELCIC National Church Council he served as Chair of the Committee on Ecumenism from 1997 to 2002. The Committee recommended that the National Church Council approve the Lutheran World Federation’s 1999 Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, an agreement between the Vatican and the Lutheran World Federation. In 2001, he helped to bring into being The Waterloo Declaration between the Anglican Church of Canada and the ELCIC Lutheran Church. From 2000 to 2004, Jensen was one of six writers for the Lutheran World Federation Department for Mission and Development policy document entitled *Mission in Context: Transformation, Reconciliation, Empowerment*. From 2003 to 2009 Jensen was a Lutheran observer during the Anglican-United Church of Canada National Dialogues, and from 2012 to 2020 he was a Full Communion Partner in the dialogue process.

Gordon Jensen has been asked to sit at some impressive tables! Yet his theology has remained down to earth—where cross and context reliably meet. His commitment to continuing to nurture and advance contextual theologies of the cross with scholarly and pastoral publications and presentations, international study-trips, and his ongoing work with the Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow Project in Canadian Lutheran History energizes the church and so too the Academy he so values.¹³⁴

But Gordon’s journey to status *emeritus* began when the Word first washed and fed Gordon—child of God and of Mavis and Jens. Then the Word with Spirited insight spoke through the great Reformers and shaped him. They in-*spired* him. They motivated Brenda’s beloved husband to continue after seminary in Saskatoon to pursue doctoral studies in the field of Historical Theology at St. Michael’s in Toronto.¹³⁵ They continue to motivate Solveig Lilja’s FarFar that he might still lead, publish, and educate as a relevant Gospel-proclaiming reformer in her lifetime alongside his sons and their spouses, Jonathan and Anna Clara, and Graham and Jannaya. This historical theologian, pastor-preacher, and ecumenist, who has shaped so many students and rostered and lay leaders today, is part of a global expression of the Living Voice that spoke to Gordon through small town prairie Canadian Lutheran Confessional understandings and prompted him to begin to ask: “What does this mean?”

The question, “What does this mean?” literally led to Jensen’s 2023 text when he—in pioneering fashion as Robert Kolb so marvellously described it—looked at an original of the 1534 Luther Bible in Wittenberg and wondered why a few words in specific places were highlighted with capitalizations...and no one had the answer. *Experiencing Gospel* details Jensen’s quest for answers and his findings. In his book *Experiencing Gospel* Jensen identifies what the words were, how they got there, what it meant in the original Reformation context, and what it means for us today. Gordon Jensen’s life’s work has advanced Christ’s cause of bringing people together around the table where people experience the gospel for themselves in the living Word proclaimed in Word and sacrament. Inspired, they are driven back into the community to be Christs to one another, and to do to neighbours nearby and far away, as Christ does to us.

Notes

¹ From Jensen *Experiencing Gospel*, 146, Chapter 8: Luther's Emphasis on TAKE, "To thus rob the sacrament of Christ's real presence would be akin to taking from people the opportunity for experiencing life in Christ not just spiritually, but also *physically*. To deny Christ's presence in the meal, was to rob people of *hope*," (Italics added). Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel: The History and Creativity of Martin Luther's 1534 Bible Project*. Lutheran Quarterly Books, Paul Rorem, General Editor. Foreword by Robert Kolb (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2023). On May 5, 2010, Gordon Jensen was Granted the Endowed William Hordern Chair in Theology, and in 2023 was granted Emeritus William Hordern Chair in Theology status. As Jensen honoured William Hordern's legacy of dedicated service, writers in this *festschrift* now honour Gordon Jensen. See Jensen, Gordon A., (Foreword) "In Memoriam: Rev. Dr. William (Bill) Hordern," *Consensus*: Vol. 35: Iss. 2, (2014) , <https://doi.org/10.51644/XSMU2747>. This essay will include the following works by Gordon A Jensen: *Experiencing Gospel: The History and Creativity of Martin Luther's 1534 Bible Project*, (Lutheran Quarterly Books, Paul Rorem, General Editor, 2023), note also the Foreword by Robert Kolb; Dissertation, The Significance of Luther's Theology of the Cross for Contemporary Political and Contextual Theologies, University of St. Michael's College Toronto School of Theology Toronto, Ont, 1992, located at <https://canadianlutheranhistory.ca/research-helps>; Jensen, Gordon A. "Martin Luther was a Campus Pastor," <https://albertasynod.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Martin-Luther-was-a-Campus-Pastor-LCM-Presentation-Edmonton-2019.pdf>, Keynote address at the Annual Campus Ministry Dinner, University of Alberta Chaplains, Edmonton, AB. March 16; (Foreword) "In Memoriam: Rev. Dr. William (Bill) Hordern," *Consensus*: Vol. 35: Iss. 2, (2014) , <https://doi.org/10.51644/XSMU2747>. A related work included in this essay is Helmut T. Lehmann in "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's Canadian Connections," within *A Festschrift: A Tribute to Dr. William Hordern*, Walter Freitag, ed. (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan, 1985), 185-193. See also, Jensen, Gordon A., "The Gospel: Luther's Linchpin for Catholicity," *Concordia Journal*, Fall 2013, 282-295, and Kuhnert, Karen and Jensen, Gordon A. (2023) "Selected Bibliography in Canadian Lutheran History," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2. <http://doi.org/10.51644/FVZN6286>, and Jensen, Gordon A.; Kuhnert, Karen; Sjoberg, Donald W, and Larson, Stephen (2023) "Consideration of the Affirmation and Appeal, with Appreciation for the Work of Norman J. Threinen," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2 , <https://doi.org/10.51644/PGAM8611>.

² This masterful quotation on Jensen's "pioneering" in Reformation history and theology by Robert Kolb, is found in the "Foreword," to Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, xiii. Christine Ensslen's chapter "Creating Family Legacies: Descendants Memorialize Their German Female Ancestors," 2021, is an excellent scholarly work for insights into the term "pioneering," in the Canadian context generally, and women pioneering in Saskatchewan, Canada, particularly (Ensslen in *Being German Canadian: History, Memory, Generations*, ed. Alexander Freund, (Manitoba, University of Manitoba Press, 2021), 209-238. For brief, yet foundational reference works on Reformation history and theology, readers may wish to consult *The Annotated Luther, Volume 1: The Roots of Reform*," by Editor Timothy J. Wengert, (Fortress Press, Minneapolis), 1989. The additional General Editors include Hans J. Hillerbrand and Kirsi I. Stjerna. Winnipeg born Canadian Dirk G. Lange wrote four of the thirteen chapters. An essential reference for this essay is the *Dictionary of Luther and Lutheran Traditions*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Publishing Group, 2017) by Editor Timothy J. Wengert with Associate Editors Mark A. Granquist, Mary Jane Haemig, Robert Kolb, Mark C. Mattes, and Jonathan Strom. Scholars and references utilized in this essay include: Barnett, Victoria J., "Barmen Confession," 75-76; Haemig, Mary Jane, "Cruciger, Elisabeth," 181; Halvorson, Michael J., "Holy Roman Empire," 334-338; Henning P. Jugens, "Printing in Sixteenth-Century Lutheranism," 621-623; Jensen, Gordon A., "Augsburg Confession," 53-55; Kolb, Robert, "Amsdorf, Nikolaus von," 14; Lindberg, Carter, "Luther, Martin," 441-446; Lohrmann, Martin J., "Bugenhagen, Johannes," 108-109; Lund, Eric, "Denmark," 188-191; Maschke, Timothy, "Luther's Bible," 469-470; Stjerna, Kirsi "Bora, Katharina von," 98-100; Stjerna, Kirsi, "Agricola, Mikael," 3-4; Wengert, Timothy J., "Cruciger, Caspar, Sr.," 180-181; Wiersma, Hans, "Martyrdom and Persecution," 487-489. Canada is an officially bi-lingual nation. The religious-cultural mosaic of Canada is often conceptualized as being divided between "French and Catholic" cultural and linguistic peoples - in opposition to - non-French and Protestant peoples. Yet, among the earliest settlers to British North America, were French-speaking Lutheran Protestants. Montbéliardians (for example), arrived in Nova Scotia in the mid-1700s. Expressions of the Lutheran Reformation with roots in France and French territories, can be researched through *Le Musée International de la Réforme* (MIR, International Museum of the Reformation), in Geneva and The Online

Virtual Museum of Protestantism. Though the MIR leans towards the Calvinist Reformation perspective, it features materials related to French and French-language Protestantism. The Online Virtual Museum of Protestantism is a multi-lingual, multi-denominational web-based partnership of museums that pool resources on marginalized cultures. See <https://museeprotestant.org/en/museums-and-partners/>. Virtual Museum works used in this essay include <https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-reformation-in-montbeliard/> and <https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/marie-dentiere-ou-dennetieres-1495-1561/>. See also Berlioz, Élisabeth, “Protestant education in the Quatre Terres in the 18th Century: a major issue for the Lutherans of the Pays de Montbéliard,” *Chrétiens et société* [Online], 22, 2015, posted online on June 9, 2022, <https://doi.org/10.4000/chretienssocietes.3889>) as a resource for thinking anew about religion, language and culture as instruments of colonization and assimilation in North American, particularly Canadian, contexts.

³ From Stjerna’s 2022 preface, “The sixteenth-century women featured in this volume are all European, but they come from different cultural, geographic, and linguistic contexts,” (Preface first page).” Stjerna, Kirsi I., ed., *Women Reformers of Early Modern Europe: Profiles, Texts, and Contexts*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press/1517 Media, 2022). Building primarily on Jensen’s text (2023) and the work of Stjerna et. al (2022), this essay will demonstrate that there is reason to believe that the theological legacies of knowable Reformation era men, women and children (in their own cultural, geographic, and linguistic contexts) can be recognized as having crossed the Atlantic with explorers, settlers and pioneers and these theological legacies continue to shape North American Lutheranism in ways experienced today. The depth and quality of the cited research from Jensen and Stjerna et. al. opens up new ground for research in Reformation and Contemporary era Studies. Their works pair well with the intersectional interdisciplinary scholarship being explored by scholars involved in *The Alternative Luther: Lutheran Theology from the Subaltern Project* (Lanham: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic, 2019) as edited by Else Marie Wiberg Pedersen. Stjerna’s 2022 edited volume builds on the foundation of her 2009 text *Women and the Reformation*, (Malden/Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2009). In 2009 and 2022, Stjerna credits the “ground-breaking” work of Roland Bainton as foundational to her research. Affirmation of Stjerna’s methods and findings is notable within the Academy as can be seen in Martin Lohrmann’s “Review of *Women Reformers of Early Modern Europe: Profiles, Texts, and Contexts* for *Lutheran Quarterly*,” vol. 37 no. 4, 2023, 462-464, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lut.2023.a911862>. Stjerna is part of the *Alternative Luther* community of scholars. Additionally, in 2012, in “Women and Theological Writing During the Reformation,” for the *Journal of Lutheran Ethics*, (March 2012, Volume 12, Issue 2,) Stjerna wrote, “Thanks to the innovative, pioneering work of an international group of scholars *stubbornly perusing the archives*, while envisioning perspectives that allow unfolding of theological voices from unexpected places, scholarship has finally come to a place where it is possible to lift up the theological work of the first generation Protestant women and begin conversations on women’s theological contributions.... (Italics added by the essayist).” Many of the international group of scholars perusing the archives are named in Stjerna’s 2012 article, see https://www.elca.org/JLE/Articles/160#_ednref1. For Stjerna’s 2022 edited work, *Women Reformers*, thirty-three gender-diverse interdisciplinary scholars contributed to the advancement of Stjerna’s project. She writes, “The different fields and expertises represented by the contributors to this volume clearly demonstrate the interdisciplinary nature of scholarship on women and the reformations. Women also invite interconfessional and ecumenical analysis of the materials that may have bearing for the practice of Christian faith in its different forms today, (xxv).” Research for this 2024 *Consensus: Canadian Journal of Public Theology* essay draws significantly upon chapters by these interdisciplinary scholars who contributed to *Women Reformers of Early Modern Europe: Profiles, Texts, and Contexts*. These scholars (and their Reformer Profiles) include: Mary Jane Haemig, “Elisabeth Cruciger (ca. 1500-1535): Lutheran Hymnwriter,” 35-42; Laura Jurgens, “Katharina von Bora (1499-1552): Morning Star of Wittenberg,” 53-62; Kathleen M. Llewellyn, “Jeanne d’Albret (1528-1572): Reformer and Queen,” 77-186; Peter Matheson, “Argula von Grumbach (1492-1554/57): A Woman with the Word” 13-22; Mary B. McKinley, “Marie Dentiere (1495-1561): In Defense of Women,” 23-34; Jennifer Powell McNutt, “Marguerite of Navarre (1492-1549): Theologian and Patron of Evangelicals, in Her Own Words and Actions,” 153-162; Sini Mikkola and Paivi Raisanen-Schroder, “Elisabeth von Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1510-1558) and Elisabeth of Denmark (1485-1555): Lutheran Rulers,” 63-76; Kirsi I. Stjerna, “Margarethe Pruss (d. 1542): Printer,” 43-49, as well as other writings by Stjerna as cited. These profiles were chosen because the stories of these Reformers happened in a variety of Sixteenth Century European locations that can quickly be connected to North American (particularly Canadian) “cultural, geographic, and linguistic contexts.”

⁴ Karen Kuhnert (she/her) is also a Prairie-Canadian, and she was raised on the Heritage Homestead of her grandparents Orrin and Attie Hudson who were residents of Alberta even before the creation of the province. Like

Jensen, Kuhnert earned her under-graduate degree at the University of Alberta. After living in Inuvik, NWT, for seven years, Kuhnert studied for her MDiv. at Waterloo Lutheran Seminary and was ordained by the Eastern Synod, ELCIC, in 2008. Karen began to serve as Archivist Story-keeper for the Eastern Synod, ELCIC, in 2009, the same year Stjerna published *Women and the Reformation*. No significant Profiles of Canadian Lutheran women have been published since 2009, this essay seeks to change that. The essay highlights materials available to researchers through Canadian and international archivists, archives and museums so that academic and public histories can be advanced. The thanks of the essayist goes to Amanda Oliver, Head of Archives and Special Collections and Cindy Preece, Archives Administrator, Laurier Archives and Special Collections, Wilfrid Laurier University; Grant Hurley, Canadiana Librarian, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto Libraries; Laureen Harder-Gissing, Archivist-Librarian at Mennonite Archives of Ontario, Milton Good Library at Conrad University College; Kitt Augustine Jessen (MA History), former Sexton and House Historian, and Cantor and Lead Organist Jakob Lorentzen, Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen; Rosemary V. Barbour, Senior Archivist, Preservation Services, Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax, Nova Scotia; and Allison Day, Assistant Archivist, Lambeth Palace Library: National Library and Archive of the Church of England, London. Works in this essay by Kuhnert from *Consensus: A Canadian Journal of Public Theology*, include: 2023: Guest Editor Foreword, "Canadian Lutheran History: Remembering Today, for the Sake of Tomorrow," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2. <https://doi.org/10.51644/FJTQ5960>; "Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, A Propositional History," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2. <https://doi.org/10.51644/UIHP3680>; Kuhnert, Karen (2023) "Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief - Relationships: Coastal Compassion, A Propositional History," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2. <https://doi.org/10.51644/LKTM5606>; "Acknowledgment" in Sjoberg, Donald W. and Johnson, Susan C. (2023) "Gathering and Sending: Welcome, Greetings, Blessings, Webinar 2," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2. <https://doi.org/10.51644/EXSY4252>, footnote 3. Kuhnert (2022) "2SLGBTQIA+- Sexuality in Changing Canadian Lutheran Contexts and Identities," Vol. 43: Iss. 2. <https://doi.org/10.51644/IJZK7015>. Kuhnert (2012) "'Only If': Lutheran Identity in Canada," Vol. 34: Iss. 1. <https://doi.org/10.51644/WQON2276>. Laurier Archives is the official repository for the Archives of the former "Nova Scotia Synod," the "Canada Synod," and the "Central Canada Synod," predecessors of the current "Eastern Synod" of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC). The records of these corporate bodies along with the records of their congregations date back to the 1700s. The Collections of the ELCIC and all predecessor national Lutheran churches are also preserved at the Wilfrid Laurier University Archives. Histories from the congregations of the other four synods (MNO, Sask, AbT, and BC) of the ELCIC are available in the Norman Antler Collection (NAC) at Laurier Archives. Norman Antler was a lay-leader and member of the Lutheran Historical Association. He wrote to every Lutheran congregation in Canada (ELCIC and predecessors) and requested copies of their congregational historical publications and he organized these into sets of synodical histories, see the video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hM2LCw5cr5o>. The Norman Antler Collection (NAC) was presented to Archivist Karen Kuhnert by the Antler family. The Archivists' copy was featured in the November 15, 2022 "For the Sake of the Gospel" webinar by the Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow presentation (see also <https://canadianlutheranhistory.ca>). NAC items feature writings by and about the Lutheran people (especially lay leaders) more so than the institutional histories published by the Church bodies as written by clergy. They also include more presence of women in the stories, and in the writing. In this essay the following NAC writings are cited: NAC: *Sketch by Mrs. Basil J. Krauss and Miss Phyllis Westhaver, Zion Lutheran Church Lunenburg NS 1772 to 1970, 200th Anniversary Year - Canada's Oldest Lutheran Congregation*; NAC: Naugler, Cecil A., *The Days of Ox'n Organ*; NAC: *History of St. Marks Evangelical Lutheran Church Middle LaHave, NS, 1887-1987*; NAC: *History of the Congregations in the Toronto Conference: Anniversary Booklet Prepared for the Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Eastern Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada*"; NAC: The *Lutheran Landmark Series* feature on Hope Lutheran Church; "Churches By the Sea Series" articles by Rev. Dr. Morley Allen Gibson as they appeared in the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald, The Mail-Star* and local newspapers; NAC: *25th Anniversary Service Guide* St. Matthew Lutheran Church, Fredericton, New Brunswick, October 4, 1987; NAC: *A History of St. Peters, New Denmark*; NAC: "Where 'Hope' Springs Eternal: City's tiny Lutheran church is determined to carry on," Mike Mullen, *Times Globe*, Religion Section, Friday, January 27, 1995; NAC: *A Bit of History by Lillian Pedersen on the 50th Anniversary of Bethany*, (1978); NAC: Barbier, Louis P. *The Story of First Lutheran Church Toronto, 1851-1976*, (First Lutheran Church Council, Toronto, 1976); NAC: Biographical Feature on "Henry Vander Smissen," (Appendix), in *140 Years at First Lutheran*, (Toronto, First Lutheran Church of Toronto, 1991) with appreciations to Gilbert Michael Henderson, author of *The 150th Anniversary of the Arrival of the Van Der Smissen family in Canada*, 1983); NAC: "Biographical Sketch of Mr.

Henry Van Der Smissen,” *Follow In the Footsteps of Your Forefathers: 1898-1978*, by Louis P. Barbier, (First Lutheran Church Council, Toronto, 1978), 10-11. The Laurier Archives collection on the Nova Scotia Synod can be accessed via <https://libarchives.wlu.ca/index.php/evangelical-lutheran-synod-of-nova-scotia>.

⁵ “Can a feast of fresh insights and new topics of inquiry lead to more life-giving understandings of the lives of ordinary Canadians who live out Reformation history and theology in contemporary contexts?” This essay asks and answers the question. Many Lutherans in Canada do not fit the classic identity narratives featured in our history books, it is time for a new history book that better reflects who Canadian Lutherans are, and also who they have been. The work of Philip Otterness, in *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York*, (Cornell University, New York), 2004, is helpful for understanding some of the classic problems with previous identifications of Canadian Lutherans as being “Germans.” The ongoing work of groups in Nova Scotia, like the South Shore Genealogical Society, highlight the problem of identifying Lunenburg Lutherans as “Germans” when a significant number were Montbéliardians, French and Swiss peoples (see images of the settler monuments at <https://ns1763.ca/civil-relics/montbeliard>). Winthrop Pickard Bell published *The Foreign Protestants and Settlement of Nova Scotia: The History of a Piece of Arrested British Colonial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961) to correct common colonial history errors such as that the people of Lunenburg were Hanoverians (p. 316), that they were from Lüneburg (p. 4), and that they named Lunenburg, (p. 4), https://archive.org/details/foreignprotestan0000bell_o6k0/page/n9/mode/2up. Notably Bell in *Foreign Protestants* writes (at times) heatedly against D. Luther Roth, who was a Lutheran clergy and the most influential Nova Scotia Lutheran historian. The work of Alexander Freund et. al., is also insightful, and especially so the introduction by Freund himself writing in “Heavy Baggage: Memory and Generation in Ethnic History,” 1-35, within *Being German Canadian: History, Memory, Generations*, (Manitoba, University of Manitoba Press, 2021). Chronologically by publishing date, the Canadian Lutheran history books included in this essay are: *Jubiläums-Büchlein: Festschrift zur Feier des 50-jährigen Jubiläums der evang.-luther., Synode von Canada*, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1911, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.88024/1>, (in the German language and Script); Cronmiller, Carl Raymond, *Lutheran Gleanings*, Volume 1. Issue 1, (Williamsburg), June 1934; “Lutherans in Canada,” and “From the Palatinate to Canada,” prepared for presentation by Nils Willison in *Programme for the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration*,” <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/3081365/data> as part of the Minutes of the 72nd Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, Morrisburg and Vicinity, Ontario, (Kitchener, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada), 1934; Eylands, Valdimar J., *Lutherans in Canada*. (Winnipeg: The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America, 1945); Cronmiller, Carl Raymond, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada*, vol. 1. (Toronto, Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1961); Threinen, Norman J., *A Religious Cultural Mosaic: A History of Lutherans in Canada*, (Vulcan: Historical Institute Monograph Series, Number 1, Today’s Reformation Press, 2006). Many historic Canadian events and personalities in this essay are featured online through the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography and the Canadian Encyclopedia Online*. Examples include: Robertson, Jesse. “Shelburne Race Riots.” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published November 19, 2014; Last Edited August 06, 2021, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-shelburne-race-riots>, (on this topic, see also Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 362-363); Kathryn Wilson, “Hansen, Niels Mikkelsen,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, 2024, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?id=hansen_niels_mikkelsen_14F.html; and Mackenzie, A. A., “Zouberbuhler, Sebastian,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, 2003–, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/zouberbuhler_sebastian_4E.html.

⁶ No biography exists yet for Elisabeth Van Der Smissen (also Vander Smissen and Van der Smissen). Impressively, acknowledgment of her fund-raising trip was included in the *Jubiläums-Büchlein of 1911*, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.88024/1>, 54. This history book was created for the 50th Anniversary of the first Lutheran synod in Canada, also known as the “Canada Synod.” Most recently, the contributions of Elizabeth Van Der Smissen to Canadian Lutheranism are remembered in the briefest of terms in the 2011 publication NAC: *History of the Congregations in the Toronto Conference: Anniversary Booklet* Prepared for the Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Eastern Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada.” The essayist, as the Anniversary Archivist on behalf of the Eastern Synod, provided a presentation at the 150th celebration event at Zion, Maple. The Conference publication recognized that the testimonials for Elisabeth’s journey were secured from Protestant clergy of Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Congregationalist traditions. Elisabeth Van Der Smissen was born and raised 50 km south of Kropp Seminary in Schleswig on the Jutland Peninsula. Valuable

supporting information on the Lutherans from Schleswig is found in Heick, Otto William, *Go into All the World: The Contributions of the Two German Seminaries at Breklum and Kropp to North American Lutheranism*, (Breklumer Buchandlung und Verlag, 1978). Readers are encouraged to look at a Google Map and notice the centrality of the Jutland Peninsula in relation to the development of Protestantism and immigration to Canada. Lutheranism as “German Lutheranism” from Schleswig-Holstein (Jutland), for example, is different than German Lutheranism from Halle (Saxony). The largest quantity of details about Elisabeth’s life are found in works by Louis P. Barbier, e.g. *The Story of First Lutheran Church Toronto, 1851-1976*. As no biography or profile for Elisabeth Van der Smissen yet exists, the details in this essay are propositional history. The essayist invites and welcomes collaborators to help build a more robust profile for her and to strengthen the peer review. Information about Henry Van Der Smissen is also found in Cronmiller, *A History*, especially 263-264. Henry is the brother-in-law of Elisabeth and was elected Treasurer of the Canada Synod at its founding. He served the organization for almost twenty-five years. Schleswig is spelled differently at various times and in different languages, it appears in a myriad of spellings in this essay as do many place names.

⁷ The Archives at Wilfrid Laurier University are in possession of the handwritten personal travel diary/account record) from Elisabeth Van der Smissen’s 1860-1861 journey, see <https://library.wlu.ca/research/laurier-archives/about>. The Archives at the University of Toronto are in possession of original copies of letters by members of the Van Der Smissen family, see <https://discoverarchives.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/van-der-smissen-family-fonds> and https://fisher.library.utoronto.ca/finding_aid/van-der-smissen-family and also <https://discoverarchives.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/william-henry-van-der-smissen-fonds>. Note the writing *At Duty’s Call: Captain William Henry Victor Van der Smissen, Queen’s Own Rifles of Canada, and 3rd Battalion (Toronto Regiment) Canadian Expeditionary Force*, (Toronto, University of Toronto, n.d.). The Archives at Conrad Grebel University College at the University of Waterloo maintain digital and hard copy files related to the Van Der Smissen Family and related communities; these people and places can be researched online through GAMEO (Global Mennonite Encyclopedia Online). In this essay, the following GAMEO entries have been utilized: Dollinger, Robert and **H. van der Smissen**, (1956), “Hamburg-Altona Mennonite Church (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Germany),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hamburg-Altona Mennonite Church \(Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Germany\)](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hamburg-Altona Mennonite Church (Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Germany)); Dollinger, Robert, (1956), “Glückstadt (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=G1%C3%BCckstadt \(Schleswig-Holstein, Germany\)&oldid=125037](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=G1%C3%BCckstadt (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany)&oldid=125037); Krahn, Cornelius and Cornelius J. Dyck, (1987), “Pietism,” <https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Pietism&oldid=146779>; Krahn, Cornelius and Cornelius J. Dyck, (1990), “Menno Simons (1496-1561),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Menno Simons \(1496-1561\)&oldid=160744](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Menno Simons (1496-1561)&oldid=160744); Krahn, Cornelius, (1959), “Smissen, Jacob Gysbert van der (1746-1829),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Smissen, Jacob Gysbert van der \(1746-1829\)](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Smissen, Jacob Gysbert van der (1746-1829)); Krahn, Cornelius and Cornelius J. Dyck, (1990), “Menno Simons (1496-1561),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Oldesloe \(Schleswig-Holstein, Germany\)](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Oldesloe (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany)); Neff, Christian, Robert Friedmann and Richard D. Thiessen, (2015), “Denner, Jakob (1659-1746),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Denner, Jakob \(1659-1746\)&oldid=131448](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Denner, Jakob (1659-1746)&oldid=131448); Neff, Christian, Harold S. Bender and William Klassen, (1958), “Oath,” <https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Oath&oldid=166261>; Neff, Christian, Harold S. Bender and Richard D. Thiessen, (2009), “Denmark,” <https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Denmark&oldid=169685>; Richard Thiessen; 2017 Update, Krahn, Cornelius and Richard D. Thiessen, (2014), “Smissen, van der, family,” <https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Smissen, van der, family>; Thiessen, Richard, 2017 Update, Vos, Karel and Nanne van der Zijpp, (1956), “Goch (Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Goch \(Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany\)&oldid=145258](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Goch (Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany)&oldid=145258); Zijpp, Nanne van der, (1956), “Dirk Willemsz,” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Dirk Willemsz \(d. 1569\)&oldid=141426](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Dirk Willemsz (d. 1569)&oldid=141426). Also cited in this essay is *Healing Memories, Reconciling in Christ: A Lutheran-Mennonite Study Guide for Congregations*, 2011, approved by the Mennonite World Conference and the Lutheran World Federation, <https://elcic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/HealingMemoriesOnlineFinal-March21.pdf>. Additional research of interest related to Martyrdom, Anabaptism and the Reform movement of the Low Countries include: Marnef, Guido, “Antwerp’s Expunged Protestant Past” translated by Scott Rollins, 16 January, 2024, <https://www.the-low-countries.com/article/antwerps-expunged-protestant-past>; and Marnef, Guido, “Lutherans in the Low Countries. Self-Imposed Thresholds and Calvinist Clout,” *The Low Countries* - 2017, 25, 307-308, as at <https://www.the-low-countries.com/article/lutherans-in-the-low-countries.-self-imposed-thresholds-and-calvinist-clout-1>; Driedger,

Michael, "Response to Review of *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona During the Confessional Age*," Reviewer Graeme Murdock for the University of Birmingham, <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/286>; Block, Matthew, "The Martyrs: Esch and Voes," in "Saints of the Reformation" for *The Canadian Lutheran*, March/April 2016, 47, <https://issuu.com/thecanadianlutheran/docs/cl3102-issuu>; Wiersma, Hans Haitze, "The Recantation, Restoration, and Reformation of Jacob Probst: A Wittenberg "discipulus" from the Low Countries," Luther Seminary, 2005, PhD Thesis; Wiersma, Hans, "Hagiography: Sts. Johann, Hendrik, and Henry, the First Martyrs of the Reformation," in *Lutheran Forum*, eds. Piotr J. Malysz and Matthew O. Staneck, Fall 2011, <https://www.lutheranforum.com/blog/the-first-martyrs-of-the-reformation>.

⁸ Bell's Table XI helpfully categorizes the "Foreign Protestants" moving to Lunenburg *County* geographically (page 315), and Table X relates to "Foreign Protestants" moving to *Nova Scotia* more generally (pages 306-309). The content of these pages in Bell, significantly overlap with locations on Maps 1 and 2 (pages 10-11) highlighted by Otterness and these significantly overlap with stops on Elisabeth Van Der Smissen's ecumenical fund-raising circuit. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is the same Society in Otterness (SPG: 40, 53, 84) and in Bell (S.P.G.: 116, 156, 157, 164, 347n, 349, 538, 548n, 550, 551n, 604n, 613 etc.). The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) is a different but related Society (Bell, 610). New England Planters and Foreign Protestants began to work and live together at Louisburg after 1745, and Halifax after 1749. Then Lutherans of both varieties lived concurrently in Nova Scotia after the start of the Expulsion of the Acadians under policies by Governors Shirley and Cornwallis. Regarding personalities like Anglican Sebastian Zouberbuhler (assistant to Land Agent Samuel Waldo in the 1730s), see Bell, 59. He appears first among the New England Planters, and then later becomes an influential Member of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas in Lunenburg, and representative to the Second Nova Scotia Legislature in Lunenburg after 1753, see Bell, 543, 589, and also Cronmiller, 1961, 34-36; and *Jubiläums-Büchlein*, 1911, 3-5. In Canadian History, scholarship frequently remembers Governor Cornwallis and Land Agent Johann Dick for bringing settlers to Halifax, but forgets the roles played by Governor Shirley and Zouberbuhler. Ongoing efforts for Truth and Reconciliation and towards decolonizing require that these larger connections be made. Colonial policies from Nova Scotia in the 1700s impacted immigration to the era of Elisabeth Van Der Smissen and Louisa Cossman Bowers and continue to impact federal policy-making to this contemporary era.

⁹ Canadian Lutheran Professor Bryan Hillis is correct in pointing out that many English language North American Lutheran history books begin with the story of the successful Scandinavian Lutheran exploration to North America by Jens Munck in 1619, see "Outsiders Becoming Mainstream: The Theology, History, and Ethnicity of Being Lutheran in Canada," (page 251) in *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*. Yet the earlier Canadian Lutheran history book (in German Script) began its narration at Halifax. *Jubiläums-Büchlein* (1911) was created for the 50th Anniversary of the Canada Synod and it was to be released before the launch of Canada's first Lutheran seminary opening in the federal riding of Waterloo North, the riding of William Lyon Mackenzie King. When King, and Lutherans across Canada opened *Jubiläums-Büchlein*, the opening paragraphs brought readers into the story of Cornwallis landing Foreign Protestants in British North America at Nova Scotia. The opening story was about the systemic pressures put upon Lutherans to give up their faith by the Colonial Government and the Church of England (as aided by "unlauterer," clergy, 6). William Lyon Mackenzie King was from Kitchener-Waterloo and went on to be Canada's longest serving Prime Minister. He knew Lutherans well. The Canada Synod was a pre-Confederation organization. Jürgen Goos had been an executive of the Canada Synod for a full decade of the synod's first fifty years. By 1911, he was already in Spruce Grove, Alberta, and almost immediately after the seminary launch in Waterloo, Goos and Thomas Hartig launched the seminary on the prairies that became known as Lutheran College and Seminary in Saskatoon (Eylands, 249-252). Both seminaries were launched by Schleswig graduates (Lincke, Goos, Hartig). Of the clergy who served in the western Canadian Synod to 1947, 23 were graduates of Kropp Seminary in Schleswig and seven more were sons of Kropp graduates, see Heick, Otto, *Go into All the World*. Schleswig Lutherans served on the Executive of the Canada Synod for more than seventy of the first ninety years of the Synod.

¹⁰ No biography or profile for Louisa Cossman Bowers yet exists. As such, the details in this essay are *propositional history*. Most recently Louisa Cossman Bowers is mentioned by Peter C. Oickle, in *St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church Bridgewater, Nova Scotia, 2004*, Chapter 6: The Church in the Community, "A Home for Orphans," 98, and in Cronmiller *A History*, 65-66. The essayist invites and welcomes collaborators to help build a more robust profile for Louisa and to strengthen the peer review. A Memorial in her honour was printed in the *Bridgewater Bulletin*, April 3, 1917, and was attached to her Find A Grave citation (with thanks to Rosemary Rafuse). See, Memorial

Louisa Cossman Bowers, created by: S D Goddard-Livingstone, Added: Mar 27, 2011, ID: 67515085, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/67515085/louisa-bowers>. The largest quantity of details regarding Louisa's life come from three writings by D. Luther Roth as can be found in references to her parent "Father Cossman of Lunenburg, the Muhlenberg of Nova Scotia," her husband Rev. William W. Bowers and her son Rev. Frederick Anspach Bowers. D. Luther Roth first met the widowed "Mrs. Bowers" and "her little daughter" on July 4, 1875, when he was a seminary student being shepherded around Lunenburg County by Rev. Cossman on Roth's first weekend in Nova Scotia. Cossman became Roth's mentor, and Roth even named a child after him. Roth came to know F. A. (Fred) Bowers by at least July of 1890 when Bowers was a theological student returning home to fill a vacancy at Rose Bay and he was granted privileges of the floor at the Conference meeting, (as noted by Roth as Secretary for the Nova Scotia Conference). Roth was the original Minute taker and Archivist for the Conference. Roth wrote, gathered and organized the original documents and the material-collection system for the Conference while he was pastor at Zion, Lunenburg between 1875 and 1884. Judge DesBrisay in his *History of the County of Lunenburg* (1895), notes that on June 25, 1880, Roth presented to a "crammed church" on the occasion of the 350th Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, "An address of welcome" in which he "traced the course of the Church in the county from the coming of the first settlers, and asked his hearers to see the great change from early days, in his announcement: 'Now we have 4 ministers in the county, 14 churches, 1,400 communicants, and fully 5,000 people.'" The three histories by Roth include: 1) *Acadie and the Acadians*, Philadelphia, Lutheran Publication Society, 1890), digitized in 2008, <https://archive.org/details/acadieandacadia00rothgoog> ; 2) *A History of the Lutheran Church in Nova Scotia from 1850 to the Organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Nova Scotia in 1903*, (84 typed pages including a 24 page appendix), and 3) the handwritten manuscript of *A History* for peer review (265 pages with a 54 page appendix) all available at Wilfrid Laurier University Archives, <https://libarchives.wlu.ca/index.php/a-history-of-the-lutheran-church-in-nova-scotia-from-1850-to-the-organization-of-the-evangelical-lutheran-synod-of-nova-scotia-in-1903-by-rev-d-l-roth-wlulutharc-bx8063-c2-r594-ls239>. See also Oickle, Peter C. "Called to Serve, Bridgewater, Lunenburg County," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.51644/XLRA2099>.

¹¹ More is written about Lutheranism in Canada by scholars than most keyword searches will find. For example, in the Index to the recently published *Lutherans in America, A New History*, Mark Allen Granquist, notes references to "Nova Scotia" on pages 98, 108, 136, 139, however, there are no Index listings for "Canada." Granquist's reflection on "Lutheranism on the Frontier and in Canada" (97-98), however, is most helpful for understanding Canadian Lutheran history, and really (despite the lack of identification in the Index), Granquist's whole text of *Lutherans in America* is an excellent book for investigating Canadian content. See Mark Allen Granquist *Lutherans in America: A New History*, (Minneapolis: National Book Network, 2015). References to "the County," and "Lunenburg County," in this essay refer to the settlement-period territory which included - and extended beyond - the community of Lunenburg. The current local practice would be to use the language of "the County" to refer to everything outside of Lunenburg.

¹² Of the 556 Lunenburg families identified by Bell, only 16 were from Saxony/Thuringia. In contrast, 50 families were from Switzerland (36 of these immigrated via Land Agent Johann Dick and 14 with Cornwallis) and another 78 were from Montbéliard.

¹³ Bell indicates that 78 settler families to Lunenburg were from Montbéliard, and 9 were from the Netherlands and 4 from France (Table XI, 315, also 388-390). Helmut T. Lehmann in "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's Canadian Connections," pays due attention to Montbéliard in early Nova Scotia history. He highlights that Frederick, Count of Wuerttemberg and Montbéliard signed the Formula of Concord in 1577 (186). See Lehmann's writing in *A Festschrift: A Tribute to Dr. William Hordern*. Bell's focus in *Foreign Protestants* is more so on the Montbéliard immigrants who stayed in Lunenburg after the 1768 Communion incident, and not on those who moved out like George Tattrie and family who moved to Tatamagouche with DesBarres (the son of a Lutheran pastor from the Montbéliard area). Bell's conclusions are impacted by this choice, though he does briefly admit that the out-migration of Montbéliardians after 1768 impacted the provision of schooling and language services in Lunenburg (610). Bell paints Zuberbuhler in a positive light on page 610. Similarly, unable to get a Lutheran clergy in Tatamagouche, these Lutherans became Presbyterians.

¹⁴ Later in the essay it becomes clearer that Louisa Cossman's father proclaimed Christ best in the Halle-Wittenberg German-language and forms. The arrival of Rev. William W. Bowers to take up the English-language work in Lunenburg County was a significant relief to Cossman. In the 1870s William Bowers was still translating Cossman's German into English at meetings as happened at the 1860 resignation meeting of J. J. Stine who was

hired to replace Bowers as Cossman's English-language Assistant at Lunenburg (Roth, *A History*, 1905, 20). Bowers died unexpectedly of illness in 1873 and Louisa was widowed. When Cossman started to preach in self-described "poor English" in his 70th year of life, he pleased neither the English nor German speaking people. Bowers was from the United States, and he was deeply a part of the Muhlenberg tradition of Lutheran churches around Philadelphia. He was a member of the Maryland Synod and a student of Dr. Anspach who was endeavoring to launch "females seminaries" in the United States. Before Bowers left for Nova Scotia there were 101 young Lutheran women taking advanced studies together from Alabama, Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, and Ohio at Hagerstown, and additional young women studied nearby at Gettysburg under the leadership of David and Rebecca Eyster, see Granquist *Lutherans in America*, 154-155, and also, Kuhnert, Karen (2023) "Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, A Propositional History."

¹⁵ The narrative featured in this essay was originally written down by Andreas Jung after Easter in 1768. Jung was the Treasurer of the Zion congregation in Lunenburg. Jung wrote in the German language; Roth and Bell both read and wrote German. If the story of the Easter communion itself ever faded, it was certainly fully revived again by June 25, 1880, during the service of the Commemoration of the 350th Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession held at Zion Church in Lunenburg. It is more likely, however, that the memory of the Bryzelius incident resurfaced in the summer of 1863 after William Bowers had returned to the United States during the American Civil War and his replacement created controversies that may then have been attributed to collusion with the Church of England. H. W. Roth came to Lunenburg in 1873 to disentangle the controversies. Three congregations agreed to join the Pittsburgh Synod which was sufficient to form a Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod in Nova Scotia. These congregations then had a formal relationship to the Canada Synod (est. 1861). In 1874 John Henry Hunton arrived in Bridgewater from the St. John's Riverside congregation in the Canada Synod. It was Hunton's congregation that was compensated by Parliament for Canadian Lutheran losses to the Church of England (\$2000 in cash, 37 and ½ acres of land, as well as having the Church of England return to the Lutherans their silver chalice and patters for communion, see Cronmiller, 99). D. Luther Roth, brother of H. W. Roth, arrived in Lunenburg County in 1875 and wrote much of the manuscript for *Acadie and the Acadians* between 1875 and June 25, 1880. The story of what happened in Bridgewater and Lunenburg in the 1860s became Roth's second manuscript (completed in 1905) which Bell does not seem to have had access to when he wrote *Foreign Protestants*, see Bibliography, 645. Bell reasonably points out problems with Roth's quotations from Jung's diary. It is most unfortunate that some of these problematic quotations are repeated throughout Canadian Lutheran history (Eylands, 1945, 36; Cronmiller, 1934, 10; Cronmiller, 1961, 47). A closer look at Jung's diary is needed. Bell's tone signals that Bell finds Roth to have made outrageously inappropriate and unfounded accusations, and he describes Roth as being "impelled, apparently, by a consuming rancor against the Anglican Church," (page 587). But Roth knew (and Bell did not), that similar allegations had already been levelled, and proven accurate, with compensation being given to the Upper Canada Lutherans by an Act of Parliament. Bell published *Foreign Protestants* concurrently with Cronmiller's *History*. Only after Cronmiller's 1961 English-language *History*, did the colonial era patterns become obvious. The controversies that led to loss of lands, buildings and communion were for the congregations served by Cossman and Bowers in the 1860s had parallels in the earlier eras in Upper Canada/Ontario and in Halifax. There was also a pattern of "unlauterer" clergy, and among them would be Bryzelius in Lunenburg in 1768, Stine in Lunenburg in 1860, Hutchinson in Bridgewater starting in 1863. This narrative begins on page 1 of *Jubiläums-Büchlein*. This material was covered in the *History of Lutherans in Canada* written by Nils Willison for the unveiling (by Prime Minister R. B. Bennett) of the Memorial Cairn honouring Samuel Schwerdtfeger, Herman Hayunga and 150 years of Loyalist Lutherans in Canada, <https://images.ourontario.ca/Partners/WLU/0030813651T.PDF>. Correspondence related to the petitions for compensation, and Parliament's compensation, is available at Laurier Archives (and much of it in Hayunga's hand) in the files of St. John's Riverside. See also Hayes, Alan Lauffer, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

¹⁶ What did Roth mean when he italicized the word "Agendae," (in the quote from Jung, Roth, *Acadie*, 275). What is the capitalized "Art und Weiss" in Bell (602) referring to? Bell says that what happened during the communion was... (596 first paragraph). Bell and other scholars approach the matter of the Communion controversy politically – without regard for it theologically.

¹⁷ Image courtesy of Karen Kuhnert, Archivist Visit to the Lambeth Palace Library and Archives, London, November 17, 2023. Image courtesy of Karen Kuhnert from "A Brief Account of the State of the Church of England in the British Colonies in America," (1762), *Fulham Papers, Volume I*, original as photographed by Kuhnert at Lambeth Palace Archives, Friday, November 17, 2023. The Class I Colonies were "The Island Colonies, or West India," and the Class 2

Colonies were "The Colonies on the Continent of North America." When researching clergy who chose "reordination" with the Church of England, it is important to note that there are original documents available at the Lambeth Palace Library and Archives (with the original copies being digitally available by email request), see <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/c560ca9b-2552-49b2-809f-38ed1d626a09>. Especially helpful for an overview of Nova Scotia Lutheranism are the Fulham Papers, FP/1-40 - Fulham Papers Colonial. NOVA SCOTIA: 1751 101-11. Berger, Peter Christian: ed., 3 years' study of Hebrew and theology in Holland; t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, German Swiss in Nova Scotia, Nov. 15, 1751; 1758 112-13 Eagleson, John: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; 1762 114-15 Bennett, Joseph: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Lunenburg, Feb. 13, 1762; 1768 116-17 Egelson, John (presumably the same as 112-13, but documents are dated 10 years apart); 1771 118-19 Delaroché, Peter: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; Lunenburg, Feb. 16, 1771; 1774 120-7 Ellis, William: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, itinerant, Jan. 27, 1774; 1777 128-30 Fisher, Nathaniel: t., Granville and Annapolis, June 14, 1777; 1784 131-41 Lovell, Benjamin: ed., Harvard; t., chaplain, Cape Breton Isl., Aug. 19, 1784. Loyalist refugee; 1785 142-3 Howseal, Benjamin Michael; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, German settlers around Halifax, Oct. 26, 1785. Loyalist refugee; 1786 144-7 Wagner, John Christopher: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Germans at Clements, Apr. 26, 1786; 1787 148-53 Shreve, Thomas; ed., King's College, New York; t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Parrsboro, a Loyalist colony, Apr. 21, 1787; 1793 154-5 Ormond, David: ed., Pembroke College, Oxford; t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, itinerant; 156 Willoughby, --- : t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Cumberland, Feb. 13, 1793; 1794 157-8 Lloyd, Thomas: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; 1797 159-60 King, William Colsell: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Randon and Douglas, Feb. 18, 1797; 161-2 Norris, Robert: t., Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

¹⁸ What happened with Bryzelius remains perspectival, neither Bell nor Roth are error free and fresh research is needed. See also *Jubiläums-Büchlein*, (page 6 of 5-8) referring to Bryzelius.

¹⁹ "Acrimonious" quote from Bell, 597. If Jung was referring to the Member of the Inferior Court as the "highest officer in the government," and by this Jung meant (the Anglican) Zouberbuhler (as Bell suggests), then it is important to note that he and Waldo were investigated for the severe suffering of the Waldo immigrants in Maine from 1740-42 (Bell, 59).

²⁰ In the 1985 article by Helmut Lehmann called "Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's Canadian Connections," in *A Festschrift: A Tribute to Dr. William Hordern*, 185-193, Lehmann presents readers with Muhlenberg references that relate to Canada. Lehmann was a North American Lutheran scholar of regard, and also, a beloved President of the Waterloo Lutheran Seminary and College from 1944-1953. By the nature of Lehmann's subject matter, and source materials, Lehmann appropriately advanced Muhlenberg's - American - viewpoints on - incomplete Canadian content and contexts, and unfortunately the result is most unflattering and especially unkind towards Rev. Schwerdfeger. Readers of Lehmann's article on Muhlenberg's letters would no doubt be surprised to learn that Schwerdfeger is so highly regarded in Canada that the Prime Minister of Canada dedicated a Memorial Cairn in his honour in 1934. The ways in which Houseal and "Johan Schwerdfeger" are cast as "Loyalists" in colonial history should be reconsidered carefully, (Granquist, *Lutherans in America*, 108). Schwerdfeger was a founder of the New York Ministerium - after the Revolutionary War, he was a "Loyalist" founder, alongside Muhlenberg's son-in-law, Kunze - a "Patriot" founder, see also Cronmiller, *History* on "Schwerdfeger, J. W. S.," 88-90 and Lehmann on Schwerdfeger and Hausihl, 190-193). Muhlenberg's correspondence is used as a metaphorical "wax-nose" on this subject in Canadian history. Note the different spellings of the names.

²¹ An essay called "Lunenburg" was published in June of 1934 within *Lutheran Gleanings*, Volume 1, Issue 1, by Carl (C. R.) Cronmiller. This writing preceded his book, *A History of Lutherans in Canada* by almost thirty-years. *Lutheran Gleanings* (1:1) was prepared in anticipation of the arrival of Prime Minister R. B. Bennett to unveil the Memorial Cairn dedicated to Pastors Schwerdfeger and Hayunga and the United Empire Loyalists on the occasion of the 150th year Anniversary of the arrival of Loyalist Lutherans to Canada. The location of the Cairn was at St. John's Lutheran Church, Riverside on the St. Lawrence River south of Ottawa. The event was held during the 72nd Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada (June 5-10, 1934) with President F. H. Knubel of the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA) in attendance. Present and meeting with the Prime Minister was a delegation from the Nova Scotia Synod (ULCA, maritime provinces) including C. H. (Hugh) Whitteker Synod President-elect, President John Reble of the Canada Synod (ULCA, covering the provinces of Ontario and Quebec), and Synod President Thomas Hartig representing the Manitoba Synod (ULCA, Manitoba and the territories to the North and West). Reble and Hartig were both Kropp graduates. These leaders met with the Prime Minister as he was

bringing in national economic and social safety net programs after the hardships of the Dust Bowl and Depression. Convention Delegates noted that there were matters surfacing in Germany again that needed attention. They sent greetings and a message of sympathy and encouragement to the Lutheran Churches of Germany through the President of the Lutherische Bund (15). The Barmen Declaration had been issued May 30, 1934. (See Barnett, Victoria J., “Barmen Confession,” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 75-76). They also sent a telegram of loyal devotion to His Majesty the King (48). See *Minutes of the 72nd Annual Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada*. The event Programme is available at <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/3081365/data>, <https://images.ourontario.ca/Partners/WLU/0030813651T.PDF>. It is remembered, of the official public event, that Nils Willison was designated to present a pre-prepared history of Lutherans in Canada to the crowd. Yet at the event, Prime Minister Bennett, having been born at Hopewell, New Brunswick and being a graduate of Dalhousie University at Halifax (before moving to Calgary and Ottawa), surprised the crowd by telling the Lutherans their own history of which he was quite familiar. Willison was described by ULCA historian E. Theodore Bachmann as “the father-figure of the ULCA in Canada” who “envisioned a great unity and union of Lutherans in Canada,” (Bachmann, 1997, 190). Included in the Programme is a history of “Lutherans in Canada,” and “A Word of Explanation and Appreciation,” as well as a history called “From the Palatinate to Canada.” In the Programme it is noted that Schwerdtfeger arrived in Canada in 1789 and served peoples along the St. Lawrence until his death in 1803. Carl Cronmiller was a delegate and Officiant at the 1934 event and a likely co-writer of the histories in the Programme. He was the historian behind the articles in *Lutheran Gleanings*, 1934. C. H. (Hugh) Whitteker, President-Elect of the Nova Scotia Synod, was a son of the parish in which the Cairn was established. He and Cronmiller were students together in Waterloo beginning in 1924. In his writing of *Lutherans in Canada*, Valdimar Eylands used content from *Lutheran Gleanings*, and also Roth’s *Acadie and the Acadians*. The writings in *Gleanings* provided the frame for Cronmiller’s 1961 *History* text that was published concurrently with Bell’s *Foreign Protestants*.

²² This essayist admits to erring with the complicated colonial narration. During a 2011 Study Tour to Lunenburg County (called “LutherHostel East” in commemoration the 150th Anniversary of the Canada Synod/Eastern Synod,) a speaker reduced the history of Canadian Lutherans to being a history of German peoples. The essayist responded with a 2012 *Consensus* Journal article called “Only If”: Lutheran Identity in Canada,” in which the essayist wrote “Canadian Lutheranism was “German” for only a few decades of isolation in the mid-1700s in Nova Scotia” and noted that “something funny” had been happening in Canadian Lutheran history keeping that was problematic for identity formation. A follow-up Archivist Study Trip in 2015 revealed that Nova Scotia Lutheran’s were not even “German” in the mid-1700s. As this article demonstrates, even in the 1700s, the Nova Scotia Lutherans were part of a religious-cultural mosaic.

²³ 2024 is the 80th Anniversary of the Canadian Council of Churches of which the ELCIC (and her synods) are Members. For insights into Ecumenism in Canada today, see <https://councilofchurches.ca>. For an excellent understanding of Catholic-Protestant relationships in Canada today, read blog posts from Sister Donna Geernaert, SC, such as “The Canadian Council of Churches at 80: One Body,” Thursday, August 24, 2023, posted at <https://slmedia.org/blog/one-body-ccc-at-80> by Salt and Light Media. For materials related to Canadian Lutheran ecumenical partnerships, Agreements and identity investigations, see the following: regarding reconciliation with Mennonites see *Healing Memories, Reconciling in Christ: A Lutheran-Mennonite Study Guide for Congregations*, 2011, as approved by the Mennonite World Conference and the Lutheran World Federation, <https://elcic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/HealingMemoriesOnlineFinal-March21.pdf>; regarding Full Communion with Moravians see <https://www.anglicanlutheran.ca/wp-content/uploads/Lutheran-Anglican-Moravian-LAM-Declaration.pdf> and <https://www.anglicanlutheran.ca/partnerships/moravian-church>; regarding Full Communion with Anglicans see https://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/102184/waterloo_declaration.pdf; regarding the Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification with Roman Catholics see the journal *Ecumenism*, (Canadian Centre for Ecumenism, Montreal, No 141, March 2001) and *Ecumenism*, (Canadian Centre for Ecumenism, Montreal, No 81, March 1986; regarding Dialogues with the Reformed Church see Andrews, James A. and Joseph A. Burgess, eds., *An Invitation to Action; A Study of Ministry, Sacraments, and Recognition – Final Report*, (The Lutheran-Reformed Dialogue Series III, 1981-1983, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1984). Recent scholarly works that relate to Lutherans and ecumenism in Canada include the following: Bramadat, Paul, and David Seljac, *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2008), 247-286, and especially in this, see Hillis, Bryan, “Outsiders Becoming Mainstream: The Theology, History, and Ethnicity of Being Lutheran in Canada,” 247-286; Rawlyk, George, ed. *Aspects of the Canadian Evangelical Experience*,” (Montreal, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997),

241-254, and see especially Hillis, Bryan, “Lutheranism and Evangelicalism: Travelling in the Same Circle of Influence, 241-254; Freund, Alexander, ed. *Being German Canadian: History, Memory, Generations*, ed. Alexander Freund, (Manitoba, University of Manitoba Press, 2021), and especially Freund, Alexander, “Heavy Baggage: Memory and Generation in Ethnic History, 1-35, and Ensslen, Christine, “Creating Family Legacies: Descendants Memorialize Their German Female Ancestors,” 209-238 and also Worsfold, Elliott, “Gatekeeping in the Lutheran Church: Ethnicity, Generation, and Religion in 1960s Toronto,” 140-162; Hayes, Alan Lauffer ed. *By Grace Co-Workers: Building the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, 1780-1989*, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989,) 21-41, and especially Black, Robert Merrill, “Chapter 1: Stablished in the Faith: The Church of England in Upper Canada, 1780-1867, 21-41, particularly “the Rise of the Laity,” 38-39, and Hayes, Alan Lauffer, Chapter 2: “Introduction,” 1-5 and Chapter 2: “Questions about the Church’s Role in Society,” particularly “The Establishment in the Atlantic Provinces of BNA,” 51ff noting “John Strachan,” 61-63. Entries cited in this essay from the *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, ed. Nicolas Lossky, (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1991) include: Miller, Larry, “Mennonites,” 668-669; Bachmann, E. Theodore, “Lutheranism,” 641-643; Hjelm, Norman A, “Lutheran World Federation,” 640-641.

²⁴ Citations from Study Trips by Karen Kuhnert in this essay include: NOVA SCOTIA June 2015: Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, Dalhousie University Library and Archives, the Black Cultural Centre (Dartmouth) and the Halifax Native Friendship Centre, and this also included a time of mutual information sharing between Mi’kmaq Elder Billy Lewis and representatives of the Atlantic Ministry Area congregations (from Halifax, Dartmouth and Lunenburg County); VIENNA September 2023: Kunsthistorisches Museum; ERFURT October 2023: *Augustinerkloster* - Erfurt Protestant Augustinian Monastery; EISENACH October 2023: Wartburg Castle; DRESDEN October 2023: Saxon State and University Library and Archives and Residenzschloss; WITTENBERG October 2023; GENEVA November 2023 and March 2024: *Le Musee International de la Reforme* (MIR); and LONDON November 2023: Lambeth Palace Library and Archives.

²⁵ “The guiding question,” Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 22.

²⁶ Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 28 n. 28. Regarding the use of the term, Jensen explains that “Sanhedrin” is from the Greek word “*sunedrion*” literally meaning a “sitting together.” He explains that in the New Testament, it was commonly used to denote the Jewish judicial and administrative body of 70 elders. Jensen borrowed the concept, and term, of a “Wittenberg Team” from Robert Kolb, 29 n. 32, citing *Martin Luther and the Enduring Word of God: The Wittenberg School and Its Scripture-Centered Proclamation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016,) and *Luther’s Wittenberg World: The Reformer’s Family, Friends, Followers and Foes* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), especially 45-85. Jensen explains the larger concept of a *translation team approach* in “Translating As A Team Project” beginning on page 26. The team resurfaces as the Wittenberg Bible Revision Committee on pages 156-157. Read Jensen’s Chapter 2: “Luther the Interpreter and Translator,” 23-38.

²⁷ Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 23.

²⁸ Luther was at the Wartburg from May of 1521 to “early March” of 1522. The dates are being left in general terms as some scholars say March 1 and others March 6. Carter Lindberg in “Luther, Martin” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 441-446, preserves the general “May” to “March.” For more on *viva vox evangelii* see cited locations in Jensen’s index, 206 e.g. page 11 where Jensen cites Hartmut Hövelmann, *Kernstellen der Lutherbibel*, 1989. Luther as Junker Jorg met an international community of people during his extended stay at the Wartburg in 1521-1522, see Permanent Exhibit: (Haubner, Gerd and Lena Haubner, Wartburg Stiftung, Wartburg Castle, 2022). For evidence that the Luthers imagined a world audience, see Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 64, and *Women Reformers*, 58. Regarding the communication to Melanchthon and von Amsdorf, see Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 27-28, 62. Stjerna notes that after a relationship with a student suitor did not proceed, Katharina “quipped” that she would only agree to marry Von Amsdorf or Martin Luther, Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 55. Notably, von Amsdorf is the nephew of Luther’s former Augustinian supervisor von Staupitz and also Magdalene von Staupitz, one of the nuns that left Nimbschen with Katharina von Bora. See Kolb, Robert, “Amsdorf, Nikolaus von,” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 14. The close collaboration of Augustinians while doing Scripture work is featured in the current Temporary Exhibit (Bible-Monastery-Luther Exhibition) at the *Augustinerkloster* - Erfurt Protestant Augustinian Monastery, 2023. Once articulated as the sleeping “cells” for the monks, the small rooms near the Kloster library are currently identified as study carrels for translating and interpreting Scripture. Luther’s being eager to leave lone interpretation behind is affirmed in Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, especially at page 62. Timothy Maschke’s entry in the *Dictionary of Luther* (469) points to Luther returning to Wittenberg to acquire

“several lexical tools,” and it identifies the trip as being in early December, see Maschke, Timothy, “Luther’s Bible,” in *Dictionary*, 469-470. These ideas are not mutually exclusive.

²⁹ Jensen points out in *Experiencing Gospel* that the Holy Spirit “breathing through the Word, breathes into (Latin: in-spires) people and “does the gospel” in and for them. Holy Scripture is thus meant to drive people into relationship with God as Christ is driven into their hearts. Luther would have it no other way,” Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, see 22, 158.

³⁰ The quotation, “It happened quite often...,” is from the Temporary Exhibit: Bible-Monastery-Luther Exhibition, and it demonstrates the attentiveness of the translators to seek after the meaning to be communicated.

³¹ Regarding the Word breathed that passes to the heart, see Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 158. The understanding of the Luther Bible method as an “idea-to-idea” translation (from the time of Luther’s work at the Wartburg to his death) is presented throughout Jensen’s book. The phrase “idea-to-idea” translation appears most clearly on page 165; see also 165 n. 52. Regarding disappointment over careless work, see Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 59. The translating of *Job* as an idea-translation example that appears in Jensen, 68-69.

³² “Like a manger,” appears in Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 176. Members of the Cranach family appear often in writings about the Luthers. Lucas Cranach the Elder was appointed Court painter in Wittenberg in 1505. Prior to this he served the Court from Vienna. As the Elder became increasingly connected with the Reformation - his works became less featured in Vienna. The Kunsthistorisches Museum hosted a Temporary Exhibit called *Cranach the Untamed* (Kunsthistorisches Museum and Oskar Reinhardt Collection “Am Römerholz”) in 2022, see <https://www.visitingvienna.com/sights/museums/khm/cranach-the-elder> and also Permanent Exhibit “Between Court Culture and Museum: The Imperial Collections in the Kunsthistorisches Museum,” (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 2023). Works by Cranach the Elder, and by Lucas Cranach d. J. (the son) are more prominent at the Dresden Kunstkammer and Rustkammer. In this location, the portraits commissioned for 1578 of Albertine Elector Moritz and Ernestine Elector Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous (by Cranach the Younger or d. J, or *Junger*) indicate how much access to power the Cranachs had, and how political their assignments could be, (see the Permanent Exhibit at the Residenzschloss in Dresden as occasioned for the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017, *On the Way to Electoral Power*, especially “The House of Wettin and the Reformation 1517-1547,” <https://ruestkammer.skd.museum/ausstellungen/auf-dem-weg-zur-kurfuerstenmacht>). For *Experiencing Gospel*, Jensen draws on Andrew Pettegree’s book *Brand Luther* for many insights into Luther’s publishing considerations. Lucas Cranach the Elder and Christian Döring “convinced” Melchior Lotter the Elder of Leipzig to send his son to set up shop in Cranach’s workshop; with him came higher quality type and font choices, 61. Cranach then also addressed the paper needs by purchasing a new paper mill, 61. In the early years of Luther’s printing, Jensen makes it clear, that the production quality of Luther’s written works in Wittenberg were constrained by the limitations of the Rhau-Grunenberg print shop and by their “substandard proofing,” 59. The Lotter family was forced out of the Cranach Workshop in 1523 and out of Wittenberg in 1528, 73. An exhibition of the artistry that was possible from a standard press can be seen online in the Temporary Exhibit at the MIR on “Rembrandt and the Bible,” <https://www.musee-reforme.ch/rembrandt-et-la-bible>.

³³ Jensen is attentive to sensory elements in *Experiencing Gospel*, and especially so in “Enhancing the Translation,” 37ff; and 60ff. Regarding illustrations and ornamentations, see Jensen, *Experiencing Gospel* 60, 64-65. Note well, Kolb’s remark about Jensen’s coverage of the visual signal content, Kolb writes that Jensen opened “new vistas” for the readers as to how the material object of the Bible “hits the eye” as an opportunity for proclamation (viii). Jensen also quotes, Timothy Wengert as saying, “The central contribution of Luther’s September Testament comes from its surprisingly oral nature,” in Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 63 n. 39 citing Wengert, “Martin Luther’s September Testament,” 52. Jensen, *Experiencing Gospel*, 1ff, explains the legacy of the term *creative* in association with Luther’s writings. The convergence of the two groups of sanhedrin (the translators and the artists) becomes more obvious in Jensen’s details such as that the translators debated fonts (in 1541, on 162). See Chapter 9: “After 1534: How the Luther Bible Developed and Changed,” 153-170.

³⁴ Jensen offers the explanation that the word “inspired” relates to in-Spirited. This is what the Spirit does with the breath of God, it *in-Spirits* people.

³⁵ Jensen opens *Experiencing Gospel* with this story. See Acknowledgements, xv.

³⁶ Jensen citing from *The Freedom of a Christian*, (1520),” LW 31:368; WA 7:66, 34-36.

³⁷ The temporary openness to more widely accepting Katharina Von Bora as one among the Reformation community beginning in the 1980s, may be connected to the scholarship of Roland Bainton in the late 1960s and 1970s. Stjerna writes in her “Introduction: Expanding the Horizons with Women at the Centre,” in *Women*

Reformers of Early Modern Europe, p. xxv: For pioneering texts that describe women's participation, see the groundbreaking works of Roland Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy* (1971; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2001); Roland Bainton *Women of the Reformation in France and England* (1974; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2001); and Roland Bainton *Women of the Reformation, from Spain to Scandinavia* (1977; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2001). See also chapters in Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, eds., *Becoming Visible: Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); and Kirsi Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), *Women Reformers*, xxv.

The Preface to Stjerna's 2022 edited volume begins, "Several decades ago, Augsburg published three pioneering volumes on women of the Reformation by Roland Bainton (1971-1977). These volumes are still available and valuable today," xv. A fine compliment and an important one. It is worth noting that in 1970, the American Lutheran Church (ALC) and the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) -- to which many Canadian Lutherans belonged -- voted to ordain women to the office of Word and Sacrament. A Canadian version of the story of the beginnings of the Ordination of women to that Office in North America is told in Kuhnert, Karen (2022) "2SLGBTQIA+- Sexuality in Changing Canadian Lutheran Contexts and Identities," *Consensus*: Vol. 43: Iss. 2, <https://doi.org/10.51644/IIZK7015>. The story of the more recent beginnings of the Ordination of Diaconal Ministers in Canada is told in 2022 by Keffer, Anne; Knarr, Scott; Coman, Sherry; and Collins, Michelle (2023) "Remembering Our Legacy in Diaconal Ministry," *Consensus*: Vol. 44: Iss. 2, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.51644/AKCF7072>. Kirsi Stjerna is a celebrated scholar on the subject of Reformation History and women, and particularly of Katharina von Bora Luther as is evidenced by her entry for "Bora, Katharina von" in *Dictionary of Luther*, 98-100, and reviews of her 2009 text, *Women and the Reformation*. In 2009 Stjerna was the Associate Professor of Reformation Church History and Director of the Institute for Luther Studies at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. In 2022 she became the First Lutheran, Los Angeles/Southwest California Synod Professor of Lutheran History and Theology, Pacific Lutheran Theological Seminary of California Lutheran University; Core Doctoral Faculty, Graduate Theological Union, California, USA; Docent, Helsinki University, Finland. Stjerna's ongoing research and writing continues to evolve the historical characterization of Katharina von Bora Luther. Readers are encouraged to follow Stjerna's work – and always with an eye to dates of publishing. Stjerna's 2009 text investigated women with "basic feminist-oriented questions" that organize the biographical material (as identified in the Introduction, 2). The imprint of the 2009 feminist-oriented inquiry continues into *Women Reformers* in 2022. Recently, *The Alternative Luther* scholars (of whom Stjerna is one), are working at disentangling traditional gender constructions in scholarship as pertains to thinking about identity, gender and identity, and Lutheran Identity, see also the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) Department of Theology, Mission and Justice regarding the Lutheran Identity Process, and the 2023 Report of the Men's Pre-Assembly gathering prior to the 2023 LWF Assembly in Poland. *The Alternative* book includes four sections of particular note, 1: Precarious Life, 2: Body and Gender, 3: Women and Sexual Abuse, and 4: Economy, Equality, and Equity. The articles within the sections were written by a collectivity (a sanhedrin in some ways) that worked together between 2015 and 2018. Contributors to *The Alternative Luther* who also appear in this *Consensus* festschrift are Canadians Kayko Driedger Hesslein, and Allen G. Jorgenson, who have each, like Gordon Jensen and Karen Kuhnert, been shaped by experiences in both Eastern Canada and Western Canada.

³⁸ A Reformer – by whose definition? This is a reasonable question to ask. On a recent Study Trip to Wittenberg, the essayist found it difficult to find any female presence related to the Reformation. In contrast, in the Geneva International Museum of the Reformation (MIR November of 2023) two women are featured prominently, these being Marie Dentiere and Margaret de Valois (also known as Marguerite de Navarre). MIR Permanent Exhibit: A History of the Reformation, <https://www.musee-reforme.ch/en/permanent-exhibition/>, Permanent Exhibit: *Icones*. For the more complete insights into Von Bora Luther's *sitz im leben* as contemporary understandings around gender have changed, see what is being embraced by reading Stjerna's 2009 text chapters (Chapter 2: "The Monastic Option – The Struggle of the Convents" (especially on Nuns' Fight for Freedom, 23-30); Chapter 3: "Marriage and Motherhood – The Preferred Calling" (especially on Pastors' Wives, 32-39); Chapter 4: "Learning and Power – An Elusive Option," 40-47 especially noting page 45 regarding the education of girls) as these ideas evolve into updated understandings in *Women Reformers* in 2022, (read the Introduction - especially xxi, and then "Conclusions and Observations on Gender and the Reformation," 213-222, which was completed by Else Marie Wiberg Pedersen's Chapter in *Women Reformers* ("Luther's Theological Anthropology and View of Women's Roles" by, 269-280 (Protestant Teachings and Women's Agency). What is being moved away from begins on pages 69-70 of Stjerna's

2009 volume regarding “Sources and References,” wherein Stjerna writes, “These works build on, and correct, the details chronicled by Thoma 1900 and Kroker 1906, as well as...,” 70.

³⁹ The Profile of Katharina von Bora in *Women Reformers* is authored by Laura Jurgens, sessional instructor, University of Calgary and Mount Royal University, Alberta, Canada. Jurgens, “Katharina von Bora (1499-1552): Morning Star of Wittenberg,” in *Women Reformers*, 53-62.

⁴⁰ Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 67. This essay will repeat the term “downplayed” as a call back to Stjerna’s consideration of scholarly works - such as that of Katharina von Bora’s biographer E. Kroker who downplayed Von Bora’s possible contributions. Readers should note that Kroker was writing in 1906. The overall image presented by Stjerna in 2009 is of the two Luthers in a partnership based on Katharina’s roles in land and household management, her inclusion as head of the household in Martin’s will, and her prompts (accepted by him) that he improve in collecting ministry fees (for examples).

⁴¹ Regarding the work by Kroker, see Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 67-68. Regarding Stjerna’s assessment, read *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 60. See Quote “Katharina did not exercise any authority as a theologian or a proclaimer of the Word outside her domestic domain...,” Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 60. However, readers are encouraged to understand the quote by reading the larger writing, (all of “‘Herr Doktor:’ Katharina von Bora,” 51-69). In the chapter Stjerna writes: “Her risky decision to leave the only world she knew without firm alternatives, with just the support of her fellow runaways and Luther in Wittenberg, was the maturation of her exposure since 1519 to his writings against monastic life, which had caused unrest among the nuns, (see Kohler 2003, 118; Beste 1843, 14-15, 18 Hansrath 1993. 250; Thoma 1900, 25-32; Ruttgardt 1999, 49-51),” 54.

⁴² Lohrmann, Martin J. Review of *Women Reformers of Early Modern Europe: Profiles, Texts, and Contexts* ed. Kirsi I. Stjerna. *Lutheran Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (2023): 462-464, <https://doi.org/10.1353/lut.2023.a911862>.

⁴³ Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, Section 1: Women Theologians and the Printed Word features Katharina Schutz Zell, Argula von Grumbach, Marie Dentiere, Elisabeth Cruciger and Margarethe Pruss (“Prophets in Strasbourg and their Publisher Margarethe Pruss,”) 17-22. See also Stjerna, “Margarethe Pruss (d. 1542): Printer,” in *Women Reformers*, 2022, 43-49.

⁴⁴ Stjerna, “Women and Theological Writing During the Reformation,” 2012.

⁴⁵ Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 59. Jensen includes the detail of the Coburg Castle letter almost as an aside amid the section on the “Developing Printing Industry,” and in the context of Luther being unhappy with the quality of printing and production he experienced. It is worth being abundantly clear here however, that Jensen is a dedicated professor in the cause of recognizing women in the Reformation era. He has led a much-appreciated Study Tour to Europe that focussed primarily on Women of the Reformation that included the Danish Elisabeths, Elisabeth Meseritz, Katharina von Bora, Katharina Krapp (who married Melanchthon), Argula von Grumbach, Katharina Schutz Zell, and others. His trips and regular course work related to Gender, are remembered and appreciated.

⁴⁶ Read Luther’s own words on his concern for the safety and quality of his work as found in Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 68 n. 69. Regarding the carelessness of the first printers see Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 73 Regarding the talented Lotter business replacing the earlier printer and within the Cranach Workshop see Jensen 61. Then the Lotter Press was forced out of the Cranach Workshop in 1523 and out of Wittenberg in 1528 (73). The close relationship of the Luthers and Cranachs is documented in Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 56, and Stjerna, Kirsi, “Bora, Katharina von” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 98-100. Katharina lived in the Cranach home as noted in Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 55. Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 68.

⁴⁷ Jensen, Gordon A., “Augsburg Confession,” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 53-55. See also, Hjelm, Norman A, “Lutheran World Federation” in Lossky, Nicolas, ed. *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1991) refers to the LWF bilateral dialogues with the official representatives of the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, Reformed, Methodist and Baptist traditions, 640-641.

⁴⁸ In 2009 Stjerna knew of 21 extant letters from Martin Luther to Katharina Luther, 57, and Stjerna read them, 52. However, without the features in Jensen’s work on the challenges of printing, and the “idea-to-idea” translation effort, perhaps the 1530 letter and request did not register as particularly significant in 2009. The Coburg correspondence between the spouses is regularly remembered by the distraction of Martin Luther passing on advice to Katharina from Argula von Grumbach - about breastfeeding! The Profile of Argula von Grumbach in *Women Reformers* is authored by Peter Matheson, honorary fellow, theology program, University of Otago, New Zealand. Matheson, “Argula von Grumbach (1492-1554/57): A Woman with the Word” in *Women Reformers*, 13-22. See also Stjerna, 2009, 72-85; Stjerna (79) notes that Von Grumbach and Luther met on June 2, 1530, in Coburg which was after Luther’s letter to Katharina regarding his printing. As the era of the lesser quality outputs from the Rhau-

Grunenberg print shop was over, what was Luther particularly worried about? What were Katharina's roles? What was her welcome among the visual artists, object workers and entrepreneurs in the print business at that moment in time? She was not unknown in the community, when Katharina first moved to Wittenberg from Marienthron in Nimbschen she resided in the homes of Philip Reichenbach, Philip Melancthon and then the Cranachs, (Stjerna, 2009, 55). Lucas the Elder and Barbara Cranach were among the small group at the wedding of the Luthers in 1525. Did Katharina work through the Cranachs in 1530? Or, through business channels such that there might be a record? And of course, is it still necessary for Katharina Luther's participation in the Reformation to be downplayed; if so – why?

⁴⁹ Popular perception has held that a handful of significant men plus some additional helpers, (Forster, Ziegler and Georg Rorer as referenced on 28 n. 29), translated the Scriptures “into German” when there was no singular or standard German language at the time, 29. Jensen's Chapter 3: “German Bibles before Luther: So Many Myths!,” 39-56, addresses this and other misperceptions. A summation of the four most significant myths can be found on page 40. See also “Translating As A Team Project,” 26ff. Typically, however, if Elisabeth von Meseritz Cruciger is remembered at all in Church history, she is minimized as a hymn-writer (not just specified as a hymn-writer), and she is not yet widely recognized as a Reformation theologian who expressed her theology in the medium of music. The Profile of Elisabeth of Meseritz in *Women Reformers* is authored by Mary Jane Haemig, Professor Emerita of Church History, Luther Seminary, Minnesota, USA. Haemig significantly improves the possibility of correcting how Elisabeth's contributions have been downplayed when Haemig writes “As hymns were *considered proclamation...*,” 38, (italics added). See Haemig, Mary Jane, “Elisabeth Cruciger (ca. 1500-1535): Lutheran Hymnwriter,” in *Women Reformers*, 35-42. “Meseritz” is a reference to a community in Pomerania East of Berlin (Treptow, 35, is modern Trzebiatów, Poland). The name Cruciger is sometimes spelled Creutziger or Kreutziger, 41. Haemig has had reason to wonder if the hymn by Dear Els, “Herr Gott” was originally composed in low German in 1521, 37. Notably, the hymn is still sung in Lutheran congregations. In North America the hymn is identified as “The Only Son from Heaven,” #309 in *Evangelical Lutheran Worship*.

⁵⁰ Readers are encouraged to see Halvorson, Michael J., “Holy Roman Empire” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 334-338, and to read not only beginning at the section on “Religious Reform,” 336, but the entire entry to conceptualize how religion fit into the collision of empires. For example, Lutherans arriving in North America in the 1700s were impacted by the empire building of the French King Louis XIV and British Queen Anne, as in Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York*. For evidence that the Luthers imagined the Reformation to be addressed to a world audience, see Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 64, and Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 58. The Profile of Marie Dentiere in *Women Reformers* is authored by Mary B. McKinley, Douglas Huntley Gordon Professor of French, Emerita, University of Virginia, USA. McKinley, “Marie Dentiere (1495-1561): In Defense of Women,” in *Women Reformers*, 23-34. Marie Dentiere was a theologically educated woman in her own right before marriage. Dentiere was later published and did public-speaking as a public theologian. Her first husband Simon Robert was a priest (also from Tournai, Belgium). They were married in Strasbourg and moved to Bex and then Aigle on the shores of Lake Geneva. This location is notable because of the strategic trade and travel routes through the Alps. Dentiere and Robert became the “first married couple to hold a pastoral assignment for the Reformed Church,” 24. After being widowed (with many children), Dentiere married Antoine Froment of their community. A Facsimile copy of the title page of Dentiere's *Very Useful Epistle by a Christian Woman* (published anonymously in Geneva in 1538) is displayed in the cabinet of “Writings” immediately visible upon entering *Le Musee International de la Reforme* (MIR, the International Museum of the Reformation). The presence of French Protestantism and women in the Reformation appear – as no where else - in this museum! Marie Dentiere's *Epistle* is presented in the first room of *Le Musee* next to 1) an original Indulgence du pape Pie VI, 1780; 2) a facsimile of *Les 95 Theses* by Martin Luther; 3) an original 1525 *Traite du serf arbiter: De Servo Arbitro*, 3) a bound volume called *Recueil de textes des annees, 1520 a 1523*, by Martin Luther, Philipp Melancthon, Ulrich Zwingli et. al, and 4) a facsimile manuscript in Luther's hand that includes content from Luther's *Brief Confession on the Blessed Sacrament*, [A un bon ami: An einen guten Freund] by Martin Luther, 1544. The Permanent Exhibit Guide says, “The Reformation spread mainly through the written word, both printed and handwritten. Among the first editions of the founding texts, [shown here] such as Martin Luther's *Treatise On Christian Liberty* or *On the Bondage of the Will*, [is] a letter from his hand and the document of the 95 theses that triggered the Reformation. But fame is not everything. At the heart of this collection is the first page of a writing by Marie Dentiere, a contemporary of Calvin. It illustrates the largely ignored role of women theologians in the rise of Protestantism in the 16th century. This writing underlines the forgotten role played by several women in the advent of the Reformation, despite censorship and acts of

retaliation committed by theologians and authorities of all side. It took more than four centuries before the first woman pastor was consecrated in Geneva.” (see <https://www.musee-reforme.ch/en/permanent-exhibition/>). It is also notable that Luther’s sacramental theology is articulated from *Confession on the Blessed Sacrament* in this way - within a room in Geneva that is dominated by a quote from Jean Calvin that reads: “My mass – look here: it is the Bible, and I want no other.” Notable in Otterness, the 1709 Palatines, like Lunenburg County Lutherans in late 1800s, built and shared physical spaces for worship with Reformed congregations. At the least, a practical ecumenism existed among the settlers from the 1700s.

⁵¹ See the Profiles for Elisabeth of Denmark, 63-76, and for her daughter Elisabeth of Brandenburg (von Braunschweig-Lüneburg), 88-108. The Profile of Elisabeth of Denmark in *Women Reformers* is co-authored by both Sini Mikkola university lecturer in Church History, University of Eastern Finland, and by Paivi Raisanen-Schroder, Adjunct Professor and lecturer in Church History, docent, University of Helsinki, Finland. Stjerna, initially covered “Elizabeth von Brandenburg, 1485-1555, and Elisabeth von Braunschweig, 1510-1558 – Exiled Mothers, Reforming Rulers,” in *Women and the Reformation*, 88-108.

⁵² Quotation “Unknown in 1515...” from Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 58, including footnote 9 citing, Pettegree, *Brand Luther*.

⁵³ Early in the First Volume of *The Annotated Luther*, Timothy Wengert inserted into the essayist’s mind the image of the Grunenberg print shop as being in the basement of the “Augustinian friary,” in the way many current ‘dungeon’ copy-centres would be located across a multitude of North American universities (24), Wengert then has readers ponder whether or not the 95 Theses was actually printed and posted or nailed as per the classic images of “an angry young man with hammer and nails in hand, striding to the Castle Church door...” 25. The essayist endeavours to limit herein the number of beloved imagistic assumptions that don’t actually align with scholarly research. Enjoy reading Wengert, Timothy J., “[The 95 Theses or] Disputation for Clarifying the Power of Indulgences, 1517” in *The Annotated Luther, Volume 1: The Roots of Reform*.”

⁵⁴ Lohrmann, Martin J., “Bugenhagen, Johannes” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 108-109. Haemig, Mary Jane, “Cruciger, Elisabeth” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 181. Regarding Elisabeth Cruciger living with the Bugenhagens, see *Women Reformers*, 35, and 41 n. 3. Wengert, Timothy J., “Cruciger, Caspar, Sr.” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 180-181. Wengert notes that Cruciger’s translation contributions were in Hebrew. Cruciger is also recorded as bringing the Chaldean Bible to the translation table, Jensen citing Mathesius, *Experiencing Gospel*, 157. Regarding Antwerp, readers are encouraged to check out two very interesting contemporary reads about how the memory of Lutheranism had become “expunged” in Antwerp (the website source is listed as the House Ons Erfdeel Vzw, <https://www.the-low-countries.com/about>). The recommended blogs are by Guido Marnef, Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Antwerp, “Antwerp’s Expunged Protestant Past” translated by Scott Rollins, 16 January, 2024, <https://www.the-low-countries.com/article/antwerps-expunged-protestant-past> and “Lutherans in the Low Countries. Self-Imposed Thresholds and Calvinist Clout,” *The Low Countries* - 2017, № 25, 307-308 as at <https://www.the-low-countries.com/article/lutherans-in-the-low-countries.-self-imposed-thresholds-and-calvinist-clout-1>. These blogs arise in conjunction with the 500th Anniversary of the Reformation in 2017.

⁵⁵ McKinley’s Profile of Marie Dentiere in *Women Reformers*, 23-34, converges with the Dissertation of Hans Haitze Wiersma called “The Recantation, Restoration, and Reformation of Jacob Probst” around page 15 of his writing. The recognition of Marie Dentiere at The International Monument to the Reformation (the Reformation Wall) in Geneva, has wonderfully increased the volume of interest in Dentiere, in women in the Reformation, and the Reformation in general (see the Geneva City website: <https://www.geneve.ch/en/what-geneva/discover-geneva-districts/selected-monuments-sites>) Some of the details of Dentiere’s life, however, are contested, such as that she held office (or was specifically a Prioress), see Stjerna, 2009, 135. Yet these details are persuasively argued for in <https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/marie-dentiere-ou-dennetieres-1495-1561>. Some other details are beyond the reach of time, for example, the exact date when Dentiere started reading Luther is unknown but a narrow time frame is possible. At the end of McKinley’s Profile there exists a section of Notes, and a bibliography citing sources for serious research. Would Dentiere’s life be better attested if there were more French Protestants and French scholars to conduct research? How does minority status in Europe lead to minority status in North America, if at all? That the Word was spreading in many languages and locations is the key message here. Printing in the Low Countries is addressed in Marnef, “Antwerp’s Expunged Protestant Past.” To better understand the complex and internationally powerful family of Charles V and the geo-political and religious reach of his family, read Wiersma, “The Recantation,” beginning on page 28.

- ⁵⁶ Regarding Montbéliard, see The Online *Virtual Museum of Protestantism*, <https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-reformation-in-montbeliard>. According to the entry, in 1535 Pierre Toussain was sent to Montbéliard to open a school for boys and girls, later he met Farel, Calvin etc., these were members of Dentiere's community. This indicates that the Tatamagouche, Nova Scotia Lutherans from around Montbéliard, may have known French-language girls-schools that taught Reformation theology from Luther and/or Calvin in 1535 before coming to North America in the 1700s. For a scholarly work see **Élisabeth** Berlioz, "Protestant education in the Quatre Terres in the 18th CENTURY: a major issue for the Lutherans of the Pays de Montbéliard," *Chrétiens et société*, <https://doi.org/10.4000/chretienssocietes.3889>. George Tattrie (Tetteray) of Tatamagouche, is remembered as being injured defending the faith in the area of Montbéliard (see Bell, 103 n. 15a. Bell also wonders if this relates to Chagey, 27 August 1740, citing Renard). See also George Patterson's *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia* (1877) that indicates that sometime after the battle, Tattrie "came down the Rhine and took shipping at Rotterdam for England, in the year 1752," (128). Frank H. Patterson in *A History of Tatamagouche* (1917) notes that Tattrie, with "what few goods they possessed on rafts, drifted down the Rhine until they reached Rotterdam," (23). Researchers looking into how this Montbéliard story connects to North America may wish to search the term *Franche-Comté*. The idea of people being from "Wurttemberg," needs more specificity (see Hillis citing McLaughlin (1985) in "Outsiders Becoming Mainstream," 251. It is important to understand whether reference is being made to Wurttemberg/Franche-Comté (between Paris and Rome) or Wurttemberg/Strasbourg (between Paris and Vienna), see Maps in Otterness, *Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration*.
- ⁵⁷ Actions taken by Margaret of Austria (Burgundy and Savoy) are well detailed in Wiersma, Hans Haitze. "The Recantation, Restoration, and Reformation of Jacob Probst: A Wittenberg "discipulus" from the Low Countries." Luther Seminary, 2005, PhD Thesis, see especially 23 n. 46 where Wiersma addresses the influence of Margaret and her family.
- ⁵⁸ Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 54, footnote 71. Regarding Luther's awareness of the need for education for girls, see 45ff within 40-47 of Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009. That Luther published in multiple languages is addressed in Henning P. Jugens, "Printing in Sixteenth Century Lutheranism," in *Dictionary of Luther*, 621-623. For the ways Jensen understood Luther to aim to communicate Christ in vernacular language, see Chapter 4: "From September Testament of 1522 to the Luther Bible," 57-75, especially 58. The timeframe of the chapter begins prior to 1522 with the publishing that leads to the 1522 *Septembertestament*. See "The Developing Printing Industry," 58-61.
- ⁵⁹ The Hebrew Grammar of Jeanne Robert is remembered in history (perhaps primarily) because it was forwarded to Marguerite of Navarre (Marguerite de Valois) for her daughter Jeanne d'Albret by Marie Dentiere. Marie Dentiere's daughter (Jeanne Robert) created the Grammar by the age of ten for use by other girls. This story is covered by Mary B. McKinley, in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 23-34. The Profile of Marguerite of Navarre in *Women Reformers* is authored by Jennifer Powell McNutt, Franklin S. Dyrness Associate Professor in Biblical and Theological Studies, Wheaton College, Illinois, USA. Powell McNutt, "Marguerite of Navarre (1492-1549): Theologian and Patron of Evangelicals, in Her Own Words and Actions," in *Women Reformers*, 153-162. The Profile of Jeanne d'Albret in *Women Reformers* is authored by Kathleen M. Llewellyn, Professor of French and Associate Dean, Saint Louis University, Missouri, USA. Llewellyn, "Jeanne d'Albret (1528-1572): Reformer and Queen," in *Women Reformers*, 177-186.
- ⁶⁰ The story of Elizabeth of Hungary is still a feature of the Wartburg Castle. Luther was gifted a glass beaker that belonged to Elisabeth of Hungary in response to his deep appreciation for her while he stayed at the Wartburg, see "Elisabeth of Hungary and Martin Luther: Timeless Messages?," and "St. Elizabeth Cares for the Sick," Dutch/Flemish, mid-end 16th century, tempera on oak wood, Wartburg-Stiftung, Kunstsammlung, Permanent Exhibit, The Wartburg Foundation (Wartburg-Stiftung, Kunstsammlung) governs the permanent and temporary exhibits (and owns the art collection) of the Wartburg Castle. The Foundation's online depictions of the exhibits are excellent representations of what onsite visitors see, <https://www.wartburg.de/dauerausstellung>. Note especially the 1541 Luther Bible at <https://www.wartburg.de/objekte/lutherbibel>. They write, "Luther's most important Bible printer, Hans Lufft, published the first Lutheran full Bible in 1534, which was followed by several corrected reprints during the reformer's lifetime. In the summer of 1539, Luther and his colleagues began the first major revision of the Bible, some of the results of which were already incorporated into this copy. The ideal value and uniqueness of this Bible lie primarily in the entries by Luther and some of his comrades-in-arms. The mirror on the book cover contains a dedication from Luther dated 1542, with Philipp Melanchthon immortalized underneath. Marginal notes

from the first owner of this Bible, the Halle city judge Wolfgang Wesemer, accompany the entire text. They provide deep insights into Protestant piety in the 16th century.”

⁶¹ The trip by Luther is attested by the creation of *Luther Als Junker Jorg*, Lucas Cranach d. A., Holzschmitt, Wartburg-Stiftung, Kunstsammlung. Note, Katharina von Bora would not have been living with the Cranachs at this time as she was still at Marienthron until Easter of 1523. Luther’s decision to leave is found in Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 63.

⁶² The encounter in Wittenberg is noted by Wiersma in “The Recantation,” 31ff. Note the spelling of names, Wiersma’s “The Recantation... of *Jacob Probst*” refers to the person Marnef calls Jacob *Proost*. (Italics added). Proost preaching against indulgences is in Wiersma, “The Recantation,” 36, and the arrest of Proost is on page 40.

⁶³ Regarding the spread of the Proost story in Wiersma, see “The Recantation,” 69. Pruss printing is in Stjerna’s *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 18. The Profile of Margarethe Pruss is authored by Kirsi I. Stjerna, “Margarethe Pruss (d. 1542): Printer,” in *Women Reformers*, Stjerna, 43-52 and see especially 43-49; see also *Women and the Reformation*, 17-22. Texts are clear that the pace of publishing Reformation works from the press related to Margarethe Pruss increased – but did not begin- with her widowhood in 1522. Margaretha Pruss was the daughter of a printer of Catholic materials. She worked under her father in the print shop doing manual labour for printing. After she inherited the family company she moved into management. She printed Reformation works in Strasbourg after the death of her father and before Luther left the Wartburg (or published the *Septembertestament*).

⁶⁴ Regarding the imprisonment of Zutphen, see Wiersma, Hans, “Martyrdom and Persecution” in *Dictionary of Luther*, 488 of 487-489. Regarding the imprisonment of the Augustinian house, see Block, Matthew, “The Martyrs: Esch and Voes,” in the section “Saints of the Reformation” for *The Canadian Lutheran*, March/April 2016, 47, <https://issuu.com/thecanadianlutheran/docs/cl3102-issuu>. Block specifies that the Bishop of Cambrai had the larger group of Antwerp monks arrested, and Jacob Van Hoogstraten and several professors from the University of Louvain served as interrogators. Elsewhere it is recorded that Hulst overstepped his authority as Inquisitor and Margaret of Austria had him fired. Readers should take special note of the Bibliography for this *Dictionary* entry and consider this content helpful not only regarding the topic of martyrdom and persecution but also as inter-denominational source material for uncovering the religious-cultural mosaic that existed from the Rhone to Rotterdam along the Rhine before denominations developed (Reformed, Mennonite, Brethren, Lutheran and other churches). See also Wiersma, Hans, “Hagiography: Sts. Johann, Hendrik, and Henry, the First Martyrs of the Reformation,” in *Lutheran Forum*, eds. Piotr J. Malysz and Matthew O. Staneck, Fall 2011, posted at <https://www.lutheranforum.com/blog/the-first-martyrs-of-the-reformation>. Wiersma notes that writings like “*The Events and Circumstances concerning the Degradation and Burning of the Three Christian Nobles and Martyrs of the Augustinian Order in Brussels* (Anonymous), became best sellers (28). Luther’s hymn *A New Song Here Shall Be Begun/Raised Up*, also known as “*Ein neues Lied wir heben an*,” and his pastoral letter of encouragement to the Christians in the Low Countries, were widely circulated. At the time of this blog post, Wiersma was Assistant Professor of Youth and Family Ministry at Augsburg College in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

⁶⁵ The “Preface to Romans” was written by August 18 of 1522, and published for distribution again in 1546. In Jensen, *Experiencing Gospel*, 54, footnote 70, Jensen writes, “Luther and Melancthon advocated in the early years of the Reformation that all should have access to the Bible.” The second inset quote is from Jensen 53 footnote 69, quoting Colchlaeus (from Ingolstadt: David Sartorium, 1582). Regarding Magdalene Von Staupitz, see Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 53.

⁶⁶ See Haemig in Stjerna, *Reforming Women*, 2022, 35-42; regarding the translation into multiple languages see page 37; regarding Elisabeth’s hymn alongside Luther’s see *Reforming Women*, 2022, 35; regarding the wedding of Elisabeth Cruciger presided over by Martin Luther (see 35), and also regarding Walpurga Bugenhagen (see 41 n. 3). In 1524 there were two Erfurt *Enchiridion* published and Cruciger’s hymn can be seen via https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elisabeth_Cruciger. Also, take a look at the history of the developments of the Cruciger Wiki page since 2020, (the page is listed in the category of Arts and Entertainment). This is the 500th Anniversary of the *Enchiridions*.

⁶⁷ See Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 45, regarding the schools. Wittenberg got a “Maiden School” in 1533. Page 53 identifies Elisabeth (Elsa) von Canitz and Magdalene von Staupitz of Katharina’s Marienthron convent as two teachers. Johann von Staupitz supplied the Sisters with copies of Martin Luther’s writings while they were at Nimbschen. For connections to the education of Lutheran women in North America and “female seminaries” as existed at Hagerstown and Gettysburg before the American Civil War, see Kuhnert, Karen (2022) “2SLGBTQIA+- Sexuality in Changing Canadian Lutheran Contexts and Identities,

<https://doi.org/10.51644/IJZK7015> and Kuhnert, Karen (2023) "Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, A Propositional History," <https://doi.org/10.51644/LKTM5606>.

⁶⁸ Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 78. Jensen credits Hartmut Hövelmann, *Kernstellen der Lutherbibel*, 1989 at 78 n. 6 and 7.

⁶⁹ See Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 4. Jensen's Chapters 5-8 titled:

Chapter 5: Luther's Emphasis on "Word";

Chapter 6: Luther's Emphasis on "Listen to Him";

Chapter 7: Luther's Emphasis on "Forgives Sin";

Chapter 8: Luther's Emphasis on "Take."

⁷⁰ Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 5.

⁷¹ That the *1530 New Testament* included five additional pieces of art by "AW," appears in Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 73. Katharina maintained the von Bora, and also, the Luther businesses while juggling motherhood from April to October without Martin. The Augustinian monks-home called the Black Cloister, had been gifted to the Luthers at their wedding. Described by Stjerna as more of a "*domus academus*" (professor's house) than pastor's parsonage it was certainly a boarding house, 59, 60, 61, 69. Katharina brought business management skills with her to Wittenberg from Nimbschen 54, 57. Presumably the *1530 New Testament* was complete before Luther left for the Coburg Castle. After the Augsburg Confession: they met fifteen times, (Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 70); and then they met sixty or seventy times, (see Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 156–160).

⁷² That the table was in the home of Martin and Katharina Luther is found in Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 157.

⁷³ The affirmation of "Dear Els," is cited by Haemig in Stjerna, *Reforming Women*, 36. Stjerna in *Women and the Reformation*, on page 61 quips that "apparently only the Melanchthon's were more notorious than the Luthers for their spending on other people." This essayist suggests that by modern standards in North America, a more appropriate understanding for the Black Cloister would be a Campus Ministry House, see Gordon A. Jensen "Martin Luther was a Campus Pastor," <https://albertasynod.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Martin-Luther-was-a-Campus-Pastor-LCM-Presentation-Edmonton-2019.pdf>, Keynote address at the Annual Campus Ministry Dinner, University of Alberta Chaplains, Edmonton, AB, March 16, 2019. In the Oral History interviews and research related to Lutheran Campus Ministry in Canada (and North America) conducted by the Remembering Today for the Church of Tomorrow Project, Campus Ministry house meals are where clergy, faculty, students, and their families, converge in sharing food and ideas with reduced formality around hierarchies of position or theological authorities (clergy-laity, professor-student). The liminality of Campus Ministry spaces allows for emerging theologies to be tested and honed. That a quality education and convent life prepared Katharina and other women for convivial theological conversations is evidenced by Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 53, 63, 68-69.

⁷⁴ Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 58, 59.

⁷⁵ That the Crucigers "had three children, two of whom survived to adulthood," is in Haemig, *Women Reformers*, 36; that Walpurga Bugenhagen stayed with the Luthers periodically... (Kroker 1906, 121, 195-219; Nielsen 1999, 147)," is in Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 59.

⁷⁶ "What happens next?" is addressed by Jensen in pages 157-164, Stjerna, Kirsi, "Agricola, Mikael," in *Dictionary of Luther*, 3-4. Agricola studied at the University of Wittenberg from 1536-1539.

⁷⁷ Quote in Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 90. That Elisabeth lived with the Luther's is presented at length in Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 92ff. On page 55 of the same text, Stjerna notes a story of "the king of Denmark (whom [Katharina] first met in October 1523) ..." having given her a golden ring (dated in 1523 puts this encounter before Katharina's marriage to Martin in 1525). Christian III succeeded his father to the throne after King Frederik died in 1534 and it is Christian III who imprisoned the bishops and confiscated their territories after the Catholic-Protestant religious war of 1535 (as per Lund, Eric, "Denmark" in *Dictionary of Luther*, 188-191). Religious declarations followed by land seizures became a more common happening thereafter, for example, in Great Britain (with echoes then in Nova Scotia). Christian III invited Bugenhagen to Denmark and Bugenhagen presided at the coronation. According to Lund, among the Lutheran Superintendents was Peder Palladius who had studied in Wittenberg, and who created the pattern for Lutheran worship in Denmark. Lund says he helped to finish the 1550 Danish translation of the Bible (189).

⁷⁸ Information regarding the translation of the Bible into Danish was provided by Kitt Augustine Jessen (MA History), Sexton and House Historian, and Cantor and Lead Organist Jakob Lorentzen Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen

in February of 2024. Regarding Cruciger's hymn as part of the *Songbook* in Denmark and Norway in 1528, see Haemig 37-38 in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 2022. Cruciger's hymn was translated and circulated in English in 1535. Cruciger died in 1535 and so she likely never met Elisabeth of Brandenburg. Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 90, exemplifies the reach and impact of Reformation.

⁷⁹ Mikkola and Raisanen-Schroder in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 64, 65. Regarding indulgences, see 89.

⁸⁰ Mikkola and Raisanen-Schroder in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 2022, 66, 63-76; see also Stjerna, *Women and the Reformation*, 2009, 84-108 (especially regarding Elisabeth's stay at the Luther home). Elisabeth of Denmark's child-bearing years were from 1505-1513 (Joachim, 1505; Anna, 1507; Elisabeth, 1510; Margaretha, 1511; and Johann, 1513), 89. Martin Luther's hand-written revision notes (made during the time of Elisabeth of Denmark's stay with the Luthers) were seen in a special exhibition at the Wartburg Castle called "Luther Translated. "On the Power of Words," beginning in May of 2022 as part of the Commemoration of the 500th Anniversary of the Reformation. This Bible belongs to the Thuringian University and State Library (Jena). An article with images by one of the Archives staff is available at: <https://www.wartburg.de/objekt-des-monats-archiv/luthers-handexemplar-der-bibel-in-der-aktuellen-sonderausstellung-luther-uebersetzt-von-der-macht-der-worte>. As above, the Wartburg Foundation also owns a copy of the 1541 Luther Bible printed by Hans Lufft with Luther's hand written notes (as well as writings by Melancthon and others) as part of the Permanent Exhibit collection. A Research Staff article with images can be found at: <https://www.wartburg.de/objekt-des-monats-archiv/die-lutherbibel>.

⁸¹ Mikkola and Raisanen-Schroder in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 66.

⁸² Lund, Eric, "Denmark" in *Dictionary of Luther*, 189.

⁸³ Mikkola and Raisanen-Schroder in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 67.

⁸⁴ Mikkola and Raisanen-Schroder in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 66.

⁸⁵ Mikkola and Raisanen-Schroder in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 66. Elisabeth did this alongside Antonius Corvinus.

⁸⁶ Mikkola and Raisanen-Schroder in Stjerna, *Women Reformers*, 67.

⁸⁷ Lohrmann, Martin J., "Bugenhagen, Johannes" in *Dictionary of Luther*, 108.

⁸⁸ The words "Nova Dania" appear on the cover of publications, translations and histories relating to Munk's personal journal printed in 1624. See the *Relation* at <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/occihm.94004/5>, by Munk, Jens (Electronic reproduction, with 24 pages at the end in Danish). Munk and Munck are both used in source materials.

⁸⁹ Threinen, *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic*, 2-3. See also Kuhnert, Karen (2023) "Canadian Lutheran History: Remembering Today, for the Sake of Tomorrow," <https://doi.org/10.51644/FJTQ5960>, and Jensen, Gordon A.; Kuhnert, Karen; Sjoberg, Donald W.; and Larson, Stephen (2023) "Consideration of the Affirmation and Appeal, with Appreciation for the Work of Norman J. Threinen," <https://doi.org/10.51644/PGAM8611>. The most foundational writing for scholarly research that relates to Lutherans in Canada is *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* by Cronmiller. As noted above, *A History* (1961) was preceded by *Lutheran Gleanings* in 1934, a writing which was created in preparation for the visit of the Prime Minister of Canada to St. John's Lutheran Church, Riverside, in recognition of 150 years of Lutheran Loyalists in Canada. Valdimar J. Eylands, in *Lutherans in Canada*, notes that Munck/Munk, was born at Barbo, Arnedal, Norway. He writes that they sailed May 16th (but that was from the Sound), see Cronmiller, 14; the ships sailed into the Sound on May 9 with 48 people on the *Ehriorningen* and 16 on the *Lamprenen*. Threinen's *Religious Cultural Mosaic* was based heavily on his Dissertation: Threinen, Norman J. *Fifty Years of Lutheran Convergence: The Canadian Case-Study*. Dubuque, Iowa: Lutheran Historical Conference, 1983. Research for *Mosaic* was complete in 2000 though the text was published in 2006. Threinen's treatment of *Danish Lutheranism* in New Brunswick is helpful. It relies heavily on the work of George O. Evenson in *Adventuring for Christ: The Story of The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada*. Danish Lutheran history in New Brunswick is not fully covered by any single historian. The NAC materials include mixed medium articles, histories, oral presentations newspaper writings church advertisements and more, see <https://libarchives.wlu.ca/index.php/norman-antler-collection>.

⁹⁰ See Wiehl, Inga W. (1985) "Jens Munk: The Story of a Sailor Who Embraced His Fate," *The Bridge*: Vol. 8: No. 2, <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/thebridge/vol8/iss2/6>. This writing provides an interesting backstory on Munck/Munk and the King. There are, however, only two citations in the footnotes. Inga Wiehl holds a BA from the University of Copenhagen and an MA and PhD in comparative literature from the University of Washington.

⁹¹ On page 4 of *Religious-Cultural Mosaic*, Threinen, draws on Conrad Bergendoff, in *The Church of the Lutheran Reformation* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), 129, to indicate that Jensen was only certified to

minister because he had training in reading theology with an older pastor, hence he was a Chaplain and not ordained for sacramental ministry. Eylands (19) identifies Jensen as Aarhus in error. As Bryan Hillis points out in his welcome work “Outsiders Becoming Mainstream: The Theology, History, and Ethnicity of Being Lutheran in Canada,” references to Munck and “firsts” is often part of the Lutheran lore telling, 247-286. Remembering Munck is generally easy, so easy as to be taken for granted, but remembering Chaplain Rasmus Jensen is where a problem lies as he presided at the Christmas Eve Communion (Threinen, 4). This Lutheran nuance impacts every other chapter in the Canadian Lutheran history books regarding whether the settlers could have or should have succumbed to ordained Anglican Communion opportunities. Additionally, in North America, it impacts the crediting of whether a Danish Chaplain or priest of the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware served the first Communion.

⁹² Information regarding the Bibles and hymn books was provided by Jessen and Lorentzen, Holmens Kirke, Copenhagen. According to their research, the Bible began to be translated into Danish in 1480 by the Bridgettine nuns. Partial translations continued thereafter as needed. The first complete Bible in Danish was produced in 1550.

Images of the 1550 edition of the Danish Bible are available at <https://archive.org/details/1550-king-christian-iii-bible/page/n17/mode/2up>. The interior art features the Coat of Arms for Christian III. In contrast, Frederick II created a 1589 Bible that was not widely circulated, it can be seen in the auction profile posted at https://images.auctionet.com/uploads/item_1741908_cf34c57332.jpg. Early into the online edition of the Frederick II Bible, there is an image of a ship worth noting. The 1589 Bible advertised was owned by Søren Daniel Schiøtz (1796-1863) who was one of the founders of the Norwegian Mission Society. He played an important role in Bible translation and theology in Norway. The Norwegian Mission Society has historically been important to Canadian Lutheranism, and often by association with the Ronning family of missionaries, and specifically Canadian Diplomat Chester Ronning. The *Biblia Det er Den gantske Hellige Scrifft paa Danske igien offuerseet oc Prentet efter vor allernaadigste Herris oc Kongis K. Christian den IV. Befaling. Met Register/ alle D. Lutheri Fortaler ghans Udledning i Brædden oc Viti Theodori Summarier, Biblia Danica* Christian IV Bible is for sale in 2024 for \$18,5000 Canadian Dollars in February of 2024. Images are available at <https://biblio.sg/book/biblia-det-gantske-hellige-scrifft-paa/d/1496949264>.

⁹³ The idea of the use of the hymn “Lo, How A Rose Ever Blooming,” was advanced by Thorkild Hansen in *The Way to Hudson’s Bay* about Munck’s voyage on page 264 of Thorkild Hansen, *The Way to Hudson’s Bay*, translated by James McFarlane and John Lynch (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1970). Twice Hansen suggests what the crew would have been singing. He explains that prayers and hymns would have been sung with each meal, starting with a prayer and ending with a hymn, see <https://archive.org/details/waytohudsonbayli0000hans/page/218/mode/2up?q=hymn>, (Hansen pages 118, 218, 264), see also Threinen, Norman J., *A Religious Cultural Mosaic*, 1-3.

⁹⁴ See Cronmiller, “Lutherans at Port Churchill 1619-20,” *Lutheran Gleanings*, 3 of 3-6. The cover prayer was transcribed for Cronmiller by Sven Larsen as taken from the 1883 reprint of the original trip journal *Navigatio Septentrionalis* (printed in 1624) at the University Library at Copenhagen. The prayer is in handwriting on the cover near the top, Cronmiller, *A History*, 13 n. 2 with explanation on page 269. Equally beautiful is Munck’s return prayer as covered in *Lutheran Gleanings* on page 6, which includes the words, “Thou wast my highest counselor, guide and compass. Thou hast led me and accompanied me, both going and coming. Thou hast led me out of anxiety, disease and sickness, so that by thy help I have regained my health, and have returned to my native country, which I entirely believe to be Thy doing...”. Threinen’s *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic* omits the Communion recorded in the Journal, see Threinen page 2. In *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada*, 21, Cronmiller also names additional “Lutheran” explorers, Roald Amundsen aboard the Gjoa and Adolf Eric Nordenskeold of Finland and Sweden who moved through the Bering Strait in 1879, 21.

⁹⁵ See “Hansen, Niels Mikkelsen,” researched and written by Kathryn Wilson, in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hansen_niels_mikkelsen_14E.html. NAC: “A Bit of History by Lillian Pedersen on the 50th Anniversary of Bethany,” (1978), relays that on May 31, 1872, 6 families with 10 children and two young men left Denmark, Europe, for New Denmark, Canada. They travelled via Halifax, Saint John and Fredericton for 100 acres of woodland and \$30 to build log cabins. They sent a request to the Lutheran Inner Mission Society in Denmark for a pastor, and they sent N. M. Hansen in 1875 with his wife and 8 children. Also noted was that the Ladies Aid Society formed in 1906, and “Bethany” formed the Lydia Group in 1909. The Annex was dedicated in 1928 and Emil Nommesen was the first to preach at the self-supporting congregation in 1946 under A. N. Skanderup. Evenson, George O., *Adventuring for Christ*, pages 11-12, writes, “The oldest continuing congregation of the ELCC east of the Great Lakes is St. Peter’s, New Denmark, New Brunswick. As the place name

suggests, this is in a Danish settlement, which dates back to June 19, 1872. In 1875 Mr. N. M. Hansen, who was associated with the *Indre Mission* movement in Denmark, came to serve as teacher and spiritual leader of the immigrants. Because of lack of financial support, he was on the verge of returning to Denmark, when he was offered ordination into, and support from, the Anglican Church. He accepted on the condition he could use the Lutheran catechism and hymnbooks. His request was granted. However, when after about 20 years he left, his Anglican successor didn't use the Lutheran catechetical materials." This situation resulted eventually in an Anglican congregation, St. Ansgar's. In 1905 about 20 families who wanted a Lutheran church sent a petition to the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church (UDELC) for a pastor. In response the Rev. Peter Thoreby visited the district and on November 2, 1905, organized St. Peter's Lutheran. On February 4, 1906, its first resident pastor, A. P. Hansen was installed."

The footnote on page 12 (n 46) refers to John M. Jensen's writing: "The United Evangelical Lutheran Church: An Interpretation," page 242. A. H. Christensen, in his unpublished essay, "The Lutheran Church in Canada," states that the congregation was formally organized September 11, 1904 (page 15). A. P. Hansen was installed by L.H. Kjaer, President of the Atlantic District and was connected to Maine and to St. Ansgar's, Montreal. Carl Cronmiller notes that the UDLC entered New Brunswick in 1905 and Cronmiller refers to the location of Salmonhurst and Bethany, and the formation of a parish. In the same pages (245-246) Cronmiller refers to the Danish Lutherans in Saint John and their appeal to the Danish Church Abroad; these became members of the Nova Scotia Synod and eventually merged to become "Hope Lutheran." He notes that St. Ansgar-Toronto was formed in 1926, as was St. Ansgar-Montreal. NAC: "A History of St. Peters, New Denmark" indicates that the building for St. Peters was erected in 1918 across the road from St. Ansgar's. Evenson's text did not include Hope Lutheran Church, Saint John, New Brunswick. See NAC: "Where 'Hope' Springs Eternal: City's tiny Lutheran church is determined to carry on," Mike Mullen, *Times Globe*, Religion Section, Friday, January 27, 1995. Hope started as "Elijah Danish Lutheran Church in the early days of the Great Depression (the 1920s) meeting at the Jensen farm according to Sigrid Ovesen (pictured) who was part of the original congregation. The congregation's 1981 History indicates that "The first formal church service was conducted in October of that year in the Danish language – 'and for the next twenty-five years, the Word of God in liturgy, hymn and sermon was heard in both languages,'" and also notes that while the congregation was organized by Danes, in the six decades of life, members have been from twenty different national backgrounds. See also, NAC: The *Lutheran Landmark Series* feature on Hope Lutheran Church. This feature indicated that the original congregation started in 1931 under the leadership of Ravnkilde Moller. In 1957 when it joined the Nova Scotia Synod, members were Danish, German, Estonian, Swedish, Norwegian and English speaking. Pastors who served the congregation were Peter Thorslev, Nielsen, Archie Morck, Emil Nommessen, Victor Monk, Ernest Felker, Douglas Conrad and Thomas Graham. NAC: "25th Anniversary Service Guide St. Matthew Lutheran Church, Fredericton, New Brunswick, October 4, 1987," Kris Morgenstern represented the Lutherans of New Brunswick on the Interdenominational Committee of the New Brunswick Bicentennial Commission in 1984. See Mark Allen Granquist *Lutherans in America* for more on Danish immigration and Lutheranism in North America, and the UDELC from an American perspective, 188-189. Granquist's content compares with that of Evenson (14). Eylands in Chapter X refers to Camrose Bible Institute," in conjunction with the Swedish and Norwegian people" (301). Evenson's text extensively addresses the matter of Canadian Lutheran schools. Danish Lutherans in British Columbia appealing to the "Danish Church in Foreign Lands," is noted also by Eylands on page 302. Bachmann, E. Theodore, "Lutheranism" in Lossky, Nicolas, ed. *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, 641-643, offers an explanation of Lutheran history that relates to how Lutheran theology spread from Wittenburg across the globe and to North America. This entry does a particularly good job of pointing out how North American continental Lutheranism came to contemporary forms by uniting groups of Lutherans. Bachmann is the author of *The United Lutheran Church in America, 1918-1962*.

⁹⁶ See the images of the Immigrant House/Emigrant House from the 1880s hosted by the Canadian Register of Historic Places (CRHP) and note the description of the location that is home to the New Denmark Memorial Museum, <https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=5762>. Scholars seeking information on Scandinavian Lutherans in Canada may wish to refer to Eylands' *Lutherans in Canada*:

- Ch. VIII The Norwegian Lutheran Church in Canada, 278-287,
- Ch. IX The Augustana Synod 288-298,
- Ch. X The United Danish Church 299-303,
- Ch. XI Lutheran Free Church 304-305.

Norwegian Lutherans were in Compton County, Quebec in 1876, concurrent with the Danes in New Denmark, New Brunswick. The Bella Coola Norwegian Lutherans established themselves as a community permanently in British Columbia in 1895 though others stayed among other Scandinavians in the Lower Mainland. See also Kuhnert, Karen (2023) "Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief - Relationships: Coastal Compassion, A Propositional History," <https://doi.org/10.51644/UIHP3680>

⁹⁷ Pastors Hoffman, Reble, Tweitmeyer, and Holm, along with Henrik Van Der Smissen as Treasurer for twenty-five years, were all in executive leadership of the Canada Synod for seventy of the first ninety-two years of the Synod, see *Jubiläums-Büchlein*. This group sponsored the Manitoba Synod into being, and a son of the Manitoba Synod (John Schmeider) returned to Kropp for seminary studies as well, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.88024/1>. The Canada Synod was a founding Synod of the North American General Council formed in 1867. See Heick, *Breklum and Kropp*.

⁹⁸ Block, Matthew, "The Martyrs: Esch and Voes."

⁹⁹ Miller, Larry, "Mennonites" in Lossky, Nicolas, ed. *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1991), 668-669. Miller notes, "Dispersion of Dutch and North German Mennonites along the Baltic Coast began in 1530 and continued from Prussia to Russia." Note well, "On July 22, 2010, the Lutheran World Federation assembly in Stuttgart, Germany, took the historic step of asking the Anabaptist-Mennonites for forgiveness for past persecution and distorted portrayals of Anabaptist Christians. Delegates unanimously approved a statement calling Lutherans to express their regret and sorrow for past wrongdoings towards Anabaptists and asking forgiveness (see Supplements 1 and 2). The statement grew out of a four-year dialogue undertaken by the Lutheran-Mennonite International Study Commission, formed by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the Mennonite World Conference." This opening text appeared on page 1 of the Canadian publication created by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada and Mennonite Church Canada compiled by Margaret Loewen Reimer and Allen G. Jorgenson following the Stuttgart event. *Healing Memories, Reconciling in Christ: A Lutheran-Mennonite Study Guide for Congregations*, (2011) was approved for publication by the Mennonite World Conference and the Lutheran World Federation, <https://elcic.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/HealingMemoriesOnlineFinal-March21.pdf>. See also Zijpp, Nanne van der. (1956). "Dirk Willemsz (d. 1569)," [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Dirk_Willemsz_\(d._1569\)](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Dirk_Willemsz_(d._1569)). Within the Canadian *Healing Memories* there is also an image from the LWF Assembly in Stuttgart when Mennonite World Conference representative Larry Miller showed the *Martyr's Mirror* image of "Dirk Willems." The *Healing Memories* caption reads, "This image represents the Anabaptist ideal of loving the enemy, but Miller noted that such stories have sometimes led Mennonites to carry the martyr tradition as a "badge of superiority... blinding us to the frailties and failures that are deeply rooted in our tradition," 5. The essayist was present in Stuttgart in 2010 and at the Waterloo, Ontario Service of Apology to Mennonites to concretize the Stuttgart apology. *Healing Memories* has an online recommended resource guide on the back cover.

¹⁰⁰ Gordon Jensen's Gold-medal award winning Doctoral Dissertation included an extended investigation into the Peasants War, see <https://canadianlutheranhistory.ca/research-helps>. Regarding Goch, see 2017 Update by Richard Thiessen, of Vos, Karel and Nanne van der Zijpp, "Goch (Nordrhein-Westfalen, Germany)," (1956) [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Goch_\(Nordrhein-Westfalen,_Germany\)&oldid=145258](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Goch_(Nordrhein-Westfalen,_Germany)&oldid=145258). For a brief read on Menno Simons that connects to the GAMEO references in this article, look to the end of the article for the 1990 update entitled "Current Research," Krahn, Cornelius and Cornelius J. Dyck. (1990). Menno Simons (1496-1561), [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Menno_Simons_\(1496-1561\)&oldid=160744](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Menno_Simons_(1496-1561)&oldid=160744). See also GAMEO presentations on Lutherans, for example Neff, Christian, Harold S. Bender and Richard D. Thiessen. (February 2009) on "Denmark," featuring the 1562 Lüneburg Mandate of King Frederick. This entry may need some reconsideration in light of GAMEO entries on Oldesloe [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Oldesloe_\(Schleswig-Holstein,_Germany\)](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Oldesloe_(Schleswig-Holstein,_Germany)) and the Hamburg-Altona Mennonite Church ([https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hamburg-Altona_Mennonite_Church_\(Freie_und_Hansestadt_Hamburg,_Germany\)](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Hamburg-Altona_Mennonite_Church_(Freie_und_Hansestadt_Hamburg,_Germany))). See also the Review and response online, as relates to *Obedient Heretics: Mennonite Identities in Lutheran Hamburg and Altona During the Confessional Age* by Michael D. Driedger and the Reviewer Graeme Murdock for the University of Birmingham as posted at <https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/286>.

¹⁰¹ This emphasis on what was happening to the west and east of Hamburg is important for this essay because the controversy in East Jutland (towards Wittenberg) was about Sacramentists in 1553, this was a controversy that was not happening in the same way on the west side of Jutland (towards the British Isles). As Lutherans came to North America, their positions towards their own sacramental identities and those of others was informed by arguments

from Europe. While commitments to “theologies” and doctrines can be discussed endlessly - agreement or disagreement with another person’s sacramental theology became concretized by accepting or rejecting the bread and/or the wine among them. Elisabeth Van Der Smissen in 1860-1861 was not travelling with a focus on Communion; her journey was about communing as gathering, and her fund-raising was successful. In Lunenburg, the controversy between the Confirmation and Holy Communion of the young people may or may not have been over the meaning of the sacrament. Policies of theological persecution, repression and systematized assimilation in Europe may be helpfully discussed in relation to the same in the North American experience, for example, in New England and Nova Scotia.

¹⁰² Regarding the exemption of Anabaptists at Altona from swearing an Oath, see Neff, Christian, Harold S. Bender and William Klassen. (1958), “Oath,” <https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Oath&oldid=166261>. This exemption was reconfirmed in 1641. Dollinger, Robert, (1956) “Glückstadt (Schleswig-Holstein, Germany),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=G1%C3%BCckstadt_\(Schleswig-Holstein,_Germany\)&oldid=125037](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=G1%C3%BCckstadt_(Schleswig-Holstein,_Germany)&oldid=125037). For more on Dompelaars and the extension to Brethren see Neff, Christian, Robert Friedmann and Richard D. Thiessen, (2015), “Denner, Jakob (1659-1746),” [https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Denner,_Jakob_\(1659-1746\)&oldid=131448](https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Denner,_Jakob_(1659-1746)&oldid=131448).

¹⁰³ Lutheran Johann W. Mannhardt, married into the family through Anna Van Der Smissen (daughter of Hinrich III, niece of J. G.,). Mannhardt was the Lutheran tutor of J.G.’s children. He was a “Wurttemberg Lutheran” with a Master of Theology from Tubingen. Connections between Wurttemberg Lutherans, and Hamburg Mennonites, appear in the Montbéliard story of the French Lutherans who arrived in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, in the 1700s.

¹⁰⁴ A biographical sketch of Mr. Henry Van Der Smissen was presented in *Follow in the Footsteps of Your Forefathers: 1898-1978*, by Louis P. Barbier, (First Lutheran Church Council, Toronto, 1978), 10-11. A biographical feature on Henry Vander Smissen appears in the Appendix to Barbier, Louis P., *140 Years at First Lutheran*, (Toronto, First Lutheran Church of Toronto, 1991) with appreciations to Gilbert Michael Henderson, author of *The 150th Anniversary of the Arrival of the Van Der Smissen family in Canada, 1983*.” Barbier’s feature is found on pages 94-103, and reference to being bankrupt appears on page 96. As an executive of the Canada Synod for almost twenty-five years, Henry was not only a founder of the Canada Synod, but also of the continental Lutheran General Council.

¹⁰⁵ Barbier, *140 Years*, 96.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Merrill Black’s reflection on the “Rise of the Laity (1854-1867),” 37-39, within the Anglican Diocese of Toronto may shed light on why lay-woman Elisabeth Van Der Smissen was encouraged by Establishment forces - at the same time as ordained clergy faced such opposition and particularly from Strachan. Readers may be interested in “John Strachan,” 61-63, in “Chapter 2: Questions about the Church’s Role in Society” in Hayes, Alan Lauffer, *Anglicans in Canada: Controversies and Identity in Historical Perspective*. Strachan also relates to the congregation of St. John’s Riverside and the compensation by the Act of Parliament. See also Hayes’ treatment of “The Establishment in the Atlantic Provinces of BNA,” 51ff. This section reveals how Hayes understands the foundations of religion in Canada (as they began in Nova Scotia), and how Atlantic Canada (as “Britain’s oldest colony”), gave shape to other colonial endeavours. This edition of *Anglicans in Canada* was gifted to Bishop William Huras during the Full Communion Dialogues between the Anglican and Lutheran national Churches in Canada.

¹⁰⁷ Many biographies of William Henry Van Der Smissen exist. His records are preserved at the University of Toronto, see <https://discoverarchives.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/van-der-smissen-family> and also <https://qormuseum.org/soldiers-of-the-queens-own/van-der-smissen-william-henry-victor/> which links to Henry’s writing entitled *At Duty’s Call: Captain William Henry Victor Van der Smissen, Queen’s Own Rifles of Canada, and 3rd Battalion (Toronto Regiment) Canadian Expeditionary Force*.

¹⁰⁸ Regarding First Lutheran Church Bond Street, see Cronmiller, *A History*, 183-185, and the writings by Barbier. Regarding Henry’s Election to the Synod Executive, see Cronmiller, 149. Regarding formation of the Union, see Cronmiller, *A History*, 141; regarding the Conference, 139; regarding the provision of sacraments, 141. See also *History of the Congregations in the Toronto Conference*.

¹⁰⁹ The details of how the money came to Canada are not clear. Some writings seem to indicate that Henry went to Germany and was given money in Altona (e.g. Toronto Conference, 13) and others that Gysbert Vander Smissen collected it and sent it via New York. Barbier in *140 Years* clearly indicates the 80-year-old Gysbert Vander Smissen” collected the funds in Altona, 52.

¹¹⁰ Barbier, Louis P., *The Story of First Lutheran Church Toronto, 1851-1976*, (First Lutheran Church Council, Toronto, 1976), 7.

¹¹¹ For more on the religious milieu in Toronto at this time, see Black, Robert Merrill, "Chapter 1: Established in the Faith: The Church of England in Upper Canada, 1780-1867," in Hayes, Alan Lauffer ed. *By Grace Co-Workers: Building the Anglican Diocese of Toronto, 1780-1989*, (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1989), 21-41, see especially 38-39.

¹¹² Quote from Barbier, Louis P., *The Story of First Lutheran Church Toronto*, 7. In various readings it was suggested that J. G. Van Der Smissen remained a Mennonite, elsewhere it is noted that he became a Lutheran. In materials related to the Van Der Smissen's, there were many references to Pietists like Moravian August Gottlieb Spangenberg (successor to Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf) and references to Spangenberg having stayed with the Van Der Smissen family (perhaps this is what was meant by the *resort* of all those who loved the Lord). It was also noted that J. G. was in correspondence with notable religious leaders including John Wesley, George Whitefield, hymn-writer Gerhard Tersteegen. He is noted as a founder of the Hamburg-Altona Bible Society in 1814, and a member of the German Christianity Society in Altona, and also the "Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Beförderung reiner Lehre und Gottseligkeit," of Basel, as well as being co-founder of the paper *Basler Sammlungen*. Additional research into the Van Der Smissen family is likely to be most fascinating.

¹¹³ Barbier, *140 Years*, 53-54. Members of churches returning to the homeland for funds for churches in the colonies was not unusual, however, it was usually clergymen who went on appeal journeys. A celebratory event was held for Elisabeth with a number of Anglican clergy present. It is important to note that the Canada Synod was formed during the eighteen months Elisabeth was away.

¹¹⁴ A difficulty with research on Lutheranism in "Nova Scotia" is that it was an *early* Colony that contained the territories later known as "Nova Scotia" and also concurrently "New Brunswick." The language confusion in the colonial period then becomes compounded by the pre-Confederation terminology of Upper Canada (later Ontario) and Lower Canada (variably "Quebec"). Yet another difficulty is that Lunenburg is a community within Lunenburg County, and these are referred to (at times) as Lüneburg and Lüneburg County. Notice also the connection between European Braunschweig and New Brunswick. The spelling of personal names is also challenging. In Cossman's own writing he uses Cossman, and also in his autobiography Cossmann. He signs his first name in many forms. E. Clifford Nelson in *The Lutherans in North America*, (Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1975 edition), refers to "Carl E. Cossman," page 203, while Cronmiller writes "Cossman, C. E." pages 56-64, and DesBrisay used "Charles Ernst Cossmann." On page 98, of *Lutherans in America*, Granquist refers to Friedrich Schultze (with an e) as the first permanent pastor of Lunenburg (see also Cronmiller, "F. Schultz," 48). Threinen also preserves the "e", 11, yet Lehmann omits the "e," 190. On page 108 Granquist raises the matter of the relocation of "Bernard Michael Hausihl" from America to Canada, Lehmann uses the same spelling, 190-192, while Cronmiller in *A History* cites, "Houseal, B" in his Index, 43. This is the same man whom Eylands calls an intense Loyalist named Bernard Michael Houseal, 31, and yet the Lambeth Palace Fulham Papers record the man as Benjamin Michael Howseal (Fulham Papers, FP/1-40 - Fulham Papers Colonial: Nova Scotia).

¹¹⁵ D. Luther Roth formally spelled Louisa's name as "Louise Mathilde Emielie." The spelling chosen for this essay was chosen from her death announcement in the *Bridgewater Bulletin* on April 3, 1917. At birth Louisa Cossman was a "second generation" Canadian according to Statistics Canada. The designation of being "first-generation Canadian" applies to persons who were born outside Canada; the term "second-generation Canadian" applies to those persons born in Canada who had at least one parent born outside of Canada, see <https://www23.statcan.gc.ca/imdb/p3VD.pl?Function=getVD&TVD=117200&CVD=117200&CLV=0&MLV=1&D=1>. Peter C. Oickle, (2004) *St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church Bridgewater, Nova Scotia: A History of Lutheran Faith in Lunenburg County*, recognizes Louisa on page 98. Oickle's book is an important update to the history by Eylands (*Lutherans in Canada*, 1945) and Cronmiller (*A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada*, 1961) as these rely on Roth's *Acadie and the Acadians*. Oickle's work is the most significant work written by a lay-person and valuably expands the information about (and perspectives of) lay-leaders in Nova Scotia. Oickle is a lay leader among Lunenburg County Lutherans and is connected to the DesBrisay Museum in Bridgewater. He was a delegate to the founding convention of the ELCIC, and a delegate to the 2001 Convention at which the agreement was made to sign the Waterloo Declaration, see *Called to Serve*, 27-28, see also https://www.anglicancommunion.org/media/102184/waterloo_declaration.pdf. The Norm Antler Collection (NAC) at Laurier Archives includes Nova Scotia congregational material that is sorted geographically from Chester WLA2384 2.7.2; Farmville WLA2384 2.7.3; Halifax WLA2384 2.7.4; Lunenburg WLA2384 2.7.5, Mahone Bay WLA2384 2.7.6 and Mahone Bay Parish WLA2384 2.7.7; Middle LaHave WLA2384 2.7.8; New Germany WLA2384 2.7.9; North River WLA2384 2.7.10; Rose Bay WLA2384 2.7.11 and Sackville WLA2384. The

Collection also includes newspaper clippings such as the “Churches by the Sea Series” by Rev. Dr. Morley Allen Gibson who was a Baptist minister in Nova Scotia. In his retirement, Gibson wrote a historical series on Nova Scotia Churches for the Halifax *Chronicle-Herald*, *The Mail-Star* and local papers. In the lay-leader writings within the NAC, researchers will discover remembrances and references to Lutheran women not found in histories of Conferences and Synods. For example, NAC: *History of St. Marks Evangelical Lutheran Church Middle LaHave, NS, 1887-1987*, is dedicated to “the organists who gave of their time and talents to lead the worship services, Laura Schmooser.” Also notable, for example, is Cecil A. Naugler’s *The Cemetery Book*, (1984). Page 86 says: “5-12, This is the grave of my little sister; I remember the time of her birth as well as if it was yesterday. She inhaled one small breath of air and then was gone. I’ll never forget how much I pitied Mom and Dad. It happened in 1935.” Similarly, in his *The Days of Ox’n Organ*, p. 41, Chapter Twelve – “Faces of Some Old Timers,” Naugler writes, “James (Jimmy) Sarty’s wife Elizabeth baked the unleavened bread for church and James carried it to worship in the schoolhouse (the community hall) on his shoulder,” and Naugler included a photo of Jimmy Sarty walking.

¹¹⁶ See NAC: Naugler, Cecil A., *The Days of Ox’n Organ*, for “We usually address our Lutheran ministers as “Pastor” so when we hear the word “Father,” it shows a special endearment.” NAC: *The First 250 Landmark churches of our faith... on to Zion! Lunenburg, Nova Scotia*, 1835: now comes the pastor whose name Charles E. Cossman, soon becomes a Nova Scotia household word. “Father Cossman” they call him. The appellation is appropriate. Under God he saves and re-makes the Lutheran Church in the province.”

That the term “Muhlenberg of Nova Scotia” was used for Cossman is affirmed in Oickle, 55. The inferences connected to the compliment need careful consideration in Canadian Lutheran history.

¹¹⁷ *Acadie and the Acadians* was published in 1890 while Roth served Church of the Redeemer, Albany, N. Y., (1888-94) between his two terms at First English, Butler, Pennsylvania, (1884-88, then 1894-99). Exceptionally, in 1903 Roth was granted status to assist in the transition of the Nova Scotia Conference into the Nova Scotia Synod within the continental General Council (though he no longer belonged to the associated Lutheran Church bodies). At the first meeting of the Synod, delegates requested Roth write a history of the Lutheran Church in Nova Scotia from the organization of the first Conference to the creation of the Synod as a follow up to his 1890 *Acadie and the Acadians*. Roth finished compiling the manuscript for the history in 1904. The copy that is in the possession of the current Archivist, Karen Kuhnert, was provided by the Dean and lay-leaders of the Atlantic Ministry Area (see also <https://libarchives.wlu.ca/downloads/evangelical-lutheran-synod-of-nova-scotia.pdf>).

¹¹⁸ Roth was not a historian; he was a pastor. One of his difficult tasks in ministry at Zion was preaching and presiding at the collective funeral that followed the burial of 25 children who died of diphtheria, (Roth, *A History*, 43). In Father Cossman’s autobiography enclosed within *Acadie and the Acadians*, Cossman explains that the term cantor (as applied to his father) meant catechist or schoolmaster and choir leader for boys. He illustrates the meaning by relating how a cantor at a funeral leads the boys in singing the hymnody and liturgy for funerals beginning with the funeral procession from the house of mourning to the grave.

¹¹⁹ Governor Cornwallis landed in the Sphinx on the “Merliguesch” Bay in May of 1749 before moving on to Halifax. There were Acadian French families and Mi’kmaq Peoples living on the Bay at the time, see *Acadie and the Acadians*, 96. For more background that is removed from the contentions of Roth and Bell, see the *History of the County of Lunenburg*, by Judge Mather B. DesBrisay (1895) at

<https://archive.org/details/historycounty00desbgoog/page/n11/mode/1up>. See also the DesBrisay biography by A. A. MacKenzie, “DesBrisay, Mather Byles,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*,

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/desbrisay_mather_byles_12E.html. Judge DesBrisay was also a Member of the Historical Society of Nova Scotia (see DesBrisay Museum, <https://desbrisaymuseum.ca/research-collections/#>).

Finally, see Patterson, George *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia*,

<https://archive.org/details/historyofcounty00pattuoft>, and Patterson, Frank H. *A History of Tatamagouche*, https://archive.org/stream/historyoftatamag00pattuoft/historyoftatamag00pattuoft_djvu.txt.

¹²⁰ That the Tatamagouche Lutherans who relocated from Lunenburg became Presbyterians is actually an interesting niche understanding for Canadian Church history. Canadian Lutherans in the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) tradition (the affiliation of the majority of Lutherans in Canada prior to the creation of the ELCIC), participated in the Lutheran-Reformed Dialogues beginning in the 1960s, see Andrews, James A. and Joseph A. Burgess, eds., *An Invitation to Action; A Study of Ministry, Sacraments, and Recognition* – Final Report, (The Lutheran-Reformed Dialogue Series III, 1981-1983, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1984). Of special note, the “Conclusion” on page 17 reads, “We agree that there are no substantive matters concerning the Lord’s Supper which should divide us. We urge Lutheran and Reformed churches to affirm and encourage the practice of eucharistic fellowship with one

another.” The relationships between North American colonial Lutherans and Reformed adherents is addressed in Otterness. Many NAC writings refer to shared buildings known as union/Union churches.

¹²¹ Roth’s discoveries of patterns of *unlauterer* clergy began in 1875 when he began to preserve biographies from the living clergy and histories of people groups. He published his findings in the *Halifax Herald*. When *Acadie and the Acadians* was printed in 1890, he even included content from the objections of his critics (and his responses to them). The discoveries of *unlauterer* patterns by the people likely began after Hunton’s arrival. This would explain attributions of motives against the Church of England in Cossman’s autobiography despite Cossman’s many solid ecumenical relationships in his 62 years of ministry. The story of Bryzelius specifically begins on page 270 of Roth’s *Acadie and the Acadians*. In 1767, when Rev. Paul Bryzelius (Bryselius) held services in Lunenburg, worship was conducted in three languages (English 10, French 12 Noon, German at 2 pm), this is an indicator that there were sufficient numbers of English, French and German peoples at worship at that time. Roth’s *Acadie and the Acadians*, 275. Cronmiller (38, n. 18) valuably references the term “foreign protestants” and cites “Dr. Vernon in *The Old Church in the New Dominion: The Story of the Anglican Church in Canada* (1929). In so doing, Cronmiller draws the attention of readers to a history of the Church of England in Canada by a writer more attached to the earliest Anglican colonial history in Nova Scotia, rather than in Ontario. See the biography of Vernon at http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/vernon_charles_william_16E.html. Roth records Jung as using the word *Agendae* in *Acadie and the Acadians* on page 275.

¹²² Regarding the Schultz family, see Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 318-325, specifically 323. For more on the Shelburne Race Riots see, Robertson, Jesse. “Shelburne Race Riots.” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/the-shelburne-race-riots> and also Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 362-363.

¹²³ Regarding the Schmeisser family, see Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 338-358. Rev. Schmeisser was born at Weissenfelds and graduated from Halle, (339); he married Sophia Biehler July 3, 1782, and the Reformed Minister preached the sermon (345). Schmeisser is tallied as having conducted 1729 baptisms, 700 confirmations, 201 marriages, and 380 burials (364). Regarding the Temme family, see Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 366-379. Temme is counted as having conducted 1291 baptisms, 816 confirmations, 380 marriages, and 411 funerals. The “ailing pastors,” it was noted, could not have done the funerals and emergency baptisms without the aid of Hessian Lay-leader Philip Aulenbach, see Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 359-365. Of the services counted under Schmeisser and Temme, Aulenbach (the Schoolmaster) did 122 of the funerals and 9 emergency baptisms of infants. Aulenbach conducted 14 German Reformed and 6 Church of England funerals. What contributions to the care of the community did others in the parsonage make during the times when the pastors were ailing? Aulenbach was resident at Shelburne during the Race Riot.

¹²⁴ Rev. Temme was born at Lüneburg and baptized by his pastor (and parent) Daniel Temme. His godfather at his baptism was Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Wolfenbüttel, Field Marshall to George II King of Britain. Temme studied at Helmstadt and Gottingen and earned a Ph.D. For 18 years he ran his own teaching Academy until the Napoleonic Wars forced it to close (368-369). The story of the ex-communication begins on 370ff of *Acadie and the Acadians*. A consequence of what happened in 1812 was that Temme began writing. Roth notes on page 374, “Seeing the need of placing in the hands of the people greater facilities for the study of pure doctrine – since now the population had far outgrown the few books brought from the old country, and the supply of reading matter being far below the need – the Rev. Mr. Temme at once set about the preparation of the two books which remain his best momento. They are both in the German language.” Roth then names Temme’s texts, two of which are (in Spring 2024) online for sale. The signed “*Conrad Ferdinand Temme, Prof. und Pastor zu Luneburg, in Nova Scotia, und wirlichen Mitgleide der Societat in England*, and dedicated to his alma mater, the “Theological Faculty of the Academy of Helmstadt in the Dukedom of Brunswick in Germany.” By title it is *Dr. Martin Luthers Katechismus erklart und mit den vornehmsten Beweisspruchen der Heiligen Schrift vershen: nebst einem anhang für die evangelische-lutherischen Christen in dem englischen Nord-Amerika*, (Zentler, Philadelphia, 1816). The First Edition is listed for \$1450 US.

¹²⁵ That Cossman “changed the pattern that had existed for many years when he began to preach outside of Lunenburg,” is in Oickle, *St. Paul’s*, 53. Cossman was ordained in Merseburg, September 16th, 1834.

¹²⁶ Caroline Luisa Bressel Cossman died in 1879, Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 399. The two were married at Halle in May of 1837, the year after Cossman completed his temporary assignment to Nova Scotia. When he first left for the mission field, he had no idea what awaited him. When she left however, she knew that there would be exhaustion ahead. Still, she served.

¹²⁷ That Cossman travelled 200,000 miles is referenced in DesBrisay, page 97. In Cossman's autobiography (as cited by Cronmiller, *A History*, 57, originally from Roth, *Acadie and the Acadians*, 399), Cossman writes, "My bond stated that I had to preach every Sunday morning in our Lunenburg church, and to instruct the young people for confirmation during the summer months, Sunday afternoons... But I soon found out that that could never build up our Lutheran Zion, and I soon commenced to preach in the country; the far-living members of our church, not able to keep horse and wagon, should not be without the Bread of Life... I travelled annually about four thousand miles for many years, and the most part in the saddle. But I was sometimes so fatigued that my children stood plainly before my eyes, but I could not recollect their names."

¹²⁸ After Louisa married Bowers, and they moved into a rented space in Bridgewater (while the "commodious parsonage on Pleasant Street" in Bridgewater was being built), the American Civil War broke out. While serving Bridgewater and Vicinity, William Bowers felt compelled to return to his home and family in the United States. When Louisa was pregnant with Rev. Frederick Anspach Bowers, and the couple were travelling with their two young boys, they moved from the north through to the south to near Philadelphia. With controversy in the pulpit back in Bridgewater within weeks of their leaving, the Bowers' were then called back by some Lutherans to Nova Scotia. The family travelled back from the south through the north arriving in time for the baby to be born in Nova Scotia. William had no Call, no congregation and no parsonage home for Louise and the boys when Frederick was born. A letter from Rev. H. A. Kahler, President of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod Canada, affirmed in Canada that he was a member of the Maryland Synod and thereby affiliated with the Canada Synod.

¹²⁹ Cossman's autobiography was published by Roth in 1890. The autobiography was first presented in English at the annual Nova Scotia Conference gathering April 20-21, 1880, (Roth, *A History*, 46). This is notable as Rev. Bowers was still translating for Cossman in the 1860s (Roth, *A History*, p. 20). This raises the question of who was translating for Cossman prior to Bowers' arrival in 1855 and who was translating for him after Bowers died in 1873? Logically it was his children like Louisa. Cossman's explanation of what cantors do, resurfaces in Roth's *History* in a new light when Roth details the procession of 600 students from the local schools accompanying the casket of Cossman from the parsonage on *Friedeberg* (hill of peace and freedom) to the cemetery along with the surviving Cossman children, "Hugo and Otto, Mrs. Bowers, Mrs. John Anderson and Miss Emma of Lunenburg, Theodore and Mrs. Prof. J. Lichti of Halifax," (page 72). The family watched thousands of people pay their respects at the coffin viewing. It was Roth who tallied the statistics for Cossman's funeral roll call: "baptized 3940 children, married 625 couples, buried 1050 persons, preached 11,000 sermons, and travelled on foot and horseback 200,000 miles," as also repeated in DesBrisay, p. 97. Cossman, was an accomplished German-language speaker, and a distinguished linguist and lexicographer having studied at Halle University under Tholock and Gesenius (who were world renown in these fields). Cossman began to preach in "poor English" in 1777 so that he could preach and preside for the children of the Icelandic colony at Markland such that the children could then translate for their parents (as their parents understood neither German or English but were desperate for Communion and other ministries). Lunenburg County Lutherans did not appreciate his English sermons because they were made so doctrinally weak in order to be plainspoken.

¹³⁰ Roth, *History of the Lutheran Church in Nova Scotia*, 72.

¹³¹ *The Wittenberg Concord: Making Space for Dialogue*, Lutheran Quarterly Books, Paul Rorem, General Editor. Foreword by Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018).

¹³² 2014-2022 Co-Editor, with Mary Joy Philip, *Consensus: A Canadian Journal of Public Theology*, published by Martin Luther University College (formerly Waterloo Lutheran Seminary) and Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon and 2010 Council of Editorial Advisors, *Lutheran Quarterly* journal. 2009 *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland Stipendium*. Granted for three months of study in Wittenberg, Germany, September-November. Member of 2006 and continuing Society for Reformation Studies; 2005 and continuing International Luther Congress Society; 2003 and continuing Classical, Medieval and Renaissance Studies Group, University of Saskatchewan; 2003 and continuing Sixteenth Century Studies Society; 1991 and continuing The American Academy of Religion.

¹³³ Jensen, Gordon A., "The Significance of Luther's Theology of the Cross for Contemporary Political and Contextual Theologies," PhD. Dissertation, St. Michaels, University of Toronto, 1992 is available at CanadianLutheranHistory.ca at <https://canadianlutheranhistory.ca/research-helps>.

¹³⁴ See "Confessional Lutheran Identities in the Canadian Context: An Overview of Free Conferences," *Consensus: A Canadian Journal of Public Theology*, Volume 44, Issue 2 (2023), Article 4, <https://doi.org/10.51644/VPEE5135>

and “Living Out Confessional Lutheranism: Past Experiences and Current Questions,” *Consensus: A Canadian Journal of Public Theology*, Volume 44, Issue 2 (2023) , <https://doi.org/10.51644/KKQB8084>.

¹³⁵ 1984 M.Div. Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan; 1980; B.A. with Distinction, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, *Major*: Classics (historical) and Psychology. Jensen points out in *Experiencing Gospel* that the Holy Spirit “breathing through the Word, breathes into (Latin: in-spires) people and “does the gospel” in and for them. Holy Scripture is thus meant to drive people into relationship with God as Christ is driven into their hearts. Luther would have it no other way.” Jensen, Gordon A., *Experiencing Gospel*, 22, 158.