

AWAKENED TO CONFSSIONAL:  
THE DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT OF F.C.D. WYNEKEN AND ITS PLACE IN THE  
COURSE OF LUTHERANISM IN AMERICA

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Abstract: Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken: the "Father of Lutheran Home Missions," the inspiring voice which led to the influx of hundreds of pastors to America and the establishment of seminaries in two continents, the leader of the Missouri Synod, the bulwark of confessional Lutheranism emerging from the lowest point the Lutheran Church had yet seen, deserves to have his voice heard and recognized. Wyneken's presidency (1850-1864) overcame deeply bitter controversies and recognized prodigious opportunities.

But what prepared this man for leadership? This paper will shed light on the context of Wyneken's life, ministry, and transformation in the years leading up to his election to presidency of the Missouri Synod.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

AHMS (American Home Missionary Society)  
C.F.W. (Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm)  
CHI (Concordia Historical Institute)  
CHIQ (Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly)  
ELCA (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America)  
F.C.D. (Friedrich Conrad Dietrich)  
GS (General Synod)  
LC-MS (Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod)  
SC (Synodical Conference)  
SOTW (Synod of the West)  
WELS (Wisconsin Evangelical Synod)  
WLS (Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary)

## SOURCES USED AND RESEARCH METHODS

In addition to the sources mentioned in Appendix 1, many primary and secondary resources were referenced in researching this paper.

### **Primary Sources**

The most valuable resources in researching a person's life and work are his own words. Wyneken's gift of a descriptive and captivating writing style, even in translation, increases the benefits of directly quoting him wherever possible. Wyneken's early ministry consisted of open letters to multiple Lutheran publications both in the United States and the German Confederation. Wyneken believed he not only had a unique perspective worth hearing, but that he also needed to call attention to the dire situation of the Lutheran church on the American frontier. When his open letters failed to achieve all his objectives, he went on tour in Germany and at its conclusion published his *Notruf*. This distress call served the dual purpose of raising awareness and attaining the desired response from mission societies.

A little over a year after returning to Fort Wayne, Wyneken read the first copy of *Der Lutheraner*. He soon began sending material to Walther which addressed the doctrinal plight of Lutheranism in America, especially in areas dominated by the General Synod. Wyneken himself came under attack, both from within and outside the Lutheran Church. Wyneken and his own members rose to his defense via the printed word.

The greatest volume of Wyneken primary source material comes from the years Wyneken served as *Präses* of the Missouri Synod. The documents from the synodical and district reports during his terms in office fill thousands of printed pages. To read and translate it all is far beyond the scope of this paper, but thankfully LC-MS President Matthew Harrison has

translated and published many of Wyneken's synodical addresses and reports.<sup>1</sup> Harrison's work also contains writings of Wyneken's friend and coworker, C.F.W. Walther, which shed invaluable light and context upon my subject. Other primary sources have been published in collections of the works of Wyneken's contemporaries including Walther, Wichern, and Löhe.

Naturally, most of the primary sources are in German and a copious amount needs to be translated. However, from the beginning of his time in the United States, Wyneken's words have been referenced and reported in various English-language publications. Wyneken was not only a founder of the Missouri Synod, but had previously been an active and influential participant in the Pennsylvania Ministerium (Pennsylvania Synod), the American Home Mission Society (AHMS), the Synod of the West (SOTW), and the General Synod (GS). His letters, reports, and participation in their conventions are found in their minutes and other publications.

A keyword search in Google Books and other online databases unlocks and reveals many sources, many of which have never been referenced by other writers on Wyneken. Yet as "simple" as a Google search may seem, Wyneken's own name complicates things. "Wyneken" is the standard spelling which Wyneken used himself and which is given in published materials today. However, it was often spelled in Germany as "Wynecken" and this spelling made its way to materials printed in the United States as well. To make matters worse, the name has been spelled phonetically by others, especially English speakers, in various ways including: "Wineken," "Wynekin," "Wyneker," "Winnican," "Wynecke," and "Wynekend." A poor individual sent to collect names for an address directory in St. Louis managed to spell the name "Wyweeken."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Harrison, Matthew. *At Home in the House of my Fathers*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Kennedy, Robert V. *Kennedy's St. Louis Directory*. St. Louis: R.V. Kennedy, 1857. 242.

The published materials offer a plethora of untapped primary information, yet there is much that resides only in the archives. To get my hands on as much material as possible, I traveled to the Concordia Historical Institute (CHI) in St. Louis, the Wyneken House in Friedheim, Indiana, the Fort Wayne Public Library,<sup>3</sup> and the Indiana District (LC-MS) archives in Fort Wayne. When one investigates the files at CHI, many letters, notebooks, etc., surrender abundant material. The archives of Wyneken's congregations add their minutes and records, and the pile of source material grows.

The author thanks many who have assisted in research: Ben Nicodemus and the staff of CHI; Ken Selking; Nathan Bienz and other members of Friends of Wyneken;<sup>4</sup> Director Sue Willems of the WELS archives; congregational historian Dennis Rathert of Trinity, St. Louis; Joel Toreson of the ELCA archives; Sheila Joy of the United Lutheran Seminary Archives, Gettysburg; congregational historian Sandy Clark of Martini Lutheran, Baltimore; Wendy Mader, who emailed and snail-mailed a large collection of articles and pamphlets on Wyneken; and many of my distant relatives in the Wyneken family, especially genealogist Matthew Wyneken of Freiberg, Germany. I am obliged to professors Brenner and Hartwig of Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary (WLS) for their help and guidance. My sister, mother, and aunt have been immensely helpful with proofreading. Finally, I must offer my deepest thanks and gratitude to my grandfather and fellow Wyneken descendant, pastor em. Henry F. Koch, who, although advanced in age, has worked many hours at transcribing the old German script from letters and documents, helping with the task of translation, and offering his own insights after having

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<sup>3</sup> Second only to Salt Lake City in size of genealogical collections.

<sup>4</sup> This group is dedicated to preserving and restoring Wyneken's only surviving residence in the United States, outside Fort Wayne.

become intimately familiar with the subject at hand. His life and humble example have been an inspiration not only for writing this paper, but also for my desire to enter the ministry.

### **Secondary Sources**

A superfluity of articles exists on the early years of the Missouri Synod and the individuals who played roles in her foundation and development. Those authors who focus on Wyneken and offer detailed analysis on his work include Rudolph Rehmer, Norman Threinen, David Gustafson, and Robert Smith, among others.



## INTRODUCTION AND EARLY LIFE

Understanding a person who was born over 200 years ago requires some degree of familiarity with the context of his times. The 19<sup>th</sup> century had its fair share of movements, both in and outside the church. Wyneken entered the world during the Napoleonic Wars. Wyneken was five when Napoleon was exiled to St. Helena and Europe attempted to recover from a quarter-century of revolution and warfare. Within the newly formed German Confederation, everything deemed French was discarded. The revolutionary forces that brought war and occupation were seen by conservatives as the results of rationalism and democracy. More liberal—minded Germans would respond to “everything French is immoral” by yearning for a (constitutional) unification of all the German states in the name of national defense.

The religious scene in Germany in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had been dominated by rationalism in the universities. There professors dissected the Bible using methods that denied the supernatural. German institutions, above all others, were at the forefront of this “Higher Critical Method.” In the 19<sup>th</sup> century this movement continued to gather acceptance and strength among academics. Still, there were pietist Lutherans who sought more than anything else to live a pure and godly life, and generally were suspicious of their “scholarly” pastors. However, pietists’ focus often overemphasized the doctrine of sanctification above the doctrine of justification. The pietists’ interest in pure living was expressed by the formation of social reform movements. While the rationalists reduced the Bible to a moral guide, pietists still believed in the gospel imperative to “make disciples of all nations” and consequently established mission societies.

A new movement arose from another source. Following the Congress of Vienna, Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia wished to solidify centralized government in his enlarged, yet disjointed, kingdom. Being the *summus episcopus* of the state church, he first strongly

encouraged, and later enforced, a union in liturgy, organization, and practice of the Reformed and Lutheran churches in Prussia.

The aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars also contributed to the awakening of a distinct religious identity.<sup>5</sup> The Lutheran confessional movement arose in response. It pursued a return to true biblical doctrine and practice as described in the Book of Concord. As historian James Bratt states, “For some, warm piety and general Protestant conviction sufficed. For others, particularly a coterie of seminary students, teachers, and ministers, warm experience had proven too subjective and fleeting. They turned to the Lutheran Confessions for ballast.”<sup>6</sup>

While Wyneken absorbed a German worldview, which stayed with him for the rest of his life, his work and ministry occurred almost entirely in the United States. In America there were some parallel movements, such as Temperance. Other movements, like western expansion, contributed to the growth, development, and distinctive character of Lutheran churches.

Yet more frequently, Americans who devoted themselves to nativism, abolitionism, or revivalism were at odds with the values held by Lutheran immigrants. The organized German Lutheran colonies could more effectively conduct their business in a bubble, unaffected by the larger world. Yet in the first decades of the immigration, Lutheran synods were inundated with strife, conflict, and discord. Unconnected settlers frequently found themselves isolated from the Lutheran church, and repeatedly succumbed to pressures to assimilate at the price of their religious identity.

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<sup>5</sup> Bratt, James D. *Antirevivalism in Antebellum America: A Collection of Religious Voices* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2006), 109.

<sup>6</sup> Bratt, 109.

Within this setting my research will illuminate the context, “practical constraints,” and “limited mental horizons” Wyneken experienced as he underwent a theological, and deeply personal, transformation. **Wyneken realized his distinct Lutheran identity when he encountered Methodism on the American frontier, his confessional voice when he clashed with unionists and pietists in Germany, and his aptitude for leadership when he exposed “American Lutheranism” in the United States.**

Although the family origins and early decades of Wyneken’s life are covered very sparsely by biographers, a cursory overview of some key facts adds a richer context to Wyneken’s future development and leadership. Family historian Kannengießer describes the Wynekens as a *hübschen* family (i.e.), “most esteemed non-aristocrats who belonged to the high society”).<sup>7</sup> FCD’s grandfather, Heinrich Mauritius Wyneken, was a pastor in Dorum, in the Electorate of Brunswick-Lüneburg.<sup>8</sup> He was married to Anna Gerding, herself a descendant of four generations of Lutheran pastors and ecclesiastical officers.<sup>9</sup>

At Heinrich Mauritius’ death in 1771 their son, FCD’s father, Heinrich Christoph Wyneken, was only five years old. In 1792 his marriage from the previous December to Anna Louise Meyer, daughter of a cavalry captain, was published in the annals of the electorate; suggesting the family’s inclusion in a class of some social standing.<sup>10</sup>

Almost two decades later, in a modest, yet comfortable parish, Pastor Heinrich Christoph Wyneken recorded the baptism of his sixth son, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken, in the

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<sup>7</sup> Kannengießer, Hans. *Die Wyneken*. Translated by Monika H. Neil. Long Beach, California, 1972, 3.

<sup>8</sup> "Carl Johann Conrad Wyneken." In *Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen*, 1427-1429. Timenau: Bernhard Friedrich Voigt, 1827, 1427.

<sup>9</sup> Information from Matthew Wyneken’s website.

<sup>10</sup> *Annalen der Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Churlande*. Annals, Hannover: W. Pockwitz Jr., 1792, 397.

congregational records of St. Andreas in Verden on May 22, 1810. FCD's sponsors were his uncles, Superintendent Carl Johann Conrad Wyneken of Ratzeburg and Major Joachim August Friedrich Mortiz Wyneken, as well as the High Court Administrator Johann Diedrich Schwarz.<sup>11</sup> While FCD's father held no extraordinary position, his baptism record shows how well his family was placed in local military and ecclesiastical hierarchies.

Nonetheless, as firmly situated as his relatives may appear to be, in 1810 the family's future could not have been more uncertain. For centuries the Wyneken family lived in the Duchy of Bremen-Verden. Since Sweden's defeat in the Great Northern War (1715) this territory had been part of the Electorate of Brunswick-Lüneburg (commonly known as Hanover) which was ruled by the Hanoverian kings of Great Britain through personal union. But in 1803 the French under Napoleon occupy the electorate. When Friedrich Wyneken was born in 1810 he was not born in the Kingdom of Hanover, as all his American biographers state, but in the French satellite: the Kingdom of Westphalia.<sup>12</sup>

This *Franzözenzeit* was a trying time for the Wyneken family. French authorities accused Wyneken's godfather, Superintendent Carl Wyneken, of "rebellious speeches," but after he turned over several baskets full of sermons, they found nothing inflammatory and refrained from imprisoning him.<sup>13</sup> The situation seems to have improved after the French were driven from Germany in 1813 following their disastrous invasion of Russia. Yet, when Friedrich

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<sup>11</sup> Wyneken, Heinrich Christoph. "Baptismal Record of Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken." <http://www.projectwittenberg.org>. Transcribed by Matthew Wyneken, Translated by Robert Smith. May 22, 1810. [http://www.projectwittenberg.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/wyneken/Wyneken\\_bapt.htm](http://www.projectwittenberg.org/pub/resources/text/wittenberg/wyneken/Wyneken_bapt.htm). "Major" Wyneken would later become "Lt. Colonel" Wyneken and the head of the Queen of Denmark's bodyguard. "Superintendent" Wyneken would later become "Court Preacher" Wyneken and would have the honor of preaching King George III of England's official funeral sermon in his German kingdom.

<sup>12</sup> The territory would soon be annexed into the French Empire directly.

<sup>13</sup> Kannengießer, 14.

Wyneken was only five years old, his father died, leaving his widow to survive on a modest pension.<sup>14</sup>

Wyneken dearly loved his mother, but his childhood was not without further severe challenges. He would later write, “From the time I was a young man, as far back as I can remember into my earliest childhood, I have suffered horribly from melancholy and hypochondria.”<sup>15</sup> His struggles with depression, in addition to asthma, made constant appearances throughout his life.

Although historian Norman Threinen states, “We are ignorant of the religious upbringing which [Wyneken] had at home,” this information is available.<sup>16</sup> Wyneken’s early religious training was not carried out by his father, or another pastor relative, but by his grandmother.<sup>17</sup> Using the penname “Hans,” Wyneken would later reflect in *Der Lutheraner* on his grandmother’s influence and contrast her to the local rationalist pastor.<sup>18</sup> Whenever the pastor was brought up in conversation, the grandmother would repeat “the more learned, the more perverted.” The unnamed pastor brought younger people to tears with his eloquence, but older

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<sup>14</sup> "Elbe-Weser Triangle, Germany, Lutheran Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 1574-1945 for Hern Hinrich Christoph Wyncken." *ancestry.com*. October 14, 1815. <https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/61007/1189554-00632/50447?backurl=https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/39567237/person/19750480186/facts/citation/680390676752/edit/record>.

<sup>15</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich. "Letter to CFW Walther December 5, 1863." In *At Home in the House of My Fathers*, by Matthew Harrison, translated by Matthew Harrison, & Roland Ziegler, 423-427. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2011. (424). See also: Peperkorn, Todd A. *I Trust When Dark My Road: A Lutheran View of Depression*. [www.darkmyroad.org](http://www.darkmyroad.org), 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Threinen, Norman J. "FCD Wyneken: Motivator for the Mission." *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 1996: 19-45, 20.

<sup>17</sup> He does not name her. My records show that both of Wyneken’s biological grandmothers had died before he was born.

<sup>18</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich. "My Blessed Grandmother." *Der Lutheraner*. 1849. 113-116. Lindemann informs us of the true identity of “Hans.” (54). Translated by James Danell.

members shook their heads. Every Sunday Grandmother proactively directed Fritz and his older siblings to look at the Bible and say, “There! See for yourself! Here it is completely different!” Not stopping there, she would next turn to Luther’s Catechism and Johann Arndt’s *Wahres Christentum*. From childhood, Fritz and his siblings were trained to view rationalist pastors with suspicion, and (with a dose of Pietism) to read the Scriptures to discern the truth.

Fritz regularly prayed the catechism with his grandmother and sang old Lutheran hymns.<sup>19</sup> Grandmother encouraged her grandson, “Stay with the dear Savior Jesus Christ for me, and do not let yourself be turned away from the catechism and the hymns. If you will be a good boy, you will get the big Bible, and then read diligently from it and hold it in honor for me.”<sup>20</sup>

Following his grandmother’s admonitions was not without difficulty and pain. Elementary religious instruction in Germany had been subverted by rationalism, as 19<sup>th</sup> century economist and traveler Thomas Hodgskin noted, “what is taught the children under the term religion is very general morality.”<sup>21</sup> Wyneken recalled his experience in this system:

When the schoolmaster wanted to make a ‘learned’ person out of me and wanted to teach me all kinds of muddled stuff...I could not and did not want to learn anything. The schoolmaster was nasty. He took his rod and said, ‘*a priori* will not work with Fritz, I must try *a posteriori*.’ What that was supposed to mean, I could not say, but I could feel it very well, because then followed rather hard blows on my back and I was always called ‘dumb Fritz.’<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> For many years Wyneken believed that his grandmother had written these hymns herself because he could not find them in a hymnal. Only later did they appear in the hymnal of the Missouri Synod.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Hodgskin, Thomas. *Travels in the North of Germany, Describing the Present State of the Social and Political Institutions, the Agriculture, Manufactures, Commerce, Education, Arts and Manners in the Country, Particularly in the Kingdom of Hannover*. Vol. II. II vols. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820, 250.

<sup>22</sup> “Hans” in *Der Lutheraner* in keeping with Wyneken’s penname. I have altered the text to reflect his nickname. Hodgskin said that corporal punishment was rarely used in Hanover, Wyneken must have had a “nasty” teacher indeed.

Thinking of his grandmother, young Wyneken never gave in to his rationalist teacher or to peer pressure. Undoubtedly this persecution contributed to the early onset of his depression, but it also strengthened his resolve and convictions: “They could not take the Catechism and hymns from my head and heart.”<sup>23</sup>

In 1828, Wyneken went to college, but he could not have chosen a more rationalist institution than his family *alma mater*. The University of Göttingen was the center of the development propagation of the higher critical method. Only the year before, Professor Johann Gottfried Eichhorn had died, yet his work and ideas lived on.<sup>24</sup> Other faculty at Göttingen at the time of Wyneken’s enrollment consisted of rationalists and higher critics, such as Heinrich Ewald and Thomas Christian Tychsen.<sup>25</sup> According to Sihler’s biography, Wyneken only attended Göttingen for a semester. He left out of disgust with the “strict atmosphere and students’ vulgar behavior.”<sup>26</sup>

In 1830 Wyneken went to Halle, which was supposedly more religious.<sup>27</sup> Yet other prominent rationalist scholars, like Wilhelm Gesenius and Julius August Ludwig Wegscheider,

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<sup>23</sup> Wyneken, *Alte Großmutter*.

<sup>24</sup> Archer, Gleason L. *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction*. Chicago: Moody Press, 1979. This method rejected the idea that Moses wrote the first five books of the Old Testament. Eichhorn and his followers theorized that Moses, or others, used different sources to patch together the OT narrative. Eichhorn’s *Einleitung* divides all of Genesis and the first two chapters of Exodus into “E” and “J” authorship. This led to the extension of the J-E authorship theory to the rest of the Pentateuch.

<sup>25</sup> Also on the faculty was Carl Friedrich Gauss, the famous mathematician. His wife was Wyneken’s second cousin. Wyneken just missed having the Grimm brothers as professors by a year, and not long after that, Otto von Bismarck enrolled.

<sup>26</sup> Sihler, 105. Notes gathered from German archives and shared by Matthew Wyneken state that Wyneken’s enrollment was 30 Apr 1828- Michaelis 1829 (St. Michael’s Day: September 29). Evidently, the bombing of Göttingen in WWII destroyed many of the university’s records.

<sup>27</sup> Wyneken Box No.1 at CHI contains email correspondence between Bob Smith and German archives. FCD gives Friedrich Christian Wyneken as father (a banker) and lived in the “Gasthoff zur Tanne vor dem Kloster.”

thrived at this institution as they instructed Wyneken.<sup>28</sup> Although prominent and recognized today, these professors did not have as much of an influence on Wyneken as did the “awakened” August Tholuck.<sup>29</sup>

Wyneken continued to suffer from ailments and depression. In 1830 he began taking class notes and writing poetry in a notebook which has since found its way to CHI. An entry from August 1831 shows a sketch drawn by Wyneken of himself wearing a coat, cap, and scarf while sitting on a chair with his legs stretched across two more. He was miserable, but poked fun at himself,

In a somewhat dreary room, a sickie  
Sat on three chairs, instead,  
Of burrowing in bed.  
Indeed, he always was a softie.

So, he guards himself from the cold  
A coat around his trunk he wraps  
And puts on one *of his* Bavarian caps  
A scarf will warm the neck, *he's told*

Hunting boots for legs? *Easy decision!*  
And thus, he becomes an object of derision.<sup>30</sup>

While Tholuck is given credit for Wyneken’s “spiritual awakening,” it may not have been as drastic as a conversion to saving faith.<sup>31</sup> Writer James Scherer best describes the movement which Tholuck embraced: “The awakening movement stimulated personal spiritual renewal on a

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<sup>28</sup> Sihler, 105.

<sup>29</sup> Wyneken’s school notebook contains his Hebrew class notes. One wonders what he heard at the feet of such men like Gesenius.

<sup>30</sup> Transcribed by Henry F. Koch; Translated by Benjamin T. Phelps 11-23-17 italics indicate added words to make the poem rhyme as in the original. Original poem was ABBA, CDCD, EE. Wyneken’s meter was 8888 8787 88.

<sup>31</sup> Lindemann, 3.



Biblical basis through voluntary societies. It rejected Enlightenment humanism and embraced a strongly non-confessional flavor. Its missionary and ecumenical endeavors were carried out under the sign of the Kingdom of God.”<sup>32</sup> According to biographer Krause, who seems to be referencing *familiennachrichten*, Wyneken’s older brother, the jurist Dr. Ernst Wyneken of Stade, began to direct him to the Lutheran Confessions.<sup>33</sup> The various seeds planted by Tholuck and Ernst Wyneken were further watered by Pastor Christoph Ludwig von Hanffstengel while Wyneken worked as a tutor in his household for four years following graduation from the University of Halle.<sup>34</sup> These three men, although different in many areas, all held one doctrine in common: the article of justification.

The pietist faith of Wyneken’s family meant that the doctrine of sanctification eclipsed justification. This is evidenced in a letter from Wyneken to his mother a few years later, where the loving son seeks to give comfort and encouragement to the old widow.

I heartily remind you and request that you increasingly hold to your dear Savior, who paid for your sins with his blood, instead of seeing him as your judge. You complain much about your sins and show that you are not sure of grace. Don’t you know that we are not made holy by works of righteousness, but rather by grace through faith? For once cling only to the crucified Lord in prayer and look him in the eyes and throw all your sins in his arms, who justified the godless, not the holy! Pray heartily, humbly, and unceasingly, that he may sink deep into your heart faith in his blood! Then you can continue boldly and encouraged against Sin, Death, and the Devil. That is the way. Not through ourselves; we will not become holy through our works, rather from grace, from

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<sup>32</sup> Scherer, James A. "The Triumph of Confessionalism in Nineteenth-Century German Lutheran Missions." *Missio Apostolica*, 1993: 71-78, 72-73.

<sup>33</sup> Krause. "Wyneken, Friedrich Konrad Dietrich." By Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, edited by Fritz Gerlich, 400-403. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1898. Krause, 400. Wyneken would later complain bitterly of this brother’s lack of communication with him once Wyneken was in America. FCD stated that Ernst was caught up with politics. Sihler, in his autobiography, mentioned meeting Ernst Wyneken when Sihler was about to leave for America in 1843. Sihler recalled that Ernst lived “on tense footing” because he had opposed King Ernst August of Hannover when he rescinded the Hanoverian constitution. (Sihler, 157). Walther and FCD Wyneken would later spend time with Ernst during their 1851 trip.

<sup>34</sup> Lindemann, 3. In his letter to his mother in February 1841, Wyneken complains that von Hanffstengel has been extremely tardy in his replies to Wyneken’s many letters. This was a great disappointment for Wyneken to lose contact with the man who had been his mentor.

grace! If you have faith deep in your heart, then you can boast, ‘Now I have found the ground, which will forever hold my anchor. Where else, than in Jesus’ wounds? There it lay before the beginning of the World!’ Then comes the right kind of love and pleasure in the LORD and from that death of the sinful heart, the world, and the earthly desires, and then comes joyful obedience. First pray for the forgiveness of sins, then walk in his footsteps. Let go completely of the promise [you make to God] because all that does is cause worry. I promise the LORD nothing else than ask him that he may guide me according to his will. Whenever one first places himself in the heart of the Savior (and one can’t do more than that, when he is certain of the forgiveness of sins) then one denies himself, the world, and himself. One will be withdrawn from himself and the world and go to Him.<sup>35</sup>

Wyneken’s redirected faith would carry him through a trying and challenging life. What he preached to his mother, he had wanted to preach to anyone who could hear him. Yet for years after graduation, he was still not an ordained minister. He was a candidate, waiting for a position to become available. There were simply too few positions to go around.<sup>36</sup> Candidates often waited years before being ordained and placed.

After his years of tutoring, Wyneken became the rector of the Latin school in Bremervörde.<sup>37</sup> There he also helped establish the local temperance society under Johann Heinrich Böttcher.<sup>38</sup> Wyneken not only became interested in the German temperance movement, but also world missions. He made contacts with leaders in mission work like Reformed pastor,

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<sup>35</sup> Wyneken, Friedirch. “Aus einem Brief unseres ersten Missionars.” *Der Lutheraner*. 1898. 3-4. My Translation. See Appendix for full letter.

<sup>36</sup> Harms, Ludwig. *In treuer Liebe und Fürbitte: Gesammelte Briefe 1830-1865*. Vol. I. Münster: LIT, 2004. 15-16. Louis Harms waited even longer than most (1830-1844).

<sup>37</sup> Sihler, 105.

<sup>38</sup> Böttcher, Johann Heinrich. *Geschichte der Mäßigkeits-Gesellschaften in den norddeutsches Bundes-Staaten: oder General-Bericht über den Zustand der Mäßigkeits Reform bis zum Jahre 1840 Erster Jahresbericht über Deutschland*. Hannover: Hahnschen Hofbüchhandlung, 1841.276. See also the Feb 1841 letter in the appendix.

Georg Gottlieb Treviranus.<sup>39</sup> Through his brother, Ernst, Wyneken became involved in the North German Mission Society in Stade.<sup>40</sup>

His activity in various movements suggests that tutoring and teaching was not what the unmarried Wyneken wanted to do for the rest of this life. In 1835, dealing with dissatisfaction, he copied another poem into his notebook.

I thirty years now number<sup>41</sup>  
I am still free  
I not yet have at the altar  
found bride or glee.<sup>42</sup>

Shotgun, shall I become so angry  
That still I you transport  
with limbs so sprightly  
in field and woods for sport<sup>43</sup>?

Displeasure today, getting away!  
Shall I thereat complain  
That I was happy at heart  
And allowed to hunt so long?

Some gnats would well like *midflight*  
To suggest sin to me  
Still shall the dark night  
Not drive and lead me.

Although he had finished his education in 1832, it was not until 1837 that Wyneken was examined for service in the public ministry. Biographer Johann Lindemann recounted

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<sup>39</sup> Wyneken letter, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Threinen, Norman J. "Wyneken and 19th Century German Lutheranism: An Attempt to Mobilize Confessional Lutherans in Germany in Behalf of Lutherans in North America." *Lutheran Historical Conference*, 1994: 113-130, 115.

<sup>41</sup> Wyneken was only be 25 at this date, suggesting that he copied this poem.

<sup>42</sup> Original is "bread"

<sup>43</sup> "hunt"

Wyneken's clash with the rationalist examiner.<sup>44</sup> Despite fundamental doctrinal disagreement, Wyneken's warmth and eagerness won over the examination board and he passed. A few days before his 27<sup>th</sup> birthday, Wyneken was ordained at St. Wilhaldi in Stade by Superintendent Georg Alexander Ruperti.<sup>45</sup>

Krause states that Wyneken heard of the religious plight of Germans in America through the Basel Mission Society.<sup>46</sup> But once Wyneken decided to go to the United States in 1838, he was sent with the support of the Stade Mission Society, whose members Wyneken was personally acquainted with.<sup>47</sup>

Wyneken's motivation for doing mission work was not ideal. In 1842, Wyneken reflected on his attitude in a letter to Adolph Biewend, a young man who was contemplating entering the mission field in the United States,

Regrettably I must admit that, as well as I know myself, neither love for the Lord nor for the orphaned brothers have induced me to go to America, nor natural inclination; on the contrary, I went there with reluctance and great struggle, out of duty, compelled by my conscience. As much as it saddened me and still saddens me that I did not have and do not have more love for the Lord, and he had to force me to go like a hired hand...I had to come here; You Lord, know how much I would have liked to stay at home. If I would have done so, I could not have looked up to You anymore and pray, and so I had to go. In everything that happened to me, even the difficult inner struggles of which I had many about it (are you really qualified and called to your office?) I could always assuage myself with the thought that I did not go according to my will but out of distress and compulsion of my conscience....it is a shame that I did not have more willingness and joy. I will only say this: it is good and necessary to know from things like that: I just did

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<sup>44</sup> Lindemann, Johann Christoph Wilhelm. "Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken: An Evangelist Among the Lutherans of North America." In *Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, by Eugen Adolf Wilhelm Krauß, 734-794. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912, 4. Translated by Sieghard Rein.

<sup>45</sup> Information from research by Matthew Wyneken. Ruperti was the father-in-law of FCD's sister.

<sup>46</sup> Krause, 400.

<sup>47</sup> Threinen, Norman J. "FCD Wyneken: Motivator for the Mission." *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 1996: 19-45. 21.

not function out of natural inclination but as a servant of the Lord, in no other motive than to labor in His name and as His servant.<sup>48</sup>

Sense of duty may compel action, but it is a poor long-term motivator. For a time Wyneken viewed his time in America as temporary.<sup>49</sup> What changed? A look at his early ministry sheds light on God's work in this young preacher's life.

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<sup>48</sup> Letter from FCD Wyneken to Adolph Biewend, November 29, 1842, quoted in Wyneken, Henrich C. *Adolf Fr. Th. Biewend, weiland Professor am Concordia-Seminar und Director des Gymnasiums zu St. Louis, Mo.: Ein Lebensbild*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1896, 28. Translation by Sieghard Rein, June 2010.

<sup>49</sup> Letter to Haesbaert October 1838 at CHI.

## MISSIONARIES AND METHODISTS

On June 28, 1838, Wyneken arrived in Baltimore on the *Apollo*.<sup>50</sup> He was accompanied by fellow candidate and 28-year-old Christoph Wolff.<sup>51</sup> It appears that Wyneken and Wolff had no strategy or plan to start their mission work, other than to find some Lutherans in town and ask them for direction and guidance. Coming from a country where almost everyone they knew was Lutheran (at least in name), this proved to be harder than they expect.<sup>52</sup> Threinen describes Wyneken's beliefs as "awakened Christian but not yet a confessional Lutheran."<sup>53</sup> Still, Wyneken was conscious of his Lutheran identity. After Wyneken and Wolff were tricked into attending an "Otterbein"<sup>54</sup> service, Wyneken reportedly exclaimed, "I don't know whether it is from God or from the devil! It is certainly not Lutheran!"<sup>55</sup>

Eventually the pair were taken in by pastor Johann Haesbaert who served at the Second German Evangelical Lutheran Congregation, which was a blend of pietists and unionists.

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<sup>50</sup> Baltimore Sun. "Port of Baltimore-June 28." June 29, 1838.

<sup>51</sup> Ancestry.com. "List of Passengers entered in the District of Baltimore by vessels from Foreign ports from the first of April to the 30th of June 1838." *Baltimore, Passenger Lists, 1820-1948 and 1954-1957*. Baltimore: Online publication - Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006. Original data - Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Baltimore, Maryland, 1891-1909. Microfilm Publication T844. RG 85. 150 rolls. National Archives, Washington, D.C., June 30, 1838. Very little is known about Wolff. He eventually ended up in Marietta, Ohio. Wyneken was still in contact with him as late as 1841.

<sup>52</sup> Mangourit, Michel Ange Bernard de. *Travels in Hanover During the Years 1803 and 1804 Containing an Account of the Form of Government, Religion, Agriculture, Commerce, and Natural History of the Country*. London: Barnard & Sultzer, 1806. 56. De Mangourit, a diplomat and former ambassador to the United States writes, "Calvinism is very little prevalent in this electorate. There are still a few Roman Catholics in Hanover, properly so called; but they are much less numerous than during the last century."

<sup>53</sup> Threinen, "Wyneken and 19th Century German Lutheranism," 116.

<sup>54</sup> Philip William Otterbein (1726 – 1813) was a (German-born) American clergyman. He was the founder of the United Brethren in Christ, a group that is a forerunner of today's United Methodist Church.

<sup>55</sup> Lindemann, 4.

Alexander Einwaechter, a founding member of the congregation, recalled its controversial history in his autobiography:

The first Sunday after my arrival I went at once to Zion German Evangelical Lutheran Church, where at that time there were two ministers, the old [Doctor Daniel] Kuntz [sic] and a younger preacher, Pastor Uhlhorn. The latter went to Bremen in 1833 on account of his health and died there. The elder D.D. Kurtz resigned because of age and feebleness, so we had to make do with various pastors. The old Reformed pastor Helfenstein also assisted. Finally, in 1834 the congregation called a young pastor named Johann P.E. Häsbärt, who had studied in Gettysburg [sic] under Professor Schmucker. He brought the congregation into good order again. Earlier the church was half-empty, but now every Sunday it was full. However, this didn't last long since there were disputes between the church council and the pastor. The pastor preached about repentance and changing one's ways. The church council members were mostly whiskey shop owners, and were not pleased with this. They wanted to tell the pastor what he should preach, but the pastor said that man must hearken unto God more than to men.<sup>56</sup>

Wyneken served in this congregation for six weeks in 1838 after Haesbaert became ill.

Lindeman would add that Haesbaert and his members “thought at that time that they were true Lutherans, but actually adhered to Unionism. Lutherans and Reformed belonged to the congregation. At the administration of the Holy Supper, the communicants were also served bread on a plate next to the hosts, so that everyone could choose to one or the other.”<sup>57</sup>

Lindemann spared Wyneken any criticism for serving in a “union” congregation in “ignorance” of their union practices. Yet, in Lindemann’s personal view, Wyneken had “in no way...a clear understanding of the Lutheran doctrine in every respect.”<sup>58</sup> Wyneken’s lack of commentary on his own perspective makes it difficult to measure what Wyneken thought of unionism at this time. However, we shall see that Wyneken did not take issue with unionism until years later.

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<sup>56</sup> Einwaechter Autobiography, 2.

<sup>57</sup>Lindemann, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 5.

After Wyneken's six-week vacancy in Baltimore, Haesbaert arranged for him to finally receive official instructions and a call from the Pennsylvania Ministerium to serve German immigrants in and around the Fort Wayne area. In Pittsburgh, while underway to his destination, Wyneken befriended Friedrich Schmidt, the editor of the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, which had just been founded earlier that year. This was one of the most important contacts Wyneken made in his early years in America. Historian Frederick Bente remarks that Schmidt's paper was "the first German paper within the General Synod which occasionally raised its voice against the apostasy of the *Observer*...The [*Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*] soon proved a thorn in the flesh of the liberals."<sup>59</sup>

Through Schmidt, Wyneken had a voice both to share his experiences and make public appeals for aid for his mission work. Wyneken often submitted public letters to Schmidt. One such letter gives insight into Wyneken's plight, doctrinal maturity, and early steps at leadership. In a letter dated September 10, 1839, a year into his ministry, Wyneken reported that his workload was unrealistically large; he served two congregations regularly and 5 preaching locations in a 30- to 40-mile circumference. Wyneken was stretched too thin and said he could not adequately serve more than two congregations at a time. A widespread obstacle to ministry on the frontier was the terrible educational system. Immigrant and frontier children had fallen behind in literacy, not to mention religious instruction. Wyneken firmly believed he needed to have time for instruction if the church on the frontier was to survive. He saw souls at the point of death and asked God for help. Writing for a public audience, albeit a narrow one, made Wyneken a little nervous. He was not sure how much he should disclose about congregational

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<sup>59</sup> Bente, Frederick. *American Lutheranism: The United Lutheran Church (General Synod, General Council, United Synod in the South)*. Vol. II. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1919, 151.



matters. He showed his discomfort further by complaining that he is not a good writer. As one shall see, this was a misguided, yet humble, declaration.<sup>60</sup>

Not only did Wyneken appeal to Schmidt's readers, but to his own Pennsylvania Synod.<sup>61</sup> On May 29, 1839, at the Pennsylvania Synod convention in Allentown, the Missionary Society resolved to add Wyneken's report to the official synod minutes at extra cost to themselves. The contents of Wyneken's report are sufficiently described elsewhere.<sup>62</sup> For our purposes it is sufficient to note the early spirit of cooperation between Wyneken and the Pennsylvania Synod. The mission society gave Wyneken their full endorsement and support, yet ultimately were impotent in their ability to serve his needs: "We were concerned that his desire might be fulfilled, but on account of the great want of ministers, this has not occurred."<sup>63</sup>

Wyneken was new to the system of synods practiced in the United States. In Europe, the state church was fully supported by the government, boundaries were marked so as to avoid geographic overlap, and there was an overabundance of pastoral candidates. In Fort Wayne, Wyneken could not count on the Pennsylvania Synod for direct support. Wyneken began to use methods practiced by his predecessor, Lutheran pastor and missionary Jesse Hoover.

Pastor Hoover had supplemented his meager income by officiating as the vacancy pastor at the Presbyterian congregation in Fort Wayne, which was financially supported by the American Home Mission Society (AHMS)—an organization founded in 1826 to serve the needs of any Protestant congregation or pastor in a mission field. They fully embraced and encouraged

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<sup>60</sup> Letter to Schmidt September 10, 1839. Translation from CHI.

<sup>61</sup> Miller, C. *Proceedings of the Missionary Society*. Proceedings, Easton, PA: Abraham H. Senseman, 1839, 4.

<sup>62</sup> See Smith, Robert E. "Wyneken as Missionary." In *Let Christ Be Christ: Theology, Ethics & World Religions in the Two Kingdoms*, by Daniel N. Harmlink, 321-340. Huntington Beach, CA: Tentatio Press, 1999.

<sup>63</sup> Miller, 5.

social reform through temperance societies and kept track of how many revivals were held at each location and counted how many “conversions” a pastor made in a year.

With the arrival of Presbyterian pastor Alexander Rankin,<sup>64</sup> Pastor Hoover had been relieved from his temporary post and therefore had lost a great part of his funding. The Presbyterian congregation, with the help of Rankin, successfully petitioned AHMS to extend aid to Hoover and his “German” congregations. He received his “commission,” renewable for up to three years, in 1837.<sup>65</sup>

The AHMS encouraged its commissioned pastors to give reports for publication in the society’s journal. A report from an unnamed pastor in Pennsylvania illustrated the obstacles facing native-born pastors, like Hoover, working on the frontier with immigrant congregations. Large groups of people from dissimilar ethnic and religious traditions were rapidly and haphazardly mixed together. Being a pastor/missionary on the frontier required a prioritizing of objectives. This anonymous report reveals how the spiritual scene played out on the frontier. It also demonstrates what kind of “conversion” many members of AHMS were trying to make.

The population of this place is mostly German, and some cannot understand English sufficiently to be benefitted by the preaching of the word. They are also very generally members of the Reformed and Lutheran churches, and to some extent, prejudiced against the English and Presbyterian worship. Indeed, some have been violently opposed to the formation and *progress* of our society, and the little church has been obliged to walk through some trial, though, at the present time, none is openly shown, and we receive contributions for the support of Presbyterian worship from members of the German churches, who are favorable to evangelical religion.

God is visiting the German churches, in a very few instances, around us, and I by no means despair of having the ‘Spirit poured out from on high’ on this barren spot. Indeed, this is, to some degree, my expectation. I know there is no salvation without the ‘Holy

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<sup>64</sup> A noted abolitionist.

<sup>65</sup> Mather, George. *Frontier Faith: The Story of the Pioneer Congregations of Fort Wayne, Indiana, 1820-1860*. Lima, OH: Fairway Press, 1992, 100-102.

Ghost sent down from heaven.’ And our hope is, that he will thus work by the feeble words spoken, and the means used by his people in this place.<sup>66</sup>

When Wyneken stepped into Hoover’s place, he inherited a situation almost identical to the one described above. It compelled him to prioritize. Wyneken realized that he could not faithfully serve the congregations organized by Hoover in Fort Wayne and Friedheim while simultaneously performing the duties of missionary as defined in his commission from the Pennsylvania Synod. He requested, and was granted, release from his missionary duties, providing he continued to serve neighboring settlements as needed. However, this meant his funding from the Pennsylvania Synod was cut off.<sup>67</sup> Either out of indifference to denominational affiliation, or bowing to pragmatism, on June 22, 1839, Wyneken obtained a commission from the AHMS for 12 months of aid.<sup>68</sup>

Wyneken inherited another significant connection from the deceased Hoover in the form of the small frontier church body—the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West (SOTW). Hoover’s death was reported and mourned during the synod’s fourth annual session held in October 1838. Synod President Williams Jenkins assumed it was the synod’s duty to fill a position vacated by one of their own.<sup>69</sup> To assist the congregations while a replacement was still being found, pastor John Jacob Lehmanowsky (already serving congregations in Corydon, Hillsboro, St. Charles, and other areas in Indiana) traveled to Fort Wayne in December of 1838.

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<sup>66</sup> "From a Missionary among Germans." *The Home Missionary*, 1839, 86. My italics.

<sup>67</sup> Mather, 106.

<sup>68</sup> The Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society, *The Fourteenth Report of the American Home Missionary Society*. New York: William Osborne, 1840. 52. AHMs typically provided funds for three years, Wyneken was probably only eligible for one year after Hoover had already received support for two.

<sup>69</sup> The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West. *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Session of The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West*. Louisville: Penn & Elliot, 1838, 9.

He was very much surprised to find that Wyneken had already been sent there by the Pennsylvania Synod.<sup>70</sup> Wyneken was out on his circuit when Lehmanowsky stopped in Fort Wayne, but without much investigation, he promptly wrote to Lehmanowsky, seeking membership in the SOTW.<sup>71</sup>

Although Wyneken was absent and probably had not met with any of the synod's leaders, this request was granted at the next annual session held in October 1839, pending Wyneken's release from the Pennsylvania Synod. With the addition of Wyneken, the SOTW could boast a roster of 17 pastors and two candidates for ministry. The synod's minutes were recorded in English, which was the preferential language of the pastors (the majority of whom were formerly members of synods in the eastern states). The SOTW congregations were spread across areas of Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Missouri. The broad geographic expanse of the synod prompted the session to divide the body into northern, western, and southern districts.<sup>72</sup>

This thinly stretched synod, although small, had lofty aspirations. Its mission society actively gathered information on areas where a new congregation could be formed, or where vacancies occurred in existing congregations. The synod recognized both the need for more workers and for bilingual ministry. Here Wyneken could find fellow pastors who were working in similar situations and faced the same challenges, such as detecting imposter ministers.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West. *Journal of the Fifth Annual Session of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West*. Louisville: Penn & Eliot, 1839, 28. J.J. Lehmanowsky deserves a biography of his own. This hard-working Lutheran minister had previously been a colonel in Napoleon's Polish lancers and had fought in the Battle of Waterloo where Wyneken's brother was a lieutenant fighting on the other side.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, 14.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, 18. Wyneken is placed in the Northern District under the direction of Lehmanowsky.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, 11.

However, historian John B. Gardner describes the SOTW as “more Methodist than Lutheran.”<sup>74</sup> Indeed, if Wyneken had attended the session in 1839, he may have been shocked at what these “Lutherans” were doing. On the evening of October 3, the attendees gathered to hear pastor Abraham Reck preach on 1 Peter and thereafter commenced a revival. This religious practice, at which Wyneken had recoiled at in Baltimore, was described in the session’s minutes in detail:

This discourse produced a very deep feeling in the congregation, and was immediately followed up by brother [synod president] Wm. Jenkins, with a very warm and powerful exhortation, delivered in the happy style of that favored brother’s best efforts; and the effect was truly glorious. Silence reigned through the house, save the voice of the speaker only, and here and there a half-suppressed sigh, or groan, which burst involuntarily forth from the heaving breasts of deeply convicted sinners. The whole congregation became more or less moved. The place became truly awful and glorious... Accordingly, those who especially felt desirous of an interest in the prayers of God’s people, were directed to kneel at their seats—when, probably, between fifty and one hundred persons were seen at once prostrating themselves on their knees before God; and thus, before heaven and earth testifying to the lost condition in which they felt themselves. After this, the scene became still more interesting...the mourners were invited to convenient seats, for the purpose of affording the brethren an opportunity of conversing freely with them upon their condition, and imparting instruction. Thus, the meeting continued, in singing, exhortation and prayer, until a very late hour, when it was thought best to close.<sup>75</sup>

Whatever happened that night, it certainly was not Lutheran. Yet this episode illustrates how many American Lutherans had adopted the “new measures” and an American approach to religion.

The day after the revival, the SOTW voted unanimously to adopt the constitution of the General Synod (GS) and join the association as soon as possible.<sup>76</sup> Speaking from a confessional

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<sup>74</sup> Gardner, John B. "The Synod of the West." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, 1920: 84-91, 84.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 12-13.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, 15.

(LC-MS) perspective, Gardner concludes that “The Synod of the West was doctrinally weak, and efficient as far as administration was concerned.”<sup>77</sup>

When Wyneken’s commission with the AHMS expired, he was cut off from a regular source of support. The SOTW was, like Wyneken, operating on the frontier where members were poor. The need for pastors and financial support would have to come from elsewhere. By 1840 Wyneken sent a plea for help to Stade Mission society, which they published as *Aufruf zur Unterstützung der deutsch protestantischen Kirche*.<sup>78</sup> Wyneken used vivid language to encourage pastors to come to the aid of their fellow Christians. Significantly, Threinen observes that in this document, “Wyneken had begun to move in the direction of becoming a confessional Lutheran...he was anxious to have ‘Lutheran’ missionaries come to bring the word of God to his German countrymen in America.”<sup>79</sup>

Observing Wyneken’s voluntary association with a variety of religious organizations indicates that he was not primarily concerned about fellowship, doctrine, or practice; whatever his personal views may have been. While his position on these matters would certainly intensify and solidify in the next several years, one must also recognize that, as an individual pastor, he had no other recourse than to utilize these resources. To see what Wyneken himself was thinking, preaching, and doing, one must look to his own words. An examination of one month, February of 1841, reveals a young pastor who was maturing in both his theology and practice, but still had a way to go on his path to becoming a “strenuous” confessional Lutheran. Still, his

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<sup>77</sup> Gardner, 86.

<sup>78</sup> The word “Aufruf,” or “call,” had formerly been used as a call to arms during times of war i.e. *Aufruf an die Schweizerische Nation zu Rettung* (1807) or *Aufruf an die Bewohner Tyrols* (1809).

<sup>79</sup> Threinen, “F.C.D. Wyneken: Motivator for the Mission.” 22-23.

own works show a nascent young missionary who was ready to take an active leadership role in the Lutheran church.

On February 2<sup>nd</sup>, Wyneken composed a letter to his mother, but his busy schedule required him to write it over several days.<sup>80</sup> The letter informed Wyneken's mother of his life and routine. The young pastor spent up to week at a time in the log cabin Friedrich Buuck<sup>81</sup> erected to serve as Wyneken's abode in his "Bishopric of Friedheim" as well as the congregation's school and place of worship. When Wyneken stayed in Fort Wayne he slept "on straw with a bearskin." However, Wyneken also spent many days on his circuit. He told his mother, "My days in the bush are times of much work and more joy, because I have a day for school and pedagogy with the confirmands and then in the evening I have Bible Study with the old ones." He continued to describe a typical day of worship and how the work load weighed him down:

Particularly on Sundays I have work and joy enough. From 10am to 12:30 pm I have church, where (on account of lack of hymnals for the function) I must lead in song. From 1 to 3 pm there is Sunday School. At 6 the neighbors come, and then there is church again, and after that until it gets late, there is song and conversation... Whenever it creates more fruit, I wanted to work more. But with all the preaching, reading, singing, and praying [my desire] remains dead. God help! With the children I have more joy.<sup>82</sup>

Wyneken next referred to his correspondents and how some did not respond. In this casual and private letter, several names stand out such as his brother-in-law, Superintendent Georg Ernst Ruperti, and men involved in missions such as Ludwig Harms.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich letter to his mother, 10-11.

<sup>81</sup> Buuck would become Wyneken's father-in-law just a few months later.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. My translation. See Appendix.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

Wyneken also described his ongoing discussions with his brother Pastor Carl Wyneken and encouraged him in his ecclesiastical struggles in Hannover.

The dear brother is firm and simple in the faith, which at the same time is not for him the first imprint of something new, that he will see here to surrender himself to the domain of the kingdom of God. He is heartily humble and unselfish and ready, to only work for His kingdom, without seeing to himself. [If he is these things] then let him [leave off] a little church history and doctrine of faith and go through much of the Bible and our Lutheran doctrine and come over in God's name. I can't [make any] promise [to] him, he must, like everyone here who serves the Lord in truth, search beneath many ailments and hardships.<sup>84</sup>

This portion of the letter pokes quite a few holes in the oft-repeated narrative that Wyneken did not turn to the Lutheran Confessions until he returned to Germany and came under the influence of Wilhelm Löhe and others. Here Wyneken was taking the lead in pointing his own older brother back to the Scriptures and Lutheran doctrine, just as their grandmother had trained them to do. As Wyneken wrote to give his brother encouragement and guidance, he had his own struggles which prompted him to study "Lutheran doctrine."

Wyneken did not wish to be seen as begging for items from his mother and relatives.

Wyneken also described his own spiritual struggles and self-doubt:

Oh, that indeed I still experience the dear Savior in joy, that we implore [him] from the whole heart, and not merely with lips, for his grace and our regeneration, so that he may finally, truly, and alone live in our hearts. Oh! It is [in me] rather so dead, sometimes the [outward] form of godliness, yet I fear he does not find the power and essence. I surely pray that the Lord may pour out his Spirit of grace on me and my congregations. Oh! If he would see only sincerity in my heart! *Sometimes I can't possibly understand why he has made me, a poor worm, the preacher here and why long ago he hasn't sent another to my place.* And then [am I] again so haughty and reckless. I can only with great effort through such weak faith rightly receive his fully valid sacrifice and ransom. Although (I must accredit it to his glory) he has not ever let me sink completely into despondency. How hard it is for one to die to the world! And yet how easily could one do it if he would always consider the dear Savior.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid. My translation.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. My translation.



As an awakened Christian, Wyneken learned to focus on his own spiritual failings. As a result, he suffered from a troubled conscience and anxiety over his own adequacy for mission work.

Wyneken was not the only immigrant missionary who had struggled with self-doubt. Wilhelm Nast, three years Wyneken's senior, had much in common with the Lutheran circuit rider. Nast was born in Stuttgart in the Kingdom of Württemberg in 1807. Nast, like Wyneken, came from a family which included many civil servants and Lutheran ministers. According to Nast's friend and correspondent, Adam Miller, Nast received "a pure evangelical education."<sup>86</sup> However, from his youth Nast suffered from a severely burdened conscience. Miller wrote, "he felt the load of his sins pressing upon him; and, as soon as the ceremony of [his] confirmation was over, he hastened through the rain in to [a] field, kneeled down and prayed the Lord to give him a new heart, that he might be able to keep his vows."<sup>87</sup> According to Miller, Nast attended pietist gatherings to ease his burden. Interactions with pietist and awakened Lutherans instilled a zeal for missions in Nast. For a time, Nast wanted to attend the Basel Mission Institute.<sup>88</sup>

However, at his family's request, Nast attended the seminary at Blaubeuren.<sup>89</sup> Nast (as did Wyneken at Göttingen) became discouraged by the vulgar behavior of classmates and the rationalist instruction from professors. Nast would later write, "Instead of being nourished with the sincere milk of the Word, that I might grow up thereby to a man of Christ, I was nourished with the nectar and ambrosia of classical paganism."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Miller, Adam. *Experience of German Methodist Preachers*. Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern, 1859, 77.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 77-78.

<sup>89</sup> Douglass, Paul F. *The Story of German Methodism*. Cincinnati: The Methodist Book Concern, 1939, 8.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

Although Nast was expected to become a Lutheran pastor, his conscience, awakened by pietism, would not allow him to do so. Nast wrote to Miller,

My remaining in the Church would have secured me wealth, honor, and ease; but my conscience did not permit to profess and teach a doctrine which I did not believe from the heart, or which, at least, I interpreted in a different sense from the Church. I was not willing...to make a solemn promise preaching, according to the Articles of Religion in the Lutheran Church, which rationalism had taught me to reject.<sup>91</sup>

Unlike his “Lutheran” instructors, Nast could not bring himself to teach and preach what he did not believe.

In 1828 Nast immigrated to the United States with the intent of becoming a teacher of the classics. However, his letter of introduction to a Lutheran minister in New York was met with “cool treatment.” This interaction only served to make Nast “bitter against the [established] Church.”<sup>92</sup> After some time Nast became a tutor in a Methodist family near Baltimore. Their kind behavior stood in stark contrast to his experiences with Lutheran clergy. Nast continued to have more positive interactions with Methodists when he moved to New York to become an instructor at West Point. After a lifetime of thoughts that, “weighed heavily upon his mind,” Nast reflected upon seeing, “Methodists as the happiest people he had ever mingled with.”<sup>93</sup> In 1835, Nast attended a revival in Danville, Ohio. There his “spiritual eyes were opened to see the fullness of the merit of Christ.” His response was an emotional one, “He was filled with joy unutterable and full of glory.”<sup>94</sup> Nast wanted to make the most from his conversion experience. There were many other German immigrants who needed “awakening and conversion.” At the

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<sup>91</sup> Miller, 80.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid, 81.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 87.

Methodist conference in the fall of 1835, Nast was licensed to preach and to establish a German mission.<sup>95</sup>

Within a few years, Nast's employed a strategy which resulted in scores of Protestant German immigrants joining the Methodist church. According to historian W. Harrison Daniel Nast possessed, "strong self-awareness concerning Methodism's similarities and differences with Lutheranism."<sup>96</sup> Daniel adds,

In particular, Nast was at great pains to encourage all the German-speaking preachers to focus entirely upon the mercy and saving grace of God in Christ. Like the Lutherans, Nast affirmed justification by faith and a covenant of grace through which God stands ready at all times to enact with humanity...Nast clearly framed his soteriology with expressions drawn directly from his Lutheran background.<sup>97</sup>

Nast's strategy worked; Wyneken saw some of his own members leave the church of their birth for a "new sect." In response, on February 14, 1841, Wyneken preached a sermon concerning unity, which was later published in *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*.<sup>98</sup>

This sermon focused on the threat of Methodism while attempting to hold a mixed protestant congregation together. Wyneken's purpose was, "to demonstrate that it is wrong for those who have come to believe in the Savior to leave their previous fellowship or congregation to join another. I will demonstrate the danger that a person who would do so brings upon his own soul and upon the souls of others."<sup>99</sup> For translator and current LC-MS president, Matthew

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> Daniel, W. Harrison. "Wilhelm Nast (1807-1899): Founder of German-Speaking Methodism in America and Architect of the Methodist Episcopal Church Mission in Europe." *Methodist History*, April 2001: 154-166, 159.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid, 159-160.

<sup>98</sup> Sermon by Friedrich Wyneken, "Let There Be No Divisions Among You" in, Harrison, Matthew. *At Home in the House of My Fathers*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2011, 345. The original sermon was published in two parts in April, 1841.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid, 346.

Harrison, Wyneken's complimentary treatment of a non-Lutheran in his sermon is a sign of doctrinal immaturity stating, "Wyneken was not at this point the confessional Lutheran he would become."<sup>100</sup> Wyneken certainly wrote highly of John Wesley, calling him, "one of the truest, most pious, and zealous servants of Christ."<sup>101</sup>

However, Wyneken's words were not meant to encourage cooperation with the Methodists. This unity sermon was a response to the "sheep stealing" practiced by the Methodists among German Lutheran immigrants. Wyneken's praise of Wesley was calculated to lower the guard of those sympathetic to Methodism. Wyneken shrewdly used Wesley's own conduct to encourage German Lutherans to remain in their mother church. "All the attacks and accusations of his enemies could not prevent [Wesley] from dying as an old man as a member and minister of the *Anglican Church*."<sup>102</sup> Wesley himself demonstrated that a Christian should remain faithful to his denomination unless forced to do something unbiblical.<sup>103</sup>

Wyneken wanted his congregations (and the readers of the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*) to see why a Christian should stay in his or her own church, "If, in his fellowship, a man is not forced to do or leave undone something that is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, it is his unavoidable duty to remain in that fellowship."<sup>104</sup> His focus on fellowship was not about encouraging Christians to leave heterodox congregations, but on keeping Lutherans in Lutheran congregations. The Methodist church did not offer anything better than the Lutheran church

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid, 345.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid, 346.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Demonstrating his research, Wyneken proceeded to quote Wesley for several more pages. Wyneken was never known to leave anything out of a sermon.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 349.

Wyneken argued that Lutherans have the duty of thankfulness. The Lutheran reformers and the hearers' own ancestors suffered much for the sake of the gospel. "Their property laid waste, their homes destroyed, their families torn apart, and their hearts crushed. They offered up themselves and their lives in battle and died martyrs' deaths. Over a period of nearly one hundred years...they bore the persecution of their miserable lives in angst and distress with all the horrors of war."<sup>105</sup> They did this for their descendants' sake!

Walking a fine line between guilt-tripping his members into the desired response, and using gospel motivation, Wyneken continued to encourage a loyalty rooted in thankfulness. He believed that Lutherans should view their church as their mother, not to be carelessly abandoned:

Will not the blood of your fathers cry out to God for vengeance because you so flippantly regarded what they with blood purchased and built for you? Will not your Church complain before God that you, having been brought up by her, now deny her your help and work? You trample her underfoot and bring upon her the abuse of her opponents. You not only leave her but also cause division and offense among her children...The duty of thankfulness must hold you by your Church."<sup>106</sup>

Wyneken did not claim that any Lutheran congregation was without problems—problems that were ultimately the responsibility of the members. He wrote, "If you desire to be a Christian, you have the duty to make good the damage you have done in the time of your unbelief." Wyneken argued that the presence of difficulties within a church are not a reason to leave it. Rather, loyalty to the church which has given so much, requires members to stay and support their church in times of trouble.

In sharp contrast to Nast, Wyneken had repeatedly found strength and direction in his family's religious training. Assuming most of his immigrant hearers had a similar education,

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid, 349. Wyneken's own ancestors, such as pastors Paul Gerding and Christoph Cordes, left accounts of personal suffering during the 30 Years War.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, 350.

Wyneken hoped that the memory of their childhood would reinforce their denominational loyalty, “Just think back to your youth. Harken back to the oft-repeated voices in your memory, which have struck your heart through books, people, or ceremonies within your Church. You would have to be mired in the most insane pride...if you would [say] that you would have come to faith easily on your own.”<sup>107</sup> While Methodism required adults to have a conversion experience, Wyneken, as a Lutheran, believed that conversion happened through baptism.

Although he viewed justification as the central Christian doctrine, Wyneken still gave great attention to sanctification. Wyneken used rhetorical questions to prompt his hearers to fruits of faith. He asked his members, who, having been made alive in Christ, if they would drive away the spiritually dying and sick. “You must remain. Duty demands it, since you have experienced love. The danger of harm to your own souls compels you to remain.” Wyneken firmly believed that leaving one fellowship for another was sin, because it broke the law of love. In this discussion, Wyneken commented on a key point of contention between Lutherans and Methodists, “Can such a person advance in sanctification, which God works, when he goes off on his own way and pursues a sanctification he thinks up himself?”

With these words, Wyneken was attacking the Methodist doctrine that even Nast admitted was very different from Lutheranism. Daniel comments that with Nast, “the Lutheran heritage clearly predominated, but it was combined with Methodist structures that promoted piety and community.”<sup>108</sup> For Nast, the Lutherans simply did not go far enough. Daniel states that Nast believed, “the Methodists had reclaimed something lost in the German speaking

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<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Daniel, 160.

Lutheranism, namely, Wesley's teaching emphasis on holiness and sanctification."<sup>109</sup> Nast needed assurance of his salvation through visible signs in his own life. He thought a person needed to have a conversion experience and that complete sanctification was possible during a Christian's time on earth.<sup>110</sup>

In contrast, Wyneken addressed the hearts of those doubting the sincerity of their faith and surety of their salvation. "Dear souls, if you have faith by the grace of God; if through faith in Christ, He alone fills your soul. If you regard as trifles any thought of salvation through your works, or anything else outside and alongside Him, do you not through your defection demonstrate that Christ is not enough for you?"<sup>111</sup>

For Wyneken, there was no valid reason to leave the Lutheran Church for another. "When you leave and seek another fellowship, you do it evidently for its arrangements and institutions, and not for the sake of having Christ, whom you already have. And thus, you seek your goal not in Christ alone and His grace, but in external things."<sup>112</sup>

As a frontier missionary, Wyneken was not initially interested in drawing attention to denominational differences. He wanted to gather unchurched Germans into congregations. Later, he would confront the un-confessional doctrine in Synod of the West and the General Synod, but Wyneken did not initially attack his supporters who held different views. Wyneken's first public stand for orthodox Lutheran doctrine (which he saw as presented and preserved in the Lutheran Confessions) was against the Methodists. What started out as a defensive theological

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Harrison, 353.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid, 354.

war, turned Wyneken into the chief Lutheran theologian who confronted the threat of new measures and the advance of Methodism.

Among Nast's several strengths, was his ability to distribute Methodist media. In January 1839, he published the first edition of a weekly periodical, *Der Christliche Apologete*.<sup>113</sup> Nast's attempts to convince Lutherans that Methodism was the true heir of Luther's reformation quickly came to Wyneken's attention.

On April 25, 1841 Schmidt published a letter from Wyneken in *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*.<sup>114</sup> This letter was not his typical report of the hardships faced on the frontier. It was a polemical letter, written in response to statements made by Nast in the *Christliche Apologete*.<sup>115</sup> Wyneken first commented on two men who had turned to Methodism and had criticized the Lutherans.

What a pity that Satan succeeded to exhale his destructive miasma over the new life in the awakened Church, in order to destroy it. God be praised that we have a Savior, who has overcome death and Satan and now lives eternally and rules over His Church... I am saddened to the utmost that dear Brothers Ungemach and Göllich are turning their articles against her and their own church.<sup>116</sup>

Misrepresentation, often a consequence of polemics, ignited Wyneken's ire. He wrote to Schmidt, "I was astonished how the true state of the matter has been completely distorted." Wyneken proceeded to list the Methodist's theses and offered his own responses.

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<sup>113</sup> Daniel, 157.

<sup>114</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich, "Lieber Bruder." *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, April 1841: 132-133. Translation by Sieghart Rein.

<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately, I have been unable to obtain a copy of this document. All quotations are taken from the Concordia Historical Institute's copy of Rein's translation of Wyneken's article in the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.



Thesis 1: “How dare we slander brothers in Christ just because they are Methodist and have adiaphoristic ceremonies?” Wyneken claimed that they slandered Schmidt; he never said he hated Methodists. The issue was not about different worship styles. Reformed, Episcopalians, etc. and even Lutherans used different ceremonies within their denomination!

Wyneken shared the view of Lutherans in America. The Reformed and Anglican/Episcopalian churches were established churches of the Protestant Reformation. The Methodists had separated from the established church and they imposed their beliefs on others. “It is not the brothers whom we hate; but the perverse nature of the brothers, which consists in causing a new division in the body of Christ, and in seeking to lead the souls from other faiths not only to Christ, but to their community.” Why did Wyneken consider the Methodists outside the church but not Reformed or Episcopalian? As seen in his sermon, Wyneken was primarily concerned with “sheep stealing,” which was a method unabashedly used by the Methodists and was one of the purposes of their revivals.

Thesis 2: “Is there nothing that can be corrected in Lutherans?” Wyneken replied with a biting rhetorical question, “Does the name Methodist...have such magical power that with the change of the name, reform of the heart occurs? Is there nothing that can be corrected in Methodists?” Wyneken avoided the point of the Methodists’ question. It is more significant to note what Wyneken did not say, than what he did. This question gave Wyneken the opportunity to point to the doctrinal purity of the Lutheran Church professed by the Book of Concord, yet Wyneken was silent on the finer details of doctrine. He appears to have had single-minded focus on the Methodists practices, particularly their sheep stealing, over and above any fundamental doctrinal issue.

Thesis 3: “Shouldn’t all Christian preachers unite rather than divide?” Wyneken replied that the Lutherans had not separated from the Methodists. The leaders of German-American Methodists were the ones who have separated and were creating division. As seen in his sermon, Wyneken’s primary goal was to keep Lutherans from being pulled away from others.

Thesis 4: “Don’t all sects have to end to be one flock and shepherd?” Wyneken mocked the Methodists with another sarcastic retort. “Marvelous miracle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century! Do the sects come to an end if new ones spring up every day?” It was probably unfair to call Methodism “new” in the 1840s, yet German Methodism was a novel phenomenon and threat to the established Lutheran church.

To Thesis 5, “Are all others to be modeled after the Lutherans?” Wyneken responded that Lutheran preachers did not demand that. Lutheran preachers did not steal parishioners. Wyneken finally addressed the fundamental origin of differences between the Lutherans and the Methodists “The Lutheran Church has no model of doctrine except Scripture according to the plain meaning of the words, understood without a hair-splitting interpretation, and even in that there is no coercion of conscience...We don’t want to model anyone after us, but we oppose [others forcing themselves upon our members].”<sup>117</sup>

The lack of reference to Lutheran Confessions is noteworthy but can be explained. While Wyneken had already demonstrated his concern and loyalty to Lutheran doctrine, he was still undergoing a lengthy process of becoming more familiar with Lutheran writings and their implications for interdenominational relations. In his polemics against Methodists, Wyneken realized that they would have no respect for Lutheran symbols, but they would have responded to claims that their practices were unbiblical. Wyneken claimed that Methodists were forcing the

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

consciences of individuals, which is particularly unbiblical.<sup>118</sup>“With the spirit of Paul...we resist every coercive human model, so that Christ is all...This spiritual despotism is invading the Christian Church here in America in such a way that it is the duty of every sincere Christian to oppose it.”<sup>119</sup>

Thesis 6: “But what actually is Lutheran, Reformed, or Methodists? Aren’t they all Christians?” Wyneken answered that the Lutherans were not blinded by a sectarian spirit like Paul mentions in 1<sup>st</sup> Corinthians.

Is the Lutheran Church the originator of factions and parties? Whoever knows the history of the Reformation can assert, and who sees Luther’s effort and earnestness with which he strives for union with the Reformed and the *Lutheran Observer*<sup>120</sup> puts it before the eyes of readers anew. Or hadn’t the union of the hearts in Germany been brought about at the last revival, and it would have remained, if the King of Prussia wouldn’t have wanted to forcibly compel what the Spirit of God could not bestow voluntarily to the Christian Church. And is the Lutheran Church here the cause of new factions, or does she not contend against them?<sup>121</sup>

Wyneken valued the unity of the Christian Church, but not as something that could be brought about by force. Wyneken, as a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West, was also a member of the General Synod, which was very open to the practice of unionism and cooperation with the Reformed.<sup>122</sup> The Methodists’ question gave the opportunity to point out false teaching in the non-Lutheran bodies, *but Wyneken did not seize that opportunity!*

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> A publication of the General Synod.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Wyneken’s position was at odds with confessional Lutherans like the Saxons in Missouri and the Prussians in Wisconsin and New York, although he was probably unaware of them in early 1841.

Thesis 7: “Let us obliterate the factional names” Wyneken responded, “Yes and Amen...but how can this happen by rendering homage to *new* factions and seeking to procure proselytes from other faiths!” Wyneken then complained about the brazen divisiveness, hypocrisy, and slander in *Chrisliche Apologeten*. “How could the brothers [Wesley] dare start a new sect, if they followed the Spirit of God?... You are calling...Lutheran and Reformed, carnal and nominal Christians, although you know very well that we live in peace with each other.”<sup>123</sup>

Wyneken concluded with the hope that the “sneering remarks” made by Nast had been exposed. For the first time, Wyneken publicly referenced Luther and even compared himself to Luther responding to the *Schwärmer* in his eight sermons. It is apparent that Nast’s attempts to adapt and vocalize Luther’s teachings to gain Lutheran converts compelled Wyneken to develop a deeper understanding of his own Lutheran identity and theology.

At the very end of his editorial, Wyneken responded to Nast’s claims that there was no difference in doctrine between Lutherans and Methodists. Wyneken made three points: First, Nast attacked the Lutheran doctrine of Holy Communion. Second, Nast’s defection from Lutheranism seems to have been a rash decision. Third, Nast used references to Luther as “bacon in a trap to catch Lutherans like mice.”

In the fall of 1841, Wyneken returned to Germany to organize and gather support for Lutheran missions among the Germans in North America. While staying with his mother in Verden, Wyneken was sought out by Otto Friedrich Wehrhan, a former Lutheran pastor. Wehrhan was intrigued by the situation of the church in America and paid special attention to Wyneken’s reports on Methodists and other sects. In his travelogue, *Norddeutsche Reise*, Wehrhan recalled, “Wyneken told me about the Methodist preachers and their machinations and

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

of the Albrecht Brothers.<sup>124</sup> These fanatics of Münster<sup>125</sup> are the regret of the world, who place Christendom in crudeness and under a coarse frock with their revivals.”<sup>126</sup> Wehrhan believed that this information would be sufficient to lead Germans to investigate these sects before immigrating to the United States. In this private conversation, a troubled Wyneken admitted to Wehrhan that the Methodist preachers “have entrancing oratorical eloquence.”<sup>127</sup> The tone of Wehrhan’s response is indicative of the reaction of many Germans, who had a great aversion to “sects” and religious “fanatics.”

Being aware of this, Wyneken made special mention of the Methodists in his *Notruf*, his public appeal for aid, with the hopes that this would demonstrate to German Lutherans how truly awful the conditions were on the American frontier, where their relatives were at the mercy of the “sects” if no Lutheran pastors were there to guide them.

The sects which are working most zealously at tearing down the old neglected cathedral of the church of America, in order to build up their own chapels from the fragments, and with which I have had the most dealings, are the United Brethren in Christ, the Albright people, and the Methodist-Episcopal sects. The latter is the most active of them all. Within the past several years, it has also established a mission among the Germans, which it heavily supports, and which unless the Lord sends help very soon, will certainly even wipe out the name of the Lutheran Church in the West...

How artful, however, the nature and activities of these sects is best ascertained from the ‘new measures’ now so prevalent among them. One of the results of these is the frequent occurrence of the ‘protracted meetings,’ as they are called. These are relatively large gatherings, often lasting one to two weeks, whose aim is what is called a revival, and at which there are always several preachers present. Preaching continues all day long; in between there are prayer hours. The sermons are intentionally aimed at having an increased impact on the emotions. A stronger and more forceful preacher always follows the other. Prayers, songs based on worldly attractive melodies, moaning and

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<sup>124</sup> Followers of a certain Jacob Albrecht. Very similar to Methodists in doctrine. In 1816 the denomination assumed the title of “Evangelical Association of North America.”

<sup>125</sup> The Anabaptist takeover of Munster in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was full of cultism, false prophecy, and horrible violence. See also the podcast “The Prophets of Doom” by Dan Carlin of Hardcore Histories.

<sup>126</sup> Wehrhan, Otto Friedrich. *Norddeutsche Reise*. Dresden: Justus Naumann, 1842, 306. My translation.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid*, 307.

groaning, and exclamations do their part in stirring up the senses and the nerves. Toward evening, when the excitement has reached its highest point, an appeal is made to the sinners who want to be converted. While one group sings the most lively melodies and another prays, a bench is set up in the front of the pulpit and the appeal is renewed by a preacher. The others rush in among the listeners and try to appeal, with a shouting voice, to drop the false shame, to come now and escape the anger of God. Finally, the bench is filled with penitent sinners and now the confusion reaches its highest point. The kneeling sinners sob, moan, and often scream as though they were actually facing the Judgment Seat of Christ, while several preachers admonish them. Part of the congregation prays loudly for and with them, while the other preachers are still running around between the pews shouting invitations with loud voices. Other groups sing a mixture of all sorts of songs and melodies, while still others, on their own and individually, with groans, exclamations, sighs, prayers, and the clapping of hands drive the tension of the nerves and the tempting of the sense to their highest pitch. No wonder that with such excitement, created beforehand by the sermon, and with such strong additional help, the repentant ones are literally stupefied and go into ecstasies, which are accompanied by all sorts of feelings and visions never before anticipated. Since now their whole attention has been focused on received grace, what else are these ecstasies and visions to be, or in what different circle can they actually move, than in that in which at the moment all feelings, indeed the whole soul, are mobbing. How should they be interpreted in any other way by those who are having them, than that Christ has heard them, and have been accepted into His grace? The 'spirit' has completed its job, to be sure, usually not before the appearance of all sorts of the most repugnant manifestations. Often the repentant ones fall to the ground as though they were dead; Then they suddenly awaken and jump several feet high with jubilation, which however, happens in an unconscious condition, and as though they were driven by an invisible force. The 'spirit' frequently breaks into the most awful gyrations and raptures, or in a laughter which is infectious and takes hold of the whole gathering. There are instances to show that even the worst mockers, who wanted to steal away in horror from the confusion of such a meeting, have fallen down at the door as though they were dead. The faithful gather around such a person, pray and sing, standing over him; and when he comes to, he sees himself in the grip of the Almighty Lord, who has seized him right on his way and cast him to the ground. Those standing around him miss no chance to encourage him and to paint hell, into which he would now have to fall, in lurid colors, if he does not now convert; and this moment is the beginning of the conversion for this frightened sinner. The sects regard these striking occurrences although they continue to be repeated again and again, as an act of the Holy Spirit; I have, however, never been able to overcome a horror for the demonical power at such happenings.

But there is hardly a Lutheran or Reformed congregation which does not have to suffer from these swarming pests. Many congregations have been completely scattered by them, others are constantly exposed to their attacks and banter, and complaints about these agitators come from all areas. For the faithful preacher they are a constant evil going at the very marrow of his soul.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich, *The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America*. Edited by Rudolph Rehmer. Translated by S. Edgar Schmidt. Fort Wayne: Concordia Theological Seminary Press, 1982, 30-32.

Wyneken's purpose in describing rivals was to provoke a response of horror among his readers. To them, this practice was foreign and terrifying. Wyneken believed it to be demonic.

Wyneken's warning of the reach of Methodism resonated with his European peers. Friedrich Lochner was so moved by Wyneken's presentation at a public gathering in Nuremberg, that he decided to answer the distress call for workers. Wyneken's depiction of a Methodist revival made a lasting impression. Lochner later recalled,

He especially dwelled on the activities of the Methodists. The highlight of his portrayal constituted the description of a camp meeting. Arriving at the well-known moment, where individuals are asked to approach the anxious bench, Wyneken suddenly came up to those sitting or standing closest or close to him, seized some them by the hand and asked them 'Don't you want to be converted too?' I can see how some looked at the speaker startled, some even shrank back shyly, as though they feared that a Methodist conversion was to take place in earnest!<sup>129</sup>

Leaving out appeals for actual "conversion" and physical signs of renewal, Wyneken ironically utilized Methodist-style mass meetings and played on the emotions and fears of his audience to build his argument for the need for action.

In Germany, there was uniform agreement among confessional Lutherans that Methodism was indeed a threat that needed to be guarded against. However, in America, as Wyneken's words were published and spread, the reactions were mixed. In April 1844, *Der Christliche Botschafter*, an organ of the Evangelical Association of North America, published an article from *Christliche Apologete* concerning Wyneken's *Notruf*. The writer (probably Nast) outlined Wyneken's work and agreed with Wyneken's identification of the main problem,

In the first part he shows in a truthful and highly touching manner, how a great part of the Germans in America no longer care about the Word of God, how the number of orthodox

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<sup>129</sup> Lindemann, 18.

preachers is far too limited for the number of souls of the German immigrants, and how often godless deceivers are hired by Lutheran churches to the preaching office.<sup>130</sup>

However, *Christliche Apologete* was not pleased with Wyneken's treatment of Methodism. In response, its writer sought to discredit Wyneken.

Mr. Wyneken, as much as we have learned from safe sources, never came into contact with a person from the German mission of the Methodist Church. He has yet to become acquainted with one of our German preachers and must therefore have woven together the horrific caricature of Methodism out of his imagination and mere hearsay.<sup>131</sup>

Yet Wyneken's detailed description of a Methodist revival indicates that he either witnessed a revival in person, was referring to his interaction with Otterbeins in Baltimore, or relied on reliable sources. Wyneken's testimony stands under scrutiny.

Analysis of Wyneken's treatment of the Methodists is given by historians Roger Finke and Robert Stark.<sup>132</sup>

Wyneken's fear of Methodists and other sects was well founded. Although his warnings on the annihilation of Lutherans in western America were inflated to garner assistance from the fatherland, his detailed descriptions of the sects' revival meetings, the emotional pleas of their clergy, and the open competition they fostered are in complete agreement with other historical accounts<sup>133</sup>

Finke and Stark identify the Methodists' aggressiveness and audacity as the primary threat which worried Wyneken and other German Lutherans. They concur that it was competition for immigrants from Methodists that first turned Wyneken's ire against them. Finke and Stark also believe that the Methodists did the most to drive Wyneken to make his *Notruf*.

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<sup>130</sup> Der Christliche Botschafter, Christlichen Apologete. "Wie Ein Schrieber in Deuschalnd die amerikanische Kirche schildert." *Der Christliche Botschafter*, 1844: 52-53, 52. My translation.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. My translation.

<sup>132</sup> Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005, 151.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid, 152.



The sectarian groups' outreach to the immigrants eventually proved less effective than the appeals of the Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic congregations...but it forced the former establishments to compete for adherents because the sects were perceived as a viable threat...Without the threat of Methodists and other sects, Wyneken might have never issued his distress call.<sup>134</sup>

However, this speculation goes too far. Wyneken's main problem was a lack of manpower, organization, and material support for the ever-increasing German population in Indiana and elsewhere. Yet Finke and Stark offer one final noteworthy insight:

The sects served as models for mobilizing commitment. Wyneken loathed the emotional revivalist appeals of the sects that included "moaning and groaning" and 'stirring up the senses and the nerves.' Yet his own emotional appeal would have made a sectarian revivalist proud. He complained that Methodism has 'infected almost all of Christendom' and that 'they destroy church life with the help of erected chapels, hired preachers, evangelists, colporteurs, and treatises; they seek to win for themselves the faithful who do not recognize the church or despise it.' But by the end of the century Lutherans had followed suit in each of these areas.<sup>135</sup>

As seen from his polemical editorial above, in addition to Methodist's aggressive proselytizing, Wyneken's main complaint of the Methodists *was* directed at their practices. On the surface it seems as if his vitriol was an aversion to something new and different from what he was used to. Yet there were many religious innovations on the frontier and Wyneken had adapted and adopted many of them in his ministry. Wyneken's condemnation of the Methodists was rooted in resentment of their stealing of parishioners. He further despised them as *Schwärmer*—fanatics who, while seeking the Holy Spirit outside of the Means of Grace, tapped into, as Wyneken called it, "demonical power."

Wyneken's public condemnation of Methodist practices led to further fierce reaction to the *Notruf*. Wyneken was attacked by a writer identified only as "Mr. Gottlob" in *Christliche*

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid 153.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid 153-154.

*Apologete* and *Christliche Botschafter*. Gottlob stated that Wyneken, “may be a good and a pious man in his own way, [but]...he's from the old school... [and thinks] his members should not dare to contradict the pastor, but only to work and live for him and to regard his sayings as oracles.”<sup>136</sup>

Gottlob, like many immigrants from Europe, wished to leave many of the old ways behind. Once they arrived in America, Gottlob and others wanted to take advantage of new liberties:

But now we have another homeland, a free country, where in the religious realm as in the political, another mindset is blowing: the spirit of freedom. We do not recognize any other man as God or the law of the land; we see the giant steps with which civilization proceeds; we cannot ignore that we live in a country that is in its most powerful period of life - at the age of adolescence, it seizes everything with more vigor. What the American and the German in America recognizes as good and right he pursues at once, and nothing can dissuade him. He does not allow himself to be deterred by the various appeals of others, but proceeds courageously along the path once begun, unconcerned about the judgment of others.<sup>137</sup>

Wyneken’s appeal to a confessional and established church in Europe, made him only appear as reactionary and elitist.

We also do not believe, as does Mr. Wyneken, that only an examined theologian is called to the ministry. No, but we keep with the Word of God, which stands simple, clear, and without any oratorical ornament. Therefore, we also believe that the apostles of our Lord Jesus were not learned men, but modest, unpretentious men, who in the simplicity of their hearts, proclaimed the Word of God with power and truth. Who preached with more success, the scribes and Pharisees, or the apostles? We do not mean to say that our preachers should not be educated; on the contrary, where both erudition and fear of God are united with each other, they will bring more beautiful fruits. We have the example of the apostle Paul. Who has written more, and preached with more success?<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>136</sup> Gottlob. "Erwiderung auf die von Hrn. Wyneken gemachten Angriffe auf den Methodismus." *Der Christliche Botschafter*, 1844: 57-58, 58. My translation.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. My translation.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid. My translation.

Writing in the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, Wyneken exclaimed in response, “What in the world is this entire sentence?”<sup>139</sup> Wyneken claimed that Gottlob was guilty of misrepresenting him and of making arguments about positions never taken by Wyneken. Wyneken turned to his favored sarcastic rhetorical questions. “Aren’t Methodist preachers ‘theologians?’ Then what are they? In what contrast are the ‘examined theologians’ to the ‘plain clear Word of God?’”<sup>140</sup>

Wyneken responded to Gottlob’s criticism of the “old church” and claimed he was guilty of misrepresentation. Irritated, Wyneken replied to Gottlob’s article by questioning whether Gottlob was showing proper Christian love: “Can you deny that by sectarianism and the sectarian spirit those who boast of Christ only too often are led into the hardest temptation to fall from love and to think and judge harshly and unjustly of one’s neighbor, who nevertheless is someone else’s servant?”<sup>141</sup>

Such was the reaction among German Methodists to Wyneken’s treatment of them in his *Notruf*, that Wilhelm Nast travelled to Germany in 1845 to counteract the damage Wyneken had done. Wyneken, in turn, wrote to his friend Andreas Rudelbach, editor of the confessional Lutheran periodical, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, and asked him to send over any pamphlet Nast might write. Wyneken was even willing to sail back to Europe so that “I may serve and set him up as a liar and warn the people before him. What I have written I can answer for as the truth on the Last Day.”<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> "Lieber Brüder Schmidt!" *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, 1844: 42-43. 42. Translation by Sieghart Rein in possession of the Concordia Historical Institute.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich. "Mittheilungen aus Briefen des Pastor F. Wyneken in Fort Wayne N. Amerika ." *Zeitschrift für die Gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche: Sechster Jahrgang. Erstes Quartalheft*, 1845: 76-82, 77. My translation.

Nast was politely listened to during his trip to Germany, but he was unable to gain much support. While lack of religious freedom may have been a significant factor, Wyneken's work against Methodism had certainly affected the outcome. For the Methodists, Wyneken's confessional development only served to retard their meteoric growth among German immigrants. However, Wyneken's interactions and controversy with Nast and other Methodists were a turning point in his life. As an awakened Christian, Wyneken could have sympathized with some of the Methodist's goals and concerns. Many awakened Lutherans, like Nast and Gottlob, even joined the movement full-heartedly. Yet Wyneken was compelled to go in the other direction. Early in his ministry, he had harmonized his awakened views with the core Lutheran doctrine of justification, which had been shrouded by rationalism and pietism. When Wyneken saw Lutherans joining the Methodists, he was irritated. When challenged by their polemics, Wyneken became, through studying both Wesley and Luther, a strenuous, confessional, Old Lutheran.

## CONFIDENT CONFSSIONAL

Wyneken's conflict with the Methodists went a long way in developing his doctrinal practices. Threinen observes, "Wyneken's three-year experience on the American frontier...led him to become more conscious of his confessional roots and of the importance of building a Lutheran rather than simply a more broadly Protestant church in North America."<sup>143</sup> Some in America called him "Old Lutheran" before he made his tour of Germany (1841-1843), but on his return, those who knew him noticed a remarkable change.<sup>144</sup> Wyneken had become one of the purists of the confessional movement.

It remains a difficult task to determine a definite moment for this change. Germans who knew Wyneken in 1838 noticed a distinct alteration when he returned in 1841. Anti-unionist and anti-rationalist pastor Ludwig Adolph Petri observed, "Wyneken, who went to America as fiery zealot against all narrow churchliness, has returned as resolute Lutheran and now must help to lead also those here to clarity and decisiveness."<sup>145</sup> Wyneken certainly had a stronger awareness and confidence in his Lutheran identity. Yet, whether he would join Petri and other confessionals remained to be seen. Wyneken's primary goal was to gain men and materials for frontier mission work.

To achieve these aims, Wyneken met with a cornucopia of Lutheran leaders in mission work. While these men were all evangelical, they represented many different shades of doctrinal positions. Historian Rudolph Rehmer believes that Petri saw to it that Wyneken got better

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<sup>143</sup> Threinen, "Wyneken and 19th Century German Lutheranism," 116.

<sup>144</sup> Hageman, Gustav Ernest. *Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1926, 4.

<sup>145</sup> Threinen, "Wyneken and 19th Century German Lutheranism," 117. Threinen adds that Petri been in contact with Claus Harms, the forerunner of the confessional movement.

acquainted specifically with leaders in the confessional movement.<sup>146</sup> In Berlin Wyneken met orthodox Lutheran Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, editor of the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*.<sup>147</sup> In Erlangen Wyneken met Ludwig Kraussold and Karl von Raumer.<sup>148</sup> In Breslau, he made the acquaintance of Georg Philipp Edward Huschke, leader of the Old Lutherans and president of the *Oberkirchenkollegium*.<sup>149</sup> In Saxony he conferred with confessional Lutheran Johannes Benjamin Trautmann of the Dresden Mission Society.<sup>150</sup>

Yet Wyneken was by no means controlled by Petri. Wyneken talked with rationalist Hebrew scholar Franz Delitzsch and reconnected with former contacts such as Reformed minister Georg Treviranus.<sup>151</sup> Wyneken also reached out to Johan Heinrich Wichern, the founder of the *Rauhe Haus*, a home for juvenile offenders. Initially Wichern and Wyneken got along well, but later parted over controversial confessionalism.<sup>152</sup> After Wichern met Wyneken in January 1842, he wrote that Wyneken had given him valuable insights into the situation in the United States.<sup>153</sup> Only a year later, Wyneken's confessional position was publicly established. A

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<sup>146</sup> Rehmer, Rudolph F. "The Impact of Wyneken's Notruf." *Lutheran Historical Conference*, 1994: 198-208, 200.

<sup>147</sup> Hengstenberg, Ernst Wilhelm. "Nachrichten zu dem Berichte über die Zustände der Deutsch-Lutherischen Kirche Nordamerikas Ev. KZ März u. April 1847: Erläuterung Berichtigung Aufklärung." *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, no. 93 (1847): 901-912, 908.

<sup>148</sup> Threinen, Norman J. "FCD Wyneken: Motivator for the Mission." 24.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> Threinen, "Wyneken and 19th Century German Lutheranism," 124. Trautmann's society had originally been focused on helping the Saxons in Missouri. Threinen writes "Wyneken's appeal simply broadened the vision of the Lutherans in Saxony to other spiritually bereft Lutherans in North America."

<sup>151</sup> Threinen, Norman J. "FCD Wyneken: Motivator for the Mission." 21. mentions Treviranus' support of FCD in 1838.

<sup>152</sup> Threinen, 26.

<sup>153</sup> Schneider, Carl E. *The German Church on the American Frontier*. Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 1939, 144.

break with Wyneken was indicated in Wichern's account of a meeting of the Bremen Society. Wichern wrote in April 1843, that what Wyneken said in the *Notruf* and his allegiance with the “Ultra-Lutherans” compelled him to look elsewhere for cooperation.<sup>154</sup> Historian Robert Smith sees this as a sign of Wyneken’s doctrinal transformation. “Wyneken’s developing confessional consciousness made him suspicious of Wichern’s whole-hearted commitment to pietism and Wichern of Wyneken’s ‘Lutheran strictness.’”<sup>155</sup>

Still, the non-confessional societies did not hesitate to reference Wyneken’s powerful testimony and language in their own mission literature. Johann Andreas Freytag, founder of Gustav Adolph Foundation, quoted Wyneken as he made an appeal to the youth to send aid to keep their countrymen from becoming “German heathen” in North America.<sup>156</sup> Wyneken’s words were effective beyond his purpose.

Wyneken had been sympathetic to the confessional cause from the beginning of his Germany tour. Historian Norman J. Threinen notes, Wyneken had written in May 1842 to Petri and his “Pentecost Conference” and “challenged [them] to unite with other Confessional Lutherans in the various German lands in a common mission effort.”<sup>157</sup> Wyneken had hoped to

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<sup>154</sup> Schneider, 144.

<sup>155</sup> Smith, Robert E. "Wyneken as Missionary." In *Let Christ Be Christ: Theology, Ethics & World Religions in the Two Kingdoms*, by Daniel N. Harmlink, 321-340. Huntington Beach, CA: Tentatio Press, 1999. 331.

<sup>156</sup> Freytag, Johann Andreas. *Der Mensch lebet nicht vom Brode allein: Ein Wort für die Gustav-Adolph-Stiftung an das evangelische Volk und seine Jugend*. Hannover: Helwing'schen Hofbuchhandlung, 1846. 25. In his introduction, Freytag illustrated the spirit of the “Inner Mission” movement in Germany. “The Evangelical Church that we belong to is a field of the Lord. Only the bread that we have recommended, the word of God, works for eternal life. But at this food many brothers suffer in distraction. Many fields in the field of the Lord have become like a desert. Thousands of our fellow-believers have suffered a great bitter trial. Therefore, the Father in Heaven, knowing that we need before we ask him, has wonderfully and graciously awakened merciful souls, and sent them as laborers into His harvest. The Gustav Adolph Foundation is not a mission from above among the Gentiles, but among those who are in danger of becoming [heathen] again, an inner mission among the oppressed of the Protestant Church. But in the true blessing it will only work and reap abundantly over time, if the entire Protestant people take part in it in faith and love.” (2). My translation.

<sup>157</sup> Threinen, Norman J. "Wyneken and 19th Century German Lutheranism: An Attempt to Mobilize Confessional Lutherans in Germany in Behalf of Lutherans in North America." 113.

unite the Lutherans in Germany, before the German states were a unified nation. In a letter to Petri, Wyneken wrote, “The whole Lutheran church in Germany must come together. We must operate with one mind and according to one plan.”<sup>158</sup>

The call for a unified Lutheran church was issued to other confessional leaders. Writing to Andreas Gottlob Rudelbach, author of *Reformation, Luthertum und Union* and editor of *Zeitschrift für die gesamte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Wyneken lamented that,

No ecclesiastical gathering for the sake of America has taken place. That was my main intention. How much could be done and how blessed it could be, inwardly and outwardly, if the whole Lutheran Church, through its individual members, became aware of itself as the Church, and in that certainty perceived and executed the task as the salt and the light in Christendom and to agonize paganism!<sup>159</sup>

Seeking to prompt Rudelbach and his readers in Germany into action, Wyneken wryly observed, “I know well that Christianity must come from the inside, but I also know that the Word must come first from the outside into us. We are not bold enough in Germany and will not soon be smarter, until the Methodists show you how it’s done. Then it’s too late.”<sup>160</sup>

Already in November 1841 Otto Wehrhan had encouraged Wyneken to print his account of the state of the Church in America saying, “It would alone make quite a little book.”<sup>161</sup> Soon Wyneken realized that putting his plea into writing could supplement his personal exhortations. Written by early 1843, the *Notruf* itself indicates from whence Wyneken’s confessionalism came.

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 114.

<sup>159</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich. "Mittheilungen aus Briefen des Pastor F. Wyneken in Fort Wayne N. Amerika ." *Zeitschrift für die Gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche:Sechster Jahrgang. Erstes Quartalheft*, 1845: 76-82, 76. My translation.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, 77. My translation.

<sup>161</sup> Wehrhan, 305. My translation.



What Wyneken witnessed in America had already pushed him to align himself with confessional Lutheranism before direct contact with the confessional camp in Germany.

Wyneken described the doctrine of English-speaking Lutherans:

They have completely broken away from the faith of their fathers. While they are enthusiastic about the name ‘Lutheran,’ they most shamelessly and impertinently attack the teachings of our church and endeavor to spread their false doctrines, chiefly with regard to Baptism and Communion, in sermons, and particularly through their publications and newspapers. At the same time, they naturally hope either to distort or completely to eradicate the teachings of grace and of the two natures of Christ with such reckless abandon so as to make their Christianity, at the very best, at least doubtful in the eyes of those who are level-headed. In addition, they are strong defenders of the ‘New Measures’ and are quite Methodistic in their approach to conversion.<sup>162</sup>

Wyneken further noted that the unionism movement was quickly taking root in the United States, especially in the West.<sup>163</sup> As with Methodism, Wyneken saw unionism as a grave threat to the future development of the Lutheran Church in America.

Particularly dangerous... inasmuch as the doctrines which are to be combined are mutually contradictory, the solid ground of doctrine is completely deserted in exchange for the slippery ground of subjectivity and their love for truth as well as their holy seriousness are weakened. Indifference and laxity in matters of doctrine are the necessary end result, if not the source itself. In this way people become accustomed to thinking so little of the covenant of the church and the sanctity of fellowship that they finally change fellowship in the way they change clothes.<sup>164</sup>

Having become more aware of his Lutheran identity through clashes with Methodists, Wyneken had recognized many similarities with the un-Lutheran doctrines and practices within the “English-speaking” Lutheran Church in America and brought them to the attention of his confessional audience. However, Wyneken did not attack “English-speaking” Lutheranism to curry favor with potential confessional supporters in Germany. Rather, Wyneken was already

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<sup>162</sup> Wyneken, *The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America*, 47.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, 48.

very mature in his understanding of Lutheran doctrine. Wyneken was not retrospectively bothered by doctrinal laxity in the United States but had been propelled by it, in part, to issue his call for help.

Perhaps the more significant change that took place in Germany was that Wyneken found his voice. As he continued to publicly write and speak, Wyneken's confessionalism caused further division by leading others to move to more concrete doctrinal positions. Krause comments, "In Hanover his presence gave rise to the gradually stricter separation of the hitherto quite a few religious parties."<sup>165</sup> In his home country, Wyneken had, according to family members, "shocked the orthodox officials with his fiery sermons...they admired him but thought him too 'Americanized.'"<sup>166</sup> As demonstrated by his presentation of a Methodist revival, Wyneken's unique delivery style captured the Church's attention.

Although he severed connections with some, Wyneken constantly made personal pleas to available candidates within his circles. Ludwig Harms, although two years Wyneken's senior, had been a candidate for over twelve years (the lack of available parishes made this a common occurrence). As a candidate, Harms had helped found the Lauenberg Mission Society and was associated with the unionist Rhenish Mission Society.<sup>167</sup> In April 1842, shortly after traveling to Hamburg to meet with Wyneken, Harms wrote to his parents: "I was asked by Wyneken to go to North America as a pastor to the Germans."<sup>168</sup> Although Harms ultimately did not accept

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<sup>165</sup> Krause, 402.

<sup>166</sup> Kannengießer, 8.

<sup>167</sup> Scherer, 80.

<sup>168</sup> Letter from Ludwig Harms to his parents dated April 14, 1842. Harms, Ludwig. *In treuer Liebe und Fürbitte: Gesammelte Briefe 1830-1865*. Vol. I. Münster: LIT, 2004, 133. Not only did Harms receive an invitation from Wyneken to go to America, but also from Schmidt to go to India, in addition to being asked to enter the mission seminary of the North German Missionary Society in Hamburg as a teacher.

Wyneken's invitation, he found the offer "appealing" and would become active in missions, founding the Hermannsburg Mission Center in 1849.<sup>169</sup>

It was Wyneken's bond with confessional pastor Wilhelm Löhe, and his associates, which produced the greatest materialization in reply to his call. Löhe had heard of Wyneken and his cause when Wyneken's earlier calls for help were published within *Aufruf zur Unterstützung der deutsch protestantischen Kirche* by the Stade Mission Society in 1840.<sup>170</sup> In response, Löhe and Johann Wucherer founded the Neuendettelsau Society for Home and Foreign Missions and began printing articles in Wucherer's *Sonntagsblatt* to gain support for their planned, yet directionless, mission effort.<sup>171</sup> Two years later, Löhe's response to Wyneken's *Notruf* was rapid, energized, and organized. After talking with Wyneken, Löhe found focus for his mission society. He would train and send *Sendlinge*—commissioned missionaries—to the American wilderness. Wyneken's *Aufruf* and *Notruf* were finally answered by Löhe's *Zuruf aus der Heimat an die deutsch-lutherische Kirche Nordamericas* [sic].<sup>172</sup> This document, with over 900 signatures from 38 kingdoms, provinces, duchies, principalities, and free cities within the German Confederation, presented a confessional German church united behind the North America mission.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Johannes Bading, second president of the Wisconsin Synod, was one of Harms' first students. Theodore Harms commented that Louis did not go to America because his sister had recently died and his family did not want to lose another child.

<sup>170</sup> Löhe, Wilhelm. *Wilhelm Löhe's Leben Aus seinem schriftlichen Nachlaß zusammengestellt*. Güttersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1892, 2.

<sup>171</sup> Threinen, "FCD Wyneken: Motivator for the Mission." 23.

<sup>172</sup> Löhe, Wilhelm. *Zuruf aus der Heimat an die deutsch-lutherische Kirche Nordamericas*. Stuttgart: Samuel Gottlieb Liesching, 1845.

<sup>173</sup> See Appendix for map.

Some have attempted to give Löhe credit for Wyneken's confessionalism. Historian John Pless writes, "The contact with Löhe deepened Wyneken's Lutheran instincts."<sup>174</sup> Lindemann credited Löhe, Raumer, Trautmann, and theologian Karl Graul<sup>175</sup> (through their perspectives on unionism, combined with reports of the Stephanites), for giving Wyneken a clear "perception of Lutheran doctrine." Wyneken himself left no note on the details of this supposed transformation. The influence of these men only served as a catalyst for Wyneken's transformation to a strenuous confessional. Their added perspective solidified views that had been established earlier through contact and conflict with Methodists and English-speaking Lutherans in the United States.

In May 1843 in *Kirchliche Mitteilungen* Löhe thanked and praised Wyneken:

Wyneken especially is the one whose faithful, fiery words in letters and appeals awakened our sleeping love of the forsaken North Americans and has shaken us out of the sinful forgetfulness to our precious duty. He, this upright, eloquent disciple of the Lord, has become a treasure to us. His letters, written to various friends of the North American cause, breathe an inner love, that love which is not removed from the heart by distance or other surroundings.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Pless, John T. "Wilhelm Loehe and the Missouri Synod: Forgotten Paternity or Living Legacy?" *Currents in Theology and Mission*, 2006: 122-137, 124. Pless further argues that Wyneken was not fully confessional since he had suggested to Friedrich Schmidt that the Augsburg Confession should be used for a confessional basis, but "where the people are Reformed, a Reformed confession should serve." This however shows that Wyneken was no unionist, and in fact consciously confessional. In Pless' attempts to bring more awareness to Löhe's role in the founding and orientation of the Missouri Synod, he overstates Löhe's role and passes over Wyneken, "C.F.W. Walther would give the Missouri Synod its theological and ecclesial shape, Löhe's influence was essential to the confessional orientation and the missionary character of the Synod in its early years." 122.

<sup>175</sup> Gaul became the director of the Church Missionary Society in 1844, that is, the year after Wyneken left Germany.

<sup>176</sup> Löhe, Wilhelm. "Pastor Wyneken's Abschied und Rückkehr nach Nordamerika." *Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, no. 4 (1843). Translation by Henry F. Koch.

Löhe then included Wyneken's farewell letter. In the last words written on his *Notruf* mission, Wyneken reflected upon his time in Germany. It was bittersweet. His confessionism had cost him close friends and profitable connections, yet his heart's desire had been answered.

It is a difficult step, I will not deny it, not only outwardly, but also in view of the spiritual life and activities and their battles, which often make me shudder when I think that I must re-engage them. My hope is on the Lord who has been my strength and energy, and has kept me, a poor, weak, creature, active.

May the Lord also strengthen you...for the battle which has flared up here in Germany, which will grow worse. Great, oh how great, is the battle for souls, with whom we once stood in the closest relationship and with whom we are in many regards intertwined and intergrown in the One Basis of life.

May God help us be truly obedient to Him, with total self-denial through obedience to the Word, holding fast for the love for dear but erring brethren...And the battle is all the more difficult since the recent eruption of spiritual life, here in our area of northern Germany with the Reformed and Lutherans so lovingly bound together, and that *we must oppose those with whom we once felt united. Ha, those were bitter hours, but not without blessing.*<sup>177</sup>

Wyneken started to see the "blessing" received from these "bitter hours" as soon as he boarded the *Isabella* in Bremen on May 18, 1843.<sup>178</sup> After considering Wyneken's advice and counsel, Adolph Biewend decided to accompany Wyneken to the United States.<sup>179</sup> In response to the *Notruf*, dozens more pastors, and eventually entire colonies organized by Löhe, crossed the Atlantic to aid the German Lutherans in North America. While admitting that the effects of the *Notruf* remain difficult to measure, Rehmer concludes that the *Notruf* went a long way toward

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<sup>177</sup> Letter from FCD Wyneken to Wilhelm Löhe, April 28, 1843 quoted in Löhe, Wilhelm. "Pastor Wyneken's Abschied und Rückkehr nach Nordamerika." *Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika*, no. 4 (1843): 1-2. Translation by Henry F. Koch. My italics.

<sup>178</sup> Smith, 332. According to H.C. Wyneken's biography of Biewend. However, according to Wyneken's letter to Löhe cited above, the date was set for May 15, 1843.

<sup>179</sup> Ancestry.com. "New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957." *Ancestry.com*. UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2010. Original data - Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897 Online publication - Provo, 675 rolls) (National Archives Microfilm Publication M237, & Records of the U.S. Customs Service. July 5, 1843. [search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=nypl&h=1022819992&ti=](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=nypl&h=1022819992&ti=)

bringing together the confessional leaders and pastors who would later form the Missouri Synod.<sup>180</sup>

Wyneken had a mixture of influences and goals. He had a pietist upbringing and awakened mentoring; he had a deep evangelical spirit seeking to serve the lost and straying. He could have been drawn into Methodism by their emotional displays of repentance and faith. He could have prioritized ecumenical cooperation over doctrinal purity and taken the path offered by many mission societies and the General Synod. But the justification-focused Wyneken gravitated toward the scriptural and doctrinal truth espoused by confessional Lutherans. In Germany, he publicly and completely aligned himself with the confessional movement.

Already in America Wyneken had been alarmed by the Methodists' (and other sects') heterodox teachings and practices and Wyneken had opposed them publicly. As evidenced by his words in his *Notruf*, Wyneken was personally opposed to "English-speaking" Lutheranism, but he did not voice his opposition to it until he had conferred with confessional leaders in the German Confederation. Wyneken's consistent allegiance to confessionalism was first clearly demonstrated in Germany. When he came back to the United States, Wyneken's confessionalism would be unswervingly and vigorously applied to all aspects of his life and ministry.

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<sup>180</sup> Rehmer, "Impact of Wyneken's *Notruf*." 206.

## WYNEKEN TURNS AGAINST AMERICAN LUTHERANISM

In July 1843 Wyneken returned to Fort Wayne and wasted no time in implementing his confessionalism. Smith comments on the change noticed by church members in Fort Wayne and Friedheim:

[Although] Wyneken's activities in Indiana remained essentially the same; the substance of his theology had changed. Friedrich was now convinced more than ever of the truth of the Lutheran Confessions, the value of its traditions and the necessity of thorough catechization in the same. He proceeded to abandon practices that diluted Lutheran theology or practice, minimized the differences between Lutherans and other denominations or allowed reformed pastors to enter Lutheran pulpits.<sup>181</sup>

Wyneken completely "purged" the Reformed and Methodist elements from his congregations by using distinctly Lutheran liturgies and emphasized Lutheran doctrine in sermons. Affirmation of the Augsburg Confession was a prerequisite for membership. Taken aback, lay leader Henry Rudisill and others opposed Wyneken.<sup>182</sup>

In October 1843 Rudisill and Wyneken attended the SOTW annual session held at Hopeful Church, Kentucky. Wyneken had never formed close personal ties with the other pastors in the synod and it is possible that he did not meet any of them until the session began. Wyneken wrote in the *Notruf* that he had not even attended a single meeting of the SOTW. Wyneken was aware of the SOTW affiliation with the GS as well as the latter body's lack of Lutheran character, saying, "those who remain faithful to the teachings of the Lutheran church will, most likely, never join it, since the General Synod, for the most part, embraces opponents."<sup>183</sup> Yet Wyneken's loose affiliation with the GS was endured, not through doctrinal

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<sup>181</sup> Smith, 333.

<sup>182</sup>Lindemann, 21. Nathan Bienz of FOW showed me in the minutes of St. Paul that Rudisill later voted against letting Wyneken take his call to Baltimore. Things were eventually patched up between the two to some degree.

<sup>183</sup> Wyneken, *The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America*. 45.

indifference, but through sheer disregard for GS authority. According to Wyneken, the GS was merely an advisory body, and “there is nothing they can do to enforce their counsel or decisions.”<sup>184</sup> Two years later, Löhe shared Wyneken’s reasons for remaining in the non-confessional body after his return from Germany. “Pastor Wyneken had long known that he could not endure in the Synod of the West for long, because the spirit of the West paid homage to the scornful English school of thought. But he did not want to leave it quickly, so that through faithful testimony he might save many.”<sup>185</sup> During the session, Wyneken showed his fresh dissenting voice when he took part in “animated discussion” on East Pennsylvania Synod’s new unionist measures.<sup>186</sup> Unfortunately the details of this “animated discussion” were not recorded.

One year later the Synod of the West met again, this time at Fort Wayne. Wyneken was accompanied by Rudisill, Buuck (Wyneken’s father-in-law), and Adam Ernst, one of Löhe’s first *Sendlinge*. Rudisill still had reservations about Wyneken’s confessionalism. Sensing an opportunity, Wyneken invited Rudisill to attack Wyneken’s “Old Lutheran” practices during the convention. According to Lindemann, “[Wyneken] hoped...to find a splendid opportunity to confess the Lutheran doctrine and to cause the synodical gentlemen to stick their noses into the symbolic books, which probably were completely unknown to most of them.”<sup>187</sup> Rudisill’s concerns vanished. The Fort Wayne and Friedheim delegates presented themselves as a united front. When most of the convention voted for establishing a college with the Synod of Ohio, the Fort Wayne men and several other German pastors presented a written formal protest:

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<sup>184</sup> Ibid, 45-46.

<sup>185</sup> Löhe, "Das Jahr 1845 und die nordamerikanisch-kirchliche Sache." My translation.

<sup>186</sup>The Evangelical Synod of the West. *Journal of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Evangelical Synod of the West*, 21.

<sup>187</sup> Lindemann, 21.



The church of Christ must have, has had and shall have always the same doctrines...the unaltered Augsburg Confession of faith is the unalterable ground of doctrine of the church of Christ...no union in matters of the church can possibly agree with the will of God when it is not based upon the ground of unity of faith...the doctrines of our church are not sufficiently guaranteed to us in the proposed constitution, submitted to this Synod by the Synod of Ohio.<sup>188</sup>

The majority (made up of “English-speaking Lutherans”) considered the minority protest “uncalled for and erroneous.” As far as the majority was concerned, there was not yet an official constitution for the college. The fact that Ohio merely presented a constitution did not mean it would be the final constitution. The majority considered the confessional protest to be “calculated to excite jealousies and unjust suspicions.” Where ecumenical cooperation had been the predominant attitude in the SOTW, the sudden appearance of confessional principles were perceived as mean-spirited scruples. Writing to Löhe, Ernst reported how he had “witnessed how faithfully and forcefully Wyneken represented the truth.”<sup>189</sup> The resolution on supporting the Ohio Synod college was the last item presented to the convention before final resolutions were passed to thank Wyneken and his congregation for hosting the convention.<sup>190</sup> An icy divide was palpable as the delegates returned to their own congregations.

As relations cooled with one body of Lutherans, Wyneken sought an opportunity to start a synod of like-minded confessional Lutherans. Wyneken had once been a lone voice in the (literal) wilderness, but after his return to Indiana he found that he was not alone. Wyneken first

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<sup>188</sup> The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Evang. Lutheran Synod of the West*. Baltimore: Evangelical Lutheran Church., 1845, 30. Löhe had considered sending men to the Ohio Synod seminary, but eventually supported a new seminary at Fort Wayne.

<sup>189</sup> Löhe, "Das Jahr 1845 und die nordamerikanisch-kirchliche Sache." My translation.

<sup>190</sup>The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West, *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the Evang. Lutheran Synod of the West*, 32.

read *Der Lutheraner* in late 1844 or early 1845.<sup>191</sup> It seems as if Walther and Wyneken learned of each other almost simultaneously. In one of the earliest editions, Walther responded to the *Notruf* in *Der Lutheraner*.<sup>192</sup> In it he gave full recommendation to the pamphlet and praised the striking and deep analysis of the Methodists. Walther also agreed with Wyneken's view of the Lutheran "schism." In a later number, Walther gave credit to Wyneken for personally initiating a "wholesome movement."<sup>193</sup>

Through *Der Lutheraner*, a conversation was started between the Saxons and Walther on one end, and by Wyneken and the men he inspired to serve as pastors/missionaries in Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio on the other. Formerly isolated, Wyneken had once been dependent on "American Lutheran" establishments and non-denominational institutions. Now he had others who shared his beliefs and background. Together they developed a vision and a plan for a confessional, German, and Lutheran church.

### **More Heart!**

Pastor, poet, author, and hymnwriter Hermann Fick recalled of Wyneken,

[Wyneken] lived and wove in the doctrine of Justification. That Christ died and redeemed us poor sinners out of love for us. That was his one and only comfort. Then he also urged us to show intimate brotherly love from the heart. "More Heart!" was his motto, which I heard him express with great earnestness."<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Hageman claims this was the first edition of September 7, 1844 but does not say when Wyneken received it. (Hageman, 44)

<sup>192</sup> Walther, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm. *C.F.W. Walther's Original Der Lutheraner Volumes One through Three (1844-47)*. Translated by Joel Baseley. 2012. (Volume 1, 31-32).

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid*, volume 3, 1.

<sup>194</sup> Lindemann handwritten notes, transcribed by Henry F. Koch, translated by Benjamin Phelps.

On October 16, 1844, Haesbaert resigned his position at the Second German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Baltimore because of “personal sickness” and other reasons.<sup>195</sup> On October 23, the congregation called Wyneken by a “great majority.”<sup>196</sup> In his acknowledgment letter to the congregation, Wyneken listed conditions he required before accepting a call. He insisted that “I have the freedom to use a genuine old Lutheran Agenda, particularly to use for Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.”<sup>197</sup> The congregation answered that it was assuredly Lutheran; Wyneken agreed to accept the call.<sup>198</sup> Wyneken traveled first on horseback, then stagecoach.<sup>199</sup> On December 15, 1844, while Wyneken was underway, his wife gave birth to twins Henry and Martin. Haesbaert left December 29, 1844, and went straight from the evening service to the train depot and departed.<sup>200</sup> Wyneken was installed on March 9, 1845 by 81-year-old Dr. Daniel Kurtz.<sup>201</sup>

Wyneken soon discovered union practices, especially in the preparations for the Lord’s Supper.<sup>202</sup> Yet the loving pastor patiently taught and worked to avoid causing unnecessary offence.<sup>203</sup> The members were truly shocked to hear that they did not have Wyneken’s full

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<sup>195</sup> Unpublished translation of “Extracts from Minutes of the (St. Paul) 2<sup>nd</sup> Ger. Ev. Luth. Church of the City of Baltimore.”<sup>9</sup>. Document courtesy of Sandy Harper.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> Letter from FCD Wyneken to the 2<sup>nd</sup> German Ev. Luth. Church in Baltimore, November 20, 1844. Unpublished document in possession of CHI. My translation.

<sup>198</sup> Lindemann, 23.

<sup>199</sup> Wyneken to Einwaechter letter Number 3. (CHI).

<sup>200</sup> Lindemann notes, transcribed by H. Koch, translated by B. Phelps.

<sup>201</sup> Einwaechter says Wyneken *thinks* March 9 will be the day. See also Lindemann, 24. Daniel Kurtz was the uncle of Dr. Benjamin Kurtz.

<sup>202</sup> Lindemann, 24.

<sup>203</sup> Hageman, 48.

approval; they thought they were the “good Lutherans.”<sup>204</sup> Einwaechter recalled how Wyneken went about reform.

He now brought the congregation to a better understanding of pure evangelical Lutheran teachings but not without some difficulty. Up until that time we were a mixed congregation of Lutherans and Reformed. Since the Reformed found fault with the teachings on Holy Communion, they went away, except for a few who recognized the truth and remained. So, there were still 280 voting members.<sup>205</sup>

By comparing the Lutheran and Heidelberg catechisms side by side from the pulpit, Wyneken demonstrated that it was impossible for Lutherans and Reformed to coexist without doctrinal compromise.<sup>206</sup>

Still a member of SOTW in May 1845, Wyneken took the opportunity to attend the 13<sup>th</sup> General Synod convention in Philadelphia. The GS minutes do not mention much more than Wyneken’s arrival halfway through the convention.<sup>207</sup> The minutes give only one significant action when they list Wyneken as voting against union measures.<sup>208</sup>

However, Wyneken reported to Löhe that, before Wyneken arrived, the convention had resolved to write to church leaders in Europe “to counter the false representations of their doctrine and practice that had been circulated in Germany.”<sup>209</sup> Members of the General Synod had read Wyneken’s *Notruf* and believed that it “gave a false description of the position of the

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<sup>204</sup>Lindemann, 24.

<sup>205</sup> Einwaechter autobiography, 4.

<sup>206</sup> Lindemann, 25.

<sup>207</sup> Lindemann, 26.

<sup>208</sup> The General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. *Thirteenth Convention of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*. Baltimore: Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1845.

<sup>209</sup> Löhe, Wilhelm. "Das Jahr 1845 und die nordamerikanischkirchliche Sache." *Kirchlichen Mitteilnug aus und über Nord-Amerika*, no. 9-10 (1845). My translation.

Lutheran Church.”<sup>210</sup> Taking advantage of this accusation, Wyneken challenged the General Synod to send more than just letters. He demanded that they send copies of Schmucker’s *Popular Theology, Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches, with a Plan for Catholic Union, on Apostolic Principles, and Portraiture of Lutheranism; Kurtz’s Infant Baptism and Affusion, with Essays on Related Subjects, and Why are you a Lutheran?*;<sup>211</sup> and an edition of the newspapers *Lutheran Observer* and *Die Hirtenstimme* as representatives of the General Synod’s theology to Rudelbach, Harless, and “other distinguished editors of Lutheran magazines in Germany for their judgments as to whether the accusations made to them are false or not.”<sup>212</sup> The alternative: renounce the un-Lutheran doctrines and practices in them.<sup>213</sup> Wyneken’s proposals were disdainfully rejected; the General Synod would send letters to Germany without qualifying their version of Lutheranism.

If Schmucker’s works had been sent to Rudelbach, Harless, or any other confessional theologian, there would be no doubt to their reaction. While several of Schmucker’s statements simply supported and explained the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, many differed greatly. In areas of faith he wrote, “Though salvation is of grace, it is accepted or rejected by the

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid. My translation.

<sup>211</sup> Friedrich Schmidt published theses against this book during 1844 in his *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, of which Wyneken was an avid reader.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid. My translation.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid. Wyneken wrote to Löhe, “As an honest man and Christian I wanted to make it so ridiculous to [the General Synod] that I, as a single, insignificant man, had publicly declared war on her, and told her beforehand that, I would do everything in my power in order to counteract their influence, especially that I wanted to sound the warning about them, so that the few in Germany who are on the side of the truth are not involved with her.” Löhe commented, “We have never held out much hope for the General Synod. We are not rid of her—because we have never been connected with her. But concerning Wyneken, no doubt, another righteous soul is rid of her. That’s what we call cheap gain.” My translation.

voluntary faith or unbelief of every individual.”<sup>214</sup> Concerning sanctification: “Every sincere effort of the unregenerate to perform any duty is doubtless pleasing to God.”<sup>215</sup> Schmucker did not use the Lutheran definition for Means of Grace, but rather stated, “Means of Grace are all things which God employs to present divine truth to the minds of men and urge them to obey it and in connection with which, he bestows the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>216</sup> On Baptism he wrote, “Baptism represents the washing of regeneration.”<sup>217</sup> And “Baptism is the public profession of the surrender of the heart to God, and of the determination to live in conformity to the Master’s will.”<sup>218</sup> This was what Schmucker poured into the minds of men intending to become *Lutheran* pastors! Schmucker made no attempt to hide his divergence from the Lutheran Confessions. To him, they weren’t essential to his Lutheran identity. His views were certainly incompatible with, and opposed to, confessional Lutheranism.

Knowing what the GS was attempting to conceal, Wyneken sent a public warning to his confessional brothers in Germany. Published in *Kirchliche Mitteilung*, Wyneken wanted to make the General Synod’s doctrinal position abundantly clear. “She has laid bare her apostasy in doctrine and practice by the consensus of her members as well as in books and magazines which proceed under her protection.”<sup>219</sup> Wyneken’s break with the General Synod was official. Hengstenberg would later comment, “It is impossible that Wyneken could complain of his

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<sup>214</sup> Schmucker, Samuel Simon. *Elements of Popular Theology With Special Reference to the Doctrines of the Reformation*. New York: Leavitt, Lord, and Co., 1834, 108.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid*, 142.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid*, 148.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid*, 227.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid*, 228.

<sup>219</sup> Wyneken, F. Pastor in Baltimore. "Warnung." *Kirchliche Mitteilung aus und über Nord-Amerika*, no. 9-10 (1845). My translation.

departure from the brethren as a hasty and ruinous one, since he had done this as his own person and with the intention of initiating the formation of a sincere German Lutheran Synod.”<sup>220</sup>

Wyneken highly valued unity and cooperation. He had made urgent and emotional pleas for the Lutheran church to join in the cause of aiding Lutherans who lacked spiritual shepherds as they settled among the wolves stalking the frontier timberlands. Yet Wyneken did not desire unity in any form for its own sake. Historian Gerhard Bode comments,

Founded on God’s word, the Lutheran Church could not depart from that word and still remain a true church. Striving to preach and teach God’s word in purity, it could not permit another word (e.g., rationalism or doctrinal indifference) to take hold in the church. Recognizing that true unity in the church is that which God establishes, it could not allow itself to become a false union. Wyneken...knew that holding fast to the word of God and embracing the Lutheran Confessions in word and deed was key to the survival to the Lutheran church in America.<sup>221</sup>

While the GS official record minimized and concealed it, Wyneken had made a significant public stand in Philadelphia. Walther commented on Wyneken’s words against the GS from a distance.<sup>222</sup> Walther first shared details reported in the *Lutherischer Hirtenbrief*, a publication friendly to “American Lutheranism” and hostile to Wyneken’s confessionalism. The editor of *Lutherischer Hirtenbrief* wrote with the belief that the GS and the views of its leaders was *the* Lutheran church, “Pastor Wyneken of Baltimore spoke and warned and took issue against the doctrines, practices, books and periodicals of the [American] Lutheran church, to bear witness against the same. The synod listened patiently to this frivolous motion and tabled it.”<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> Hengstenberg, 908.

<sup>221</sup> Bode, Gerhard. "The Missouri Synod and the historical question of unionism and syncretism." *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, 2014: 39-58, 53.

<sup>222</sup> Walther, Vol. 1, 96.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid, *Lutherischer Hirtenbrief* quoted by *Der Lutheraner*.

Walther defended Wyneken and pointed out to his readers that it was the GS, and not Wyneken, who has abandoned the doctrine of the Lutheran church.

In his book *Lutherans in Crisis*, historian David Gustafson comments on Wyneken's stand at the GS convention. "At Philadelphia, Wyneken was virtually a lone voice, but his words were a portent of what was to come."<sup>224</sup> Wyneken's experience and participation in several other synods was unique among the founders of Missouri. For the GS, Wyneken's outcry was not an insignificant moment, as the scanty coverage in the official minutes suggests. Gustafson remarks, "Wyneken's protest at the 1845 General Synod convention in Philadelphia was the first confessional voice heard aloud."<sup>225</sup>

For a confessional Lutheran, Wyneken's experience was rather unique. He was not part of an isolated and self-sustaining immigrant colony. Wyneken had been a member of three bodies, which were anything but confessional: the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the Synod of the West, and the General Synod. Wyneken had a fuller picture of American Lutheranism than Walther and the Saxons. Gustafson, in a separate article, concludes that "Wyneken was a prophet because he clearly saw the difference between the position of the 'American' Lutherans and a Lutheranism that was loyal to its confessional heritage."<sup>226</sup>

Nothing came of the call for doctrinal examination by German Lutherans, but Wyneken's example molded a new voice for confessionalism in the GS. Pastor Adolph Spaeth recalled,

Yet after all, it was the rumbling of the distant storm which was sure to break sooner or later over the heads of the anti-Lutheran leaders. In those very days a youthful American now and then knocked at the door of the German Wyneken in Baltimore to gather arms

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<sup>224</sup> Gustafson, David A. *Lutherans in Crisis: The Question of Identity in the American Republic*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993. (115).

<sup>225</sup> Ibid, 121.

<sup>226</sup> Gustafson, David A. "A Confessional Lutheran Encounters American Religion: The Case of Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken." *Logia: A Journal of Lutheran Theology*, July 1993: 44-48, 47.



and ammunition from the storehouse of Lutheran theology. This was Charles Porterfield Krauth.<sup>227</sup>

Wyneken was at the beginning of a shift that culminated with Charles Krauth taking the GS in a new direction in 1850 and eventually form the pro-confessional General Council.<sup>228</sup>

While the official response of the GS was to ignore Wyneken, on a personal level he was attacked by Schmucker's son-in-law Charles Weyl in the press.<sup>229</sup> In May of 1846, Wyneken wrote in to *Der Lutheraner* about the new constitution of Trinity Lutheran Church in Baltimore, a congregation served by Weyl. The constitution required that the pastor teach only the "fundamental doctrines" found in the Augsburg Confession. Wyneken wrote that this was not a valid Lutheran position. Wyneken stated that true Lutheran pastors would "seek to ground the church upon her ancient, evangelical pedigree, in order to safeguard their congregations."<sup>230</sup>

Weyl's members submitted a response to Wyneken in *Der Lutheraner* in the very next issue. Using a tactic similar to the one used by the SOTW in Fort Wayne, Weyl's members attacked Wyneken's right to make such statements, rather than answer his charges against their doctrine. They complained that Wyneken has set himself as "censor and judge over our church law, congregation, and pastor." They took issue with Wyneken's blaming of Weyl, because it was their previous pastor who wrote most of the constitution. Weyl only made "a few insignificant additions." Walther defended Wyneken, saying that Wyneken rightfully targeted Weyl because it was his responsibility to make sure the congregation's constitution was correct.

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<sup>227</sup> Spaeth, Adolph. "The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America." *The Lutheran Church Review*, April 1885: 81-126, 84.

<sup>228</sup> Gustafson, *Lutherans in Crisis*. 122

<sup>229</sup> Lindemann, 27. For more on Schmucker, see Wentz, Abdel Ross. *Pioneer in Christian Unity: Samuel Simon Schmucker*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.

<sup>230</sup> Walther, Vol. 2, 78.

Walther chided Weyl's members for complaining about Wyneken and for their "unprecedented obeisance" to Weyl.<sup>231</sup>

Perhaps an underlying cause of tension, or a result of it, the more affluent members at GS congregations began calling Wyneken's members the "Wood Chopper's Congregation" because many of them were craftsmen and day laborers. Wyneken's response was to have joy at the opportunity to preach the gospel to the poor.<sup>232</sup>

Soon, word of Wyneken's reforms in his congregation and his clash with General Synod Lutherans became common knowledge in Baltimore. A Lutheran-turned-Catholic German immigrant had little positive to say in a letter home about the "Land of Freedom" which "keeps many devotees in the devil's bondage." Yet, he was impressed by Wyneken:

He has excited much commotion, because he uses a crucifix, lights, and wafers at the sacrament, because he admonishes people to confess their sins to him, because he is sweeping [away] the Calvinists and rationalists, because he finally does not want anything to do with the union of Lutherans and Reformists, and because he does not insult the Catholic faith as stupidly as the other sects. He seems to me to be a brave man, and perhaps is on the right path...he is not preserved in delusion. [But for Lutherans] to be a preacher and to be a pastor is to be a teacher of the "pure word" (in Luther's apostolic way). That is too glorious and is nothing more than a human calling. Such people find it difficult to learn the Catholic child-like faith; but all things are possible with God, as I myself have experienced.<sup>233</sup>

Despite Wyneken's attempt to clarify his position, rumors of Wyneken's potential conversion to Catholicism spread through the city of Baltimore. A priest from St. Alphonsus, across the street from Wyneken's house, even tried to convert him.<sup>234</sup> On another occasion Wyneken received a

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<sup>231</sup> Ibid, 100

<sup>232</sup> Lindemann notes at CHI, transcribed by Henry F. Koch. My translation.

<sup>233</sup> "Briefliche Mittheilungen eines Deutsche aus Amerika." In *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, by G Phillips & G Görres, 443-446. Munich: Commission der literarisch artistischen Anstalt, 1846. 446. The letter was dated from July 1846. My translation.

<sup>234</sup> Lindemann, 33-34. This may very well have been John Neumann, who was later bishop of Philadelphia and canonized in 1977. Neumann was at St. Alphonsus during this time.

nativity set from a friend. For this offense, “English speakers” again called Wyneken “Catholic.” He laughed it off. At times, the accusations were so ridiculous, they did not merit a serious response.<sup>235</sup> If either Wyneken’s enemies or Catholics hoping to convert him had read what Wyneken had written about the threat of Catholicism in the *Notruf*, they would have saved themselves some embarrassment.

The public battle continued into the fall of 1846. Wyneken again wrote in to *Der Lutheraner* to explain his position and clear his name. Wyneken stated that Weyl was guilty of instigating turmoil in Wyneken’s congregation over the slander. Weyl had asserted that Wyneken was under Löhe’s control. Wyneken avowed his fellowship with Löhe but stated that he was “no more under Löhe’s orders [as he was] under the laws of the Emperor of China.” In fact, Wyneken said (contrary to reports) that he refrained from using a crucifix and acolyte for the sake of the weaker consciences in his congregation. Wyneken did not seek to cause offence, but in matters of doctrine, and when adiaphora came under attack, he insisted on using the Lutheran liturgy, and not the “watered down Pennsylvania Agenda.”<sup>236</sup>

Fortunately, Wyneken was supported and defended by his entire congregation. They wrote to *Der Lutheraner* in November 1846, because they felt compelled to vindicate their pastor “against scandalous charges being rapaciously spread by a few members who have left the congregation.” The “unanimous” council and congregation published their resolutions which stated that Wyneken was “a faithful pastor of the Lutheran Church and his preaching to be in full

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<sup>235</sup> Lindemann, 44.

<sup>236</sup> Letter from FCD Wyneken to Walther quoted in Walther, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm. *C.F.W. Walther's Original Der Lutheraner Volumes One through Three (1844-'47)*. Translated by Joel Baseley. 2012. (Vol. 3, 10) The fact that that Löhe dedicates his 1844 *Agenda* to Wyneken may have given cause for these rumors.

conformity with the doctrine laid down in the Confessional writings of our Church.” They declared “charges to the contrary to be evil, disgraceful slander.”<sup>237</sup>

Despite having the full support of his congregation, all the work and conflict kept Wyneken busy and focused inward. He did not attend the SOTW 1846 convention, and his leaving of this body was not officially noted.<sup>238</sup> Other than attending a preliminary meeting in Cleveland in 1845, Wyneken did not participate in the events leading to the founding of the Missouri Synod.

Yet, as noted by historian August Suelflow, Wyneken had a measurable influence in the founding of the Missouri Synod. Wyneken had hoped to establish a new orthodox Lutheran synod at the Cleveland gathering in 1845.<sup>239</sup> He was joined by previous contacts, mostly men breaking away from the Ohio Synod.<sup>240</sup> The Missouri Synod was not the exclusive creation of Walther and the Saxons. Suelflow opines, “It is difficult for us to understand the milieu in which the Missouri Synod was organized.”<sup>241</sup> Suelflow then proceeds to demonstrate how the isolated Saxons were without a clear direction when it came to unification with other Lutherans. It was Sihler, who had come to the United States after reading the *Notruf*, who reached out to Walther

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<sup>237</sup> Letter from 2<sup>nd</sup> German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Baltimore to Walther, quoted in Walther, Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm. *C.F.W. Walther's Original Der Lutheraner Volumes One through Three (1844-'47)*. Translated by Joel Baseley. 2012. (vol 3, 32)

<sup>238</sup> The Evangelical Synod of the West, *Minutes of the Twelfth Session of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West*. Baltimore: Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1846. The SOTW voted at this session to divide into three districts and was practically dissolved. In the copy in the ELCA archives, Wyneken and other German Lutherans have “left” is written in pencil next to their names. It is unknown who wrote this, or when.

<sup>239</sup> Lindeman, 27.

<sup>240</sup> Meyer, Carl, 143. One can ask if these pastors should continue to be called “Löhe men” but rather “Wyneken men.”

<sup>241</sup> Suelflow, August, “Walther and the Other Lutherans.” Reformation Lecture given at Bethany Lutheran College in 1987, 6.

at an early date, possibly after conversing with Wyneken.<sup>242</sup> Adam Ernst, also a respondent to the *Notruf*, wrote to Walther before the 1845 Cleveland conference.<sup>243</sup>

These were Wyneken men, who were moved by Wyneken's *Notruf* and who communicated with him in America, were present at other founding meetings. Husmann (who had arrived in Fort Wayne even before the *Notruf*) and Jaebker were at the 1846 Fort Wayne meeting.<sup>244</sup> Husmann, Jaebker, and Fricke were present at 1847 founding meeting in Chicago.<sup>245</sup> Wyneken did not attend but joined the synod with his congregation later that year. His pastoral heart compelled him to teach and train his congregation in Baltimore before making the break with the GS and also before joining, the fulfillment of his hopes and dreams, the Missouri Synod.<sup>246</sup>

Wyneken, the teacher, is an oft-overlooked topic, yet his actions demonstrate his care and focus in his efforts to serve a congregation which had experienced little Christian education. CHI holds Wyneken's personal copy of Luther's catechism. It is filled with notes in the margins. During this time Wyneken also purchased a new notebook. In it he wrote out, first rough drafts, and then polished copies of new orders of service for marriage, baptism, and the Lord's Supper in English and in French. To better teach the children in his congregation, he wrote and published a new catechism, *Spruchbuch zum kleinen Catechismus Lutheri*, which saw several editions.

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<sup>242</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 86.

<sup>243</sup> Suelflow, 7.

<sup>244</sup> Threinen, 31.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid*, 31.

<sup>246</sup> Hageman, 48.

In December 1847 Wyneken's congregation voted to join the Missouri Synod.<sup>247</sup> Wyneken's efforts and hard work paid off. In 1848, he traveled to St. Louis and officially joined the Missouri Synod.<sup>248</sup> In 1850 he accepted a call to serve Trinity Lutheran Church in St. Louis and shortly thereafter was elected to office of president. Bratt believes that his formative years in his early ministry on the frontier had significant importance as Wyneken became a central figure in Lutheranism in America as the Missouri Synod's president:

While its great theologian would be CFW Walther...Wyneken laid the groundwork for the synod's remarkable expansion by instituting a system of traveling ministers who gathered scattered immigrants into the fold. If the mechanism resembled that of the Methodists whom he disparaged, the message of church, sacraments, and confession was opposite...Wyneken had learned amid pietist awakening in the old country, so he taught among the revivalist awakening in the new.<sup>249</sup>

During his administration Wyneken would lead and guide the synod through some of its critical years of growth and controversy. He left it united and firmly rooted upon the doctrine of justification, the proper use of law and gospel, and the *Solas* of the Lutheran Confessions. Having emerged from the chaos of frontier mission work, Wyneken's confessional development, transformation, and application in the 1840s made him the preeminent choice for Lutheran leadership in the 1850s and beyond.

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<sup>247</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> German Ev. Lutheran Congregation in Baltimore minutes.

<sup>248</sup> Die deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten. *Zweiter Synodal-Bericht der deutschen Ev. Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, u. a. Staaten*. St. Louis: Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, 1876.

<sup>249</sup> Bratt, 110.

## CONCLUSION

Writer Felipe Fernandez-Armesto, reflecting on the historiography of Christopher Columbus, opined,

Historians, it is often said, have no business making moral judgments at all. The philosophy of the nursery school assembly, in which role-models and culprits are paraded for praise or reproof, seems nowadays to belong to a hopelessly antiquated sort of history, for which the reality of the past mattered less than the lessons for the present and the future... When we presume to judge someone from a long time ago, we should take into account the practical constraints under which they had to operate, and the limited mental horizons by which they were enclosed.<sup>250</sup>

While Christians have the right and obligation to hold others' words and actions to the Scriptures, it is important to always note and consider the context of these actions. This is most certainly true when it comes to historic figures. It is my hope that my research has shed greater light upon the context, "practical constraints," and "limited mental horizons" Wyneken experienced as he underwent a theological, and deeply personal, transformation.

A confessional Lutheran reader today might recoil at some of Wyneken's words and actions. He was certainly not as firmly grounded upon Lutheran doctrine in 1838 as he was in 1843. When he stepped off the *Apollo* in Baltimore, he was not a confessional Lutheran who was clear on every point of doctrine and practice, but neither were any of his contemporaries among the Saxon and Prussian Old Lutherans.

Wyneken's legacy today is momentous for Lutheranism in America. The LC-MS will always remember that it owes its existence to this man. His gifts were his vision and organization. While not as important as Walther theologically, his doctrinal leadership has

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<sup>250</sup> Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe. "Columbus: Hero or Villain?" *History Today*, May 5, 1992.

generally been overlooked and undervalued.<sup>251</sup> Lindemann reminds the LC-MS, “That our synod has pursued the Evangelical direction, which so advantageously distinguished the synod now from the many other religious bodies, it owes to him in a very considerable measure.”<sup>252</sup>

For those in the WELS we can, from our own historical perspective, sympathize with his confession development and early struggles. Wyneken’s influence on the Wisconsin Synod’s early years was indirect. However, his influence in German mission work is immeasurable. Later, Wyneken was an active and eager proponent of the Synodical Conference. Our own historians have written very sparsely concerning him. However, in a recent article John Brug calls Wyneken the “third most important contributor” to the development of Lutheranism in America.<sup>253</sup> Wyneken gives us an example for zeal for home missions, for pastoral patience in instruction, showing leadership in giving to missions, synod, and charity (no matter where he served, his congregations always gave much more than the average). Wyneken clearly saw the danger of losing the next generation.

When one reads Wyneken’s words, a *Notruf* still calls us. There are still souls that need salvation, there is harmful false doctrine still attacks our members, there is still the need to preach Christ crucified and the chief article of justification. In Wyneken we see God’s blessing display itself a jar of clay. An imperfect messenger, but one blessed by God, and one whose example can urge us on to the harvest.

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<sup>251</sup> Matthew Harrison’s recent work has performed an invaluable service. Wyneken wrote and preached powerfully on justification, law and gospel, and pastoral theology.

<sup>252</sup> Lindemann, 37.

<sup>253</sup> Brug, 104. Third after Walther and Muhlenberg.



## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Historiographic Survey

Writers on Wyneken can broadly be placed into three categories: First, those who knew Wyneken personally and wrote a biography of him immediately after his death. Next, the church historians who mostly copied anecdotes of Wyneken's ministry from earlier biographers and highlighted Wyneken's example and virtues. Thirdly, the writers who explored fresh sources and examined some aspect of his ministry and its narrow context in church history.

The authors who knew Wyneken personally and wrote for a primary audience were directly affected by his ministry and leadership. It was their work, especially Johann Christoph Wilhelm Lindemann's, which would become almost the sole source for the second wave of hagiographic biographers. The latest (and current) class of writers have dug deeper into researching the mission work of Wyneken and the impact of his early years as a Lutheran public figure. Thus far, few have touched on Wyneken's pastorship in Baltimore, his presidency, or his later ministry.

The following authors are listed in chronological order:

#### **Wilhelm Sihler (1801-1885)**

Wilhelm Sihler was one of many men who responded to Wyneken's *Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika*<sup>254</sup> and immigrated from Europe to serve German settlers in the United States in 1843.<sup>255</sup> He first met Wyneken in January 1845 when they discussed the

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<sup>254</sup> Wyneken, Friedrich Conrad Dietrich. *Die Noth der Deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika: Ihren Glaubensgenossen in der Heimath an's Herz gelegt*. Erlangen: Theodor Bläsing, 1843. This document has commonly been referred to as Wyneken's *Notruf* and will be referred to as such in the rest of this paper. However, "Notruf" (distress call) can be used to describe Wyneken's general plea for more workers; whether it was through his public appearances, his published writings, or rephrased and repeated by others such as Wilhelm Löhe.

<sup>255</sup> Sihler, Wilhelm. *Lebenslauf von W. Sihler bis seiner Ankunft in New York*. St. Louis: Lutherischen Coneordia - Verlags, 1879, 142.

new publication *Der Lutheraner*. Sihler filled Wyneken's old call at Fort Wayne and was one of the initiators in the communications with Walther which connected the Saxons in Missouri and the men and congregations in Wyneken's sphere.<sup>256</sup> Sihler continued the training of pastors begun by Wyneken in Fort Wayne and later founded a teacher seminary there as well.

At Wyneken's death, Sihler was asked by Middle District President (and Wyneken's nephew) Heinrich Schwan to write a biography of the deceased leader for *Der Lutheraner*.<sup>257</sup> Sihler's funeral sermon for Wyneken has already been translated.<sup>258</sup> The untranslated biography fills sixteen columns and features Wyneken's religious development and leadership in the Missouri Synod.<sup>259</sup> In this brief biography, Sihler gives no sources, which is not unexpected. Sihler's details indicate that he relied not only on first-hand knowledge, but also on written synodical sources. Sihler was the first to outline Wyneken's life in some detail. His narrative would be repeated and retold, and helped guide Wyneken's next biographer:

### **Johann Christoph Wilhelm Lindemann (1827-1879)**

Lindemann arrived in Baltimore from Germany in 1848 and boarded with the Wyneken family for two years.<sup>260</sup> He taught in the parochial school at Wyneken's congregation (St.

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<sup>256</sup> Broecker, W. "Dr. William Sihler." In *Ebenezer*, by William Dau, 65-78. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922.

<sup>257</sup> Schwann, Heinrich. "Letter to Wilhelm Sihler On the Death and Burial of Friedrich Wyneken." Translated by Ed Suelflow. Cleveland, May 9, 1876.

<sup>258</sup> Sihler, Wilhelm. "Funeral Sermon for FCD Wyneken." *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*. Edited by Matthew Harrison. Translated by Karl Boehmer. 2015. 59-66. This article begins with a Wyneken obituary from the *Fort Wayne Morning Gazette* which has many factual errors (i.e. Wyneken's birth year and date of immigration). It would have been better to use Sihler's own biography as the forward to his sermon.

<sup>259</sup> Sihler, Wilhelm. "Lebensabriß des am 4. Mai in einem Alter von nahe 66 Jahren in San Fransisco in dem HErn entschalphenen Ehrw. Weiland Herrn Friedirch Wyneken, treuverdientern ev.- lutherischen Pastors der Gemeinde in Cleveland-West, Ohio." *Der Lutheraner*, 1876: 105-108, 113-114.

<sup>260</sup> Lindemann, Johann Christoph Wilhelm. "Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken: An Evangelist Among the Lutherans of North America." In *Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*, by Eugen Adolf Wilhelm Krauß, 734-794. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912. Translation by Sieghard Rein

Paul's). In 1853, Lindemann graduated from the seminary in Fort Wayne and for many years was a pastor in Cleveland. In 1864, he became the director of the teacher college in Addison, IL. Wyneken filled Lindemann's vacant position in Cleveland when Wyneken resigned from the presidency later that year.<sup>261</sup>

Work began on Wyneken's biography immediately after his death, with the first edition being published in 1877.<sup>262</sup> Lindemann includes many anecdotes which give a colorful illustration of Wyneken as missionary, city pastor, synodical president, family man, and patriarch. Lindemann does not cite his work, but he does mention his sources throughout his writing. Lindemann's biography can be partially seen as a primary source since he utilizes firsthand information—stating at times, “the author himself has seen it.”<sup>263</sup> The difficulty lies in determining whether a quote comes from Lindemann's own recollections, or from others.' His main sources he acknowledges in a footnote in the 1877 edition of his biography, “For this attempt to provide a picture of the noble Wyneken I have made use of multiple contributions from his next of kin, from pastors close to him, and from other friends of his. Dr. Sihler's excellent work in *Der Lutheraner* has also been useful.”<sup>264</sup> Lindemann also references Wyneken's letters to synodical congregations as well as published synod reports.<sup>265</sup>

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<sup>261</sup> Meyer, John H. "Men of Cleveland." *Concordia Theological Monthly*, 1962: 530-539. (532-533)

<sup>262</sup> Lindemann, Johann Christoph Wilhelm. "Lebensbild des Hochwürdigen amerikanischen Evangeligsten Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken." *Amerikanischer Kalender für deutsche Lutheraner auf das Jahr 1877*, 1877.

<sup>263</sup> Lindemann (1912), 11.

<sup>264</sup> Lindemann (1877). My translation.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*, 37.

One of the “other friends” who contacted Lindemann was Alexander Einwaechter, a member of Wyneken’s congregation in Baltimore who had arrived from Germany in 1832 and remained there for the rest of his life.<sup>266</sup> Einwaechter wrote to Lindemann explaining his relationship with Wyneken,

Pastor Wyneken and I became and remained good friends...I have received letters from him from Fort Wayne, St. Louis, Cleveland, and lastly from San Francisco, from where he had written one day before his death. This letter was the last letter of his life, which our dear Pastor Finske read here in Baltimore at his memorial service here in the chancel. I believe I still have 20 letters from him.<sup>267</sup>

In all, Einwaechter sent 27 Wyneken letters to Lindemann, which have since been lost.

Thankfully Einwaechter made a list of the letters with a detailed description of their contents.

From these it is easy to reconstruct the letters sent from Wyneken to Einwaechter. The letter list also shows which information Lindemann chose to use—and which he left out. Generally,

Lindemann paints a positive and cheerful image of Wyneken. While this is largely

representative of the Einwaechter correspondence, Lindemann leaves out some of Wyneken’s

darker thoughts and concerns, especially about pastors still living. These were, after all, private

letters. It would have been seen as a betrayal to the recently deceased if Lindemann disclosed

*everything* Wyneken ever thought or said. Some comments, such as Wyneken’s criticism of the

Lincoln administration, seem to have been also left out to spare Wyneken from later judgment.

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<sup>266</sup> Einwaechter, Alexander. "Autobiography of Georg Alexander Einwächter." Baltimore, 1875. Transcription of original handwritten biography by Rev. Paul Emil Holls, checked and translated to English by Timothy Paul Holls 7/4/1970. Transcribed from handwritten translation by Jennifer Rebecca Schreiner 6/15/2017.

<sup>267</sup> Einwaechter to Lindemann, original at CHI. My translation.

Not only did Einwaechter send Lindemann letters, he also forwarded a handwritten index of Friedrich Wyneken's editorials in Friedrich Schmidt's *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* to his son, Professor Heinrich Wyneken.<sup>268</sup> This list was then sent to Lindemann.

Along with the above-mentioned sources, Lindemann's handwritten notes and files can be found at the Concordia Historical Institute (CHI). These give further insight into Lindemann's process.<sup>269</sup> In his notes Lindemann chronologically lists the birth and death dates of the Wyneken family—records possibly recorded in a family Bible and then copied and sent to Lindemann by one of the Wyneken family members. After publication, Lindemann recorded additional notes in the margins of his published biography. There he gives the key to one-word abbreviations used throughout the work.<sup>270</sup> These abbreviations are the consequences of writing a biography so soon after the subject's death.

The abbreviation method is a form of shorthand that the immediate audience would understand. Abbreviations are sometimes used where some controversy is mentioned. In these situations, it would be considered rude and unchristian to reveal someone's identity; especially if they were still living. Yet Lindemann does not protect their identity entirely; those who knew the context could easily deduce the identity of many of the individuals. These notes include additional anecdotes which were not published and contain quotes from letters from other pastors who knew Wyneken, especially those like Gerhard Heinrich Jaebker who were with Wyneken in the early days in Friedheim.

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<sup>268</sup> Einwaechter, Alexander. Letter to Heinrich Wyneken." Baltimore, June 20, 1876. Polack appears to have made use of this index.

<sup>269</sup> Ludwig Fuerbringer wrote in the cover of CHI's copy of the 1877 *Kalender* "Valuable notes for Wyneken's life from Pastor Carl C. Schmidt, who got his *Kalender* from J.C.W. Lindemann, the biographer of Wyneken." My translation.

<sup>270</sup> E.g. "Wyneken went to K. and..."

While Lindemann gives a very positive analysis of Wyneken and his ministry, he still treats his subject with gentle criticism: “It is necessary to speak of [his failings] so that it does not seem as though we had not noticed them at all, as if they are to be concealed purposely.”<sup>271</sup>

The Lindemann biography is the longest (60 pages) and broadest on Wyneken. It was immediately recognized as a valuable record of Wyneken’s ministry. Already in 1876 it was translated into Norwegian and published in *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende*.<sup>272</sup> It was reprinted in Eugen Adolf Wilhelm Krauß’ *Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der christlichen Kirche* in 1912 and has since been completely translated into English. Lindemann’s biography is still cited in papers and is accepted without much criticism. Ken Selking<sup>273</sup> of the “Friends of Wyneken” and writer Sandy Clark<sup>274</sup> recommend it to those who want to learn more about him. Despite well-deserved praise, Lindemann himself admits that his work is “incomplete.”<sup>275</sup> One can argue that Lindemann’s closeness to his subject may have hindered his objectivity. There are now many sources available of which Lindemann did not make use. The writing of a new biography of Wyneken is certainly called for.

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<sup>271</sup> Lindemann, 57.

<sup>272</sup> Lindemann, Johann C. W. "Friedrich CD Wyneken Et Livsbillede." *Evangelisk Luthersk Kirketidende: Organ for Synoden for den norske evangelisk-lutherske Kirke i Amerika* III-IV (1876,1877): 781-788,797-805,813-819;81-87, 97-104, 164-173, 178-181, 198-204, 232-237, 249-256.

<sup>273</sup> Selking, Ken, interview by Benjamin Phelps. Director of Friends of Wyneken (October 9, 2017).

<sup>274</sup> Clark, Sandy, interview by Benjamin Phelps. Historian of Martini Lutheran Church, Baltimore (October 29, 2017).

<sup>275</sup> See quote above.

### ***Ebenezer* by William T. H. Dau (1864-1944)**

*Ebenezer* was compiled in 1922 for the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Missouri Synod. This work is a collection of historical essays edited by William Dau<sup>276</sup> who had been a professor both at Concordia College in Conover, North Carolina and Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. He would later become president of Valparaiso University. Dau was also editor of *Lutheran Witness*, *Theological Quarterly*, and *Theological Monthly* and was the author of several church history books.<sup>277</sup> A work of celebration, *Ebenezer* reflects the view of Missourians who were sons of Wyneken's contemporaries—only children when he died. Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm (CFW) Walther, however, would live considerably longer and have a more concrete influence on this generation's view of their synod's past.

The essay on Walther is written by Pastor Julius A. Friedrich, an absolute Waltherite, who writes with adoring personal respect for Walther.<sup>278</sup> Friedrich places Walther on the highest pedestal: "The one man who was first and foremost among them, the real leader and directing spirit on the organization and establishment of the Missouri Synod, was Dr. CFW Walther. To write the life of Walther is to write the history of the Missouri Synod."<sup>279</sup> This simplistic view has continued to be held by many. The life of Walther has almost become synonymous with the early history of LCMS. The reality, of course, is much more complex.

The essay on F.C.D. Wyneken was written by pastor J.W. Theiss, who declared,

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<sup>276</sup> Dau has a tangled connection to Wyneken himself. Dau married Elisabeth Friedrichs nee Mohl who was the step-grandmother of Marie Friedrichs (my own great-grandmother) who was FCD Wyneken's great-granddaughter. Dau became close to Marie and signed his letters to her, "Dad."

<sup>277</sup> Fuerbringer, Ludwig, Engelder, Theodore, Kretzmann, Paul. *The Concordia Cyclopedia: A Handbook of Religious Information with Special Reference to the History, Doctrine, Work, and Usages of the Lutheran Church*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1927.

<sup>278</sup> Friedrich, 39. Friedrich had so desperately wanted Walther's signature on his diploma, that he badgered the poor old man on his deathbed for it.

<sup>279</sup> Friedrich, Julius. "Dr. C.F.W. Walther." In *Ebenezer*, by William Dau, 21-41. St. Louis: Concordia, 1922, 22.

No history of the Lutheran Church in America would be complete without a mention of Frederick Conrad Dietrich Wyneken, the father of home mission work in the Missouri Synod, and no description of the founding, growth, and development of our Synod would be complete if it left out the life, labors, and influence of this missionary pioneer and second president of the Missouri Synod.”<sup>280</sup>

In Wyneken, Theiss saw a stirring example and called him an “inspiration to all missionaries of the present day.”<sup>281</sup> Theiss only gives “brief data” on Wyneken’s life, which appears to be taken entirely from Lindemann. The bulk of his essay consists of large block quotes of the *Notruf*. Theiss gives Wyneken credit for early pastoral training in Fort Wayne, something which had, until recently, been often overlooked.

Describing Wyneken’s leadership style, Theiss commented, “He was a spirited writer, writing when his heart was brimful of the matter in hand and never writing just for the sake of composition. He was not a man of dreams and theories, but a man of action, burning, eager, fearless, even to recklessness, firm, heroic, quick-witted, flashing, and resourceful.”<sup>282</sup>

Theiss seems to be at odds with Friedrich’s zealously *exclusive* praise for Walther while, in the same glorifying language, he concludes of Wyneken, “He was the very man of the hour, whom the mission field in America needed and who by the grace of God was given to our Lutheran Church in her distress. His memory will never die as long as a member of our synod remains true to the faith of our fathers, or a history of the Missouri Synod records the struggles of the infancy of our Church in our beloved country.”<sup>283</sup>

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<sup>280</sup> Theiss, J.W. "F.C.D. Wyneken." In *Ebenezer*, by William Dau, 52-65. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 192, 52.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>282</sup> Theiss, 64-65.

<sup>283</sup> Theiss, 65.



Sihler's biographer, Rev. W. Broecker, saw a founding triumvirate in Walther, Wyneken, and Sihler. He likened "Walther to the head, spiritually enlightened, endowed with rare gifts, never failing for good counsel and proper direction; Wyneken, to the heart, pulsating with holy fervor and communicating its throb to the whole body; Sihler, to the hand, seizing upon every opportunity for ways and means successfully to carry on the Lord's business."<sup>284</sup>

Such were the views of the early hagiographic writers. Essays written for later anniversaries would be similarly short, uplifting, and positive.<sup>285</sup>

### **Gustav Hageman**

Hageman's life and background is not readily available. He wrote the first extensive Wyneken biography in English in 1926 for a series called "Men and Missions."<sup>286</sup> Hageman seems to rely heavily on Lindemann and large sections consist merely of rephrased versions of anecdotes. He directs his writing to a physically and temporally removed audience. For example, Hageman goes out of chronological order when he skips the men Wyneken met in Germany to the more familiar subject of Löhe, then circles back to the other German figures.<sup>287</sup> Unfortunately, Hageman's work, like Lindemann's, lacks citation or references. Further research generally confirms his interpretation (e.g. the number of synodical conventions

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<sup>284</sup> Broecker, 66.

<sup>285</sup> Later histories include works by William G. Polack, *The Building of a Great Church*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1941 and *How the Missouri Synod was Born*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947 as well as *A Century of Grace*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947 by Walter Baepler.

<sup>286</sup> Hageman, Gustav Ernest. *Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1926.

<sup>287</sup> Hageman, 35 ff.

Wyneken attends during his presidency), yet there are some cases when no evidence supports statements he attributes to persons in Wyneken's life.

Hageman's coverage of Wyneken is disproportionately focused on his Fort Wayne years. Hageman gives some anecdotes on Wyneken's early life and Baltimore, but, surprisingly, covers his presidency and later life very lightly. Perhaps this did not fit his purpose, which seems to be providing motivation for mission work.

### ***Moving Frontiers* edited by Carl S. Meyer (1907-1972)**

Church historian Carl Meyer compiled and edited *Moving Frontiers* as a primary source collection for those seeking to do original research on the LCMS, but who could not read the documents easily in the original German. More than a collection of translations, Meyer and others offer brief interpretations and insights on Wyneken and Missouri Synod history. Robert Schultz in "The European Background" writes on the origins of the synod founders.

The majority of the men who founded the Missouri Synod were connected with either the Stephanite movement in Saxony or the Lutheran resistance to the Prussian Union or the revival of Lutheranism in Franconia; but since the Stephanite movement has been given comparatively extensive treatment by Munding and Forster, particular attention has been paid to the latter two.<sup>288</sup>

Schultz identifies the Walthercentric and Saxoncentric historiography in the LCMS. The problem with his interpretation is that one of the "triumvirate" is excluded. Wyneken doesn't fit into any of the Saxon, Prussian, or Franconian boxes.

LCMS historian August R. Suelflow, in the chapter "The Beginnings of 'Missouri, Ohio, and Other States' in America," writes, "The Missouri Synod can trace its beginning in America to Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken." Suelflow accurately identifies the dangers of

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<sup>288</sup> Meyer, Carl S. *Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964, 47.

oversimplifying the complex and diverse origins of the Missouri Synod. “[Löhe and the Saxons] were not the only groups which made up the Missouri Synod. It is not quite accurate to regard only Saxon ‘orthodoxy’ and Löhe ‘activism’ as the wedded forces which produced ‘Missouri.’” Before either group found each other, Wyneken was making connections and defining criterion for unity as he made the call for pastors and financial support.<sup>289</sup>

Suelflow continues, in the section “The Missouri Synod Organized,” by righting the commonly held Walthercentric view of Missouri’s founding, “Not C.F.W. Walther and the Saxons, but F.C.D. Wyneken, Wilhelm Sihler, and August Cramer instigated the moves which led to the organization of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States in April 1847.”<sup>290</sup> Suelflow’s nuanced view shatters the oversimplified narrative repeated in the anniversary histories. The origins and founding of Missouri are deep and complex.

More recent scholarship (including work by non-Lutheran authors) has magnified Wyneken’s role in missions and his early ministry in the Fort Wayne area. Wyneken had always received credit for his *Notruf* and mission work, but how did he participate in the founding of the Missouri Synod? What did he accomplish during 14 years as the synod’s president during one of its most trying, yet most expansive eras? These are questions that need answering.

### Two German Perspectives

As the leader of an American church body, Wyneken does not receive broad coverage in works written from a German perspective. Yet he did have some tangible impact on the Church in Germany. Wyneken was an early member and participant in major German mission societies. His tour in the years 1841-1843 forged contacts and connections all over the German

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<sup>289</sup> Ibid, 90.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid, 147.

Confederation and left its mark in periodicals and publications. His involvement with Wilhelm Löhe and the debate on the pastoral office, as well as the structure and nature of the Church, put him at odds with most of his former associates. Two brief histories give us a glimpse of the German perspective on Wyneken.

### ***Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (1898)***<sup>291</sup>

This biographical encyclopedia includes an entry on Wyneken by a certain “Krause.” Krause cited Lindemann and other Missouri Synod authors and used information from *familiennachrichten*,<sup>292</sup> which makes this source worth recognizing as one with original data. Unique information is found on Wyneken’s early confessional Lutheran influences and his inspiration to go to the United States.

This biography is more in tune with German history. For example, Krause gives the correct nation of Wyneken’s birth (see below). Krause also looks critically at its sources as seen when he corrects Christian Hochstetter (author of an 1885 history on the Missouri Synod) on the true name of Wyneken’s wife. This biography also offers the perspective of the German Lutheran opinion of Missouri. Unlike Walther’s original report, Krause views Walther and Wyneken’s 1852 trip as unsuccessful. According to this German view, their plan would require “the complete overthrow” of the German State Church structure and could not be accepted.

### **Hans Kannengießer (1880-1970) *Die Wyneken***

Kannengießer, a German general and commander at the Battle of Gallipoli, was the great-grandson of F.C.D. Wyneken’s uncle and godfather, Carl Wyneken. Kannengießer researched and wrote *Die Wyneken* in retirement. His work provides invaluable background and contextual

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<sup>291</sup> Krause. "Wyneken, Friedrich Konrad Dietrich." By Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, edited by Fritz Gerlich, 400-403. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1898.

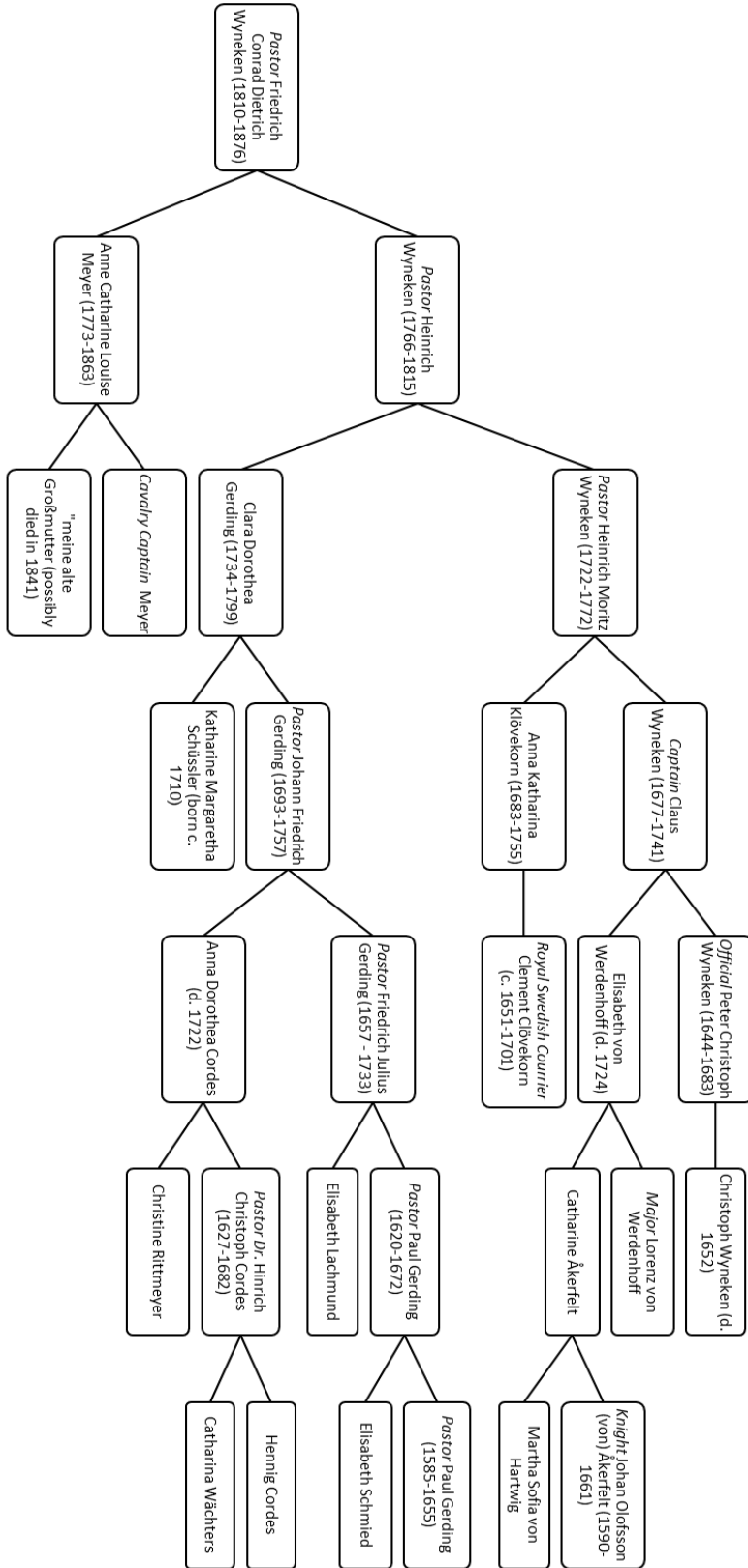
<sup>292</sup> Family reports.

material. Kannengießer divides the branches of the family and ascribes various characteristics to them. F.C.D. Wyneken is called the “exemplar of the Pastor Branch.” Kannengießer also includes the perspectives of the Wyneken family members who remained in the German states, while primarily relying on the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* for information. To Kannengießer, F.C.D. Wyneken is noteworthy for his great organizational talent, his warning about Methodism, his “Americanized” positions, and that his work continues to live on in the United States through the Missouri Synod.<sup>293</sup>

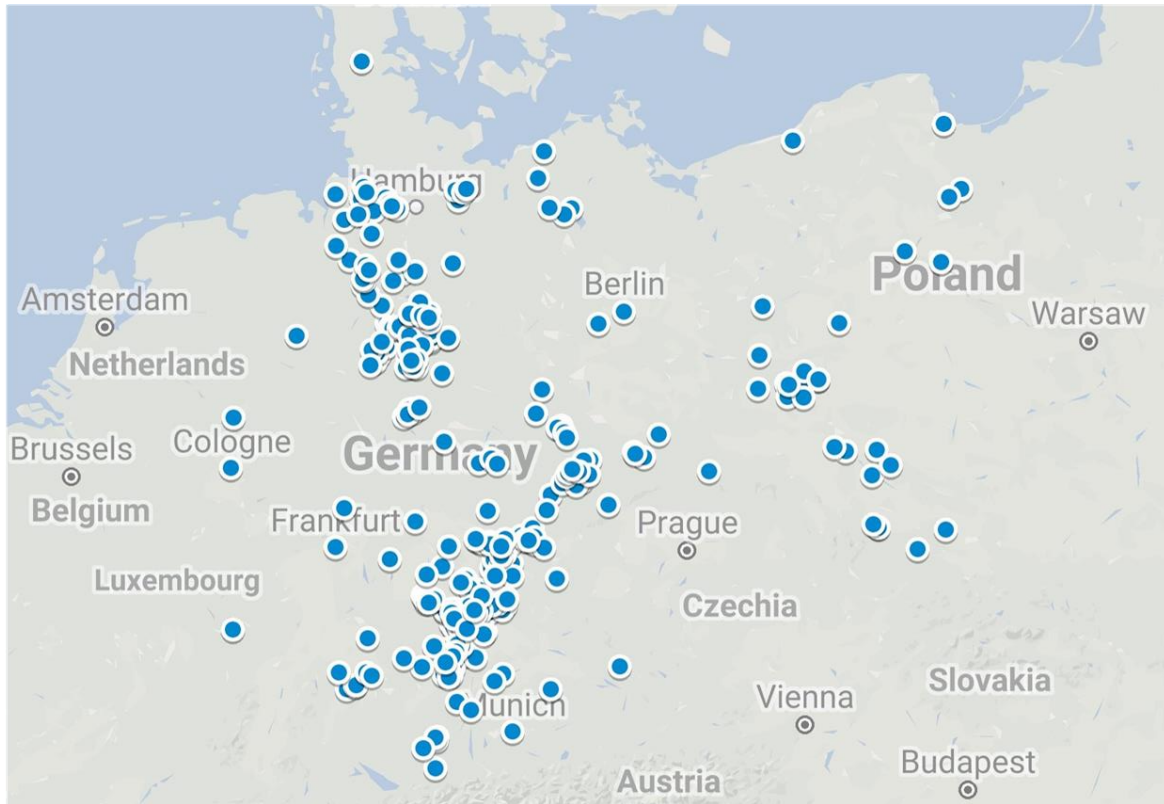
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<sup>293</sup> Kannengießer, Hans. *Die Wyneken*. Translated by Monika H. Neil. Long Beach, California, 1972, 7-8.

## Appendix 2: Wyneken Family Tree



### Appendix 3: Map of Signatories of Wilhelm Löhe's *Zuruf*<sup>294</sup>



Anhalt-Dessau	1	Prussia: Oberkirchencollegium	9
Baden	2	Prussia: Brandenburg	69
Bavaria	22	Prussia: Pommerania	1
Brunswick	1	Prussia: Posen	28
Estonia (not shown)	1	Prussia: West Prussia	31
Frankfurt am Main	12	Prussia: Rhine Province	3
Franken: Oberfranken	52	Prussia: Saxony	9
Franken: Mittelfranken	299	Prussia: Silesia	63
Franken: Unterfranken	1	Principality of Reuss-Greiz	5
Hannover	110	Kingdom of Saxony	137
Hesse-Darmstadt	1	Saxe-Coburg	1
Lauenburg	9	Saxe-Weimar	6
Livonia (not shown)	1	Bavaria: Swabia and Neuburg	40
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	9	Waldeck	1
Oberpfalz	1	Württemberg	12
Schleswig	1	<b>Total</b>	<b>937</b>

<sup>294</sup> Some areas in Franconia, Hannover, and Saxony are very dense. Please go to my Google Map for a more detailed and interactive experience. <https://drive.google.com/open?id=1bjcWH2I5a-X-WxbMZuzPAPBEN0hZ9qjI&usp=sharing>

APPENDIX 3. NEW TRANSLATIONS COMPLETED FOR THIS PROJECT  
(References in Bibliography. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted)

*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*

**Wyneken: Friedrich Konrad Dietrich**, known in his family and in his community circles as Fritz Wyneken, died on May 4, 1876, a pastor in Cleveland in America and president of the Missouri Synod. He was born on May 13, 1810, at Verden, in the then-Napoleonic Kingdom of Westphalia (Hanover), as the 6th and youngest son of the pastor Heinrich Christoph Wyneken. as a brisk fellow of energetic and amiable nature, he studied theology in Göttingen and Halle. Only later did he turn, essentially under the influence of his brother, Dr. Ernst Johann Moritz Wyneken, to the orthodox [*strenggläubigen*] Lutheranism, and was strengthened therein as a tutor in the family of the later Consistorial Councilor Hanffstengel in Stade and stayed there. He also traveled in France and Italy as an accompanying educator and was Rector of the small middle school at Bremervörde.

The Basel missions particularly exercised a determining influence in his circle, and by their description of the ecclesiastical neglect met by the Lutherans in North America, he embarked with candidate C. W. Wolf in 1838 to Baltimore, without further knowledge of the local conditions. There, the pastor Johann Haesbaert came to appreciate him and gave him a recommendation to the mission committee of the Pennsylvania Synod, which sent him in the autumn to Indiana, in order to visit the scattered German Protestants there and possibly to collect communities. First, he went to Decatur, Adams Co. From here, as a parochial missionary preacher, he roamed the then-almost desolate territories of nearly six counties around Fort Wayne, west from Ohio to Michigan in a broad arc, convinced that without spiritual help the Lutheran Germans there would fall back into paganism or fall into the hands of the sects [*Schwärmern*], especially the Methodists. Subsequently, he was called by the churches in and around Fort Wayne to be their pastor, and his local log cabin became the center of his work. There he married the farmer's daughter Sophie (Chr. Hochstetter calls her Maria erroneously) Buuk in 1841. His slender, serious, and yet gentle manner of appearance, and his firm faith in every situation, brought about a wonderful union of the Lutherans.

In October 1841 he went back to Germany to recruit coworkers in missionary work and at the same time to seek medical help for a throat disease. Wyneken had come to a self-contained, secularly ruthless Lutheranism, which at once set itself in conflict with the reformed rulers. In Hanover his presence gave rise to a gradually stricter separation, where there formerly had been quite a few religious parties. In May 1843 he returned to America. He had found manifold help in the hard fight of faith against the free Sects in the efforts of the emigrated Saxon Old Lutherans, (which formalized their beliefs after Pastor Ferdinand Walther presented 8 theses in the log cabin college in Altenburg, Perry County, Missouri, and had been firmly fixed since the publication of Walther's journal "Der Lutheraner," in 1844). [Their ideas] spread from St. Louis. In 1845, too, the Evangelical Lutheran pastoral conference in Leipzig called for urgent action to reach out to Lutherans in America, not without success. In 1844 the German congregation in Baltimore called Wyneken as its preacher, and he was installed on March 9,



1845. He introduced the severe Missouri doctrine to the practice of the Missouri Synod in lively and great disputes, with the elimination of the union that existed there (the so-called "American Lutheranism"). The Missouri Synod had been constituted in Chicago in 1847 as the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other states. In 1850, the Trinity congregation in St. Louis appointed Wyneken preacher, and in 1851 the 4th (5th) Synodical Assembly of the Missouri Synod elected him for three years as its president, an office which was always retransmitted to him until 1864 when he gave it up voluntarily. Professor Walther became his successor. In this office Wyneken was required, over the course of the three years, to attend all the circuits of the synod, visit congregations, pastors and schools, possibly preach in each parish itself, attend the pastoral conferences and the syndicates of districts, give the required advice, and, of course, preside over the general synods. Any hierarchical constraint was utterly foreign to the Missouri Synod. They immediately turned into a church power whose focus was initially set upon the elimination of the Methodists among the Germans in their area as a goal, but they also made an [impression] quickly felt in Germany. In order to draw preachers and teachers, the "Saxons" had already founded a German college and theological seminary in Altenburg, Perry County, which in 1847 had moved to the center of the synod to St. Louis. At the same time, the pastor Löhe had handed over to the Synod the preaching seminary in Fort Wayne, Ind., founded by him and continued by Sihler, on the condition that the institute always remain Lutheran and teach only in German. This practical seminary was relocated in 1860 to St. Louis, and in 1875 to Springfield, Ill., but the synod built the Concordia Seminary as a six-class grammar school in Fort Wayne, which in 1884 had seven professors and 176 students. The Springfielder College (Preaching Seminary and Proseminar) counted at the same time 189 students with 5 professors (or pastors), theological teaching taught (in 1884) by Professors August Crämer and Henry Wyneken. A school teacher training college was also founded in Fort Wayne, but in 1865 it was moved to Addison, Ill., from where the school has been operating since then.

Just at the time of Wyneken's election to the presidency, the dispute over Church Office and Ministry was pronounced in the synod, which states that, according to Luther's doctrine of the universal priesthood, only the church (i.e. the community) had the right and power to elect and ordain ministers, and that she possesses the key office and can only be done in her name, "by the way of a church." There would be no divine right of the church. The opposite was conceived as "the Romanizing direction that takes place in the middle of the Lutheran Church in Germany, as in America." In order to enforce this doctrine in Germany as well as to counteract false views on the teachings and practice of the Missourians and in Germany, Prof. CFW Walther wrote *Our Church on the issue of Church and Ministry*. The fifth synod convention elected Professor Walther and President Wyneken as delegates to go to Germany. This delegation, which was enthusiastically received by the newly strengthening Orthodox[Lutheran] faith, did not achieve its purpose, but has helped to uphold strictly Lutheran separatism and the increasingly demanding hierarchy, quite contrary to its teachings. Admittedly, Walther's book on the Church and Office was well received; in 1875 it reached the third edition printed by A. Deichert in Erlangen. But all negotiations with *Oberhofprediger* Dr. Harless in Leipzig, Professor Dr. Guericke in Halle, and many others led to high recognition, but not to the goal. It was not possible without completely overthrowing the German church structure. The orthodox pastors of

the Hanover Consistorial District of Stade, who believed that they had to favor so-called conservative politics, were appalled by Wyneken's thunderous approach; they had no plan of their own at all, but they had to punish the breach of the constitution as a Lutheran servant of the word as perjury or they themselves would appear as perjurers or cowards. They admired him but considered him "Americanized;" they only wanted a state church. An extensive "Address to the Believers in Germany" of the two delegates appeared in Pastor Löhe's "Mittheilungen" year 1852, 1-3, which also aroused both sympathy and active help for the schools of the Missouri Synod. Other than that, there was the most cordial and accommodating sympathy, nothing more. In the spring of 1852, the delegates returned. They had not changed in Germany and constantly remained in their convictions. Wyneken, with the synod firmly entrusted to him, divided it into four districts as early as 1854. The freedom and security of the Missouri Church was especially evident in the overcoming of the doctrinal disputes over the laity and chiliasm, [with bodies] such as the Buffalo synod, which was later absorbed almost entirely, and later in 1857 with the Iowa Synod. In 1863 [should be 1864] President Wyneken was called by Trinity church in West Cleveland as pastor, a post he accepted essentially because of his health, which also forced him to give up the presidency of the synod in 1864. With regret the synod saw their strong shield leave. Soon the strong community had to give him a helper, first his son-in-law Heinrich Craemer,<sup>295</sup> then his own eldest son Heinrich, both professors of theology at Springfielder College

Wyneken suffered, it was thought, from the "preacher's disease," the vocal cord condition, but it seems that some chest trouble had set in. His congregation, at his request, took him from the pastorate and gave it to his son, but kept him as helper. In the autumn of 1875, he went to visit his son-in-law, Pastor J. Buehler, in San Francisco, California, for a milder climate. Just when he was about to return to Cleveland, he died of a stroke on May 4, 1876. His congregation had the body transported across the continent to Cleveland, where they wanted to bury it. The news of the death of the "old Wyneken" had passed through the United States as would an important political event. "The Father of the German-American Mission" was dead, his work continues to flourish; who knows how it may once again fall back into the regenerating churches of Germany. From his marriage to Sophie Buuk [Buuck] he left behind eleven children, five sons and six daughters. From the former is Heinrich (Henry) W. Pastor and Professor at Springfield College, born December 15, 1844; his twin brother Martin, also Lutheran pastor, had to resign because of vocal cord condition.

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<sup>295</sup> Not true, Heinrich's father, August Craemer, was the professor there.

**Wyneken Letter to his Mother (Louise) in Der Lutheraner 54:1, pg 3-4, 10-11**

Wednesday, January 29, [1841]<sup>296</sup> [Friedheim]

Dear sweet, old Mama!

As soon as I came from Fort Wayne to my Bishopric of Friedheim (as I call my country congregation), I found right away a pen and a sheet of paper; things which I do not always have at hand. So, I want to begin to answer your dear letters. I have a letter from mother, Louise<sup>297</sup>, H. Sch.<sup>298</sup> and the dear Elise<sup>299</sup> from the end of October, as well as a letter from Karl<sup>300</sup> from November 11, but it appears as if it first left Bremen on December 11. I have another letter from schoolteacher Husmann<sup>301</sup> and I got one from the dear G. von Hanffstengen<sup>302</sup> on the 27<sup>th</sup>. But I have first today found the time to properly read [them]. For on Monday evening I had a visit, and then I had to think of a funeral sermon for a dear, dear, wonderful, graceful child of twelve years; from there I rode farther. I had to stay overnight at a German family along the way, where the neighbors then assembled themselves, with much singing, speaking, reading, and praying, until 11 o'clock. This morning I returned to my dear country congregation, [and now] sit comfortably in my blockhouse [log cabin] which the people have built for me and [which functions] as a church and school. Now today a splendid fire burns in the fireplace and before me stands a "modern" round table whose boards are a half-foot thick, which we had sawn out of a thick tree. The legs under it obstruct somewhat more than necessary. My furniture, a bed and two homemade benches, are in good order. Your youngest son, dear mother, is happy and healthy, and your dear letters and one of the cigars from Treviranus<sup>303</sup> make one think he is in Germany. I really wanted, I know not how much, to feel guilty about it, when [I think about how] I could have had the dear old Mama and the other loved ones for an evening of coffee with me. We would be [so] happy.

Now first about you, dear Mother. Tear out all fear and prove me to be an obedient son. For I want to say to you all for all time, that I have not *only*<sup>304</sup> suffered deprivations. I have a

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<sup>296</sup> Year not given in Der Lutheraner. It was in parentheses for the letter in 54:1. The best clue is the death of the King of Prussia which occurred in June of 1840. By 1842 FCD was in Germany. Note that this letter was written over several days.

<sup>297</sup> Sister

<sup>298</sup> Possibly his nephew Heinrich Schwann.

<sup>299</sup> Possibly his sister Elisabeth.

<sup>300</sup> Brother, a pastor.

<sup>301</sup> Probably FW Husmann who would soon join FCD in Fort Wayne.

<sup>302</sup> Mentor. Pastor in Lesum.

<sup>303</sup> Mentor. Bremen Mission Society.

<sup>304</sup> All italics are the translator's.

good standing table [meal] (whenever I am not on horseback) during mealtime: mornings, noon, and evening meals, that is, fried bacon or sausage or pork or the like together with utensils in abundance. My wardrobe is in good order: shirts and stockings in abundance, more boots than I have time to wear, robe and pants good and clean, if not according to the German vision of what is pastoral. The latter is light gray, the first is my old [green] felt, which I let turn, underneath a fur from the old dressing gown, then above lined with flannel from the same, and at the top adorned with a fur collar from an old coat, which I purchased by chance in the summer [and then] converted into a coat. A wide-brimmed felt hat, which the postmaster gave me; it all looks good together. [Whenever] I ride out I have a brand new, blue, thick, long, wide, warm felt overcoat on top of everything. The dear lady Rector [Emma] Zeidler<sup>305</sup> [gave me] a throat warmer which I recently found to work as a head-neck-face-warmer. I pull it over the whole head and half the face, so that only my eyes and nose stick out. And so, in this way I am protected from wind and weather and am indifferent to them.

As far as my salary is concerned, dear mother, I can make no inquiry of it, for I have as of yet never seen it in the congregational book, and seldom does anything make it into my pocket. However, I live like a prince. In other words, I worry about my income and spending not at all. I am always giving what I have and take in, whenever I earn something. I am never in need, rarely in debt (I can pay it, whenever I take in anything [money] again); overall, I am not worried (God be praised). I make do like the birds under heaven: happily eating and drinking, flying, singing, and thankful for it, and not thinking about where I will find again my next meal. My clothing also comes by itself, like the birds of the field. I also have a strong saddle horse and fodder for a week. In short, dear mother, I live like Croesus<sup>306</sup> (make sure to explain who that is to Louise), but only a bit luckier. I have a completely new easy way to purchase clothes and what I need. In my last pair of pants, I got two holes in the knees, which I couldn't mend anymore. I don't like to run about in torn pants (although around here people with \$100,000 in assets run around with holes in their clothing). Yet one day, a missionary from the Pennsylvania Synod<sup>307</sup> came and gave me \$20 from them as a gift! Then I got pants. When winter came my old white riding-coat was too cold and thin. I made do again, and eight days later I got a hard letter from a dear preacher in Philadelphia, [asking] why I had not written to him as he had asked me to do, about my torn pants. In the letter was a bill of exchange for 40 dollars. Then I got a coat. And so, it always happens. Thus, I begin to find it much more comfortable to not worry about anything and to leave my cares to the Lord. He deals magnificently with his servants, if one doesn't want anything more, except to love him. [If] the dear German preachers did it this way and imagined the world this way, they would never whine about small salaries while still having some Thaler remaining for the heathen and the poor country people in America. The preachers, like Christ, should not be of this world. Should they make the first step and establish themselves simply like the one who had no place to lay his head [Jesus], then perhaps the other

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<sup>305</sup> Lived in Bremervörde, where Wyneken had many connections. Her husband, Rector Ernst W. Christian Zeidler, was the head of the Bremervoerde Temperance Society, of which Wyneken was a founding member.

<sup>306</sup> Rich king in Herodotus

<sup>307</sup> Wyneken was sent by the PA Synod but transferred to the Synod of the West.

people will also become reasonable and throw out the filth from the heap [crowd], with which they, with great worry, fill their houses with shame. The Spirit will teach that well. May you be without worry, dear Mother. We have a good and rich Lord, even if he is somewhat frugal from time to time.

Occasionally it comes to my mind that I actually may be a completely happy man in external things (if my conscience were to allow it) by staying here, if only I would have a dear, pious, wife from Germany, who could help me in the congregation and give me a little love and refreshment when I come back from my riding [circuit] of eight days. In the meantime, it is certainly a lot better for one to carry oneself more to the Lord and the happy view of godly things, which wait for us in heaven. Then the former things leave my thoughts of my heart. And, as already said, the Lord has shown me all grace and love and till now I have found myself completely happy in his service. Internally it gets occasionally very rough when the old sins come; and doubt, for which a look at the crucified, who for me has died, chases all away: ([such as] not loving only him and the hot demands). With the result that I love him more and always pray more and more to him, that he make me ready and accept me into his service. Nothing else do I pray more about, than that the Lord imprint upon my heart his vicarious atonement and death, and drive out all self-love. About which, dear sweet Mother, may I heartily remind you and request that you increasingly hold to your dear Savior, who paid for your sins with his blood, instead of seeing him as your judge.<sup>308</sup> You complain much about your sins and show that you are not sure of grace. *Don't you know that we are not made holy by works of righteousness, but rather by grace through faith?* For once cling only to the crucified Lord in prayer and look him in the eyes and throw all your sins in his arms, who justified the godless, not the holy. Pray heartily, humbly, and unceasingly, that he may sink faith in his blood deep into your heart! Then you can continue boldly and encouraged against Sin, Death, and the Devil. That is the Way. Not through ourselves; not through our works will we become holy, rather from grace, from grace! If you have faith deep in your heart, then you can boast, "I have now found the ground, which will forever hold my anchor. Where else, than in Jesus' wounds? There it lay before the beginning of the World!" Then comes the right kind of love and pleasure in the Lord and from that death of the sinful heart, the world, and the earthly desires, and then comes joyful obedience. First pray for the forgiveness of sins, then walk in his footsteps. Let go completely of the promise [you make to God] because all that does is cause worry. I promise the Lord nothing else than ask him that he may guide me according to his will. Whenever one first places himself in the heart of the Savior (and one can't do more than that, when he is certain of the forgiveness of sins) then one denies himself, the world, and himself.<sup>309</sup> One will be withdrawn from himself and the world, and go to Him..<sup>310</sup>

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Sunday the February 2<sup>nd</sup>

It is 10:30 pm. My neighbors, who usually often stay a very long time after the evening church service, are going now through the forest with torches to their homes with their wives and

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<sup>308</sup> This shows the dark side of Pietism.

<sup>309</sup> Said twice

children. I am tired, because I visited the city [Fort Wayne] last night and made a bed of bound straw and a bearskin and couldn't sleep much. Yet since I had to preach, I got up early. My days in the bush are times of much work and more joy, because I have a day for school and pedagogy with the confirmands and then in the evening I have Bible Study with the old ones. Particularly on Sundays I have work and joy enough. From 10 am to 12:30 pm I have church, where (on account of lack of hymnals for the function) I must lead in song.<sup>311</sup> From 1 to 3 pm there is Sunday School. At 6 the neighbors come, and then there is church again, and after that until it gets late, there is song and conversation. Concerning the former, now and then a poetic [romantic] song [is sung], and a well-sung song in memory to the deceased King of Prussia.<sup>312</sup> I knew that the old king (and how his old subjects here often sing a song to honor the Queen)<sup>313</sup> certainly gave a couple of Thalers in order to help us build a warm school house. Whenever it creates more fruit, I wanted to work more. But with all the preaching, reading, singing, and praying [my desire] remains dead. God help! With the children I have more joy. May the Lord make me thankful.

I have not yet received the new coat; it is underway from New York. And do I read correctly a new *Chenille*?<sup>314</sup> Now truly, [your] love sets itself in too great expense on my account and makes me very sorry that I have written again about books. Yet poverty teaches one to beg, and there is a lack of books. So, I must make do poorly in the school. Every *Buchstabirschütze* has its own book.<sup>315</sup> The majority read the Bible. Has old Berning from Fort Wayne been by you yet? He had promised to. Also, Heinrich<sup>316</sup> gets, as God wills, (like Madam Merian) to see a man who can bring him greeting. Indeed, I am tired, if not physically, then spiritually. I don't want thanks for anything. May the Lord take you in his graceful protection

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<sup>311</sup> Wyneken's predecessor, Jesse Hoover, had to lead in song too.

<sup>312</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm III (3 August 1770 – 7 June 1840) led his nation through the Napoleonic wars. More importantly, he instituted the Prussian Union of 1817 which forced the merger of Reformed and Lutheran congregations and liturgy. This act reverberated through Germany and its impact was felt in America. Unionism led to mass immigration from Germany of Old Lutherans like the Prussians under Grabau and the Saxons under Stephan. The fact that Wyneken's neighbors mourned the king's death suggests that they did not have strong feelings about unionism.

<sup>313</sup> Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (10 March 1776 – 19 July 1810) Her legacy became cemented after her extraordinary 1807 meeting with French Emperor Napoleon I at Tilsit – she met with the emperor to plead unsuccessfully for favorable terms after Prussia's disastrous losses in the Napoleonic Wars. She was already well loved by her subjects, but her meeting with Napoleon led Louise to become revered as "the soul of national virtue". Her early death at the age of thirty-four "preserved her youth in the memory of posterity." (Wikipedia). The fact that she was Lutheran, and her husband Reformed, has been an oft-repeated cause of the king's desire for church union.

<sup>314</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: A kind of sleeping gown.

<sup>315</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: that means each one is different.

<sup>316</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: the author's oldest brother, a bureaucrat. N.B. (the *Der Lutheraner* footnote is mistaken. The oldest brother, Heinrich Friedrich Christian Wyneken, went by "Christian" and had died already in 1830 in Verden. Johann Heinrich Conrad Friedrich Wyneken (1795-1867) went by "Heinrich" and was a veteran of the Battle of Waterloo and was an *Oberamtmann* in Freudenburg, Hannover.)

and may you sleep joyfully in his arms. My furniture [collection] has seen an important and elegant increase in these days—a colorful stuffed straw<sup>317</sup> chair.

Tuesday. So, dear Mother, this is the last evening of eight days that I spend in my dear Friedheim. We have just now departed from singing and first prayer. Oh, that indeed I still experience the dear Savior in joy, that we implore [him] from the whole heart, and not merely with lips, for his grace and our regeneration, so that he may finally, truly, and alone live in our hearts. Oh! It is [in me] rather so dead, sometimes the [outward] form of godliness, yet I fear he does not find the power and essence. I surely pray that the Lord may pour out his Spirit of grace on me and my congregations. Oh! If he would see only sincerity in my heart!<sup>318</sup> Sometimes I can't possibly understand why he has made me, a poor worm, the preacher here and why he hasn't long ago sent another to my place. And then is one [am I] again so haughty and reckless. I can only with great effort through such weak faith rightly receive his fully valid sacrifice and ransom. Although (I must accredit it to his glory) he has not ever let me sink completely into despondency. How hard it is for one to die to the world! And yet how easily could one do it if he would always consider the dear Savior. I happily praise dear Louise<sup>319</sup> because she, according to her earlier letter, is always indifferent and apathetic to external things, if only life in and love for the Savior would always increase! She shouldn't grieve herself that the root of her heart is planted in the earth of the world. There [is] only more dying [to the world], so that she can pull no more nourishment<sup>320</sup> from it, if she would take only more and deeper root alone in the Lord. That's how it should be. The Lord should be our only life and pleasure. He has rightfully earned it from us that we be watchful and pray that the love and the marvelous mercy grows and increases in the souls of our fellow-sinners and fellow-sufferers.

Concerning my confirmands, I have joy in three awakened girls.<sup>321</sup> The Lord works in their souls and, so much as I can judge their essence, two have found the Lord and the third searches for him.<sup>322</sup> The latter of the girls couldn't spell when I arrived here, and she knew nothing of the Lord, but the crucified love of the Lord (how I hope!) is making a deeper and believing impression on her. A marvelous work appears to be taking place in this simple, quiet, and humble soul. If only I don't hinder his work with my coldness and clumsiness! The former two [girls], I believe, also have joy and peace in the Lord. I am at a loss<sup>323</sup> how the Lord has

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<sup>317</sup> Or “wicker”

<sup>318</sup> Wyneken seems to be struggling with seeing the sinner/saint in himself and others.

<sup>319</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: his youngest sister.

<sup>320</sup> *Rahrung*

<sup>321</sup> Wyneken had only just confirmed 17-year-old Sophie Buuck, the woman he was to marry in a few months' time (August 1841), in June of 1840. The List of confirmands for 1841 in Friedheim lists only a boy named Fritz. The girls mentioned in this letter must be from Fort Wayne or elsewhere in his circuit.

<sup>322</sup> This doesn't sound very Lutheran.

<sup>323</sup> *Vermisse ich bei ihnen*

fully touched both of them. Only through a right and complete seriousness in and breakthrough of spiritual life. If the Lord would make me more complete, then I would have better standing in the congregation. Oh, what a kingdom of comfort is the word “grace!” Whoever could only grasp this rightly, would have everything.

Concerning Karl,<sup>324</sup> I find his letter about domestic matters<sup>325</sup> and heartfelt pronouncement valuable and refreshing. [Don’t let this great rainbow fall away].<sup>326</sup> The dear brother is firm and simple in the faith, which at the same time is not for him the first imprint of something new, that he will see here to surrender himself to the domain of the kingdom of God. He is heartily humble and unselfish and ready, to only work for his kingdom, without seeing to himself. [If he is these things] then let him [leave off] a little church history and doctrine of faith and go through much of the Bible and our Lutheran doctrine and come over in God’s name. I can’t [make any] promise [to] him, he must, like everyone here who serves the Lord in truth, struggle beneath many ailments and hardships. Not all have it as fortunate as I, although according to the German notion, the preachers would laugh if I would read aloud my particular kind of fortune. I want to write to the Synod<sup>327</sup> on his behalf. He must stand firm, or else we could not be of use to him. For our Lutheran church lies so prostrate, that we have special reason to watch preachers (humbly and unselfishly), who could put themselves into everything, not just Sin and the World. Away with piety and on to Christ!<sup>328</sup> That is the motto...

Now, I must end for the night. It is late... So, God willing, and my laziness notwithstanding, I will get up at 5am and finish this letter. Then it will go to the post office in Fort Wayne and on to my dear ones, whom I thank with kisses.

Wednesday. Correct, it has gone so well for me for the first time! I’ve gotten up at 5 as I often said I would. It has just hit me in the heart that I have cost you so much on account of the coat. I would rather have it that you would not have done it; I would have made do without it. Every letter is a begging letter! It really isn’t a joke, and I have never seriously thought about asking for a coat from Germany. Now, the Lord can repay you. Is [Georg Ernst] Ruperti<sup>329</sup> angry that I haven’t written anything special to him? I am almost afraid [that he is], otherwise he would surely not refrain so entirely from sending me dear and sincere letters... Many have made a good start with the letters, yet have [then] made a shameful end. Among whom is my dear

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<sup>324</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: another older brother, pastor. (Carl Friedrich Wyneken(1803-1867) was a pastor in Arbergen).

<sup>325</sup> Domesticis FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: household reports.

<sup>326</sup> *Und laß die großen Bogen nur nicht abkommen.*

<sup>327</sup> Which one? Synod of the West? PA Synod? General Synod? It sounds like it might be a German one, but I’m not sure how “Synode” is used in German church bodies.

<sup>328</sup> *Rein ab, und Christo an.* This phrase is the title of a hymn in a 1761 hymnal and is a phrase found in several homiletic books and devotions in the 19th century.

<sup>329</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: a relative, also a pastor. (Wyneken’s brother-in-law).



Harms<sup>330</sup> and my dear Otto<sup>331</sup>- my otherwise faithful correspondents. I've had nothing from them since Easter. Dear Büttner has my most heartfelt thanks for his very lovely letter; as well as I can, I will answer the dear brother. It came to me most unexpectedly and made me very happy. From [Christoph] Wolf<sup>332</sup> I don't know anything new. He is at Marietta [Ohio] and, according to his last letter, healthy.

I have found *Sötefleisches Fragen*<sup>333</sup> very suitable for children and for me. It likes to make well my stupidity. If you know Luther's Small Catechism with cited passages beneath, that's what I'd prefer. Yet the catechism must remain unaltered. If you can send over your temperance papers,<sup>334</sup> do it. I think the Bremervörde Society should send them over to me for free since I was one of their first members.<sup>335</sup>—Louise has begun a new effort to put romantic thoughts into my head. This is new to me, and I think to myself “you can give it a try.” Indeed, much comes of it, [depending on] how one looks at it. I set myself anew on my rather romantic steed. Really! It all appears to me in a new light. My horse is like Rosinante,<sup>336</sup> proud and spirited. I myself gave it all possible effort to be romantic and to perceive myself as such. For example: the wet branches—held fast by ice—strike my face so often, and the little ice cycles fall so often down my neck, where they get nothing but smaller, like a gently trickling brook down my romantic neck. Just like that I see how romantic it is! I find my position so romantic I find it hard to leave....

Now, you dearly beloved, I must close. The day peeps lightly through the small window.<sup>337</sup> Getting grub and cleaning leaves only a little time, and then I would not like to come late to preaching. Now, you dear ones, the Lord bless you all richly. Leave to him your justification and be strong and pray much for me, that I may be his possession. Pray also for blessing for my congregation and for the many workers in this wide and desolate portion of the Lord's vineyard. May God, the Lord, make those in his pay faithful. Please, write soon again

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<sup>330</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: later a pastor in Oerel near Bremervoerde. (Ludwig Harms was active in German missions and would later meet with Wyneken in Germany. However, Louis' letter to his parents from April 1842 gives no indication that he knew Wyneken before meeting him in Hamburg on his Notruf tour. This Harms may be Theodor Harms, Louis' younger brother, or perhaps a different Harms altogether.)

<sup>331</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: a pastor von Hanffstengel (This man may have been Wyneken's pupil in Lesum)

<sup>332</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: One who immigrated with the writer and also wanted to be a missionary.

<sup>333</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: Catechism questions.

<sup>334</sup> *Mäßigkeitsschriften mit herüberschicken*

<sup>335</sup> The Bremervörde Temperance Society was one of the oldest, founded on February 13, 1838. Several Wyneken connections are listed among the Bremervörde members. Wyneken's claim is confirmed by Böttcher.

<sup>336</sup> Don Quixote's horse.

<sup>337</sup> Other accounts say he had only one in the cabin.

and encourage the early, now lame, correspondents to begin writing again. Each mail day, I think, there must be a letter from dear Otto; from G[ustav] von Hanffstengel it is incomprehensible why I have not received a letter, when it seems to me that everything else makes it here just fine. Should Ernst<sup>338</sup> be able to break away from his political ambition, in order to collect something from my cabin in the middle of the ancient forest, so he can [wipe away his expression].<sup>339</sup> Have him buy two large sheets of paper, return to the editor, lock him in his study and flatter him a bit until he sits down on his chair at his table, then lay out the paper for him to write to me. That would be reasonable and brotherly. Relative [Johann Hermann] Schöttler<sup>340</sup> should be heartily praised for his writings. He can be certain, I still have as bad English as I did in Germany, but I'm better at Low German. The Lord be with you all!

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<sup>338</sup> FOOTNOTE IN DER LUTHERANER: also an older brother, *Stadsyndicus* in Stade.

<sup>339</sup> Literally: so he can drive the flat of his hand over his face.

<sup>340</sup> Married to Wyneken's sister, Marie Elisabeth Henriette Sophie Wyneken.

**From Otto Friedrich Wehrhan's *Norddeutsche Reise* 1842 pg. 303-307.**

Finally, shortly before my departure [from Bremen], I made a detour to Verden in Hannover to ask questions of and become acquainted with Pastor Wyneken of Fort Wayne, Indiana, who was staying there with relatives. My journey began on the crisp morning of November 17 [1841] on foot. By noon I had made my way to Achim. Beyond there I observed a group of three people: a ragged man with a knapsack with his wife, dressed no better than he, and a daughter about twelve years old, who also had to carry an enormous pack on her back. She was stooped over and could barely continue with it on her. They were emigrants from Andreasberg in the Harz [mountains] and were returning to their home from Bremen because the wife, "Tina," had become so afraid at the sight of the "great waters" that she began to cry and couldn't board that ship. And indeed, that occurred at Bremen at the Weser River, which isn't very wide! She explained this to me herself as I went with them and talked with them in their Harz dialect; while the husband, who had just given up his American hopes, went along calmly. I comforted these people, who seemed to be good-natured people, who had to load up their determined daughter with packs, by saying that they were right to turn around, because many in America would like to come back if they could, etc. and if they could go back [all the better]. And with that they started for a home in some village.

At 6pm I reached Verden after enduring the approaching of terribly dark gray clouds. It was soon night and the poorly paved streets were wet, covered in dung, and very dark. Everywhere I asked in vain for a pastor Wyneken. I had thought until then that Wyneken (the American) would be staying with his father, and that the father would be the pastor in Verden. Finally, I met someone who said that Wyneken's father indeed had been the pastor in Verden, but he had been dead for a long time and only the widow, who lived on such and such street, lived in Verden. At her place I met Wyneken and chatted with him in the warm room, surrounded by his sisters and his young wife whom he brought from America. Later, a witty young Dr. Wonneberg<sup>341</sup> came and we talked in his little study until midnight.

There was much of great interest to talk about from America. Especially about the ecclesiastical things and the situation of spiritual things. His portrayal was so lively and detailed and carried the character of truth, that I saw the situation as if through the perspective of my own eyes, and I now regret that I can't bring it to the paper as warm and fresh as it was when I heard it. Indeed, it would make quite a little book on its own. If Wyneken would publish what he has told me, he would certainly not only do the German public a favor, but also perform a useful service if he would share his experience from that part of the world. By the way, if that weren't reason enough, especially for a head of family without means (as I am one) and it would please me only so much more, for every Harzer to have encouragement on their turn back [from going to America]. When a person wants to go to America, he must either be rich, or become accustomed to nothing but hard work and be a determined individual. Also, if one is a preacher,

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<sup>341</sup> Is this the doctor who was working on Wyneken? Might be too much speculation to say so.

doctor, scholar, teacher, artist, etc. and wants to seek his fortune, he must at least go forth alone and not be looking for fun. If necessary, he must appeal for food and shelter for the sake of hospitality. Wyneken himself for several years had to struggle through life this way. Often, he had to sleep in the hayloft, or among the farmer and his children. Often, where people thought he didn't understand English, husband and wife would say hurtful things while they all sat by the fireplace, talking about whether they should keep him or not. They would say critical things about his condition while he listened. For deep in America the preacher is viewed by the people as a vagabond. And whenever he has trouble with his congregation (who have employed him for a long time, and each member pledges a contribution of one or two dollars a year yet seldom pay and can't be admonished about it) he is violently mistreated and is not safe. So it has been, among other things, for a preacher who of course was worthy in pretext, but should he become sick, first thing in the evening at his home, there is a knocking [on the door]. Yet as he is barely able to step out [of the door], many strong fellows shove a pole between his legs, lift him in the air and carry him. Then they place him firmly on a dashing "horse" to cling there, enduring mockery in and around that place.

It was also strange, what Wyneken told me about the Methodist preachers and their machinations and of the Albrecht Brothers.<sup>342</sup> These fanatics of Münster<sup>343</sup> are the shame of the world, who place Christendom in crudeness and under a coarse frock with their revivals etc. Indeed, that being said, the substance of the subject is far too much to go through it all here. I can only indicate what has been said and make one curious about it, hopefully not in vain.<sup>344</sup> Only this yet: 1. that the situation of the Lutheran Church in its entirety is very bad in America; 2. that the Church is in danger from being systematically devoured by all the external parties surrounding her, whose preachers, Wyneken admits, have entrancing oratorical eloquence; 3. that the [Lutheran] Church is in need.

I also learned here, that Wyneken primarily returned to Europe for an extended stay for the sake of his health. He was covered in sores and told me that (with few exceptions) every German and other foreigner who lives a while in America either gets a very debilitating, and often fatal, fever, or get sores. The latter is the lesser of the two evils.

Of Verden itself I saw very little. It was almost dark when I arrived there, and it was as dark as a raven when I left for my return journey at 3 am the next morning on Luetje's omnibus. Only the enormous roof of the Cathedral, which I came close to, showed its dim outline with the stars lighting up the heavens.

At 10am that day, after exactly 24 hours absence, I was again in Bremen.

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<sup>342</sup> Concordia Cyclopedia. Describes this group as followers of a certain Jacob Albrecht. Very similar to Methodists in doctrine. In 1816 the denomination assumed the title of Evangelical Association of North America.

<sup>343</sup> Just google the Munster Rebellion. The Anabaptist takeover was full of cultism, false prophecy, and horrible violence. See also the podcast "The Prophets of Doom" by Dan Carlin.

<sup>344</sup> Does he want the reader to dig deeper, or does he want Wyneken to write?

## Letter from Louis Harms to his Parents After Meeting Wyneken

To the parents Harms in Hermannsburg

April 14, 1842, Lüneburg

Dearly beloved parents!

You have not received a detailed letter from me for a long time. I have written several times but briefly. My intention was actually to visit you during the Easter holidays and then talk to you in person. I had to give up this plan, partly because I knew, you, dear father, at that time are too busy, partly because Theodor could not be there yet, and finally, because I wanted to make some decision about my future life with you. But I could not, because I had come from negotiations with Superintendent Hölty with the Consistory and from the latter there was no answer. Hölty asked me to come back to him with a statement on which he would then write to the Consistory.

To refuse that would have been stubbornness. I gave him a written statement that I was sorry to have aroused the disapproval of the consistory that the reason for this was not supposed to be malicious disobedience, but to be found in conscience-sickness. I further declared that I am ready to obey all that is in accordance with the word of God. Concerning the report, which was submitted by Hölty, it has not yet been answered. I hope that it will take place by Ascension, if not, so I come, God willing, without them to you to arrange the further. If there are no unforeseen obstacles, I have set my departure for Tuesday or Wednesday before the Ascension and look forward to seeing you again.

Shortly before Easter, I received urgent invitations to come to Hamburg to attend consultations, mainly through the presence of a Pastor Wyneken from North America, a missionary. [Friedrich] Schmidt from the East Indies and a converted Brahmin therefore, named Ramayen, were arranged. The former were both in attendance. The latter was in Hamburg and perhaps later on will go to a university to be preacher, and then, when God gives him life and health, return to India. Of the most interesting negotiations with these people, I'll tell you more in person. They were all the more interesting, since for 20 years in the East Indies Schmidt worked among a community of 12,000 Hindu converts. After three years of service to the Germans in North America, Wyneken has returned to seek help, only to immediately go there again and stand as a living witness of the power of Christianity.

I only wrote here for the time being, to what extent my person is involved. I was asked by Wyneken to go to North America as a pastor to the Germans. Schmidt wanted to take me as a missionary to the East Indies, where he, after recovering here, wants to begin his return journey in the autumn. These suggestions were matched by the Hamburgers, who in turn suggested that I join the mission seminary of the North German Missionary Society in Hamburg as a teacher.

I have not given them all a definite answer but told them I want to wait until Pentecost for the response of the Hanoverian consistory, then make an appointment with you and then make my

decision in June. The more exact of all this I reserve before the oral discussion, which then, with the help of God, will abolish the embarrassing uncertainty of my situation, and will draw up a firm plan for me. Only I wanted to tell you for the time being, dear father, not with the intention that you may already fix your opinion, but so you know how things are.<sup>345</sup>

Theodor<sup>346</sup> expected you to come to see you every day, and perhaps he will have arrived by the time you receive this letter.

How is the good Bolte? Like Emilia? I have not heard much about the health of both of them lately, so I am very glad to see her and the happy Karl. I also want to write to Hermann and tell him the date of my departure. If he then comes, and I move, as I hope Julius also comes along, then your house will become quite full.

Well, dear parents, this time you have enough to read, and hopefully we will have more to talk to each other soon. Until then, live quite well, the Lord bless and keep you in his grace.

In warm love,

Yours, L. Harms

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<sup>345</sup> Theodore Harms' biography of Louis mentions this episode in this life. According to Theodore, Louis stayed in Germany because his sister died that same year and his parents did not want to say goodbye to another child.

<sup>346</sup> Louis' brother.

Kirchliche Mittheilungen  
aus und ueber  
Nord =Amerika

1843

Nro. 4

Pastor Wynecken's Farewell and Return to North America

(Translated by Henry F. Koch)

If no unforeseen circumstances change the date of May 15 by a day or two, Pastor Wyneken will have departed to return again to the difficult daily work of an American preacher. He especially is the one whose faithful, fiery words in letters and appeals awakened our sleeping love of the forsaken North Americans and has shaken us out of the sinful forgetfulness to [our] precious duty. He, - this upright, eloquent disciple of the Lord has become a treasure to us. His letters, written to various friends of the North American cause, breathe an inner love, that love which is not removed from the heart by distance or other surroundings. Our readers will enjoy a few quotations from one of his letters.

"God willing," he writes on the 28<sup>th</sup> of April, "this will be the last letter I send you from the dear homeland, at least for a while. My departure for America is set for May 15. I ask you and the other brethren to remember me, my wife and child in your prayers, that the Lord may make our parting easier and accompany us over the ocean with his mighty hand to the West, and strengthen and fortify me for a continued blessed proclamation [of the Gospel] among the forsaken brethren. It is a difficult step, I will not deny it, not only outwardly, but also in view of the spiritual life and activities and their battles, which often make me shudder when I think that I must re-engage with them. My hope is in the Lord who has been my strength and energy hitherto, and has kept me, a poor, weak creature, active. May the Lord also strengthen you, my deeply loved, dear friends, as well as all those who sincerely venture into the great battle for the Lord's sake, a battle which has flared up here in Germany as well, and which will grow worse. Great, oh how great is the battle for souls, so deeply loved, with whom we once stood in the closest relationship, and with whom we are in many regards intertwined and intergrown in the One Basis of life. To be sure, here it is necessary to disregard any and every false light, taking only God's Word in hand and heart, in order to be obedient and loving. May the Triune God help us here! May He help us be truly obedient to Him, with total self-denial through obedience to the Word, holding fast to the love for dear but erring brethren. [And may He help us] through his grace (which alone can do it) trample underfoot all bitterness that God's Spirit, fighting through us for Word and Sacrament, and we by firm but loving testimony, win them.

And the battle is all the more difficult since the recent eruption of spiritual life, exactly here in our area of northern Germany with the Reformed and Lutherans so lovingly bound together, and that we must oppose those with whom we once felt united. Ah, those were bitter hours, but not

without blessing. At least, these [bitter hours] can serve a purpose, that the misery of this world, even among His sanctified people, to humble us, and arouse [in us] a longing for that place where there will be no need, no woe, no painful cry. Of course, the Lord Jesus will not abandon His own, He will redeem and help them into His heavenly kingdom out of every evil.”

With such pain, which we also understand, Wyneken left [for America]. May the God of all grace comfort him with the sweet hope that better days are coming, who without a doubt, as time went on, has used and will use the pure, calm, prayerful testimony for the truth to unify souls in the truth. The Church of God, which for a while on earth was and still is called the Lutheran church, but which will have a more beautiful name in heaven: the name: “one, holy, apostolic, catholic”, will become known, more and more, as the peace loving child of God bringing peace and blessing even to those hesitant to receive her. Wyneken will see this in person, and we with him. For this church “has the commission,” as our dear friend says in another letter, “to edify itself inwardly as the vessel of the saving truth and outwardly to gather all those separated [from us] as churches but not as Christians, as well as those still heathen, so that finally all true worshippers of the Lord will be gathered together bound firmly by the bond of peace and love!” That will bring joy and happiness to this side and then other side of the ocean.



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<sup>347</sup> See footnotes for unpublished sources.

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