



## THE AUGUSTANA HERITAGE NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 1

JANUARY 2000

NUMBER 2

# PRESERVATION OR RESTORATION:

A Message from Reuben T. Swanson

In September, Darlene and I traveled in Eastern Europe visiting several of the cities that were devastated by the hostilities of World War II. The first city visited was Warsaw, Poland. We were told and shown pictures of the devastation that claimed 85% of the city during the war. Today Warsaw is a rebuilt city, a beautiful metropolis that has regained much of the grandeur that characterized it before World War II.

When the second great war of this century ended, the people of Warsaw and Poland recognized the need to preserve their centuries-old heritage and consequently rebuilt significant parts of the city in the style and design that had existed for centuries. They were not about to capitulate to the sinister and demonic forces that brought about the destruction and devastation which resulted from the fighting of World War II.

The Augustana Heritage Association has been formed to preserve a heritage. By neglect and failure to recognize the treasure we have from the former Augustana Lutheran Church, we could make it necessary for future generations to restore what we sometimes seem to take for granted. The past can enhance the future of the church we love. If we fail to preserve our heritage, I believe that there will come a time when restoration will be needed and accomplished simply because those who follow us will recognize that Augustana left a heritage worth preserving.

Our task is thus to preserve and thus preclude the need for restoration; our association has exactly that purpose. It preserves so that there will not be a need to restore that which existed, was neglected and destroyed by the devastation brought about by failure to appreciate and remember.

Thanks to all who have joined the Augustana Heritage Association with a commitment to preserve. All who are of like mind are invited to become a part of preserving what must not be lost. The future will then be built on a heritage preserved rather than one that is to be restored.

Preservation or Restoration - which shall it be? †

*Reuben T. Swanson serves as the Co-chair of the Augustana Heritage Steering Committee.*

AUGUSTANA  
GATHERING 2000

**AUGUSTANA**  
**BRIDGES ACROSS**  
**GENERATIONS**

**JUNE 23-25, 2000**

AUGUSTANA COLLEGE  
ROCK ISLAND, IL



Volume 1, Number 2  
January 2000

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1100 E. 55th Street  
Chicago, IL 60615-5199

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# Augustana,

## A CONFSSIONAL NAME

BY ARVID E. ANDERSON

On June 25, 1995 Ronald L. Swenson, then pastor at Augustana Church, Denver, Colorado preached a sermon, "Augustana - History and Hopes Heroic!" June 25 is observed each year as The Presentation of the Augsburg Confession. Augustana is a confessional name - *Confessio Augustana*. Swenson said, "It is from that day, June 25, 1530, that this Augsburg Confession has shaped the Church we know best." The church accepts the Augsburg Confession as "a true witness to the Gospel."

He reminded the congregation that the Augustana Synod has its name because in June 5-11, 1860, twenty six pastors and fifteen lay delegates came together in Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin to form a partnership. "Upon the suggestion of Eric Norelius ('the staunch confessionalist' according to Conrad Bergendoff) the synod was named Augustana." Swenson went on to say "And that was, because in 1593 at the Council of Uppsala, the Augsburg Confession was adopted as the Creed of Sweden...and because (in those days) to be a Swede meant to be a Lutheran."

The local connection for Swenson's congregation the morning of June 25, 1995 was that on September 20, 1878 in Denver, "at a preparatory meeting during which the essential part of the Augsburg Confession was considered, several persons signified...their wishes to become members of a church as soon as possible...(as soon as possible was that very evening!). A constitution was adopted: "The proper and legal name of this congregation shall be 'The Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Church in Denver, Colorado'." Swenson said, "And that evening there were six members and there was Augustana." It was a congregation with a confessional name.

The Augustana Synod, with its deep roots in *Confessio Augustana*, is more than a church with a history from Augsburg 1530, Council of Uppsala 1593, Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin 1860, through June 28, 1962 when Augustana became a part of the Lutheran Church in America. Augustana is a confession of faith and therefore permeates the church like leaven. Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, years ago talked

about the name Augustana as "a blending of history and hopes."

We would like this Augustana Heritage newsletter to be a forum where all can contribute to the "blending of history and hopes." It can happen with your stories of our history and heritage, as well as the expression of hopes as seen in the confessional threads of Augustana which are being woven into the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the world wide church, and the society in which we live.

Reuben Swanson, in his message, *Preservation or Restoration*, calls upon us to "preserve our heritage." One way to keep alive our heritage is to recall the work of those who have been teachers of the faith, particularly the professors of Augustana Seminary who were teachers to hundreds of pastors, who in turn have served hundreds of congregations over the life of Augustana and continuing in the Lutheran Church in America and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.

In this issue of the newsletter, we are pleased to have articles about two seminary professors whose teaching careers in two different generations total more than 60 years. John E. Halborg has given us a well researched account of Dr. Conrad Emil Lindberg, who taught dogmatics from 1890-1930. Lindberg's "Christian Dogmatics" was the textbook for hundreds of students. Halborg has given a fascinating picture of Lindberg - The Man, Professor, and Theologian.

Gerald Christianson offers a tribute to Dr. G. Everett Arden, professor of church history and liturgics from 1945-1967. Christianson has an imaginative way of telling the story of a most gifted and devoted scholar. Dr. Arden has given us all a rich legacy through his book, "Augustana Heritage, a History of the Augustana Lutheran Church." He, along with Dr. Eric Wahlstrom, gave us the translation from the Swedish of Aulen's, "The Faith of the Christian Church," which became a basic theological resource for many years at Augustana Seminary.

Our editorial suggestion is for an open invitation to all of you to contribute articles on a variety of subjects and





DR. CONRAD EMIL LINDBERG

# CONRAD EMIL LINDBERG

PROFESSOR AT AUGUSTANA SEMINARY 1890-1930 BY JOHN E. HALBORG

If I were to choose the books from the Augustana Book Concern that influenced me most, I would choose Nils Forsander, "Life Pictures from Swedish Church History"; Olaf Olsson, "Vid Korset"; C.J. Södergren, "The Book of Amos"; and Conrad Emil Lindberg, "Christian Dogmatics."

I suppose this choice seems antiquarian (I should also add Eidem, "The Suffering God"). However, some of these were books that belonged to my father and I have found them useful all of these years. There is, of course, a wide difference between the first three. Forsander's picture of the Swedish Church is highly eccentric with an emphasis on Rosenius and the earlier pietists that seems one sided. But he did see the history of the Swedish Church as continuous from Ansgar and it was my earliest introduction to St. Birgitta who was later to be of much interest to me. Olsson is a model of how to present a difficult theological subject so that it is understandable to the lay reader. There are those who think that the traditional view of the atonement that he presents is out of date but I have come to think that Aulen did not kill Anselm. Södergren presents the social pathos in such a way that we can see the Augustana concern for social justice, which later burned in teachers such as A.D. Mattson. When, in my childhood home, there was a problem of the faith, my father always knew what the Pia Concordia Lindberg said. There were many layfolk like him and they are sadly missed.

## The Man

Several years ago I wrote Conrad Bergendoff and reminded him that while we knew a good deal about the first generation of Augustana, very little was known by later generations about the generation after the founders. Alas, I asked too late. He remembered that Adolf Hult was the only member of the seminary faculty who had refused to meet Archbishop Söderblom on his visit to Rock Island. He did give him credit, however, for presenting the first lecture to an American University (Chicago) on Kierkegaard. He indicated his closeness to Lindberg and that he had assisted in the English trans-

lation of the Dogmatik. Surely Bergendoff's time as an assistant at Gustavus Adolphus Church in New York with time for graduate study was a result of Lindberg's recommendation. Perhaps his first name as well as the common use of "Conrad" in Augustana names is a result of Conrad Emil Lindberg. What follows is an attempt to describe in brief a life that has some puzzling features.

Lindberg was born June 9, 1852, in Jönköping, Sweden. Jönköping at this time was a new industrial center that drew people from the farms of Southern Sweden. As always, in such young cities, life must have been raw at best. Conditions in the match making works were dangerous. However, Jönköping was also the revival center of Sweden, gaining the name of Sweden's Jerusalem. For people who had left home and family, the message of Rosenius that justification made us children of a heavenly father and created a family of believers was wildly popular. Lindberg's unmarried mother was Christina Fredriksdotter Lindberg, born 1826 in Länghem, Västergötland. She lived in an area of Jönköping called "Svenska maden." He was baptized Sept. 11, 1852 in the Kristine parish. The godparents came from the same building as his mother, no. 5 and 6. She later married Johannes Jansson (taking the name Fridlund when he emigrated). The couple had a son, David, born in 1866. He died in 1888.

Christina Frederiksdotter Lindberg Fridlund died May 16, 1902. In place of the customary *Korsbaneret* obituary, the 1903 annual contains a poem by Ludwig (Holmes) in which he commented on the serenity with which she faced life: "Your day passed calmly like a hidden stream which flows from the forest to the breast of the lake." The reason for this calmness, Holmes wrote, was her belief in the nearness of the Second Coming. On her tombstone in Brooklyn's Green-

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Wood Cemetery is written "Jesus kommer snart." (Jesus is coming soon.") This calmness and eschatological hope she shared with her son.

There are certain things we know from a remembrance written by Lindberg. It is clear that he was poor as a child. It is also clear that he already had a strong religious nature. At the Gymnasium he took the classical course. He taught some classes in a girls' school in Jönköping for several years after he had finished what schooling he could afford. When he was 18, he was asked by a Pastor Ekström to preach at evening services in one of the institutions in the city. At that time the large church in the west part of the city had not been built and services seem to have been held in a variety of temporary quarters. Undoubtedly, it was a local clergyman who gave him an introduction to Erland Carlson in Chicago.

Lindberg traveled from Liverpool to America on the S.S. England, arriving on July 21, 1871 and is listed as Emil Lindberg, 21 (a slight stretching of age to be considered an adult), and is with a group of other young Swedish men who are classified as laborers. When at Mt. Airy Seminary he is still listed as "Emil." At what time he began to use his baptismal name "Conrad" is unclear.

His mother, his brother and a son to his stepfather by his first marriage had gone to Chicago a year before him. Some friends gave him the money to travel to Chicago. In America he could afford the education for the ministry which was too expensive in Sweden. He went to Erland Carlson who arranged rooms for him and on July 29 he met his "indescribably dear mother and little brother, David, who were at a stationery." On August 21 he met his stepfather who had come to America a year before his mother. As he had lived with his mother for a time (he describes the home as poor but pleasant), the two parents seem to have been living apart. Lindberg cannot describe his mother warmly enough. However his relation to the stepfather seems distant at best. When his mother, who kept house for him, died, a housekeeper, Matilda Elizabeth Stenborg (1874-1930) took her place in his affections and they continued to live together, she dying only shortly before Lindberg.

Lindberg spent the next few months preaching in various churches in northern Illinois and Iowa. He then entered the seminary at Paxton. He was too young to be ordained and so he spent some time in Sterling, conducting preaching services. He describes the parish as unbelievably factional. This experience would prepare him for later life.

At last he entered Mount Airy Seminary, graduating in 1876. Here he would have studied under the great faculty that included Krauth and other founders of the General Council. He continued graduate studies in Greek, Hebrew and Systematics at the University of Pennsylvania. At least part of this time he received financial aid from the Evangeliska Fosterland Stiftelsen in Sweden.

## Pastor

Finally, in 1874, he was ordained at the meeting of the Augustana Synod in Rockford, Illinois. He had a call to Philadelphia and Wilkes Barre, PA. His great pastoral work lay ahead of him. In 1879 he was called as pastor of Gustav Adolf (as then known) Church in New York City. This parish had a most troubled past. Swedish Lutherans in the city had held meetings together for some time until 1865 when the Augustana Synod organized this group as a synodical church. A number of problems lay ahead of the new parish. In no particular order, the treasurer made off with the funds. The parish wanted to have women on the church council which was contrary to the model constitution. Karl Karleen, a priest from the Church of Sweden, wanted to bring the parish into the Episcopal Diocese of New York. Finally, Johan Gustav Princell tried to remake the church into a pure church of believers. He instituted revival services on Sunday afternoon and had separate meetings for the "saved" in the congregation. He came to share Waldenström's view of the atonement which brought him into conflict with the synod (he was a member of its ministerium although the parish at this time was independent). When Lindberg came to Gustav Adolf, he found that Princell had arranged for a Baptist preacher to address the Sunday meeting. Two strong men conducted said preacher to the door. At this point Princell left the church and synod although he continued to consider himself a validly ordained minister because of his Augustana ordination. He took with him 30 members. In addition, Pastor Wenner of the General Synod continued to agitate for Swedes in New York to join the Mission Covenant Churches in New York and Brooklyn which at that time were in union with the General Synod.

In his description of his youth, Lindberg often describes himself as weak. The pastoral experience in Sterling was almost enough to cause him to look for another line of work. But his ministry at Gustav Adolf reflected enormous strength. He insisted the parish return to the synod if he were to accept the assignment. The parish grew to the point that it became one of the largest churches in the synod, this despite the high rate of mobility as its members moved west. The financial problems were overcome and the present church building, one of the most beautiful of the older Augustana churches was built. It had a free standing altar (small) and a lovely hourglass pulpit, both removed in the unfortunate remodeling of the '60s. He remained at this church until 1890 when he was called to the seminary. He was followed by Mauritz Stolpe who was both a friend and an admirer. Lindberg continued to spend his summers in New York at his beloved parish.

## Augustana Seminary

Lindberg's obituaries generally gave him credit for the "new" seminary buildings. An article he contributed to the

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*Korsbaneret* for 1922 describes both the history of the school and Lindberg's hopes for its future. It was in 1863 that the school was moved from Chicago to Paxton. Lindberg describes this as a great mistake: "Had the school remained in Chicago it would have made greater progress and avoided many financial problems." The Rock Island location was wiser than Paxton, but Lindberg still viewed the hills and ravines of Rock Island with misgivings. He hoped the new buildings for which money was then being raised would be imposing and have modern equipment. He hoped that the school would be placed on Seventh Avenue so that it could easily be visited. He had visited the new buildings of Union Seminary in New York and admired them. He doubted that the Augustana faculty would be given such luxurious apartments as were provided for the Union faculty.

Lindberg looked back at the Swedish heritage of the school and the need to train clergy for a Swedish speaking church. However, he looked forward to the Americanization of the synod. He thought that students who now entered the school only speaking English should be trained to serve English parishes. He worried that the synod might lose the younger, English speaking generation if it did not train pastors to speak English. He reminded recalcitrant ministers that their own children spoke English in preference to Swedish. Courses should be taught in English for these students. The Augustana faculty had an unbelievable heavy course load, and he wished that something might be done about adding faculty. During his years at the seminary, he often acted as dean and also served as editor of the *Augustana Quarterly*.

## Lindberg Remembered

It is unfortunate that Lindberg is often remembered only as an anecdotal source. Some of these reflect on the tellers as much as on Lindberg. For example, he told his students not to make gestures in the pulpit or they would leak electricity. I have always thought that he said this because he disliked wildly gesticulating preachers. But, in fact, electricity and energy was of great interest to him. Smålänning that he was, he was interested in practical devices. I have heard only recently a highly educated person discussing the energy that develops when discussion groups sit in circles. He also wrote an account of child development. Naive as his essays may have been, they show a breadth of interest commendable in a systematic theologian.

He is also credited with naivete when he said that heaven was very near because when an angel was prayed for, it came almost at once. A student objected that we don't know the speed at which angels travel. "I must confess I find the express delivery of angels charming, and I want heaven to be nearby." More serious are a number of personal recollections by those who knew him.

A lengthy reminiscence by S.J. Sibelius, his succes-

sor as dean of the seminary is printed in the *Korsbaneret* for 1946. "Sebs" had known him since he came to the seminary and tried to give some of his personal remembrances of Lindberg. He first met Lindberg when Lindberg was installed as professor of systematic theology at the seminary in 1890. On the same occasion, Nils Forsander became professor of Church History. The installer was the synod president, S.P.A. Lindahl. Sibelius was most impressed by the venerable Hasselquist who compared the synod to the great tree that grew from the mustard seed. But Lindberg chose this occasion to give a talk on Schleiermacher. The schoolboy from Pennsylvania wasn't up on that gentleman. In fact, it must have seemed like a strange subject for a Midwest audience of that time.

As a teacher, Lindberg thought of himself as completely orthodox. When he discussed kenosis, the students differed from his teaching, and he said that his theology was in full accord with the church's confession. He taught by asking questions and expecting the correct answer from the students. He was patient if someone hesitated, he was always calm and honorable. Those who had differing ideas, had to remember the day of reckoning in May when they would go to Lindberg's house for an oral examination and later would face a written examination.

At times he could be an inspiring teacher. This was particularly true when he spoke of the angels and of the guardian angel. His "faith was as simple and certain and pure as that of a child." He loved Latin and was most pleased when a student could give the answer in that honorable language. In 1916 he had a serious stroke and was bedridden for some months. It was miraculous that he regained his health and could continue his work for 14 more years. L.G. Abrahamson noted that Lindberg's strength diminished markedly following this stroke. "He did not seem to notice this, but his friends did." From this time he began a decline into the senility that marked his final years and was commented on with varying degrees of charity. A picture of him as a young, determined man and the picture we are accustomed to see of him as an older man with a somewhat puzzled look on his face marks this striking change of personality.

"Sebs" remembered a Sunday evening sermon in 1914 as one of Lindberg's best. He had been a guest of Bishop von Scheele in Sweden and had to return home rather suddenly because of the outbreak of World War I. He said that in all the unrest of that trip, the one who could commend everything into God's hands was safest and calmest. In the course of this talk, he managed to confuse Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart. The sharp-tongued Nils Forsander turned to the students and said, "If a person is not at home in church history, he shouldn't fetch examples from it when he preaches. What does he know about Mary Stuart anyway?" President Andreen said in the obituary for Forsander that he often spoke

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sharply and that Andreen was often the butt of it but that he never minded Forsander's sharp comments.

Lindberg's last public appearance was at a prayer meeting at First Moline. He sat off to the side with Matilda Stenborg. When Sebelius, who was leading the meeting, noticed him, he stood and said that he wanted to give as a motto for the time of year, "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world." He said that he had experienced this salvation and peace, and he wished that everyone there might have the same experience.

Some of us were present in 1954 when Sebelius came for the last time to First Moline. He was to enter a home the next day. Karl Mattson brought him and they sat off to themselves. After the sermon, Sebelius was recognized and the tattered man stood up to confess how much First Moline had meant to him. Strange that both men should make their last witness in the same venerable building.

L.G. Abrahamson (*Korsbaneret* 1930) had known Lindberg since 1873. He reminds us that one of his fellow students at Mt. Airy was Dr. Gerberding who later characterized Lindberg as one of the American Lutheran Church's greatest thinkers. Abrahamson quotes the well-known words of Olof Olsson, "Brother Lindberg has been, is, and always will be a true Jönköping teacher." Abrahamson says that Lindberg never outgrew his Rosenianism but that with time his churchliness became more developed and he became influenced by his vast studies. While he wished that Rosenius' Commentary on the Romans could be translated, he did not belong to any special party in the church; it was sufficient to be evangelical Lutheran. Abrahamson said that Lindberg had an aristocratic air about him, which hid a warm personality.

Abrahamson noted that Lindberg grew weaker with the years. Several months before he died, his companion Matilda Stenborg died. Now alone, Lindberg knew that the synod wanted to enact a mandatory retirement age without a pension provided and also faced increasing student unrest. A man who had been honored by the Swedish government and schools of theology now faced again the poverty he had known as a youth. The sainted Dr. O.N. Olson told me that he and A.T. Lundholm ended up teaching almost the whole curriculum between them for which they were ill prepared.

July 26, 1930, his friend L.G. Abrahamson took him to Augustana Hospital in Chicago. There he peacefully ended his time on earth on August 2. A funeral service was held at First Moline and then the body was taken to his beloved Gustav Adolf Church in New York from where he was taken to Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn to be buried at the side of his mother.

One of the people to describe Lindberg is Sam Miller. In 1910, as a student, Lindberg, had asked him to come and visit him. "He was rather austere, and the youth that I was, I felt a little afraid of him. But I thought he seemed lonely and I

decided to call at his home and see what would come of it. Lindberg had some personal peculiarities, but why think of them when there was so much good in him?...He could be intimate and friendly with a student and yet never allow the loss of respect for a moment," (My Church, 1930)

S.G. Youngert, a fellow professor at the seminary remembered Lindberg as "one of the most noble and exceptional men that I ever learned to know." He noted that Lindberg's opening lecture at the seminary was "The Influence of Schleiermacher on the Theology of the Nineteenth Century." He also pointed out that Lindberg taught practically every subject in the curriculum. He was also dean for sometime. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that original work in systematic theology was not to be expected. He also edited several synodical publications including *The Lutheran Observer* (1874-1879), the first English language journal in the synod. "Faithfulness and precision were his two characteristics. He was faithful as a teacher, faithful as a church member, faithful as friend, faithful in prayer, and faithful in all walks of life."

### Lindberg as a Theologian

In considering the theological ability of Lindberg, it is necessary to remember that he was never given time for the kind of theological training that might have produced a well trained scholar. In Sweden, his schooling was brief. In America he was only at Mt. Airy a few years. While he continued his studies after his ordination, any cleric knows how hard it is to do theology when the parish demands are so time consuming. That he could do any academic work in New York considering the demands of that situation is remarkable.

In what follows, I will be commenting on the two editions of Lindberg's Dogmatics, "Encheiridion I Dogmatik" (1898) and "Christian Dogmatics" (1928). They will be called "1" and "2". For Lindberg, there is no break between Luther and his followers, the protestant scholastic period stretches "from the beginning of the Reformation to Leibnitz and Wolff." Of the Lutheran theologians, it is Hollazius who is most referred to. There may be several reasons for this. When I wanted a copy of Hollazius, I found four or five copies of it in an Uppsala used book store, the only "older" theologian represented there. My copy dates from 1750 and is published by Godofred Kiesewetter of Stockholm and Leipzig. On the one hand, Hollazius continues the tradition of rigid scholasticism. On the other hand, his writing is marked by spiritual warmth with long pietistic prayers. Lindberg's reading is wide. His notes indicate at least a surface acquaintance with a broad selection of religious thinkers.

In discussing creation, he distinguishes between creation as such and the modes of creation. He discusses at some length the theories of La Place and then he says, "It is not the task of dogmatics to account for such theories, but it is, how-

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ever, permitted to briefly describe them, especially when they are not directly in conflict with clear Biblical statements. And even opinions which clearly are against the Bible must at least be pointed out.” (D1,79) Surprisingly he concludes, “Rightly considered, evolution implies a wonderful teleology that points to an intelligent cause. The teleological proof is incontestably one of the best natural proofs of the existence of God.” (D2,27)

There are some problems in Lindberg’s scholarship. These become most notable in the section on Eschatology where he seems to have inherited his mother’s predilections. This occupies about one fifth of D2. When he discusses the book of Revelation, he does so without ever any suspicion that anything other than a literal, historical interpretation is intended. While he cites a wide variety of authors earlier in the book, he seems unaware of the world of Biblical scholarship. When he discusses inspiration, he wisely avoids a mechanical interpretation in favor of a “dynamic” interpretation by which he means “it is necessary to emphasize both the divine and human factors in inspiration.” The holy writers were not merely mechanical instruments such as pens or amanuenses.” (B2,389) Nevertheless, his notes on the history of the dogma of inspiration stop well in the past. I am told that several systematic theologians have shown an appalling lack of knowledge of Biblical scholarship but I would hesitate to name them. It should be noted that Lindberg tilted the balance between human and divine much to the advantage of the latter.

When Lindberg treats of “The Lord’s Supper”, he naturally refers the reader to Krauth’s “Conservative Reformation” with its defense of the church’s faith in the real presence. In the notes, he refers to Luther’s “Das Grosse Bekentniss vom Abendmahl” as the place where we can find the “more developed form” of Luther’s doctrine of the Eucharist. A modern reader will compare his treatment of the sacrament with that of Dix and Brilioth. It is natural that he treats the sacrament from a dogmatic viewpoint rather than from that of liturgical form. He does see an action however, which consists of consecratio, distributio, and communio or reception. “When the action of the Lord’s Supper contains all three moments in its form, then we say that the body and blood of Christ are truly present in the coena Domini.” (D1, 353) It is unfortunate that Lindberg, ever the Swedish sympathizer, did not have access to the writings of Laurentius Petri who drew out the practical consequences of the sacramental practice. For Lindberg and older Lutherans the giving of any importance to the breaking of bread other than its being necessary for the distribution is a sign of Calvinism. The relation to Brilioth is more complicated.

In a recent collection of essays, “Yngve Brilioth”, edited by Oloph Bexell (Skellefteå, 1997), Peter Bexell points out that the elements which Brilioth sees as essential to the sacrament hide presuppositions. Among them is his concept of

mystery as more of an action than a presence, which relates to the elements of the sacrament. Thus, presence or mystery that older dogmatists place first in their discussion of the sacrament, Brilioth places last after thanksgiving, fellowship, remembrance and sacrifice. This both indicates his understanding of presence as action and his distance from classical Lutheranism as seen in the Catechisms. When these aspects of the sacrament are reordered, a different picture of the sacrament also appears.

In his essay, *The Means of Grace* (Centennial Essays, Rock Island, 1960), Eric Wahlstrom points out that Augustana preaching on the sacrament tended to be limited to speaking of the forgiveness of sins and the remembrance of the death of Christ. Lindberg had a broader view. As the lesser principle ends of the sacrament he lists a) remembrance of Jesus’ death in meditation and word, b) the strengthening of fellowship or communion, c) the assurance of hope of a complete fellowship with the Lord Jesus in his kingdom.” (D1, 368) For Lutheran immigrants to the new world, the doctrine of the ministry was a difficult question. It caused a long time controversy between the Missouri and Iowa Synods. For Swedish immigrants, there was often a resentment of the State Church clerics, especially bishops, who had little sympathy for the common person. Olof Olsson despised the very word “bishop” even if it was used in the New Testament. Wisely, Hasselquist held a more conservative position on the ministry, balancing it with concern for the congregation. Thus, Augustana had as a formula that the congregation was made up of pastor and people. While this may have sounded odd, it guaranteed and tried to balance the rights of both parties. It was for Lindberg to formulate the doctrine of the ministry for Augustana. He seems to regret that circumstances have brought about that Augustana does not have an episcopacy (D2, 481). However, this does not mean that the ministry is only a matter of convenience. “The preaching office or the priest office is no human creation and not the discovery of the congregation on the basis of circumstances. The office arose with the congregation and the congregation with the office.” (D1, 375) Those of us who studied polity under A.D. Mattson will remember how often he refers to Lindberg in his discussion of the ministry.

## Final Thoughts

Was Lindberg a great theologian? A theologian should have time for study and maturity. He also should have a deep understanding of human existence as well as of God. Some of these elements Lindberg certainly had. The question remains would he have been a greater theologian had he time to study in one of the great European universities? Lindberg wrote his books for students who were preparing for ministry, rather simple, working class people. On the other hand, it is impressive how many good theologians were trained at the seminary in his day. I treasure my copies of the Dogmatics.

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One reason is that Lindberg knew when he had said enough. The dynamic view of inspiration, for example, has a broader meaning than he envisioned. It was capable of growth. His doctrine of the ministry leaves much unsaid. If the ministry is not equivalent to the priesthood of all believers, why is it not an order as well as an office? Did Lindberg purposely end the discussion of a topic at the point where the theological waters were becoming choppy? I often have taken his basic principles on a subject and speculated where they might lead.

When I recently made the trip to Brooklyn to see his grave, I left a pot of flowers to honor one who contributed so much to the church of our childhood. †

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*Lindberg's early years in Sweden and America were the subject of a wide search in both countries. I should like to thank Bryan Andersson, Lars Hallberg, Eva Nycander, Birgitta Österlund and Ellen D. Swain. I should also like to thank O.N. Olson and my father, Nels Halborg, who shared with me their love of the Augustana tradition and its classical theologian.*

*John Halborg is a son of Zion Church, Rockford, Illinois. He graduated from Augustana Seminary and was ordained with the class of 1954. He is the editor of St. Ansgar's Bulletin, and co-author (with JoAnne McNamara) of Sainted Women of the Dark Ages, and has contributed to a number of collections including Sigred Undset on Saints and Sinners. He is associate pastor of St. Thomas More Church in New York City.*

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themes. As these are received, they will be acknowledged and then assembled according to theme. Each newsletter will focus on one or two of the themes for which articles have been contributed. For example, themes for future newsletters might include: Life in Augustana congregations; Augustana "personalities" both lay persons and clergy; college and seminary teachers; history and work within particular Conferences in the Synod; work of the Womens' Missionary Society, Brotherhood, and Luther League; Social Ministry institutions; theological turning points in the Augustana Church; ecumenical involvements of Augustana; Augustana's continuing influence in the ELCA; and a host of other themes.

Surely the impressive publication, "The Augustana Heritage: Recollections, Perspectives, and Prospects" deserves responses from readers. The presentations in the book are substantive and should stimulate a good deal of discussion and response both to celebrate what these writers have given us, but also to expand on what they have presented and sometimes to challenge in a way that moves the discussion forward. We welcome your responses. Future newsletters can serve as a forum for continuing sharing and discussion. †

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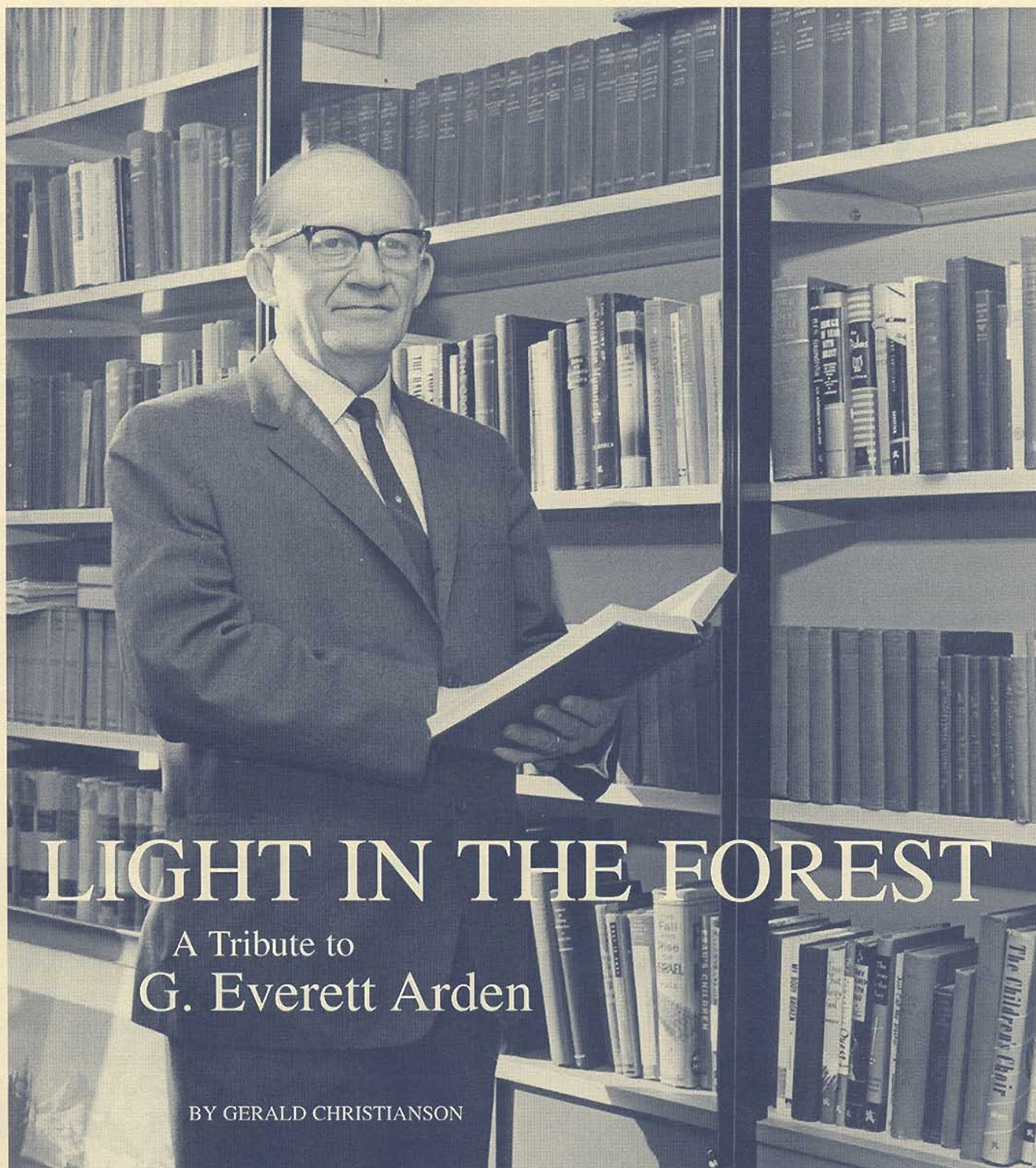
Send your articles, responses, and comments to:

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## Augustana Heritage Celebrated

"The Augustana Heritage: Recollections, Perspectives, and Prospects", a book of over 300 pages, has been published by the Augustana Heritage Association. It contains 27 essays by persons who share an "institutional memory" of the Augustana Lutheran Church, providing information and assessments from the perspective of nearly 40 years after the Augustana Church joined with others to form the Lutheran Church in America. It is edited by Professor Arland J. Hultgren of Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, and Professor Emeritus Vance L. Eckstrom of Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas. The 27 essays cover virtually all facets of the church's life: ecclesial and cultural aspects, theology, theological education, evangelism, ecumenism, social ministry, global missions, youth ministry, and higher education. Among them are essays by Herbert Chilstrom on what the Augustana heritage was and can contribute to the ELCA, Bernhard Erling on the theological history of Augustana Seminary, Arland Hultgren on biblical studies at Augustana Seminary, David Vikner and others on global missions, Louis Almen on the social witness of Augustana, Lee Wesley on social ministry, and Norman Hjelm on ecumenism in Augustana. Copies can be ordered through the Augustana Heritage Association, 1100 East 55th Street, Chicago, IL 60615. The price is \$25.00 (including postage and handling) per copy, but \$20.00 (including postage and handling) for each copy for two or more to one address.





**G. EVERETT ARDEN**

Except for an all-too-brief semester when he came to teach at Gettysburg Seminary during the last months of his life, many readers of *Augustana Heritage* probably knew G. Everett Arden, long-time Professor of Church History at Augustana Seminary and the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, well or better than I. Yet our paths crossed so frequently during the 1970's that we counted it more than coincidence. I taught in his place during his sabbatical in Geneva and Harvard in 1966-1967, and later his colleagues at LSTC invited me to reminisce when he retired, even though I had taken only one course from him, *Liturgies*.

Nevertheless the invitation to pay tribute to him and his place in Augustana's brief chapter in the Christian story prompted a number of happy and, I think, shared recollections about his notable regard for the church and its history.

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An initial text for this assignment came from a surprising source. By chance I was reading the program notes to a favorite Shakespeare comedy, then staged in Washington, and the play suddenly took on new meaning. In "As You Like It," Rosalind and friends (including a certain "Adam") flee to the Forest of Arden where the exiled Duke, their leader, finds "tongues in trees...sermons in stone, and good in everything."

I do not know the origins of "Deke" Arden's last name, but the parallels struck me as rich if not curious. The urge to imagine an Eden, or an Arden, has had recurring appeal to humankind. Although, as Rosalind discovers, the forest suffers from the same corruptions as the "civilized" court, Arden functions as a retreat where we can imagine another world, free from sins and open to love, forgiveness, and redemption. Arden, whether a past Eden or a future city, allows us to imagine a better place, a promised land.

The ability of this forest's namesake to help us imagine the past and envision a future resulted from a combination of personal gifts and convictions. First, the vivid memories. He was not tall, but had a well-organized frame and ice-blue eyes. He kept himself neatly groomed with a hint of mustache to offset a receding hairline. Probably because of the compact stature and his stentorian voice, he could appear a bit daunting, even austere, but never arrogant.

Everyone remembers the dramatic voice (some called him the "John Barrymore of the Augustana Synod", and the occasional piano playing (if nothing more than to illustrate hymn tunes in worship class), a reminder that our Barrymore had once played jazz piano in a dance band. I especially recall the vivid stories, more entertaining to upper class students who had already heard them, and could predict with great precision when they would occur: The Greek charwoman whose daily rounds of scrubbing floors in a Chicago skyscraper to illustrate Eastern Orthodox piety; the hand smashing an imaginary pile of flour to dramatize the Jewish Diaspora; the invitation (or was it command?) that a specific student open the session with prayer; and how his own prayers (or were they commands?) delivered in that marvelous cadence.

Were this all, he would deserve our remembrance, but more than a colorful teacher, he was also, in the second place, a gifted scholar. He held one of the few Ph.D.'s on the faculty in those days - and from the University of Chicago at that - and he took pride in it, but it showed only in the careful work he did, and in his commitment to high standards of method, research, and investigation in pursuit of "the story".

One sees these standards in his edition of the journals kept by Eric Norelius, a tribute to the hard working historian who helped bring to light this mine of information on a pioneer Lutheran which will long retain its usefulness for scholars of the heritage Norelius helped to form. Arden's capacity for apt illustration and grasp of character imbue his late work, "Four Northern Lights." I found this small volume not only a

good read, but an illuminating introduction to some of the pillars upon which Scandinavian Lutherans built when they arrived in their new "forest of Arden."

Yet his great legacy remains his two books on Augustana: "The Seminary" (1960) and the "Synod" (1963), which summarized earlier research and set this research, together with his own investigations, on a new plane. I remember, for example, how the Swedes lent a hand to intemperance and emigration when they discovered how to extract alcohol from the potato. More than any other person, these works of Arden make us dependent upon, and grateful to, the man from Wausa, Nebraska for giving concrete form to the saga of the Augustana Synod. When the time comes, and interest demands another retelling, historians will begin with Arden.

Thirdly, behind the dramatic gesture and the voice, behind the scholarly gifts, he remains a man of deep conviction. "Keep the torch of history burning," he once said to me in vivid Ardenese when I suggested that I might study some "new and relevant" field. The admonition remained only a smiling memory until that coincidence beyond the field of chance when he came to teach at Gettysburg Seminary, and in full regalia attended my own inauguration during the very last week of classes. Not unlike the Prodigal, I recalled the admonition of years before and how in one small way the torch had passed, as it had, through him, to countless others.

I found surprising evidence for this proposition when David Lindberg sent me Arden's sabbatical report from 1967 after a year in Geneva and Harvard. Here in an obligatory academic exercise, as in his life and career, he touched in incipient form three of the major concerns of our generation: liturgical renewal, already implied in his doctoral thesis and his enthusiastic leadership in the introduction of the new "Service Book and Hymnal" in 1959; confessional identity, earlier exemplified by his books on Augustana heritage; and ecumenical hospitality, the specific subject of his sabbatical.

Perhaps these gifts and commitments offer some clue to the interesting phenomenon that Glen Stone also observed in his appreciation of Conrad Bergendoff: that three of the foremost historians of theology in the last half-century came from Augustana - Edgar Carlson, George Lindbeck and Sidney Ahlstrom, not to mention others less well known.

"Arden's torch" must have something to do with it. His church loved the church enough that, while it enjoyed its particular ethos ("Scandinavian humor and other myths") it could also grasp as vision of something larger, not only the future LCA and ELCA, but the church universal with manifestations in the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches.

"Arden's torch" elevated three great moments in this tradition. It had an empathy for the early church's formulation of Christian doctrine, and a loyalty without chauvinism to its central commitments - Trinity, Christ, the preached and sacra-

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**"ARDEN EXPRESSED HIS FEELING OF SATISFACTION THAT CHURCH HISTORY MEANT SOMETHING, AND THAT WE HAD SO MANY HORIZONS YET TO EXPLORE."**

mental Word (some recall that the young Bergendoff had his students outline certain of the Church Fathers). With considerable help from the Lundensian School of Sweden, it had a healthy respect for the Reformation which sought to restore the Gospel in its simplicity as a gracious act of God who justifies by faith. And it took seriously the situation in the new land as a crucible in which to preach the Gospel in ever new ways.

Informing all of this was a wideness of piety that could reach out to others, not primarily on the basis of certain propositions, nor form of ecclesiastical government but of faithfulness of heart to a personal savior who is yet cosmic Lord and who draws his church ever onward to its forest of Arden, a place and time by which to measure all human gardens, but which nevertheless frees us to play our piano, improvise our jazz, tell our stories, probe the unknown, and face the future with confidence.

The day after that inaugural in 1978 at Gettysburg Seminary, we said our farewells over lunch in a nearby, markedly colonial town. Afterward we stepped outside to a beautiful Pennsylvania afternoon and onto a town square with church towers and palpable history all around us. Arden expressed his feeling of satisfaction that church history meant something, and that we had so many horizons yet to explore. His, he hoped, would be the history of American Lutheran thought. Then he and Mrs. Arden went off to a long-awaited tour of Britain, and Carol and I to Chicago for study and vacation. When we returned I could not believe the news from a

casual phone conversation that assumed I already knew: G. Everett Arden had died instantly when a lorry struck the tour bus.

"This too, shall pass." But, God willing, so will the torch he carried, pass to another generation, along with the ability to imagine a better forest, another Arden where God will let us meet again. †

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*Gerald Christianson was ordained in 1960. He became professor of Church History at Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. He was born in Duluth, Minnesota and graduated from Gustavus Adolphus College and earned his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.*

## Memberships

All current memberships continue through 2000. The next membership period will be 2000-2002 and will cost \$30.00 per person. Solicitation will not take place until after Augustana Heritage Gathering 2000 in June.

## Deadline for Next Newsletter

The deadline for articles and announcements to be included in the next Newsletter is May 1, 2000. They are to be sent to

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