

**The Making of a Modern Seminary:
Augustana Seminary in the 1930s**
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Winthrop Hudson concluded his brief history of American Protestantism in 1961 with the dramatic assertion that Lutheranism was in a position to become a kind of secret weapon for a renewed Christianity in the modern age. Hudson argued that the Lutheran church was more insulated than Protestantism in general from “the theological erosion which so largely stripped other denominations of an awareness of their continuity with a historic Christian tradition” during what he called “the Methodist age.” Lutherans thus preserved essential assets that could invigorate a renewed appreciation for this tradition.¹

If this is the case, then the Augustana Synod’s role in building a bridge to a genuine modernity that was both historically respectable and genuinely Lutheran owed much to a generation of scholars and teachers that began in the early 1930’s at Augustana Theological Seminary.

Many of us at the Gathering were students during this very period which, with a touch of hyperbole, we might call “the Augustana renaissance,” and owe an immeasurable debt to those who brought it about. This alone could serve as a rationale for this essay. I am, however, a medievalist whose primary professional interests reside in a period long before the events in the 1930’s. So, rather than present new research, my hope is to offer the opportunity for several reflections which, to be candid, may seem more a personal exercise in making sense of our salad years. But this too is a function of our Gathering.

G. Everett Arden interpreted the early ‘30s at Augustana as a “thrust toward independence and freedom,” and, not surprisingly, set this period into the context of the synod’s approaching centennial and the merger leading to the LCA.² What is hard to explain, even after nearly fifty years of further experience, is why the synod did not have the same debilitating theological debates that roiled the Norwegians and Midwestern Germans, as well as other Protestants. Aside from the debate with the Mission Friends, Swedish Lutherans were relatively free from the splintering effects of doctrinal controversy. Was this only because they were immersed in the pressing need to establish their institutions in the new world?

In response to this intriguing question, I want to suggest a perspective that stresses how the new faculty self-consciously led both seminary and synod into its own version of modernity by engaging in two apparently contradictory fronts at once. On the one hand they would not surrender, but

retained and built upon, the assets that Hudson thought Lutheranism had “immediately at hand”: a confessional tradition, a surviving liturgical structure, and a sense of community. At the same time, and with few if any qualms, they embraced three fundamental principles of modernism: ecumenism; social justice; and the historical-critical method.

Furthermore, the juxtaposition between these two sets of convictions did not create the enervating conflict experienced elsewhere. On the contrary, the “new outlook,” as Arden called it, remained within a comfort zone that could satisfy both tradition and innovation. And it did this primarily because it drew inspiration and support from a theology coming out of the University of Lund.

The events that generated this saga (or as they like to say these days, “the narrative”) of a modern seminary-in-the-making are well known to us both formally in Arden’s works and informally in the realm of oral tradition. This is remarkable in itself. Those of us who were students in the late 1950’s already knew the story even while the chief characters were still active. We participated in the act of myth-making in miniature. But this experience should also keep us on our guard against self-congratulation and chauvinism.

Conrad Emil Lindberg, the keystone figure of the previous generation, its dean and dominant figure since his appointment in 1890, died on August 1, 1930. For forty years he remained the articulate advocate of Lutheran Orthodoxy.³ For all of its strengths, this post-Reformation kind of scholasticism sought to express the gospel in epigraphic sentences with the conviction that the precise statement of pure doctrine was the primary task of theology. I vividly recall looking into Lindberg’s *Dogmatics* for the first time and thinking how ironic that the dynamic, explosive message of Luther, the vehement opponent of Aristotle in theology, had been forced into scholastic categories.⁴ But this is not altogether fair. The goal of Lindberg’s work was to provide clarity and comprehensiveness to the Christian message. Nevertheless, it also led him to resist some of the major challenges of the time, including the new biblical-historical criticism.⁵

Arden himself was a student during the turbulent times following Lindberg’s death, and one can hardly imagine him as an uncommitted bystander. So he must be reporting first hand when he relates that under considerable pressure from the student body, as well as the Board of Directors, the remainder of the faculty began to come apart. By the end of the next school year, 1931, four members had been relieved and accepted calls to congregations, leaving only the church historian, Adolf Hult and the teacher of preaching, S. J. Sebelius.⁶

Apart from the challenge of simply surviving during its earliest years, this may have been the seminary's greatest crisis because it now faced a double dilemma: to the internal challenge of faculty replacement was added an external challenge concerning location. In 1933 the synod assembly defeated a recommendation for the seminary's removal to Chicago by only fifteen votes—and this in the midst of a great depression.⁷

To make the situation even more difficult, university-trained scholars were hardly in abundance. The first appointment, however, proved to be the key to resolving both sides of the crisis. Conrad Bergendoff was called from Salem in Chicago to replace Lindberg as dean.⁸ Bergendoff was known then, and remained for many years, the champion of joining a seminary to a major institution of learning. The school he had in mind in those days, however, was not the University of Chicago, but Augustana College. For the moment, in any case, the new dean had helped to stabilize the question of location, and a new age in Augustana history quickly took shape.

Together with Bergendoff himself as Professor of Systematic Theology, the three key appointments were A. D. Mattson, from Augustana College, as Professor of Christian Ethics and Sociology; Eric Wahlstrom of Warren, Oregon, as Professor of Greek and New Testament Exegesis; and Carl Anderson of Altona, Illinois, as Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis.⁹

Despite student complaints that members of the old guard were not academic scholars, only the dean among the new arrivals had a Ph.D. What Bergendoff and the Board were counting on was that “the great influx” would bring a new spirit to the campus. Students felt the impact of this new spirit in a very short time and on almost every level. Extensive readings, rigorous preparations, and heavy written assignments became the norm. Wahlstrom recommended works by Rudolph Bultmann and discussed a seemingly endless stream of fresh ideas from contemporary Swedish theology.¹⁰ Bergendoff required his students to produce abstracts of the early church fathers; Mattson urged them to get involved in the world; and—perhaps the epitome of the new ethos—Anderson assigned the infamous Old Testament Outline. It quickly became apparent that whatever their pedigrees, the new faculty were widely read and critically attuned to new trends of thought.¹¹

As if this were not enough commotion, Bergendoff and his colleagues began another adventure just a few months later, in 1934. They introduced a year of internship into the curriculum, extending a student's residency from three to four years. It was one of the first such programs in America,¹² but a risky one because the nation was in the midst of a depression. Moreover, it

belied the expectation that the new scholars would stress study at the expense of parish experience.

The decision is not altogether surprising, however, if we see the new appointments as parish pastors as well as a scholars. For example, when Bergendoff was a young man, he had accompanied Archbishop Nathan Söderblom on his church visitations, and in the light of his convictions about a university setting for professional education, the model of medical schools that required students to spend significant time in internships and residencies could hardly have escaped his attention.

Such, in bare outline, are the major events in those days of ferment and creativity. Most who attended the Gathering are familiar with them, and I am happy that I can leave to others, especially my colleague Maria Erling, the admirable task of adding further depth, nuance and detail. I wish only to offer some appreciative observations on the major contributions of the Augustana renaissance to Lutheranism and beyond.

Aside from vigorous programs in foreign missions, publications, education and lay leadership that were shared by other Protestants, the specific contributions of the faculty in the '30s linked them with three of the movements that stood at the forefront of early twentieth century intellectual culture. The remarkable fact is that this small, provincial faculty embraced all three. Only a fourth escaped their notice, the liturgical renewal movement (in distinction to the Oxford movement),¹³ although they were committed to gospel preaching and, with the exception of A. D. Mattson ("I have never seen a unicorn in Rock Island"),¹⁴ endorsed the *Service Book and Hymnal*.

First, Augustana strove for an "ecumenical confessionism" that fostered a sense of hospitality toward other Christians because it grasped a vision of something larger than itself.¹⁵ As a consequence, Augustana became a partner that was frequently invited to the dance, not only in the formation of the LCA, but also in the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches.

Second, Augustana continued a commitment to social service, but adapted and enhanced this commitment to meet twentieth century needs for social justice that stood out among other Protestants. In earlier days Augustana followed the encouragement of William Alfred Passavant,¹⁶ but now drew inspiration from the theological "school" at the University of Lund in Sweden (about which more later). It also incorporated the efforts of a remarkable body of lay women who were part of a mass movement, one of the largest in the American experience.¹⁷ And it discovered a spokesman in A. D. Mattson. Although not all would follow the indomitable professor as

he stood in picket lines with members of the labor movement, the synod's pursuit of justice became evident in the formation and support of trend-setting social service agencies.¹⁸

A third contribution calls for more comment, especially from a grateful historian, because it serves as a key to understanding the phenomenon of Augustana Seminary in the 1930s: the emergence and triumph of modern critical methods applied to the history of the church and in particular to its founding document, the Bible. For a large part of Protestantism, including a number of Lutherans, this could be a painful and divisive task, and one that for many has yet to be resolved.

Even before the entry of the new breed into their posts at Augustana, Gettysburg Seminary had passed through the crisis beginning in 1926 with the appointment of Raymond Stamm, a young scholar with a Ph.D. in New Testament but no parish experience. Charged by some as radical, if not heretical, Gettysburg Seminary nevertheless persevered and flourished,¹⁹ as did Wahlstrom and Augustana.

There are differences between the two stories, however. To begin with, the new approach at Augustana did not come completely unannounced but fit into a long-standing pattern established by synod president T. N. Hasselquist who had carefully steered a course between doctrinal laxity and the Missouri Synod. Years later the new approach gained support from a small but articulate group of pastor-scholars such as Claus Wendell and C. J. Sodergren.²⁰ But a stream became a flood when Bergendoff, Wahlstrom, Mattson, and a newer colleague, Hjalmar Johnson, who had taught at Gustavus Adolphus and Augustana Colleges, produced a steady flow of publications. These appeared in *The Lutheran Companion* and *The Lutheran Quarterly*,²¹ as well as in their own books. Together they defended the relevance of biblical-historical criticism to the gospel and the relevance of Lutheranism to ecumenism and modern society.

Each had a different emphasis, but all agreed that one does not have to pledge allegiance to any of several propositions regarding verbal inspiration in order to commit oneself wholeheartedly to the affirmation that the Bible proclaims the gospel of the living God who redeems humanity through the death and resurrection of his Son. In fact, such propositions are not so much wrong as that they miss, or obscure, the point of the biblical message.²²

How the seminary could avoid the conflicts and divisiveness over these issues that plagued many other denominations brings us to the central question of this essay. Three factors stand out: the internal needs of early Swedish Lutherans in America to get themselves organized; the tendency of immigrants to hold onto the accustomed ways of the mother country; and the

powerful effect of modernist winds that came blowing out of Sweden when the clouds of isolation began to lift. While the first factor is a commonplace, the juxtaposition of the second and third must be added if we are to explain why the new trends did not cause disruption, but became the accepted norm.

First, the Augustana Synod's internal needs. The general scholarly consensus, of which Arden was already aware, remains fairly consistent.²³ Scandinavian Lutherans were among the more recent of European immigrants, and arrived long after the first generation of German Lutherans who were organized by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Scandinavians came in large numbers only in the thirty-five years before the First World War, almost two million of them.²⁴ Arden notes that in 1860 the Swedish section of the Augustana Synod counted seventeen pastors and thirty-six congregations with a total membership of 3,747, but a half century later had grown to 625 pastors who served 1,124 congregations with a membership of 166,983.²⁵

Understandably, the task of this first generation was integration and consolidation. They felt a strong need to accommodate the ever-new waves of immigrants, and although Swedes in general were among the quickest of immigrant groups to learn English, the synod hesitated. Like other arrivals in the new land, they maintained a strong commitment to old world values.²⁶

This is not to say that the Swedes were completely isolated in these pioneering times. Their newspapers showed that they were aware of the issues around them, especially those directly related to their identity.²⁷ In the circumstances it is not surprising that the synod's forebears took a cautious attitude toward the "New Lutherans" associated with the founder and president of Gettysburg Seminary, Samuel Simon Schmucker, the author of the *Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches* of 1838 and co-author of the anonymous *Definite Synodical Platform* of 1855.²⁸ The Augustana Swedes helped to precipitate the split in the General Synod and in 1860 joined the General Council.²⁹ So we are left to speculate, had these issues involving the synod's identity not intervened, whether they would have empathized with Schmucker's social concerns, especially his vocal anti-slavery stance that may have doomed his cause before it started.³⁰

In any event, with more pressing needs to attend to, these late arrivals in the new world entered upon what Mark Noll calls "a desert sojourn." Nevertheless, this sojourn also brought benefits because Swedish Lutheranism escaped the acrimonious effects of the modernist/fundamentalist controversy that swept over other Protestants in the first decades of the twentieth century. And when the synod came out of its sojourn sometime after the First World War, it seemed probable that

“something distinctively Lutheran would survive into the twentieth century.”³¹

Concentration on internal matters of organization and immigrant assimilation—this is the first factor in the historical context, but two other, contrasting factors contributed directly to the success of a small but gifted band of faculty members in the emergence of Augustana as a modern seminary in the 1930’s. On the one hand, as large scale immigration ceased, and consolidation continued apace, the church was now exposed to intense discussion over how much assimilation was necessary and proper in order for old world values to survive in the new world.

On the other hand, the decisive contribution to this process was the connection between the faculty’s commitments--defend the new methodology and yet affirm the best of the tradition--with a sizable body of works originating from the University of Lund. The “Lundensian School” provided a safe haven in the gathering storm for those who wished to adopt the new ideas and still feel a sense of comfort about old world values and faithfulness to the past. Wahlstrom became the champion of this effort, not only through his own books but through his translations of key works.³²

The authors of these works all made their mark in a short span between 1929 and 1932: Ragnar Bring with his book on dualism in Luther (1929),³³ Gustav Aulén with *Christus Victor* (1931),³⁴ and Anders Nygren with *Agape and Eros* (1932).³⁵ These Lundensians intended to be both modern/scientific and faithful to scripture. But they could not have accomplished these goals had they not been rooted in a new appreciation of the historical Luther that began in Germany with Karl Holl at the start of the twentieth century.³⁶

Einar Billing became the pioneer of this Luther renaissance in Sweden as early as 1900.³⁷ Rather than build an ordered taxonomy of Luther’s ideas in which all appeared to have relatively equal value, Billing set out to recapture the dynamic person of faith. For this purpose he introduced the notion of “motif research” which, in opposition to Lutheran orthodoxy, seeks to determine core ideas or recurrent themes within the whole body of Luther’s faith and experience. As Billing himself noted, Luther’s thought was not like pearls neatly arranged on a necklace, but rather like the petals of a flower, an organic whole. People were invited to meet the human Luther, rather than read abstracts of Luther’s thought.³⁸ Conrad Bergendoff reflected this scholarship in 1928 when he published *Olavus Petri*, his study of Sweden’s premier reformer and Luther’s early student,³⁹ and in so doing set the stage for the later burst of studies and translations at Augustana.

The Lundensians had already made the Luther renaissance their own, and on this basis began to articulate new approaches to exegesis, history, and systematic theology that were both rigorous in the methods of modernity and yet respectful of the tradition. Although called a school of theology, it is not at all fanciful to say that their methodology, even in systematic theology, was essentially historical, and that their most important insight was that revelation, like the incarnation itself, is rooted in history.⁴⁰

Behind the creative work of the Lundensian School and its appropriation of the new Luther research was the heritage of Pietist spirituality, a spirituality that, in some of its manifestations, could reach out to historical-scientific methods and new ideas because the “one thing necessary” was not a set of abstract propositions, nor a form of ecclesiastical government, but faithfulness of heart to a personal savior who is yet cosmic lord and who draws his church ever onward toward a promised goal. Such a joining of piety and intellect in Sweden contrasted both with Germany where radical forms of the Enlightenment caused considerable intellectual upheaval in the church, and some corners of Scandinavia where Pietism turned anti-intellectual.⁴¹

Within this creative tension between piety and learning, spirit and intellect, the new breed at Augustana discovered the task of the Christian scholar as a model for twentieth century American Lutheranism. The goal of this task was to retain a healthy respect for the whole sweep of Christian history, “warts and all”, and the canons of historical criticism, while at the same time reaffirming Luther’s emphasis on the gospel as a gracious act of God who justifies by faith.

Yet Augustana Seminary could survive the crisis of historical criticism not just because the new dean and his colleagues had grasped Luther’s understanding of scripture as God’s word of grace. It survived also because hesitant pastors and critics of the new ideas about biblical interpretation might have caused a much greater uproar had they suspected that these ideas came only from purportedly liberal institutions like Yale Divinity School where A. D. Mattson and Hjalmar Johnson had studied. But what could they say when spokesmen like Wahlstrom pointed to Sweden itself for support? In short, the new outlook provided a comfort zone that could embrace both old and new.

It was thus no coincidence that all the creative ferment at Augustana in the ‘30s occurred at exactly the moment when the Lundensians were becoming known in America and making a greater impact than scholars from other Scandinavian nations, rivaling even their more famous and more

controversial counterparts in Germany. Few other Lutherans, including the Norwegians and the Missouri Synod, had this resource.

Some Lutheran scholars maintain that Lutherans, having gone through their desert sojourn, escaped the erosion of Protestantism in the nineteenth century only to adopt a more pallid version in the second half of the twentieth. As evidence they offer the tepid response to the ELCA.⁴² But other historians outside the denomination such as Winthrop Hudson and Mark Noll assert that Lutherans “have much to offer to the wider American community,” provided they remain true to their tradition, especially the benefits of being rooted in the past, the consciousness that history is important to the faith, and that “the communion of saints exists over time as well as out in space.”⁴³

To meet the challenge of remaining faithful to central affirmations of the Reformation they possess Confessions that embrace the Christian tradition and offer a key, justification by faith, to interpret this tradition. They celebrate a liturgy that puts them in touch with the past. And instead of private agendas dictating public policy, their doctrine of the two kingdoms asserts that “a different set of axioms might be appropriate for public life than for private life.”⁴⁴

Noll’s observation that Lutherans experienced “a kind of coming out” after the Second World War applies especially to Augustana.⁴⁵ One could, for example, cite its contribution to twentieth century historical-theological studies as an illustration of his tongue-in-cheek assertion “that some secret elixir devised to develop special muscles for historical scholarship is regularly dispensed to young Lutherans.”⁴⁶ Three of the notable interpreters of the Christian tradition in the years following the new breed at the seminary were sons of Augustana: Edgar Carlson, Sydney Ahlstrom, and George Lindbeck who are widely recognized for their work, respectively, on Swedish, American, and ecumenical theology.

As further evidence for the influence of those singular years that witnessed the making of a modern seminary at Augustana in the 1930’s, one might also submit the longevity of the Augustana Heritage Association and the vivacity of its regular Gatherings. But most of all, one can point to a generation or more of pastors and lay leaders who, unselfconsciously and without particular fanfare, have sensed the potential role of Lutheranism in an evangelical and ecumenical Christianity that still has much to say to the twenty-first century.

END NOTES

I am grateful for the encouragement, suggestions, and correctives offered by my colleague Maria Erling and the technical assistance of Ann Dentry.

¹ Winthrop Hudson, *American Protestantism* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 33, 176. In the background to, if not the direct source of, Hudson's thesis are the groundbreaking essays by Sidney Mead collected in *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America* (New York, 1963); see for example pp. 120-21, 187. Mark Noll, "The Lutheran Difference," *First Things* 20 (1992): 31-40, pursued this notion in much greater detail in a lecture first delivered at Gettysburg Seminary.

² G. Everett Arden, *The School of the Prophets: The Background and History of Augustana Theological Seminary 1860-1960* (Rock Island, 1960), ch. 6; and idem, *Augustana Heritage: A History of the Augustana Lutheran Church* (Rock Island, 1963), pp. 283-97. Reading these works after forty-five years gives a new appreciation for their remarkable achievement in control of detail, clarity of style, and comprehension of treatment. See also his *Four Northern Lights: Men who Shaped Scandinavian Churches* (Minneapolis, 1964). As illustration of the connectedness in the Augustana tradition that is a sub-theme of this essay, Arden fortuitously became a colleague during what was to be his last teaching post, visiting professor of

church history at Gettysburg Seminary, before his untimely death in June, 1978. See Gerald Christianson, “Light in the Forest: A Tribute to G. Everett Arden,” *Augustana Heritage Newsletter* I (2000): 10-12.

³ Arden, *School of the Prophets*, p. 231; idem, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 283-84.

⁴ Conrad Emil Lindberg, *Christian Dogmatics and Notes on the History of Dogma*, trans. C. E. Hoffsten (Rock Island, 1922).

⁵ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 249-51.

⁶ Arden, *School of the Prophets*, p. 231; idem, *Augustana Heritage*, p. 284.

⁷ Arden, *School of the Prophets*, pp. 228-30.

⁸ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, p. 284.

⁹ Arden, *School of the Prophets*, p. 231; idem, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 284-85.

¹⁰ I inserted the phrase “an animated Wahlstrom” at this point in the original presentation, but Albert Ahlstrom, my influential friend from seminary days, wondered out loud if this was not an oxymoron.

¹¹ Arden, *School of the Prophets*, pp. 232-33.

¹² Ibid, pp. 233-34.

¹³ On the distinction between the two movements, see Gerald Christianson, “Space and Spirituality,” in *Spirituality: Toward a 21st Century Perspective*, ed. Kirsi Stjerna (Minneapolis, 2004), pp. 80-96.

¹⁴ Mattson was referring to the ancient Collect included in the new SBH, “Save us from the horns of the unicorn.” Quick-witted students corrected the situation by presenting him a goat with a plunger strapped to its head. In hindsight, however, Mattson had put his finger on a weakness in the Red Book. Aside from its many good qualities, it was largely outdated in language, perhaps even outlook.

¹⁵ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 269-70; and in general Karl Mattson, “The Theology of the Augustana Lutheran Church,” in *Centennial Essays: Augustana Lutheran Church, 1860-1960*, ed. Emmer Engberg, Conrad Bergendoff, and Edgar Carlson (Rock Island, 1960), pp. 28-50.

¹⁶ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 115-18. For the European background, see Gerald Christianson, “Lutherans Face the Industrial Revolution: Awakening, Social Justice, and *Diakonia*,” *Seminary Ridge Review* 7 (2005): 18-31; and idem, “J.H. Wichern and the Rise of the Lutheran Social Institution,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 19 (1967): 357-70.

¹⁷ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 211-17.

¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 360-62. See, more recently, Bernard Erling, “Erik Norelius,” *Augustana Heritage Newsletter* 3 (2004): 13-26. Norelius was instrumental not only in founding Gustavus Adolphus College, but also the Vasa Children’s Home which marked the beginning of organized social services in the Augustana Synod. See also Christa Klein, with Christian von Dehsen, *Politics and Policy: The Genesis and Theology of Social Statements in the Lutheran Church in America* (Minneapolis, 1989).

¹⁹ Abdel Ross Wentz, *Gettysburg Theological Seminary*, vol. 1: *History, 1826-1965* (Harrisburg, 1964), pp. 295, 430-32; Roger Gobbel, *On the Glorious Hill: A Short History in Word and Picture of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg*, with Donald Matthews and Elaine Matthews (Gettysburg, 1976; enlarged ed., 1990), pp. 38-39; Gerald Christianson, “Saints, Scholars, and Seminarians,” *Seminary Ridge Review* 8 (2005): 5-14.

²⁰ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 151-52, 249-51, 285-89.

²¹ Ibid, pp. 289-97, with full bibliography.

²² Conrad Bergendoff, *Christ as Authority* (Rock Island, 1947); idem, *The One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church* (Rock Island, 1954); A. D. Mattson, *Christian Ethics* (Rock Island, 1947); idem, *Christian Social Consciousness* (Rock Island, 1953); Eric Wahlstrom, *My Father Worketh Hitherto: A Brief Outline of Christianity's Expansion* (Rock Island, 1945); idem, *The Church and the Means of Grace* (Chicago, 1949); idem, *The New Life in Christ* (Philadelphia, 1950); idem, *The God Who Redeems: Perspectives in Biblical Theology* (Philadelphia, 1962).

²³ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 44-74, 231-51; and note 1 above.

²⁴ Noll, *First Things* 20:32.

²⁵ Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, p. 228.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 238-49.

²⁷ I owe this information to Maria Erling who will publish the results of her research at a later date.

²⁸ Noll, *First Things* 20:32-35; Arden, *Augustana Heritage*, pp. 51-58.

²⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 72-74; 143-59.

³⁰ This is the provocative thesis of Paul Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism: The Rejection of an Activist Heritage* (Macon, Georgia, 1988). See the reviews by Frederick K. Wentz, “Schmucker, Social Policy, and American’s Lutherans: A Book Review Essay,” *Lutheran Theological Seminary Bulletin* 69 (1989): 3-15; and Annabelle Wenzke, “Pietism, Confessionalism, and Social Reform: A Book Review Essay,” *ibid*, pp. 16-23.

³¹ Noll, *First Things* 20:36.

³² Wahlstrom almost single-handedly brought the seminal works of Gustav Aulén to the attention of American readers as well as Augustana pastors. See the notes below.

³³ Ragnar Bring published his *Dualismen hos Luther* in 1929, but is best known in English for his *Commentary on Galatians*, trans. Eric Wahlstrom (Philadelphia, 1961). Bring was a warm-hearted teacher who befriended young graduate students when, in his retirement, he spent a year in residence at the University of Chicago in the mid-1960’s.

³⁴ Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of Atonement*, trans. A. G. Hebert (London, 1945; first published 1931); *idem*, *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, trans. Eric Wahlstrom, (Philadelphia, 1958); *idem*, *The Faith of the Christian Church*, trans. from

the 5th Swedish edition by Eric Wahlstrom and G. Everett Arden (Philadelphia, 1960); idem, *Reformation and Catholicity*, trans. Eric Wahlstrom (Philadelphia, 1961).

³⁵ Anders Nygren, *Agape and Eros: A Study of the Christian Idea of Love*, trans. A. G. Hebert (London, 1932).

³⁶ His best-known work in English is Karl Holl, *The Cultural Significance of the Reformation*, trans. Karl Hertz et al. (New York, 1959).

³⁷ Billing's *Luthers lära om staten i dess samband med hans reformatoriska grundtankar och med tidigare kyrkliga läror akademisk afhandling* appeared at Uppsala in 1900, but he is better known in this country for *Our Calling*, trans. Conrad Bergendoff (Rock Island, 1947; reprinted Philadelphia, 1964). See also Gustaf Wingren, *An Exodus Theology: Einar Billing and the Development of Modern Swedish Theology*, trans. Eric Wahlstrom (Philadelphia, 1969).

³⁸ For a summary of these developments see G. Everett Arden, "Swedish Theology: II. Leading Swedish Theologians of the 20th Century" in *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, ed. Julius Bodensieck, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1965), 3: 2309-11.

³⁹ Conrad Bergendoff, *Olavus Petri and the Ecclesiastical Transformation in Sweden, 1521-1551: A Study in the Swedish Reformation* (reprinted Philadelphia, 1965). See Gerald Christianson, "What Happened in Sweden," *Una Sancta*, XXII, 4 (1965): 69-73, a review article on the occasion of the republication of this seminal work by Fortress Press.

⁴⁰ Their goals and methodology reflected the principles of historicism, articulated by the great nineteenth century historian, Leopold von Ranke. See the three major interpretations of the Lundensian School: Nels F. S. Ferré, *Swedish Contributions to Modern Theology, with Special Reference to Lundensian Thought*, with a new chapter, "Developments in Swedish Theology, 1939-66," by William Johnson (New York, 1967); Edgar Carlson, *The Reinterpretation of Luther* (Philadelphia, 1948); and Gustaf Wingren, *Theology in Conflict: Nygren, Barth, Bultmann*, trans. Eric Wahlstrom (Philadelphia, 1958).

⁴¹ For the continental background see the Introduction to David Crowner and Gerald Christianson, *The Spirituality of the German Awakening*, in "Classics of Western Spirituality" (New York, 2003).

⁴² See Klein, *Politics and Policy*, n. 18 above.

⁴³ Noll, *First Things* 20:36-37.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 37-38.

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 34.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 31.