IN MY 'Misgivings,' H. Armin Moellering; Notes from the Editor's Notebook

AMON ARTHUR ROSE, A COLOR OF DARKNESS; HOMAGE TO MAGRITTE

Norman E. Nagel FREE INDEED!

JULIUS R. SLOAN: MIDWEST PAINTER DURING THE CENTENNIAL

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Junius R. Sloan (1827-1900), Platt R. Spencer, (the artist's father-in-law and creator of the semi-angular "Spencerian" handwriting system), 1849. Oil, 16½ x 14½". Sloan Collection of American Paintings, Valparaiso University.

Front Cover: Junius R. Sloan, The Knitting Lesson, (Druscilla Luce Sloan, the artist's mother, and her grandchild, Cara Pratt in Kewanee, Ill.), 1866. Oil, 18 x 15". Sloan Collection, Valparaiso University.

Back Cover: Junius R. Sloan, On Old Geneva Farm, (artist's wife Sara and their first child, Spencer, on the Spencer family farm, Geneva, Ohio), 1865. Oil, 17½ x 14½". Sloan Collection, Valparaiso University.
THE EDITORIAL “Synod vs. the Church” in The Cresset, May 1976, evoked not only praise and approval but also opposing criticism from weighty voices. In the matter of the controversy in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, the editor has attempted, from time to time, to obtain manuscripts from competent, thoughtful, and serious opponents of positions he has taken, or which criticize articles and reviews that have appeared in The Cresset. Such a course, though very infrequently successful, has been taken as an alternative to publishing letters of correspondents and critics. When, from among the critics of the controversial editorial, the Reverend Dr. H. Armin Moellering, pastor of Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church in Palisades Park, New Jersey, volunteered to write his criticism to the editorial, the editor gladly concurred.

Moellering is qualified to represent the opposing position not only by virtue of his learning and competence as a classicist, but also because he has been involved intimately with some aspects of the controversy from the days he served on the Fact Finding Committee, appointed by President J. A. O. Preus to examine the faculty of Concordia Seminary, down to his current membership on the synodical Commission on Theology and Church Relations.

“Misgivings,” which appears below, is Moellering’s response to that editorial. Moellering’s critique is brought to the readers of The Cresset as an expression of the policy of Dr. A. G. Huegli, the president of the University, as well as publisher of The Cresset, to make the University serve as a forum for opposing voices, also in matters controverted within the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.

Since Moellering opposes a definition of the church not advocated in the original editorial, and since the original editorial did not advocate the separation from the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, nor address itself to the matter of Concordia Seminary in Exile, we invite the readers of “Misgivings” to read the original editorial in conjunction with Moellering’s reply.

—KFK

*MISGIVINGS*

THE EDITORIAL, “Synod vs. the Church,” in the May 1976 Cresset, triggers a series of misgivings. Does the editor really mean to say all that he seems to be saying? And if some of his positions and allegations seem preposterous, one wonders, “Have I heard him correctly?”

The Very Title

TO BEGIN WITH, the very title, “Synod vs. the Church,” floats over and through the editorial spreading a fog of ambiguity. What is the editor’s understanding of “church” and “synod” that they should be so neatly and easily detachable? If the church is, as has been recently contended, “first and foremost the local congregation,” then the title makes sense. This anti-catholic definition reduces the church to independent worshiping communities of believers in certain specific places, and the synod emerges as some extraneous, ecclesiastical entity existing apart from these local parishes.

However, this is a perniciously naive misunderstanding which parish pastors have long been concerned to dispel. More to the point is the truism, now trite but apparently still needed, “You are the synod.” Then, from an Eastern perspective, the synod is not, as uninformed parishioners seem to imagine, at one time a money gobbling
monster lurking on the Midwestern horizon ("What! another offering?") nor at another time the fairy godmother who will magically relieve the local congregation of sacrificially meeting trans-parochial responsibilities of the church ("The synod should...").

Furthermore, if the local congregations are not in their separateness essentially the church but by voluntary association the synod, then the title, "Synod vs the Church," is at best inadequate. In a democratic organization such as the LCMS, the title would more accurately have to read something like this: "The Church Minority vs the Church Majority," so that the present situation is not construed as a series of beleaguered local parishes under assault by an extraneous, power-drunk church but by voluntary association trans-parochial responsibilities of the church. ("The synod should...").

Exclamatory Latin

THE EDITOR'S BASIC concept of a synod is highlighted in his definition: "Synod is an ad hoc Committee of the Church." If a Latin pun may be indulged, one could well reply: "Yes, but what a lot of haec in this hoc! And so, what a hoc! (For those who have forgotten their high school Latin - haec = "these", the neuter plural of the neuter singular - hoc = "this.") The editor lists some of the haec such as: "to conserve and promote the unity of the true faith and to present a united defense against schism and sectarianism; to be an instrument wherein the churches of God could join together in common work for education, mission, publication, etc." It is immediately obvious that these purposes and objectives are weighty. But the descriptions, ad hoc, "human invention," "devised," are flighty and frivolous.

Is a synod really as casual and ephemeral as the editorial's descriptive terms imply? If the relationship of the individual congregations to the other congregations in the synod is seen, not as a loose concatenation, nor even as a seamless conglutination, but rather as a vital engrafting into an evangelical organism, then the breezy terminology of the editorial proves to be inadequate. Even as Walther in his milieu was defending the autonomy and rights of the local congregation which exists by divine right, he still took the association of congregations in a synod, which is established by human right, with utmost seriousness. A church government that stands over a number of local congregations does not exist by divine right, he conceded, and yet this human arrangement (Ordnung) rests on the will of God that congregations should be concerned to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. (See Kirche und Amt, p. 344. Cf. Rechte Gestalt, Theses six and seven, p. 181ff.)

The Authority To Ordain

LEAVING OUT of account the fact that the editorial's elaboration of the meaning of ordination is opaque and convoluted in comparison with the forthright definition of the Lutheran Confessions ("... there was a time when the people elected pastors and bishops. Afterwards a bishop, either of the church or of a neighboring church, was brought in to confirm the election with the laying on of hands; nor was the ordination anything more than such confirmation." Tractatus, 70.) one notes again an unfortunate lack of clarity in the usage of "church." What is meant? The local congregation? Local congregations united in a synod? Local congregations conclusively cooperating in defiance of their synod? Apparently the church cannot be the synod since the synod is "that invention of the churches." What is meant? The local congregation?

The policy the editorial advocates is a subversion of the currently prescribed order and an invitation to confusion. There is no a priori reason why the procedures for examination and certification of pastoral candidates might not be altered. However, these changes should be made decently and in order.

The Latin textbook Walther used for instruction in systematic theology has a statement which balances the parochial and trans-parochial aspects of calling and ordaining pastors. "For even though providing ministers belongs per se and by its very nature to the total church, nevertheless, even as the parts which constitute the church are diverse, even so in regard to those things requisite for providing a ministry, that which is properly its own should be left to each part." (Quamvis enim constitutio ministrorum toti ecclesiae per se et natura sua conveniat, tamen sicuti partes, ex quibus constat ecclesia, diversae sunt, ita, quod requisita ad constitutionem ministrii, cuique quod swum est, relinqui debet. Baier-Walther, Compendium Theologiae Positivae 3, 701.) Here, though there are various functions, there is no marking out of exclusive areas to be jealously defended. Baier describes a cooperating catholicity far removed from an atomizing concept of the church as "first and foremost the local congregation."

Invisible Church—Visible Organization

THE EDITORIAL never resolves the tension between its apparently contradictory charges that the synod errs: 1. by making the church invisible, 2. by exalting the visible organization, the synod. The denunciation charges that the disastrous error is "making the invisibility of the church the essential category for thinking about the church." Indeed, the synod's official literature does teach that the church is invisible. But "essential category for thinking about the church'? What specifically does that mean? The synodical catechism, question number 186, asks: "When do we use the doctrine of the Church properly?" and then answers: "We use the doctrine of the Church properly—A. When we take heed to be and remain members of the invisible Church by sincere faith in the Redeemer;"
B. When we adhere to the Church which teaches the Word of God in all its purity;
C. When we do all in our power to maintain, promote and extend this Church by prayer, personal service and financial support;
D. When we avoid all false churches and other organizations that profess a religion that is false.

Is this an “emphasis which causes the church to evaporate into invisibility?” Check off the charges of the editorial against the succinct catechetical description above: “Such a view leaves the every day life of the churches and their invention (the synod) to the whims and vagaries of those in control. . . . The churches along with their pastors become victims of voluntarism about church life, church discipline and church membership. . . . Membership is seen not as being a member in a body with Christ the Head. Membership is much more like joining a club, a society or a business operation.”

Really?

After all this vehement criticism the editorial in a kind of craven reticence is coy about stating its own position. Does it deny that the church is invisible? No. That would obviously put it at odds with Luther (abscondita est ecclesia, latent sancti — “the church is concealed, the saints are hidden.” WA 18, 652) and the Lutheran Confessions (“Thus the church . . . is, precisely speaking, the congregation of the saints.” Apology 7, 16). Is that congregation visible? Christ “teaches us that the church is hidden under a crowd of wicked men . . . ” Ibid., 19). But where does the editorial stand? Except for its being against its own caricature of synodical doctrine we never know.

Swirling Metaphors

I LIKE THEM, TOO. Metaphors are helpful. But they can be dangerous. And it seems to me that the editorial concludes in a flare of emotion with exploding metaphors and pyrotechnic prose which, after the initial burst of brilliance, leaves a residue of billowing smoke with no logic or evidence perceptible. For instance, it is alleged but not demonstrated that “synod . . . has erroneously used doctrines to arouse fear, make accusations and gain control of the church.” It is charged that there are those who hold “the opinion that the church exists for the synod.” Who holds that opinion? The synodical majority? Select eccentrics? We are not told.

The vagaries of the concluding section of the editorial (e.g., When a bride is being stripped bare, something nefarious is afoot. It is not clear just what.) are a reminder that if we are to understand one another we must strive for clarity and precision in our use of theological language. Lutherans really ought not need the recent warnings of Edwin Newman (Strictly Speaking, A Civil Tongue) and J. Mitchel Morse (Prejudice and Literature) against linguistic obfuscations and imprecisions. Already in the 16th century Melanchthon quoted Plato’s contention that discourse (sermo) is a seedbed of instruction (seminarium doctrinae) and then went on to elaborate that, even as corrupt seed brings forth defective crops, even so flawed discourse corrupts and obscures doctrine, frequently even perverting truth itself (ac saepe pervertitur veritas ipsa). Melanchthon further regards it as a common occurrence “that conjoined to errors and fanatical opinions if confusion and distortion of language.” (Nam hoc fere communiter fit, ut cum erroribus et fanaticis opinionibus coniuncta sit orationis confusio ac deformitas. Oratio de studiis linguae Graecae 1549, in R. Stupperich, ed., Melanchthons Werke, 3, 145, 146.)

From Ostentatious Martyrdom
To Pseudo-Separation

AMONG THE spectacular paradoxes of our synodical dissension one of the most amazing must be the martyr pose struck by the Seminex rebels in forsaking Concordia Seminary under the full glare of publicity. An ostentation disdained by Socrates was indulged by the dissident faculty. A classicist is struck by the difference from Socrates who refused to bring his children into court and strum on the sympathy of the jury (cf. Plato, Apology, 34C ff.) and the similarity to the whining of Ovid, poetically beautiful but substantively revolting, as he blubbers in exile protesting his innocence to the emperor who banished him (cf. for instance Tristium, Liber 1, 5, 45ff.). Martyrdom played out in pathos before the news media is unconvincing.

And now we are confronted with another bewildering spectacle—erstwhile brethren who, purportedly for reasons of conscience, have withdrawn from our synodical fellowship alleging that the LCMS impedes their efforts to carry out Christ’s mission, that the LCMS is implicated in such a doctrinal grotesquerie, not to say damnable heresy, as establishing “criteria other than faith in Christ for salvation” (East Coast Synod Resources for Congregations, p. 2; The English Synod Resources for Congregations, p. 2)—and who yet want to continue in altar and pulpit fellowship with the LCMS! In the official Eastern Regional Conference of the English District the secretary-treasurer is, mirabile dictu, incredibile auditu, not even a pastor of the LCMS but a clergyman of the anti-synod, the AELC. Membership in anti-synod and continuance in synod—among screaming contradictions this one is stentorian.

For those of us who defend the synod it is not a matter of uncritical loyalty. Ours is not a blind, fanatical allegiance to a human organization but a perceptive, zealous dedication to a divine mission. “Missouri” is not perfect; but she is still our best bet in carrying out our Lord’s mission mandate. Where is there a better multi-purpose instrument for parachorial cooperation in doing the Lord’s work? The AELC squirming in its theological and organizational uncertainties and confusions does not look promising to very many. Fewer still are turning to the already existing synods.
Moreover, the fact that the dissidents do not proudly stalk off to luxuriate in the autonomy of their local congregations but instead immediately band together is unwitting evidence that a synod is not such an optional, flimsy ad hoc after all. That they do not join the ready-made synods whose excellencies they have long extolled with the plea that loving them both they do not want to be forced to make a choice between them is no laugh; it is an invitation to a sneer and at least deserving of a snicker. And when with catholic and ecumenical protestations they in fact establish yet another Lutheran body, the self-contradiction elicits a groan. "Missouri" is still our best bet. Let us neither hack her to pieces nor stealthily slit her veins and suffer her strength to gurgle quietly away. If the synod is hurting, she ought to be salvaged, not savaged.

Although the editorial seems to me to do some wild slashing, I accept that it was written with good intent. I hope the same charity, even though it may take a lot, can be extended to this reaction.

H. ARMIN MOELLERING

Notes from the Editor's Notebook

AMONG THE MANY AND varied activities on the campus of Valparaiso University celebrating the American Bicentennial, two exhibits of mid-western artists were among the highlights. Much of the quality of these exhibits is due to the persistent, judicious, and imaginative work of Richard Brauer. In addition to being an Associate Professor of Art, Brauer also bears the prestigious titles, "Curator of the Sloan Galleries of American Paintings" and "Director, University Art Galleries and Collections." Readers will note that Brauer also serves The Cresset as Design Advisor and editor of Visual Arts.

We commend Professor Brauer on his work and register also our appreciation that this issue of The Cresset carries reproductions of materials exhibited from these two mid-western artists.

THE MONUMENTAL edition of Luther's Works in English, published jointly by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Missouri, and Fortress Press, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is now available in its fifty-five volumes. The highest commendations are due these two publishing houses and the general editors, Herbert Lehmann and Jaroslav Pelikan. Not to be forgotten are the many editors and translators who worked on specific documents and particular volumes.

Valparaiso University has particular reason to celebrate this accomplishment by virtue of the fact that Gottfried G. Krodel, Professor of History and Church History, and Occupant of the Martin Luther Chair in Reformation History, was editor and translator of the three volumes in the American Edition containing Luther's Letters.

It seemed a fitting tribute to Krodel's work and to the work of the publishers to ask Lewis Spitz, Jr. to review the Letters within the context of the entire set. Spitz's learning, his reputation, and his wit combine to make his review profitable to many readers.

And yet, for all this prodigious effort, the task is only half done.

There remains yet the task for every pastor, teacher, Director of Christian Education, Deaconess, and other workers in the church to engage in serious and sustained study of Luther. Indeed, there remains the task for each congregation to make this set available to its members who cannot buy some or all of the volumes. Let the men and women of the congregations study Luther together. The final outcome of the work of translating, editing, and publication will be forming and informing the hearts and minds of many people in that theology of the cross which Luther expounded so marvelously.

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From THE CRESSET, April 1976

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ROSE, A COLOR OF DARKNESS

I.
When the words fold open, it means the death of doors; even the casement windows sense the danger. When the words fold open and reveal, on their other side, the darkness that never was.

II.
on artifact or skull or model railroad system or crossbones or black flag of dream decay. It means the liquidation of exclamations to moonlight and the silver gardens.

III.
of lawn furniture delight. When the language opens like a mood of decadence into an intersection of crowbars and thumbtacks, crosshairs and tournament clocks that go briing!

IV.
in the endgame of darkness, it terminates the night of alternate reality, that ambiguous decay of seductive metaphor. When the language opens the doors to the paparrizzi,

V.
the flashbulbs silver the golem faces, mirrors shake hands with mirrors, ministers of sewers dream of history. In a mood of exaltation beyond words, paperclips, ditto machines, romantic melancholy.

VI.
The poem is the foundation of its language. There is no other door to open. No other darkness to enter. Dream of decay. Articulation is the only titillation. Poetry, like language, is a language.

VII.
When the words cease to resemble dark red rose left in rats nest, they become flowers opening petal by petal, like black flags, model railroad systems, skulls of bright paparrizzi.

VIII.
Models, like systems, are models of speculation about systems. Two hundred bones, fat & striated muscle, assorted enzymes, plastic creepers parasitic on the aluminum horns, watery lens systems,

IX.
massive columns of optic laws, cathedrals of light. A sense of red petals floating through the translation-thick texture of the red darkness. Paper skull & lucite crossbones. THE LAWS OF OPTICS ARE ACCESSIBLE ONLY THROUGH MATH.

X.
is written in sequins on the black flag. Language like math Is a language. Codified speculations about a territory beyond titillation. In a mood of time pressure. Dream about

XI.
resurrection. A sudden blue flash. The plastic trees and their plastic parasitic growths, the granite faced tunnel, the fully-detailed signalman revealed. When the language folds open, it means the final solution of differences.

XII.
Language is the scale model of itself, the door that cannot be opened, that clock-surfaced word, mirror, the darkness that enters you, perfection of realistic pessimism, the other side of the innocence of the stars.
From the Chapel

FREE INDEED!

NORMAN E. NAGEL

John 8:31-36

INI

THE HARDEST THING IN ALL THE WORLD to take is a gift, something that there is no explanation for but that it is sheer gift. And how we try to protect ourselves from such a gift. We are usually able to find some plausible explanation. Because I'm so attractive, or so clever, or have some power, or can see behind the gift the advantage sought. The rich have the very devil of a time with gifts, and so do primitive people in New Guinea whose wealth, status, and power consists in the number of pigs they possess. Those they use in what's called "gift exchange." If you give me a pig I am under obligation to return a similar gift, and when I do I'll move heaven and earth to see that the pig I give you is recognizably fatter than the one you gave me. The fellow who splashes money around on a date is not the cross. The words he spoke conveying the cross created faith. "As he spoke thus many believed in him."

Then comes today's Gospel.

Jesus then said to the Jews who had believed in him, "If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free."

Here is overwhelming gift and they just can't take it. Those who believe have their faith tested by our Lord's gift giving. This is rather different from the way we usually think of our faith being tested. We readily see a test of faith in suffering some great loss or pain, or see faith proven in some spectacular good work or experience. In these there is evidence from us. We prefer that to finding the evidence nowhere else than in giver God, as he is called in James. The real test, today's Gospel suggests, is in receiving gifts or in refusing them. In today's Gospel the gift is refused.

They answered him, "We are descendants of Abraham, and have never been in bondage to anyone. How is it that you say, 'You will be made free'"

Descendants of Abraham they say proudly. That's status for you. John the Baptist had cried out against it.

Do not presume to say to yourself, "We have Abraham as our Father"; for I tell you, God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham.

A child of Abraham is born of creative grace, out of nothing, thanks only to God the creative giver. But we want to give thanks elsewhere, notably to ourselves; something in us explains the gift and so ruins it. We can manage this more easily if we diminish the gift. The gift of freedom Jesus would give they cut down to the size of something they already have. Political freedom, hardly, although in their hearts they have not submitted, as Mr. Ford could testify. Religious freedom? Through all their history there were always those who remained faithful, and more recently the martyrs in the days of the Maccabees, Esther and Daniel, Shadrach, Meshak, and Abednego. Slaves? Never. "We have never been in bondage to anyone."

But the inward, political, religious, heroic is not the dimension of freedom of which Jesus speaks. This is freedom before God, coram deo, which only he can give, for it is a freedom which liberates from the slavery before God into which we get ourselves with our sin. In John sin is defined as unbelief, the refusal to be given to. The denial of giver God and the insistence on a paymaster God. Before such a god we are reduced to grubbing points to earn our pay so that what we get is not gift but reward earned. In scholastic theology what God gives is with reference to man's congruent merit or his condign merit. So better crank up your merit, slave man, slave, to make a case for yourself before God.

Jesus cuts through this reducing them to sinners, as does today's Epistle, "all have sinned."

Jesus answered them, "Truly, truly, I say to you, everyone who commits sin is a slave of sin."

Forgiveness is for sinners, freedom for the enslaved. If you are not enslaved, if you are not a sinner, then why believe in Jesus, that is, why receive gifts from him, his gifts, not what you cut to size; his forgiveness and freedom, freedom from sin, freedom from the enslavish endeavor to put God in your debt, freedom from unbelief, the refusal of his gifts, freedom for God and his

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The Cresset
Then he tests and nourishes that faith with promise of the freedom that is given is that given by the Son, the Son of the sham freedom of the hedonist, but freedom as freedom from sin and its slavery, and so the freedom overwhelming gift of freedom. Not some propaganda gifts. The gift is pressed into our hands, or rather into the Son of Man, then you will know that I am with the words of Christ which bestow him and his freedom that evaporates into the air or is strangled in God makes free, a freedom won on Calvary, all Christ's double speak. Not some freedom humanistically based in the indomitable spirit of man, not the Stoic freedom we are free, of course we are free. Indeed/ Amen.

This sermon has been mostly reckoning with God, coram deo. Before Him is where Reformation happens. That is the truth point. How do you stand there? Luther began with an anthropocentric question and was given a theocentric answer. And not just God as some set of notions or attributes that we may think appropriate to God, not some eternal, almighty, floating around everywhere something or other, not God hidden behind everything that hits us before whom we can only cover or make pretenses. God has a face and that face is the face of Jesus.

You will not get all that far musing and tinkering with secondary and tertiary things. Evasion of primary question can only be sustained with the help of idols and they will break under the strain and you then with them. That is the way of slavery, but there is another way, a way that is the way of truth, and in that way you need evade no questions, nor hide or hear anything. In the way of truth our defenses against God fall away and we are free, free for him to be the God he wants to be for us in Jesus of Nazareth and of Calvary.

So come out from behind your defenses. Do not be afraid of God. Do not cling to your uncertainties and fears. When beset by these heed Luther's call to "crawl to the cross." There you lose everything, and are given everything. There you are "lifted up" to die, crucified with him, his death and yours together. That has happened already. Put into that death in the waters of your Baptism, your life emerges from your life-gifting Baptism, from the cross, his and yours. Daily returning then, as the Catechism says, to Baptism and so also to the cross, you receive the death for you that frees from the slavery of sin, from doubts and defenses against God. "If the Son makes you free, you will be free indeed." "Lifted up" to stand before God confident of him.

If we are not scared of God, there is not much else that can put us in fear. In the confidence of his being for us we can face everything else, and go to it. When we know God this way we no longer want to make him different, or find substitutes for him that bring slavery. We are free indeed, free to be for him as we are for the next person we bump into, and the next task that is ours to do. Tuesday's election, what of Namibia, the paper due Wednesday, the date of the loneliness of Friday night, the playtime of Saturday. There is no direct line of demand or solution from the cross for these, but there is from the cross for you the unidolatrized freedom to live all these things through as gifts that may then test and enlarge your faith as it grows larger in receiving gifts, bearing them, enjoying them—the lift of faith gifted, nourished, informed and truthed by the words of Jesus.

If you continue in my word, you are truly my disciples, and you will know the truth, and the truth will make you free.
Self-Portrait, 1854 (the year the artist became engaged to Sara Spencer, sister of his boyhood friend Robert. The portrait style is typical of those he painted at that time for a living.) Oil, 21¼ x 13".

Farm of Seymour Sloan (father of the artist). Kewanee, Illinois, 1866. Oil, 13¼ x 22".

A Showery Afternoon on Lake George, (near Ft. William Harper, N.Y.). 1865. (In the early '60's Junius took trips to the Hudson River region determined to teach himself to become a landscape painter.) Oil, 9¾ x 13¼".

JUNIUS R. SLOAN
midwest painter during the centennial

IN 1847, at age 20, Junius R. Sloan started his painting career as a self-taught traveling portrait painter. Then in 1852 he opened a successful portrait studio in Princeton, Illinois.

At Cloverock Creek — near Hudson, N.Y., 1870. Oil, 10 x 15¼".
Visual Arts. This issue features midwest painters that celebrate America. The hundred year old paintings by Junius R. Sloan are rare records of appearances. The current paintings from the Indiana-Illinois Bicentennial Exhibit reproduced on the next two pages and on the covers of the previous issue are diverse, but still positive, responses to the land and the people.

After several trips to the East to paint landscapes of the Hudson River region he moved to Chicago in 1865 and established himself there as a landscape painter. He achieved local prominence with scenes from his frequent trips to the surrounding countryside, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and occasionally to the East.

His paintings are now receiving renewed appreciation for their quiet beauty and their factual objectivity.

Percy H. Sloan (second son of the artist), 1882. Oil, 14 x 10¾". In his later years Percy dedicated much of his time to gathering a representative group of his father’s paintings. Percy then bequeathed this collection to Valparaiso University as a memorial to his father and as a tool to inspire young people to a heightened awareness of beauty. All paintings here reproduced are from this Sloan Collection of American Paintings.

Banks of Lake Michigan North of Milwaukee, 1875. Oil, 8 x 21⅜".

Old Dam, Milwaukee River, 1875. Oil, 9½ x 15¾".

October, 1976
THE CITY — STELLA WUERFFEL

A Day to Remember

I SHALL LONG REMEMBER the day Bellecourt was shot and the tribal ambulance brought his limp body into the Emergency Room of the Rosebud Indian Hospital. One could sense that the expressionless faces of the Sioux hospital employees were hiding inner seething excitement.

The occupation of Wounded Knee was over but the tensions on the Rosebud that mounted rapidly when the occupation first occurred had not yet subsided. Our Rosebud Sioux had relatives at Wounded Knee; many of our people were originally from Pine Ridge. The health educator of the Public Health Service owned considerable land in the vicinity of Wounded Knee. Several cooks of the Dietary Department under my direction had close ties in Pine Ridge. The “Indian grape-vine” which surpases any communication system on earth in efficiency and speed ( if not in accuracy) brought distressing reports and abundant rumors to Rosebud from Wounded Knee. “The leaders of these occupation groups are not from Rosebud nor from Pine Ridge; most of them are not even Sioux. THEY have taken over the trading post. THEY are living in the two churches. Church pews and two altars are being used for firewood. People have to evacuate their own homes. Their cattle is being slaughtered. A steer is worth six hundred dollars these days. What a loss to the Wounded Knee Sioux.”

Rosebud Sioux were not only perplexed and anxious for their sister-tribe but warred for their own safety. The cooks told me, “When THEY leave Pine Ridge, they are supposed to be coming to Rosebud. We know that they once took over the Public Health Indian Hospital in New Mexico and held the hospital employees as hostages.” Stoic Indian faces actually looked stern with suppressed anxiety.

“THEY” usually referred to members of AIM, the American Indian Movement. Older Sioux called them the American Indian Militants. “One just does not do things like that!”

Our young medic trainee, George Whirlwind Soldier, invited me to attend an AIM meeting. At that time, only a limited number of men, mostly young, had joined. George sat opposite me at the little table during coffee break. His shoulder-length braids of black hair entwined with strips of red cloth framed an earnest face.

“You will be very interested in what we are trying to do,” he assured me. I had been enlisted by workers with alcoholics to help the victims realize the harm of nutritional deprivation when drinking becomes a substitute for eating food. Certainly, my young friend insisted, my help was needed in AIM’s proposed program for rehabilitating drug addicts. These objectives astonished me, for many Sioux seemed to disapprove of this group’s activities.

It was said that AIM often met at Crow Dog’s Paradise. Crow Dog’s grandfather had killed Chief Spotted Tail, who was the last of the old-time chiefs of the Rosebud Tribe. A feud still exists between Crow Dog’s people and the Spotted Tail folk.

Most of the Spotted Tail group belong to the long established Roman Catholic or the Episcopal churches. Crow Dog and his following claim the Native American religion which aims to preserve old-time traditional Sioux religious ceremonies. They are proud of their midnight peyote rituals where diseases are said to be cured and people are spiritually refreshed. Doctors told me that peyote has physiological reactions like LSD! Some Sioux are convinced that Crow Dog is the outlet for drugs on the reservation.

DURING THE WOUNDED Knee occupation Rosebud Sioux were perturbed about the teepees which appeared on Crow Dog’s land and along the Little White River. It was said that whole caravans of Indians from all parts of the United States were going to Wounded Knee. When they reached the blockade, Crow Dog invited the stranded groups to his place.

My usually aggressive cook was frightened about the need to drive to work along the road where teepees had been put up. Rosebud people were puzzled that these unwelcome guests were able to cash large checks at the local Trading Post. Soon they were appearing at the out-patient clinic of our hospital. Any Indian is legally assured of medical care at any Public Health Indian Hospital. Our staff had already been alerted to the possibility of the need to provide emergency hospital care should a real battle occur at Wounded Knee. As these clinic visits increased, many Sioux resented that imposters were using medicines and other medical supplies at Rosebud during a time when Government funds were being drastically cut.

Reports arrived of the complete destruction of Wounded Knee. Rumors were heard of mysterious dwindling of the people who had invaded the area. Internal fighting of occupants was suspected. Some people claimed to have seen new graves in the vicinity. Wishes began to be
I passed Crow Dog's place the day after the Sun Dance. Teepees were still to be seen, but all was quiet. The calm stillness of the swiftly flowing Little White River was restored. But people still lingered on the Rosebud. Strange faces were still seen at the Trading Post and in the Post Office. One unfamiliar man on the street asked me who occupied the medical personnel's houses. When I told him, he thanked me with quiet dignity and walked on. My Sioux friends mentioned seeing AIM leaders right in the hospital. Nerves, however, no longer seemed ruffled. All was relatively peaceful.

THEN, LIKE A THUNDER-bolt on a sunny day, a shot crashed through the air somewhere among the teepees. The ambulance siren whined over the plains. Bellecourt, one of the AIM leaders, was carried on a stretcher into the hospital. Within minutes the whole hospital was filled with anxious Indians.

All five doctors were called STAT to the emergency room. A heavy spirit prevailed among the crowd as reports kept trickling out of emergency quarters. "Bellecourt is dying! He won't make it! They can't get him to come to! The bullet is lodged in the liver. The bullet hit the pancreas." I overheard one doctor making a phone call. "We finally have him stabilized but it will take major surgery to dislodge the bullet."

Bellecourt was taken to a private room on the second floor. Soon the room was filled with strangely silent Indians. The corridors were crowded. While doctors were deliberating, the crowds were growing restless. It was noon. People were getting hungry. One Indian, seeing my dietitian's badge, asked, "Do you have a cafeteria?"

"We do have a cafeteria," I replied, "but it is closed. We are very short of help and are concentrating our forces to give good patient care." I was asked the same question on the patient floor.

Somehow my staff managed to get the food carts through the crowd. Patient trays were served. I went from bed to bed trying to engineer a quiet meal hour. When I returned to the diet kitchen, all doors were locked. My wide-eyed staff quickly unlocked them for me and as quickly locked up behind me.

"Oh, Miss Wuerffel," Yvonne explained, "the gang has been wanting sandwiches. We had to lock up to keep them out of the kitchen. One Indian nurse upstairs phoned to tell us "they are talking of raiding the kitchen."

Almost as quickly as Bellecourt was brought into the hospital, he was taken out again. The doctors had decided that with the serious nursing shortage intensive post-operative care could not be provided at Rosebud. The surgeon himself arranged to escort the patient sixty miles to the nearest town with a hospital. The surgeons of both hospitals would operate.

As the ambulance drove off with Dr. Allan, our surgeon, and patient Bellecourt, a mass evacuation occurred. Car after car, full of Indians, followed the ambulance like a great funeral procession. With ambulance speed the entire cortege raced the sixty miles through the hilly, treeless pasture lands to the small town of Winner. A great stillness settled down on the hospital corridors and along the Little White River of the Rosebud Reservation.

The day Bellecourt was shot seemed to have been the end of Rosebud's Wounded Knee tensions, an end that was dramatic for the Sioux at Rosebud.
Under the Roof of Europe

WHEN I ARRIVED IN ST. MORITZ TO OBSERVE AND ANNOTATE THE MEETING OF THE ENGADINER KOLLEGIUM, WHOSE TOPIC WAS THE RATHER PERPLEXING AND BLUNT QUESTION: "WHO AND WHAT AND WHERE IS GOD?" I COULD NOT HELP THINKING THAT IT WAS IN THESE MOUNTAINS THAT THE LEGENDARY FIGURE OF THE DANCE WORLD, VASLAV NIJINSKY, TALKED TO TREES AND THE MEETING OF THE NEARBY SILLS MARIA THAT FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE DENIED GOD AND ADOMINISHED MAN TO RISE ABOVE HIMSELF TO BECOME SUPERMAN, A MUCH MISUNDERSTOOD AND MALICIOUSLY MISINTERPRETED NOTION.

WHEN I SAW THE OVERWHELMING BEAUTY OF THE SNOWCAPPED MOUNTAIN RANGES DARINGLY REACHING INTO SKYBLUE INFINITY AND THEIR NARCISSUS-LIKE IMAGE IN THOSE MANY LAVISHLY COLORED LAKES, I COULD NOT HELP WALKING ALONG UP ONE OF THE MOUNTAINS. FROM ITS TOP OF ABOUT 6,500 FEET I WANTED TO LISTEN TO THE BREATHLESS SILENCE OF THE ONE ABOVE AND TO LOOK DOWN INTO THE VALLEYS, IMAGINING THE MANY GROPING FOR THE RIGHT WAY, SEARCHING TO FIND THEMSELVES IN THE COMPLEXITY OF THEIR BEING. THE PEOPLE OF THE ENGADIN ARE FOND OF REFERRING TO THEIR VALLEYS AND MOUNTAINS AS THE ROOF OF EUROPE.

WHILE EMBRACING THE GRANDUR OF HIS SILENCE I HAD A VARIETY OF FEELINGS ABOUT THE WEEK AHEAD, ABOUT THE 300 PEOPLE—AMONG THEM SOME OF THE MOST NOTABLE MINDS OF CENTRAL EUROPE—WHO HAD GATHERED HERE TO FIND AN ANSWER TO THE UNANSWERABLE, TO SEEK A DEFINITION TO THE UNDEFINABLE. THEOLOGIANS, PSYCHIATRISTS, SCIENTISTS, POETS AND POLITICIANS, BUSINESSMEN AND HOUSEWIVES GATHERED TO WRESTLE WITH THE ULTIMATE DURING SIX DAYS IN THIRTY SPEECHES AND MANY DISCUSSIONS. NOW REFLECTING ON THIS WEEK I CAN ONLY WONDER ABOUT THE DIVERSITY OF THOUGHT-FEELINGS ENGENDERED BY A LIFE EXPERIENCE WHICH IS AS PERSONAL AS IT IS UNIVERSAL.

THE QUESTION OF WHO, WHAT, AND WHERE GOD IS CAN, BECAUSE OR IN SPITE OF ITS VITAL CHALLENGE, ONLY LEAD TO FINELY CHISELLED INTELLECTUALIZATIONS OR DECEPTIVE SIMPLIFICATIONS. SINCE MAN CANNOT FATHOM THE UNFATHOMABLE, HIS TONGUE MUST WOO THE MAJESTY OF ALL MYSTERY. IT WAS SAINT AUGUSTINE WHO SAID THAT WHEN YOU THINK YOU HAVE REACHED THE SECRECY OF GOD, IT IS NO LONGER GOD. BUT IT IS SURPRISING AND AWE-INSPIRING TO REALIZE HOW MANY PEOPLE ARE DESPERATELY TRYING TO UNRAVEL THE SECRECY OF THE INEXPRESSIONABLE, TO GET BEHIND THE WONDERS OF CREATION, AND, WHAT SEEMS MOST IMPORTANT, TO COME TO TERMS WITH THEMSELVES.

I HAD THE IMPRESSION THAT THIS WEEK-LONG MEETING WAS INSPIRED (AND ALSO SOMEHOW DOMINATED) BY THE PSYCHIATRIST-PHILOSOPHER, DR. BALTHASAR STAHELIN, EVEN THOUGH HE STAYED IN THE BACKGROUND UNTIL THE LAST BUT ONE DAY. HE FOUNDED THE ENGADINER KOLLEGIUM IN 1968 AND HE IS GREATLY INFLUENTIAL IN DETERMINING THE ANNUAL TOPICS, AS WELL AS IN CHOOSING THE SPEAKERS. OVER THE YEARS THESE SPEAKERS HAVE ADDRESSED THEMSELVES TO THE MOST VITAL QUESTIONS IN LIFE. IN THIS CRUCIAL, TRANSITIONAL ERA OF OURS THE PREDOMINANCE OF RATIONALISM WITH ALL ITS UGLY CONCOMITANT CONSEQUENCES IS GRADUALLY GIVING WAY TO A PHILOSOPHIC SPIRITUALITY, TO THE UNIFICATION OF SCIENCE WITH A WIDER UNDERSTANDING OF OUR BEING ON THE BASIS OF RENEWED FAITH. TO DR. STAHELIN IT IS APPARENT THAT MOST MEN ARE NOW groping their way through an identity crisis. He suggests that beyond all cliche-caught, formula-struck materialistic obviousness, new ways are being sought in all disciplines for a higher self-realization. Thus, the actual aim of these annual meetings in the Engadin is to question and to seek, in a kind of spiritual togetherness, the way to the understanding of one's own self and to recognize some practical consequences for everyday existence in such understanding. Last fall the discussion centered on the essential question of what freedom is and its demands on man today. This nowadays tantalizing word "freedom" invited, as it were, the members of the Kollegium to make one more daring step forward towards this year's topic.

It was fascinating to see how so many ways of approaching the sublime led to the realization that one may sense and experience the divine will—but not the secret behind it. As the physician Dr. Jurg Wunderli explained, the conviction that God is in us and reveals Himself in us helps us to reach that point of humility which ought to keep us back from any speculative and fancy flights of thought.

But the all-too-human thinking process in man cannot help reflect on all the complexities hidden in the mystery of it all, even though theologians tried to admonish us that the divine cannot be understood nor defined, that we must simply live God by living according to His word. How far we can go, each in serving God, was made obvious by a most moving speech of a mother who herself alone had to care for her children. Always having been forced to make a living the hard way, to see after her children and her household, Ruth Regniet admitted that she has hardly ever had time to meditate, let alone to go to church. But despite the
hardships experienced she explained how proud she has been all her life for not having given in to any negative or nihilistic thoughts. She feels she is serving God when accepting her place in life and trying to live up to the challenges she encountered.

Hers was not a scholarly speech. But because of their humility, her words sounded like a wonderful sermon. Kierkegaard’s sentence comes to mind: “To stand on one leg and prove God’s existence is a very different thing from going down on one’s knees and thanking Him.” Dr. Sigrid Hunke from Bonn, who had authored several books on her religious beliefs, denied that her attitude has anything to do with Pantheism. As a Unitarian she sees God in everything and everywhere in God. To her, the entire cosmos is identical with the unfolding of the divine, God is the “depth dimension of reality.” Man alone, as the partner and co-worker of everything divine, can act in full responsibility and has the freedom to choose between good and evil. Dr. Hunke claimed that the structure of her thoughts is the same as that of men like Heraclitus, Teilhard de Chardin, Meister Eckhart, Fichte, Rilke, Hölderlin, Goethe, and Dr. Balthasar Staehelin.

How did Dr. Staehelin feel about it? He certainly was in good company. His work and particularly his definition of the “second reality” was often referred to by many speakers. He himself expressed his belief that not only the rational but also the mystic principles exist in every human being. Furthermore, if one grants biology a wider frame of reference, then a trace of the divine and absolute can be found in it. This is also why everyone has a “second reality,” a notion that unites the feeling of being timeless and more or less independent from space per se. It is a unification of everything in man that was and is and will be. The basic substance of this cosmic entity is God, and everything biological in man must be understood as a manifestation of God.

His visualization of the all-encompassing Oneness in the universe, his endeavor to turn our view from a cold, narrowed-in search for what man is to the essential within-ness of man where God ought to be, moves him closer to mysticism than to any clearly scientific thinking. One might have expected this position from the medical man and psychiatrist; he is on the other side of philosophy. Thus, he seems to walk a narrow path between science and mysticism which, in our tag-crazy time of conformism, grants him a special niche from which to view an eternal unio mystica.

The ENGADINER KOLLEGIUM has certainly tried to draw the contours — however hazy they must remain in many spots — of a better understanding of the real littleness of man groping to reach for the phenomena of life and of himself in relation to the ever-lasting great enigma. It seemed an unnecessary flourish to me to involve politics and industry with such questions of the ultimate things. Not the best rhetoric nor dialectic can explain away the ungodly blundering of political crimes, nor can any word whitewash the perhaps unavoidable excesses of the multinational concerns. There is no way of getting around the fact that, in these two regards at least, right and wrong, benevolence and meanness are two clearly discernible and inseparable sides of one and the same coin.

While some speakers lost themselves in transcendental gibberish—“Can’t you say in a simpler way what you have to say so that we can all understand you?” one listener rightly remarked — other coryphaei in their fields touched our hearts. Dr. Alfred Eggenspieler, a most human Catholic philosopher and priest in a small parish, made it quite clear that man and the Creator have always been a complementary phenomenon, and he presented an ideal vision of a God-Man and Man-God communication. Also, Dr. Adolf Köberle from Munich, former Ordinarius at the famous University at Tübingen, regretted any retreat of theology onto a purely transcendental level. In his view, the “mind-existence” of man thus removes him too far from a “God-reality.”

A Vienna-born writer now living in Germany, Dr. Gerd-Klaus Kaltenbrunner, took it upon himself to play with Lucifer-like fire. Known as a strict conservative, he was everything but conservative when he let loose his thoughts about the origin of all religious feelings which he envisioned in prayer, sacrifice, and cult. It is the holy action of cultish sacrifice which made God the realization of what man saw in Him. Mysticism and ritual sacrifice preceded all intellectualizing theology, he said. In a way he denied the rationale of this meeting when he referred to and interpreted Meister Eckhart:

Mysticism is the radical attempt to liberate God from all idolatry. Thus delivered, God becomes the esoteric experience of each individual while he prays, meditates and immerses himself in God instead of asking whether and how God exists. To let God be, the mystic — different from the theologian — renounces any talk about God. This renunciation is his sacrifice. . . . Meister Eckhart says quite clearly that in silence lies the most fitting sacrifice. The most beautiful that man can express about God lies in his ability to remain silent.

As befits our era, one of the key speakers of the first day was the eminent scientist Walter Heitler. Our growing knowledge of all phenomena of nature, he explained, only leads to the realization that there is an unfathomable wisdom in its structures and laws. In “everything that is,” there is a secret wisdom and creative will that goes beyond man’s conceptions. He came to the conclusion that we cannot know everything, nor can we know everything better. Constant universal transformation forces awe and
humility upon us that someone has trusted us with the immeasurable and mysterious in our existence. It reminded me of Einstein's saying that the more we shall try to unravel the secrets of Creation, the closer will we come to the realization of God. Yes, even in denying the divine lies some proof of its existence. When the existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger was once asked what made him become an atheist, he found the only right reply: "It must have been the will of God."

What I have personally learned during this week of words, words, words, to speak with Shakespeare and many of those who listened with me in wonder and surprise, was what Pascal succinctly expressed in a few words: "The knowledge of God is very far from the love of Him."

HOMAGE TO MAGRITTE

I.
In the realm of violin,
consider the temerity of blue,
the way the sky in an azure poem
has to aspire to the condition
of music to give enchantment

II.
to the dull & torpid ear
that listens for the music of the spheres
of the wooden firmament
and will not hear the echo
of the transparency of its dream

III.
of its own dying fall
down the equally crystalline
condition of the years
into the crimson of the season
of sonority;

IV.
in the realm of Autumn, consider the horror
of the jagged sound, the language
gone awry to describe the good death,
the white cry
that verbalizes the colors of distance.

AMON LINER
The switched-off headlights crumble,
glow to embers that then die out.
The runaway clip of rock and roll,
spent, inches toward extinction.
A shoreline of trees empty of birds
wails obscene silence.

One glorious moon bubbles up
out of a pipe, floats transverse
to the water tower.
Its ragged circle tears from pitch,
it bobs like a limelit cork,
sphere of bruises, nebulous.

Orion turns on its axis.
As the Bear swings, its bulk settles.
Silver bees without stings
fade like drones in the dawn.
Sun with alarming gold cymbal
drives clouds deep into clovered valleys.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

THE GOOD RIDDANCE MAN

A celebrant of worthy causes
who put together small ones
and made one large flapdoodle-ho-hum
to light his picayune moment,
and the other billions of
picayune moments in whose darks
he moved and lit his flapdoodles,
deplored creeping nihilism.
The old man of the backyard,
whose gnarled fingers picked
fluttering gypsy moth from apple trees,
behind a bole remarked would it
make any difference should this Earth
become over night a spatial hole.
"To whom?" asked guttering Ho Hum,
and in the question got the answer.

McLAUGHLIN

LEWIS W. SPITZ

LUTHER'S LETTERS

LUTHER'S WORKS. LETTERS. VOLUMES I, II, III.
(In the American Edition of Luther's Works, Volumes 48, 49, 50)

THE BICENTENNIAL YEAR 1976 IS NOTABLE
for yet another reason. For January, 1976, has seen the
completion of one of the most ambitious publishing
projects ever undertaken, the American Edition of
Luther's Works in 55 volumes. Concordia Publishing
House and Fortress Press deserve a tribute for having

Lewis W. Spitz, William R. Kenan Professor at Stan­
ford University, has served for eight years as editor of
the Archive for Reformation History. He has been the
president of the American Society for Reformation Re-
search, President of the Friends of Reformation Research,
and is vice-president and president-elect of the Amer­
ican Society of Church History. He is the author of
several books and many scholarly articles in the area of
Renaissance and Reformation history. He lectured at
the Dedication Week of Christ College of Valparaiso
University on “Luther's Impact on Modern Views of
Man” and delivered the J. W. Miller Memorial Lectures
at Valparaiso University in the fall of 1976.
completed this monumental enterprise in just a shade over two decades. The pilot volume appeared on Reformation Day, 1955, volume XII, a commentary on the Psalms, which was a fitting choice, since Luther's own first publication was a commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms. The Cresset properly takes note of this publishing event, for Valparaiso University has contributed significantly to it through its men of learning: Ernest G. Schwiebert, whose Luther lectures and massive work Luther and His Times (St. Louis, 1951) raised the level of Luther consciousness within Lutheranism itself; Jaroslav Pelikan, the brilliant Reformation scholar and church historian who served as one of the two major editors for most of the edition; and Gottfried G. Krodel, the present learned professor of Reformation history at the University, who in 1975 completed the third of his three volumes of Luther's letters in English translation.

For the scholar who knows Luther's theology thoroughly as well as for the neophyte, the letters provide a perfect introduction to the entire body of his writings. The letters serve as a key to the works just as the works provide three dimensional history, revealing Luther, his news, and something about the addressee. They are evocative, because like a personal diary they are for the most part uncalculating and spontaneous expressions of his daily thought, never intended for publication. Luther wore his heart on his sleeve and his "pen was the tongue of a ready writer" (Ps. 45:1). The letters, however, not only constitute a priceless source for the biography of the reformer, but are also of inestimable value for an understanding of the intellectual, cultural, political, and religious history of the heroic decades of the Reformation era.

Luther's letters place him in the top rank of correspondents whose epistles are frequently gems in themserls and in their scope and number constitute a major source of history. Among the top rank of history's letter writers stand St. Paul, Cicero, St. Jerome, Calvin, Voltaire, Horace Walpole, Madame de Sevigne, and Luther's great contemporary, Desiderius Erasmus. The magnificent edition of the correspondence of Erasmus, edited by the indefatigable scholar P. S. Allen, Opus Epistolarum, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1906-1947), is one of the basic sources for the study of the northern Renaissance and Reformation. The new Toronto edition of the Collected Works of Erasmus, which will consist of between 55 and 60 volumes of Erasmus in English, has begun its publication with two volumes of correspondence as though to say that the letters constitute the best possible introduction to the works. There are some 1600 letters of Erasmus still extant and they are to be published in six volumes in English. But there are some 2580 letters of Luther still extant and we are to have only three volumes in English. The three volumes of Luther's Letters in the American edition (vols. 48-50) contain 925 of his letters in translation. They are selected with great care, but one still sees only the tip of the iceberg. Plenty of incentive to learn Latin and new high German remains for the young scholar who wishes to look more deeply below the surface for all that is there.

LUTHER WAS INDEED A PROLIFIC LETTER writer, by necessity more than by choice. Even before he became "the spectacle of the world," as he put it in 1521, he was a leader in his order and in his university. From the early years until his late decade as dean of the school of theology at Wittenberg he was burdened by administration. As Friar Martin, Augustinian vicar, he wrote to John Lang from Wittenberg, October 26, 1516 (I, 27-32):

Greetings. I nearly need two copyists or secretaries. All day long I do almost nothing else than write letters; therefore I am sometimes not aware of whether or not I constantly repeat myself, but you will see. I am preacher at the monastery, I am a reader during mealtimes, I am asked daily to preach in the city church, I have to supervise the study [of novices and friars] I am a vicar [and that means I am eleven times prior], I am caretaker of the fish [pond] at Leitzkau, I represent the people of Herzberg at the court of Torgau, I lecture on Paul, and I am assembling [material for] a commentary on the Psalms. As I have already mentioned, the greater part of my time is filled with the job of letter writing. I hardly have any uninterrupted time to say the Hourly Prayers and celebrate [mass]. Besides all this there are my own struggles with the flesh, the world, and the devil. See what a lazy man I am! (27-28)

Luther's letters are mostly spontaneous expressions rather than studied devices, and are written for concrete and specific purposes rather than as a literary vehicle. Many are written in great haste and are therefore longer than they would have to have been. As Blaise Pascal once put it, "I have only made this letter rather long because I have not had time to make it shorter." Again in media res Luther dashes off a quick line on a vital matter and leaves the modern reader wishing he had said more. To the Elector Frederick the Wise he wrote on February 22, 1522 (I, 387), "Let us prove ourselves in tumults. I hope that your Grace will take this letter in good part. I am in such haste that my pen has had to gallop, and I have no time for more." How Luther might have envied the leisure provided Erasmus by patrons and profits for his scholarly work and correspondence!

The letters of both Luther and Erasmus faced the
common hazard of primitive postal delivery. There was, in fact, no system and letters were dispatched by city carriers, messengers, travelers passing through, students returning home, merchants subject to robbery. In our day we have experienced a loss of confidence since the proud days when the New York City Post Office building bore the inscription from Herodotus: “Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat nor night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds.”

The mail in Luther’s day suffered all the hazards of today’s airline luggage. On December 14, 1516, Luther wrote to George Spalatin (I, 32-36): “Greetings. Your letter, excellent Spalatin, was delivered to me exactly on St. Lucia’s Day. This is the letter in which, among other things, you were rightly concerned [about the mail service] and admonished me to forward my mail via the Wittenberg carrier if I want to send something to you or to Hirschfeld. I, too, have wished nothing so much as a safe carrier or reliable agent for [my letters].” Letters sent by messenger all too often never arrived. That so many of Luther’s letters survived the tumultuous times in which they were written and the later vicissitudes of fortune is little short of miraculous. That they were recovered and edited by scholars of the stature of Otto Clemen, E. L. Enders, and Gustav Kawerau is an absolute blessing, for like P. S. Allen these men, and especially Clemen, felt thoroughly at home in the world of the sixteenth century and in present day archives as well.

Luther’s letters differ from many of those from the pens of Erasmus or other humanists. Luther once commented (I, 51) about a certain Pfeffinger, “He is very good at spinning fine words, but these do not produce good cloth.” The style and the tone of his letters are unique, for he had, as he once put it, res non verba, the substance but not the fine words. And yet the sincerity and feeling with which he wrote gives to his letters a power which a more schooled rhetoric could never have supplied. “Truth,” wrote Erasmus, “has its own momentum which no artifice can conceal.” “There is no reason,” Luther wrote in 1522 (II, 7), “why I should fear my own downfall if I do not change my opinion. Erasmus is not to be feared either in this or in almost any other really important subject that pertains to Christian doctrine. Truth is mightier than eloquence, the Spirit stronger than genius, faith greater than learning. As Paul says, “The foolishness of God is wiser than men.” The spirit of a man prepared to do battle, a world changer, comes through in his letters. “Peace, if possible,” he exclaimed, “but truth at any rate!”

A very fine discussion of the difference between Luther’s letters and the correspondence of the humanists is to be found in the excellent thesis of Sandra Mosher Anderson, Words and Word in Theological Perspective: Martin Luther’s Views on Literature and Figurative Speech (Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973), pp. 136f. Luther distinguished himself from humanist literary practices in several ways. He refused to allow the editing of his letters because he did not share the humanist view of the letter as a literary product designed to show one’s talents to the public. “I can write letters, but not Ciceronian and oratorical ones like Agricola; I possess the content, even though I do not have elegant Latin phrasing” (WA TR 4, 495, no. 4967). Luther admired Cicero, but he did not in his letters attempt to play the Ciceronian. He concentrated on the business at hand, the good of the addressee, real communication. His letters for that reason remain monuments of his pastoral concern and of the warmth of his personal relation to family and friends. His letter writing, as Johann Gottfried Herder already noted, reflected a highly personal style.

**Review Essay**

**THE READER HAS A CHOICE IN HIS APPROACHES TO LUTHER’S LETTERS.** He may be interested in specific years, people, treatises or themes, and he will find an index to each volume which will help him find his material, very adequate until the index volume of the entire edition appears. But for a truly great experience the reader should sit down with all three volumes and read them straight through from beginning to end, living along with Luther from youth to old age. The experience will be analogous to that of reading Hans Hillerbrand’s *The Reformation. A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observers and Participants* (New York, 1964). The cumulative effect of feeling oneself to be an intimate of Luther’s, prying through a whole lifetime of his personal letters, will provide a new and moving sensation even for those who already know Luther’s works quite well or who have read many Luther biographies. The reader will enjoy the thrill of discovery expressed so well by Hamann, the magus of the North, in a letter to G. E. Lindner about 1754:

> And what all should I say at great length about translating? If I were to show the causes and reasons for all my words, I would have to write fully a year. I have experienced what art, effort, and work translating involves; therefore I will not allow any papal ass or mule who has attempted nothing to be my judge or critic.  

(Cited in Fritz Blanke, “Hamann and Luther,” *Lutherjahrbuch, X* (1928), 46.)

Since all the letters in the volumes are by Luther, the reader will have the sensation of listening to one end of a telephone conversation. But the editor manfully supplies synopses of the letters or events to which each letter is a response. Hearing Luther do all the talking, and speaking English like an Anglo-Saxon rather than as a Saxon, allows one to follow his changing concerns and moods without even the minimal interference of a dialogue. These volumes present each letter...
complete with all the diversity of material it contains. In an earlier English edition by Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs, Luther's Correspondence, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1913-1918), the editors saw fit to translate only "the interesting parts" of each letter, that is, only what was interesting to them personally in the early twentieth century. Having the letters whole as written provides some interesting insights into Luther's mind. Not infrequently does he inform the correspondent of a number of lesser newsworthy items and then calmly relates the birth of a child or the death of a notable late in the letter. One wonders whether he was making an effort to be controlled or casual or whether some sense of priority other than our own directed him. Often it is clear that a minor event affecting the evangelical cause took priority over a major event in his personal life, which he handled with the air of what Reinhold Niebuhr once described as "Christian nonchalance."

The translator of these letters faced a task more formidable than those who did the formal treatises, for it is far more difficult to get just the right colloquial phrases and to recapture an intimate mood, just as the Table Talks and tracts are more difficult to do in good idiomatic American English than his exegesis. Luther himself knew of the trials and tribulations of the translator and spoke of them with feeling in his Sendbrief von Dolmetschen and the Ursachen des Dolmetschens:

What a shame for our times that the spirit of this man who founded our church lies under the ashes. What a power of eloquence, what a spirit of interpretation, what a prophet! How good the old wine will taste to you and how ashamed we should be of our spoiled taste. What are Montaigne and Bacon, these idols of witty France and earnest England compared with him?

Luther related how he at times searched two, three, or four weeks for a single word, how he listened to the women and children at the street corners or city well to catch just the right expression, how he consulted his Sanhedrin to make the Hebrew prophets talk German. He asked George Spalatin to do some careful research on the German names for animals mentioned in the Old Testament (II, 20). He felt like Jerome, he avowed, whom the whole world wished to advise when he did the Latin Vulgate, for translating is like building a house by the side of the road where every passerby pauses to offer his opinions. His translation of the Bible not only became the standard version for the German speaking peoples down to the present time, but shaped the high German language itself. Heinz Bluhm, Martin Luther Creative Translator (St. Louis, 1965) presents a masterful philologically based study of Luther's own approach to translation, from which the present translator also learned his lesson.

PRINTING WAS ONLY THIRTY YEARS OLD when Luther was born. The Reformation was the first major historical movement to arise in the post-Gutenberg era. Luther was quick to take advantage of this new art of printing, which he praised as "the highest and ultimate gift whereby God advances the cause of His gospel." He worked closely with the Wittenberg printers, taking note of their work and weaknesses. He preferred Luther to Gruneberg in Wittenberg (I, 292). In 1539 he opposed the republication of his Bible translation by the Leipzig printers because they had enriched themselves by publishing scurrilous attacks on him and the Gospel (III, 185-187), so they should not be allowed to ruin the Wittenberg printers. In 1523 of the total of 498 titles published by German printers, 180 titles were tracts and treatises by Luther. "I deliver," he said, "as soon as I conceive." The 1520s also saw the first translation of Luther's writings into English.

England during that decade was securely Catholic. Dissidents were imprisoned, executed, or driven into exile. Only by the translation of the Scriptures and evangelical writings could England be reformed. William Clebsch has given us a summary account in an article, "The Earliest Translations of Luther into English," Harvard Theological Review, 56 (1963), 75-86. William Tyndale led the way by translating the New Testament into English (1526 ff.), guided by Luther's German New Testament. He may have translated Johannes Bugenhagen's Epistola . . . ad Anglos into English, although it was not published until 1536. He was also the first translator of a Luther tract whose work remains. In 1528 he published the Parable of the Wicked Mammon, a translation and elaboration of Luther's commentary on the parable of the unjust steward. In 1529 two other translators put Luther into English. John Frith, a determined opponent of Sir Thomas More, published in Antwerp a translation of Luther's Revelation of Antichrist. William Roze published in Antwerp a translation of Luther's commentary on I Cor. 7 together with Erasmus's Exhortation to the diligent study of Scripture. Other early translations of Luther into English may yet be found. Cissie Bonini recently found in a most unexpected place, a Commonplace Book kept in the Public Records Office (S. P. 6/4) in London, a translation and brief commentary by Richard Morison, advisor to Henry VIII and maker of Tudor policy, on Luther's "sermon on Psalm 127," a lecture delivered by Luther in July of 1532. (Cissie Bonini, "Lutheran Influences in the Early English Reformation: Richard Morison Re-Examined," Archive for Reformation History. 64 [1973], 206-224, 218.) Once Luther was involved in controversy with Henry VIII and when the realm of England broke with the papacy his letters also came into play, and volume three of this present translation offers most of
Luther’s letters dealing with England for the benefit of English readers. Not until the twentieth century, however, did editions of Luther’s letters appear in English: Preserved Smith and Charles M. Jacobs, Luther’s Correspondence, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1913-1918), with a few more in Smith’s The Life and Letters of Martin Luther (Boston, 1911), and M. A. Currie, The Letters of Martin Luther (London, 1908). The three volumes offered now in the American edition by Gottfried Krodel tower far above the earlier editions in scope, in the completeness of the letters done, in the intelligence applied in the selection, in the quality of the translation, and in the historical knowledge and scholarship of the introductions, notes, and excursuses which accompany the letters.


In doing the critical apparatus the editor had available the work of learned German predecessors. E. L. ENDERS and GUSTAV KAWERAU edited Dr. Martin Luthers Briefwechsel in 19 volumes (Frankfurt and Stuttgart, 1884-1932), and OTTO CLEMEN, who once taught at the Gymnasium in Zwitzau and was the librarian of the famous Ratsschulbibliothek, with its rich Reformation holdings, edited the Briefwechsel of the Weimar Ausgabe with great erudition. Professor Krodel acknowledges his debt and pays tribute to Clemen, Hans Volz, Eike Wolgast, Hannes Röckert, Theodore Tappert, and other predecessors, but he lets none of their work go without critical examination and frequently he rejects their opinions in favor of judgments and discoveries of his own (e.g., III, 89; III, 110, n. 2; III, 125, n. 10; III, 273-281, a dating problem). He prefers the manuscript of a letter to Emperor Charles V to the printed version as the basis for his translation (I, 177).

One can argue with some of his suggestions or solutions. As early as March 7 or 8, 1522, Luther slated as the third reason for his return to Wittenberg from the Wartburg as being his fear that there would be a real rebellion in the German territories by which God would punish the German nation, for the common people received the gospel in a fleshy sense. “THOSE WHO SHOULD CALM SUCH REBELLION ONLY AID IT,” LUTHER CONTINUES. “They attempt to put out the light by force, not realizing that they are only embittering the hearts of men by this and stimulating them to revolt. They behave as if they wanted themselves, or at least their children destroyed. No doubt God sends this as a punishment” (I, 396). In note 10 the editor says, “Perhaps a reference to the agitators of the Wittenberg disturbances or to the opponents of the Reformation.” But this is not potently one of the first of Luther’s protests against the folly and high-handedness of the princes and feudal nobility who are driving the peasants to revolt and then suppress them all too cruelly? But instances of debatable editorial judgment are extremely rare. One might niggle over infelicitous choices of vocables or phrases. TO USE THE WORD “loan” as a verb (I, 17) is to use it in its all too common or colloquial usage. A bit more of the antique flavor might have been retained by keeping plural pronouns such as “we” and “our” rather than substituting “I” and “my” (II, 119). Nor is the typesetting letter perfect (e.g., II, 82, line 12, became for become). But almost any criticisms of the three masterful volumes such as these are sure to sound gratuitous. “REVIEWERS,” WROTE SHELLEY in Fragments of Adonais, “with some rare exceptions, are a most stupid and malignant race. As a bankrupt thief turns thief-taker in despair, so an unsuccessful author turns critic.” ONE MUST BEAR IN MIND THE SHREWD COMMENT OF RICHELIEU: “IF YOU GIVE ME SIX LINES WRITTEN BY THE HAND OF THE MOST HONEST OF MEN, I WILL FIND SOMETHING IN THEM WHICH WILL HANG HIM.”
Moreover, critics are often such as the Thebans said of Philip of Macedon after the destruction of Olynthus, “To destroy the city he was able, to build a better one exceeds his power.”

The division of the three volumes is felicitous. The first covers the developmental and heroic years from April, 1507, to March, 1522, with 119 letters. It begins with the earliest letters, an invitation to an elderly friend, John Braun, to attend his first mass and an invitation to his old friends in the Erfurt monastery to come to his graduation as doctor in theology. The second contains 117 letters from the time of his return from the Wartburg to the Diet of Augsburg, the last being from October, 1530. The editor selected letters which would familiarize the reader especially with Luther as the builder of the evangelical church and with Luther as a mature person. He includes all the letters written by Luther to his wife Katie from those years. The third volume runs from January, 1531 to his last letter, February 14, 1546, four days before his death, when “God’s finger touched him and he slept.” This final volume extends from a time dominated by the Nuremberg truce of 1532, which provided a provisional legality for the Reformation to exist, through the years of the Emperor’s struggle with the Turks and the French, to the time of the Council of Trent, opening on Dec. 13, 1545. These are the years of the “old Luther,” when he lived in relative security, served as dean, continued organizational efforts for the evangelical church, preached and served as “consultant” to the congregations, councils, students, and princes.

The only regret is that the third volume is not much larger or even that there could not be an additional volume for this period, the least well known in Luther’s life. The first two volumes represent in translation the first five volumes of the Weimar edition, whereas the third volume by itself represents the last six volumes of the Weimar. The third volume wisely emphasizes three themes rather than scattering its 89 letters over a great variety of subjects. It continues to include his personal letters to his wife and children, letters dealing with the university, territorial government, and with the Reformation in England, and the coming of the Church Council for which Luther had called as early as 1518. This selection meant, of course, that most of the letters which deal with the Eucharistic controversy and its settlement by the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, with Luther’s controversy with the Law Faculty, with the bigamy of Philip of Hesse, and with Luther’s activity as a spiritual counselor had to be omitted. Perhaps this last omission can be justified because of the availability of the moving volume edited by Theodore Tappert in the Library of Christian Classics series, XVIII, Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel (Philadelphia, 1955). A few such letters are included by way of sample, such as Luther’s letter of comfort to the parents of a student named Zink (III, 50). One wishes that many others could have been included, for they reveal the depth and extent of Luther’s pastoral and human concern for others, a most appealing dimension of the great reformer’s relation to other members of the family of man.

THE GREAT ADVANTAGE OF READING THE letters to learn of Luther’s life lies in seeing it lived from day to day. One does not leap from crisis to crisis, from historical event to event, from treatise to treatise, nor from theme to theme of interest to a specialized researcher but not of Luther’s choosing. Events converge and treatises emerge in the midst of daily routines and endless tasks which nearly submerge the reformer. The events are there and Luther comments on them in his letters. He thanks for the use of a horse on which he escaped from Augsburg and prepares for “his” (not Carlstadt’s) coming debate with Eck in Leipzig (I, 124-126). He reports from Heidelberg (I, 60), writes in clear terms to Staufitz of the meaning of penitence (I, 64ff.), anticipates going to Worms as early as 1519 (I, 129), is bemused that his enemies “are strangely afraid” (I, 138), and relates rumors of his own coming assassination (I, 159). He teaches children and common folk each evening while he writes his Galatians commentary (I, 113). He explains that his stirring Address to the Christian Nobility is not intended to stir up a revolt but to affirm the freedom of a German council (I, 171). But while these great events transpire and these treatises come into being, Luther is doing daily lectures and all that goes with being a professor. He sends a dog to Wenceslas Link (II, 21), he thanks Link for a clock (II, 219), he thanks Hausmann for a rattle for little Hans (II, 185), he receives ten gulden from Schart but gives them and more to the poor (I, 130). He is a very busy man who discusses minutiae and world shaking words and deeds in the same letter.

The letters in these volumes are concerned with a rich variety of themes and issues, professorial, intellectual, doctrinal, political, societal, spiritual, personal, questions of life and death. It is manifestly impossible to discuss them all, but it will be possible to point to a few topics about which the letters shed special light, simplifying and clarifying questions treated in his formal writings. It might be useful also to point out to the reader pressed for time a few of the brightest sparkling gems. Both of these undertakings have been made easy by the editor, for he has been careful to maintain a fairly full sequence of letters on certain themes and to certain special people through the years and he has included the best known of those extraordinarily beautiful letters from Luther’s pen.

In doing his commentary on Romans, 1515-1516, Luther achieved greater clarity regarding the priority of being to doing and the nature of true righteousness.
In the marginal gloss to Romans 12:1 he gave a theological application to the Aristotelian sequence of five stages of natural growth, the progressio a non esse ad esse. In a letter to Spalatin of October 19, 1516, Luther explains: "We are not, as Aristotle believes, made righteous by the doing of just deeds, unless we deceive ourselves, but rather—if I may say so—in becoming and being righteous people we do just deeds" (I, 25). Luther had written theses against scholasticism and its doctors. In the correspondence we hear him explain why he considers Aristotle "chief of charlatans" (I, 37) and why dialectic is of no use to the theologian (I, 56-57). All the world knows of the great confrontation of Luther and Erasmus over the question of man's free will to believe and do God's will. In the correspondence one can follow the deterioration of their relationship from an initial comparison of their respective exegetical methods (I, 40; I, 52-54) through the last friendly letter to Erasmus before the break (II, 76-81). One can see Luther reaching out to win young Erasmians such as Wolfgang Capito for the gospel (I, 118), a story spelled out in a recent book by James Kittelson, Wolfgang Capito from Humanist to Reformer (Leiden, 1975). One can see him battling with opponents and in-fighting with "false brethren" who have turned against him (I, 364-372; II, 185; II, 72-74). A brand new book by Mark Edwards explores the relation between Luther and those who were once close to Luther and went their own way, Luther and the False Brethren (Stanford, 1975). One can trace the development of his views on celibacy from an early point when he first declares it to be a human institution (I, 276) to his publication of a letter to his father with his De Votis Monasticis (I, 337-338), which he wrote for those who were putting the cowl aside with an insufficiently strong conscience.

THE EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL ATTITUDES can be traced more effectively from the correspondence than in any given treatise. Given Luther's lofty conception of secular government as ordained by God to serve and rule the people, the development of a theory of resistance to the emperor is of keen interest (I, 395; III, 9-12). He responds to Amsdorf, who told him he was being called a "toady" to the sovereigns, "Satan has conferred many such honorary titles upon me in these years" (II, 112-114). He complains of the inefficiency of the Wittenberg city government (I, 169). He corresponds with city councils especially in the east and northeast advising them on evangelical church matters (II, 25-28). He attends a banquet for the Spanish ambassador (I, 149). He relates the news of the raising of the Turkish siege of Vienna and its heroic defense (II, 239). He advises against leagues and pacts, against an alliance of evangelical princes as showing a lack of faith in God and, what is more, as being counterproductive (II, 224; III, 45). He favors a Fabian approach to political opponents and negotiation whenever possible. "Gain a night, gain a year," he counsels (III, 22).

Luther is involved also in basic societal concerns. Having developed a community chest at Wittenberg as the most rational way of handling poor relief and common causes, he wrote to and went to the town of Leinsnig to encourage the development of such a community chest there and elsewhere (II, 28-32). He fights usury not just in sermons and treatises but through letters to high-placed men such as Chancellor Bruck (II, 50).

Luther is totally immersed in the affairs of the University. In response to Spalatin's inquiry regarding an organizational plan for the university, he declares that "this is beyond my strength, that is, beyond the strength of a single man" (I, 289). The reorganization was a team effort, but he was captain of the team. He was concerned with the growing enrollment (I, 120, 123, 161), with curriculum (I, 42, 95-96, 275), with budget (II, 130-137), and with meeting offers from other universities to his colleagues such as Bugenhagen and Melanchthon (II, 15; I, 163; II, 15). He was always concerned with students, their spiritual well-being, their financial support, their future careers and placement—a theme developed in an article, "Luther's Social Concern for Students," in Lawrence Buck and Jonathon Zophy, eds., The Social History of the Reformation (Columbus, Ohio, 1972), pp. 249-270. He was particularly concerned for the poor students who might have to discontinue without aid and wrote Elector Frederick and his successors for help (II, 74-76). Together with these major doctrinal, political, societal, and educational concerns the letters offer surprising information about a great many curious questions such as soul sleep, Luther asserting his belief in the soul sleep of the dead, just and unjust (I, 360-364).

LUTHER'S LETTERS CONCERNED WITH PEOPLE of all walks of life, but especially those concerned with his own family, are of the greatest human interest. He is involved in the running battle of the widow Walpurgia Landmann with the canons of the Castle church (I, 171-172 et passim). He intercedes in behalf of a poor fisherman for whom a fine of 600 pieces of silver would mean ruination (II, 8-9). He repeats reports of horrendous apparitions (II, 216). There are the touching letters to his "empress, my Katie," usually half teasing about her concern for him, but sometimes seriously urging her to leave Wittenberg for Zolsdorf, where they owned some land to be worked. There are the letters about the deaths of his little daughter Elisabeth and of thirteen year old Magdalena. He sends his son Hans to study humanistic subjects and music with the excellent teacher named Crodel (III, 230-233; III, 234-235). They are all of keen interest to those who would learn to know the real Luther.

October, 1976
But if one were to select just a very few special jewels from this treasure chest, one would very likely point to the letters to his family and to those on faith. The letter of February 15, 1530, giving spiritual comfort to his father, Hans Luther, who was grievously ill, is one of his finest (II, 267-271). He expresses the hope that his faithful friend in the hour of death. Upon his father's deathbed, May 20, 1531, once again signing it “Your loving son” (III, 17-21). To his wife Katie he wrote regularly when away from Wittenberg, but there is a special poignancy to the request for help which he addressed to her on February 27, 1532, from Torgau (III, 47-50). “Kiss young Hans for me,” he wrote, “keep after Hänchen, Lenchen and Aunt Lena to pray for the dear Sovereign and me. I am unable to find anything to buy the children in this town even though there is now a fair here. If I am unable to bring anything along, please have something ready for me!”

The great classic, however, which has appeared in many anthologies is his touching letter from the Coburg to his four year old son Hans, about June 19, 1530 (II, 321-324): “I know of a pretty, beautiful, and cheerful garden where there are many children wearing little golden coats. They pick up fine apples, pears, cherries, and yellow and blue plums under the trees; they sing, jump, and are merry. They also have nice ponies with golden reins and silver saddles. I asked the owner of the garden whose children they were. He replied: ‘These are the children who like to pray, study, and be good.’ Then I said: ‘Dear sir, I also have a son, whose name is Hänchen Luther . . . ’” In another famous letter to Lazarus Spengler, July 8, 1530, Luther explained the meaning of his coat of arms, the seal of the rose as a symbol of his theology (II, 356-359).

There is first to be a cross, black and placed in a heart, which should be of its natural color, so that I myself would be reminded that faith in the Crucified saves us. For if one believes from the heart he will be justified. Even though it is a black cross, which mortifies and also should hurt us, yet it leaves the heart in its natural color and does not ruin nature; that is, the cross does not kill but keeps man alive. For the just man lives by faith, but by faith in the Crucified One. Such a heart is to be in the midst of a white rose, to symbolize that faith gives joy, comfort, and peace . . .

Then came old age and death, for, as Seneca wrote in his Epistolae ad Lucilium, “Old age is an incurable disease.” It is sad to read words such as the following after having seen Luther as a man of such vitality (from a letter to James Propst, December 5, 1544 [III, 244-246]): “Yes, I am sluggish, tired, cold—that is, I am an old and useless man. I have finished my race, it remains only that the Lord call me to my fathers, and that my body be handed over to decomposition and the worms. I have lived enough, if one may call it living. Please pray for me that the hour of my passing will be pleasing to God and a blessing for me.” Six years earlier he had declared that new battles renewed his youth and kept him, an exhausted old man, becoming younger from day to day (III, 182). Some of his letters in sick old age are harsh and cranky. He decries the immoral dances allowed in that Sodom Wittenberg, a city he resolved to leave in anger. These letters bring to mind a dizzy ascribed to the gloomy Dean Inge: Lives of great men all remind us As we o'er their pages turn That we, too, may leave behind us Letters that we ought to burn. He was a fighter and even in earlier years his letters could be cutting. He once asked Spalatin to turn over his letter to Albrecht to Melanchthon “whom I have requested to delete any statements which may be too sharp” (I, 353). To Wenceslas Link he wrote on August 1520 (I, 169-171): “I do not try to seek praise and fame, my Father, with my writings and little books. Almost all condemn my stinging tone. Yet I share your opinion that perhaps in this way God reveals the figments of man’s imagination. For I realize that those things which in our age are treated quietly will soon be forgotten and nobody will care about them. But the womb of Rebecca also had to bear children who were contentious and kicked each other. The present age passes an unfavorable judgment; the judgment of future generations will be better.”

THE JUDGMENT OF FUTURE GENERATIONS of English reading historians and biographers will be better founded with these three splendid volumes of Luther’s letters in hand. But they offer the most to the general reader and to the student of Reformation history who will find delight in hearing Luther speak English. He is sure to discover a wholesome Luther, a strong man of faith, gifted in the face of all dangers with an attitude of “Christian non-challance.” “Thus my ship is tossed about,” he wrote to Spalatin in that critical year 1520, “now hope, now fear rules; but this does not concern me” (I, 162). Who lives thus lives well. Who dies as Luther did, showing an affirming flame, dies well.
ACCORING TO THE TIME article of 16 October 2034, a freak accident in Tobias J. Levant’s laboratory resulted in the first transmission of matter instantaneously into space—at a distance of approximately $10^{14}$ kilometers. By 2044 space travel using the LMT crystal was a reality. Thus it was that Jacque’s telepathic contacts through the mindbridge with the ancient, cruel race, L’vrai. On the threshold of the stars, man faces the possibility of annihilation if he cannot learn to communicate with this ruthless being who has no conception of the individual consciousness. It feels it is its duty to protect the others in its charge from the humans who have not yet learned to integrate their animal nature. Jacque, the only human through whom it can speak, reveals the creature’s intent and nature in a series of bizarre encounters. The suspense builds to the unpredictable climax, leaving the reader with some thought-provoking questions.

The theme of Jacque’s contacts with the L’vrai in Mindbridge is developed in counterpoint with fragments of his memories of parents and school and his growing relationship with his lover, Carol. Unfortunately, while Jacque certainly comes across as a unique individual (the end discloses how very unique), because of the brevity of the book his characterization is not as fully expanded as one would like. His personality is mainly revealed through terse, sometimes coarse, snatches of dialogue and rather impersonal entries in his autobiography. Carol also remains shadowy throughout.

The charm of Mindbridge lies mainly in Haldeman’s innovative thinking, style, and structure which are quite refreshing and humorous at times. The book takes a rather familiar plot and adds some new twists and convincing-sounding scientific explanations to tickle the mind. Haldeman’s style is clear, fast-paced, and readable; and his supposed excerpts from science books, memos, and reports gives a clever format. The collage form that he uses is always controlled and generally effective. Some parts do smack of the new writer who may occasionally try too hard to be original, but Haldeman is certainly a talent worth watching. Mindbridge is entertaining, light reading, and the main complaint will probably be that it was not long enough.
social life is full of conflicts between blacks and whites as well as among blacks themselves
* separatism can be both beneficial and costly
* "black studies" is at best a partial solution to a continuing problem
* what is expected of black faculty and administrators is often unrealistic
* the black student is likely to be both a product and a critic of the Afro-American religious tradition. Descriptions of ministry at Harvard, Gettysburg, Chicago, Cleveland, and Dayton are appended, together with a description of the interdenominational organization, Ministries to Blacks in Higher Education (MBHE). Donald Hetzler, executive director of NLCM, says in his Foreword that this paper "expresses the contemporary experience of black people in American higher education...[and] offers illuminating insight and encouragement to campus ministers and boards who wish to respond to black students and faculty, in their midst."

**CAMPUS MINISTRY PROGRAM PACKET.**

Campus Ministry Communications, Division of Campus Ministry and Educational Services, 130 N. Wells St., Rm. 2200, Chicago, IL 60606, $1.00.

This packet "HAS BEEN PREPARED especially for reading and discussion by congregational groups and parents. The variety of articles and resources introduce the reader to the work of campus ministry and the special concerns of persons in a college or university community." Most of the articles focus on the mission and work of campus ministry: "God at the Guest Register" (Dave Johnson), "Has Campus Ministry A Future?" (Donald Hetzler), "Higher Education Ministry and the Local Congregation" (Verlyn Smith), "Theology of Campus Ministry" (Eugene Brueggemann), "Worship in Action" (Eldon Weisheit), "An ABC Guide for Ministry with the International Community" (Ted Fritsche), and articles on community college ministry, Lutheran Student Movement, and campus ministry in 1985. An article is here on the new messiahs attracting youth (including the Unification Church) and a brochure on the Jesus people and a tract on the Gospel. The employment of college graduates and their ministry potential and two recent approaches (Kirn and Crystal-Bolles) to life/work planning are covered, and a report on the relationship of students to a local congregation in Toledo is included.

**76 - 77: A CALENDAR STIMULATING FRESH AWARENESS OF THE GOSPELS.**

Edited by Tecla Sund Reklau, Campus Ministry Communications, Division of Campus Ministry and Educational Services, Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., 130 N. Wells St., Rm. 2200, Chicago, IL 60606; single copies $2.00 (postage free); 2-9 copies, $1.50; 10-49 copies, $1.25; 50 or more, $1.00 (plus 10% for postage and handling).

A HANDFUL, NAY A YEARFUL, of opportunities is a calendar, a reminder, a symbol of the way lives crawl or rush toward the future, where we have a God timely enough to meet us and passionate enough to lure us. God, I suppose, must always be noted as the author of a calendar. But California artist Joyce Winhel may be credited with the design of these spiral-bound, cardboard, 8½ x 11 pages. Published each year by Campus Ministry Communications, this calendar begins in September. This year's is designed to stimulate fresh awareness of the Gospels. Winhel uses strong-colored abstract designs inspired by natural forms—floral and plant designs and butterflies—to enhance specific quotations selected from each month's Gospel readings (ILCW three-year cycle). Holydays and holidays are noted. The style is bright, clear, happy. We have no trouble passing out a dozen and more of these each year; they make attractive gifts for students, faculty, colleagues, and other friends.

**ESCAPE FROM EVIL.**


ERNEST BECKER DIED in 1974, shortly before he was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for *The Denial of Death* (The Cresset, October, 1974). Those who have followed Becker's work naturally assumed that to have been the last of his published writings, but happily that turns out not to be the case. When he died he left a manuscript of a work he had originally intended to be a companion volume to *The Denial of Death* entitled *Escape from Evil*, and those two works together he had believed would be his *magnus opus*. In the last months of his life cancer made him too weak to put *Escape from Evil* into the form he believed suitable for publication, so he asked his wife to let it remain unpublished. Fortunately, after "some initial anguish over the risk of irreverence," his wife allowed publication of the manuscript which turns out to be a most fascinating capstone to the work begun in *The Denial of Death*.

In that earlier work Becker had argued that the fear of dying was the ultimate motivation for human beings and was finally the explanation behind things as apparently diverse as the formation of culture and the roots of psychosis. The piece is primarily a synthesis of Kierkegaard, Freud, Otto Rank, and Norman O. Brown. *Escape from Evil* builds upon the thesis that all human activity is flight from death, and, like the earlier work, it is a synthesis. Freud, Rank, and Brown again play a major role, but their thinking this time is joined with the thoughts of a variety of modern and not so modern theorists on the nature of man. Names which appear most frequently are Marx, Rousseau, and A. M. Hocart, but there are many others whose ideas are used.
The book is written as a history of evil, and Becker traces the roots of modern social evil to certain key developments in man's past. Murder is the ultimate evil, and men have always killed each other for a variety of apparent reasons. Becker, however, would trace them all back to one: the desire to have power over life and death and specifically to insure the survival of oneself. That much is not difficult to argue or to document. Becker claims, however, that certain events caused evil to become much more fully institutionalized in human society. One of those “events” was the invention of money. Coins became the symbol of trophies won in battle, and trophies in turn symbolized successful risks of life taken to gain them. Successful risk of life is obviously victory over death, albeit temporary, and therefore wealth is ultimately and literally a store of life! And throughout history men have shown a willingness to do most anything to have a portion of the store of immortality.

Such developments alone, however, do not totally explain social evil, especially among moderns. In order to achieve a diagnosis of modern evil Becker uses a critique and synthesis of Marx, Rousseau, and Freud. Marx had said that man was basically good at heart, but the structure of capitalistic society made him competitive, selfish, evil, and dangerous. Free man from capitalism and competition and man will live peaceably with everyone, argued Marx. Rousseau, too, had said man was basically good, a “savage” who “lives within himself,” and only society, which forces men to look at other men and to make distinctions between themselves and their neighbors, causes men to be destructive of other living beings. Freud, on the other hand, held that it was something about individual men that made them to make scapegoats of other men and kill them, and it was not something society made men do. It was done purely for pleasure. Freud thus sounds like one who believes man is evil by nature.

Becker takes issue with all of them in the end. He agrees with Freud against Marx and Rousseau that evil begins already in individuals and not only in groups. Even as a lonely savage man is not free of what makes him kill. He is already fearful of personal extinction because death is so imminent a part of even the most private environment. That lonely savage will kill for survival and it will not be society’s fault. However, he agrees with Marx and Rousseau against Freud in that he does not see the individual human heart as evil from the beginning. What men are trying to do, which of course leads to unspeakable evil, is to rid the world of the evil of death. In Becker’s own words:

The paradox is that evil comes from man’s urge to heroic victory over evil. The evil that troubles man most is his vulnerability; he seems impotent to guarantee the absolute meaning of his life, its significance in the cosmos. He assures a plenitude of evil, then, by trying to make closure on his cosmic heroism in this life and this world. All the intolerable sufferings of mankind result from man’s attempt to make the whole world of nature reflect his reality, his heroic victory; he thus tries to achieve a perfection on earth, a visible testimonial to his cosmic importance; but this testimonial can only be given conclusively by the beyond, by the source of creation itself which alone knows man’s value because it knows his task, the meaning of his life; man has confused two spheres, the visible and whatever is beyond, and this blindness has permitted him to undertake the impossible—to extend the values of his limited visible sphere over all the rest of creation, whatever forms it may take. The tragic evils of history, then, are a commensurate result of a blindness and impossibility of such magnitude.

THE TERRIBLE IRONY THAT evil is the result of man’s attempts to do good is not the only irony of the book. The title is Escape from Evil, and the reader expects at least a glimmer of the escape route. But Becker does not believe there is an escape this side of dying. All attempts at escape only lead to new and greater evils as men try to blot out evil from the world in the form of Jews, communists, capitalists, heretics, or whatever other scapegoat you might name. The closest man can come to escape is through overcoming his fear of self-knowledge which includes the knowledge of mortality, a benefit of both psychoanalysis and of true religion, according to Becker. To the extent that man can look death in the face without denying its reality he will stop wrecking havoc on his fellows.

Escape from Evil, added to The Denial of Death and Becker’s earlier works, makes him in the opinion of this reviewer the greatest modern commentator on the nature of man, and his ideas and synthesizes should be placed for analysis by the students of today alongside those of the thinkers he has criticized in his work. The insights into human nature which Becker has shared in these last two books of his life would, if used, have a potentially great impact upon a variety of human endeavors. A true and adequate understanding of man is crucial to many disciplines, perhaps the most to psychology and the social sciences, the prudent exercise of government, and theology. The reviewer is a theologian of sorts, and so is interested primarily in the theological implications of Becker’s insights into mankind. The Denial of Death and Escape from Evil together make up the most brilliant essay on what classical theologians called “natural theology” which this reviewer has ever seen.

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