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“Only if”: Lutheran Identity in Canada

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What is a Lutheran? What is a Canadian Lutheran? Identity is a subject which faces Lutherans in the world today. It is a subject which particularly faces Canadian Lutherans as they seek to chart a responsible course in a country in search of identity.... At a time when Lutherans in Canada have been attempting to find their role in this country, the Lutheran Council in Canada has become convinced that Canadian Lutherans can be faithful to their mission in Canada and the world only if they know who they are. To discover their identity, Canadian Lutherans need to know their history. They must have the benefit of reading history written from within the Canadian context – a history which gives attention more narrowly to the Lutheran Church as it has lived and worked in Canada.

Foreward by Norman J. Threinen, In Search of Identity: A Look at Lutheran Identity in Canada¹

Between July 2011 and July 2012 the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC) has come to a new crossroad. It's a *new* crossroad because the ELCIC is the most significant manifestation of co-operative Lutheranism to have existed on Canadian soil. The 1986 merger and decision to go into the future together despite differences was a high watermark in agreeing to work in common cause and to be allied in our efforts to be conformed to Christ together.

The coming together to be the ELCIC *together* meant bringing multiple identities into proximity and seeking to create a faithful identity as a single expression that would witness to God's grace in the northern nation of the continent. Who we are now, and how we'll respond at the new crossroad as a confederation of synods of diverse Lutheran peoples, is in question.

The question of how co-operatively minded Lutherans will move forward has been with us for at least forty-five fascinating years of our four hundred years on the North American continent. How we will move depends significantly on who we understand ourselves individually and collectively to be. Identity matters! As Norm Threinen has pointed out for decades, understandings of history shape identity. We, as one of God's "people of the book," know history is not simply "fact" but how facts have been shaped into narratives that bind and narratives that liberate. This paper asserts that re-engaging and re-learning our history with a changed perspective will help Lutherans in Canada choose a faithful way forward at our current significant crossroad.

The Last Forty-Five Years

Momentum gathered in the 1970's on both sides of the Canada-U.S. border for the establishment of a Canadian Lutheran church in the Dominion which stretched from sea to sea to sea. This was the culmination of decades of push-pull politics by Lutherans and national and international governments. The realities of World War I and II forced Lutherans into speaking with one voice more than they were naturally inclined to do as governments refused to deal with a diversity of Lutheran voices. Creative solutions for co-operation were discovered dialogically.²

The Lutheran Council in Canada (1966) began in 1952 under the name of the Canadian Lutheran Council. It was an inter-Lutheran agency routinely able to do successful mission and ministry at home and abroad in spite of theological differences among the upwards of twenty synodical and linguistic divisions in Canadian Lutheranism.³ Leaders involved in efforts such as Canadian Lutheran World Relief (CLWR) were readying Canadian Lutheranism to take its place fully on the international scene, especially among nations involved in the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). A Lutheran voice in Canada was taking shape, a voice which at times included the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod.

Having distinguished the nation in World War II, Canadians generally were feeling more self-reliant and more set apart from Americans. Expo '67 in Montreal was Canada's rite of passage. It was Canada's celebration of our local identity within the global. The President of the Lutheran Church in America (LCA) Franklin Clark Fry travelled the summer of 1967 with "Eastern" leader Albert Lotz to meet Lester B. Pearson in his Prime Minister's Office and to tour the Christian Pavillion at Expo,⁴ an endeavour in which Lutherans (including Missouri Synod) were one of eight participating denominations. The summer of 1967 was our turning point. Fry endorsed the Canadian Lutheran move to independence.

Why did it matter that Fry endorsed the Canadian Lutheran move to independence? In no small measure because Fry was an effective, charismatic communicator who could bring people on-



Figure 1 -- Rev. Dr. Albert W. Lotz (member of the Waterloo Lutheran University (WLU) board of governors and president of the Eastern Canada Synod, LCA), looks on with local Pastor Arthur Conrad (St. Peter's, Ottawa) as Rev. Dr. Franklin Clarke Fry (President of LCA) concludes business with Lester B. Pearson in the Prime Minister's Office, 1967. This photo, originally provided by the Prime Minister's Office, is courtesy of the ELCIC Eastern Synod collection currently awaiting archiving at Wilfrid Laurier University.

side through his words. Fry was influential. He was on the cover of *Time* and he met with John F. Kennedy.

D'Arcy Hande and Erich Schultz, in *Archivaria* (1990), give us two more key facts on Fry's importance. Canadian Lutheran congregations were dependent upon American church bodies for financial support ranging from 60 to 80 per cent of their budgets. Secondly, Lutheranism in Canada developed "not as one church with strong Canadian roots, but rather as the product of sometimes unrelated events and, at other times, of conflict among competing denominational factions."⁵ These factions were north-south aligned and the groups were mostly headquartered in the U.S. Fry had sway across the U.S. Significantly, American Lutherans were holding Canadian Lutheran congregations and organizations together as much as they had ever, as "parent" bodies, held Canadian Lutheranism back. In spite of the financial and emotional risk, in order to become "us" we had to separate from the U.S.

At home and around the world, Lutheran identity was being debated after World War II. At the Edmonton Consultation on Lutheran Identity in Canada in 1976, William Hordern, then President of Lutheran Theological Seminary (LTS) at Saskatoon, put forward a theological base for discussion referring to the "double crisis" set out in *The Crucified God* by Jurgen Moltmann:

Moltmann says that theologians and the Church face a double crisis: the crisis of relevance and the crisis of identity. He shows that the two are complementary. The crisis of relevance rises from the need to relate Christian faith and doctrine to the rapidly changing world of the twentieth century.... The search for relevance forced the Church to face its second crisis: that of identity. The cheap and easy way to relevance is to identify oneself with the world of this time and place.... The problem, as Moltmann diagnoses it, is that all such attempts seek to be relevant by exalting some aspect of the current secular experience. In the process we lose the uniqueness of Christianity.... Only if the Church knows who and what it is, will it have a relevant word to speak.⁶

In *The Crucified God*, Moltmann was not discussing theology and identity in a simply theoretical way, he was asking the church to consider theology after Auschwitz. "God in Auschwitz and Auschwitz in the crucified God - that is the basis for real hope that both embraces and overcomes the world".⁷ He was asking, "Who can we understand ourselves to be as humans, as Christians, as Lutherans after Auschwitz? And who can we understand God to be?"

In Canada, Lutheran questions about faith and the Holocaust caught us up in debates on the premise that we are "the German Church." In fact, Canadian Lutheranism was "German" for only a few decades of isolation in the mid-1700s in Nova Scotia. While many spoke German until World War II, the pragmatic church and its practical people continuously adapted, accommodated and changed. Clearly, our national identity needed work. By the early 1970s, progress by the Lutheran Council in Canada had made Lutheran

unity talks possible, and “identity” -- even mistaken identity -- something we could talk about together.

Publications were part of the plan to bring us together to accomplish common goals. This scholarly journal, *Consensus*, came into being to help break down silos and making academic gains in thinking more widely available.⁸ “For the Record,” was created as a less scholarly “Newsletter of the Canadian Lutheran Historical Association” and was an important forum for communicating stories and historical facts and ideas, particularly from archivists. Synodical publications had lots of column inches dedicated to insights and happenings in the lives of Canadian pastors and congregations. It was expected that these publications would help us see ourselves into who we were becoming.

In 1986, almost twenty years after “our” Expo and ten years after the Consultation, a “two of the three” merger created the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. Through the work of the Lutheran Merger Commission, parties interested in a single contextually relevant but theologically orthodox Canadian Lutheran voice from sea to sea to sea had made considerable gains towards the expression of one body, “neither Jew nor Greek ... *male nor female*.”⁹ Lutherans in Canada still couldn’t agree on everything, there were regional realities still at play (Maritime, Eastern, Western) but substantial dreams were held in common as were plans to make those dreams reality.¹⁰

Now twenty-five more years have passed since that national church association was formed and we are still seeking to live up to our aspirations, we are still working at making the confederacy sustainable, still struggling with our identity and relevance in light of theological commitments to the priesthood of all believers, the freedom of a Christian, and the doctrine of the two kingdoms in the 21st century. In some ways the journey brings to mind the key concept of group dynamic theory: forming, storming, norming, performing.¹¹ Anyone who attended the inspirational LWF gathering the ELCIC hosted in Winnipeg in 2003 would have to admit that ours is not a case of miscarriage, anemic growth or a failure to thrive. We are having an adolescent identity crisis.

Crossroads

Forty-five years post-Expo we do not yet know ourselves in this vast geographic territory. We have accumulated institutional histories of pulpits, preachers and programs, so we *have* gained some sense of ourselves but we have not yet sunk deep into the stories of our peoples. And as we appear to be ever at risk -- as much as ever changing -- we may never get over our identity crisis. Post-modernity now argues against Moltmann by asserting that we no longer need a meta-narrative. So does it matter? Yes! Self-concept and self-awareness matter. Identity integration matters. It matters to us, and as we saw with the

political challenges of WWI and WW II, it matters nationally and internationally in our “Mission to Others.”

In the summer of 2012 ELCIC synods were being asked to *imagine* how we can be a national church, specifically a national church with a Godly purpose such that all may be one. Some are voicing regret – “If only!” As in, “if only we’d have gone down a different road; taken another path.” But “If only!” is not worthy of our focus. We’re far better served by Threinen and Moltmann’s “only if...”. As in, “*only if* they know who they are... *only if* the Church knows who and what it is....” And we don’t!

Until his recent death, Erich Schultz, pastor and professional Archivist, was at the forefront of circulating publications and urging leaders to prioritize the preservation of our records and stories. With D’arcy Hande, Schultz wrote in 1990:

In a sense, Lutherans share with Canadian society at large a lack of understanding that group identity must be based on a common historical experience. In order to inculcate that identity, a committed effort towards researching our history and interpreting it to the community must begin. Presently courses on church history do exist in the Lutheran seminaries, but the actual research taking place is, if anything, declining.¹²

To what extent have we let ourselves be caught up in *common* historical experiences? To what extent have we researched and engaged one another in *our* history - talking as opposed to telling. As an example, in 2012, for the 150th Anniversary of the Eastern Synod and the 100th Anniversary of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary and (by extension) Wilfrid Laurier University, a professional historical video was made and sent to every Eastern Synod congregation.¹³ How many groups watched our own movie¹⁴ and committed to wrestle with, argue against, or affirm what they saw and heard -- or felt excluded by?

As challenging as the forty-five year journey on the paths we have taken has been, it has had some upsides. Considerable effort has been made to write and tell specifically “Canadian” and “Lutheran” stories, to sing more local and contextual hymns, to send out more politically precise policy papers. But breaking away (most notably from our U.S. counterparts) has increasingly done something funny to our history keeping. Our Canadian story-telling has tended to skip from Martin Luther to the landing of Danish explorer Jens Munck and his chaplain Rasmus Jensen in Churchill (Hudson Bay, 1619) to the Maritime soldiers of Louisburg (1745) to the first period of Lutheran settlements from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes, with soldiers and immigrant Germans in Nova Scotia (1749) and then British Loyalists from America (beginning 1789).¹⁵

Changing Perspectives

Our zoomed-in “narrow attention” has helped us at least to see these points as *our* story. But the narrowness has also obscured other valuable views. Can it be that nothing happened to impact us between 1619 and 1745? Nothing happened that impacts Lutherans from West to North to East coasts?

In reality, we’ve been skipping over parts of our story, we’ve left off or left behind places and people as being too American, European, British, French or secular. Or perhaps it’s just that there’s not enough time or room for old story-lines when we also want to be talking about current identity-distinguishing themes and tropes (ethnic immigrations, syndical realignments, development of seminaries, battles over gender, orientation and ordination...). While some readers of today’s *Canada Lutheran* and synodical publications like *The Eastern Synod Lutheran* believe we spend too much time thinking about our history, I am of the opinion that we spend too little time learning *from the breadth of our common history*.

To see our breadth, God’s Word at work in with and under us across time and space, I think we need put ourselves more fully back into a “zoom in” AND “zoom out” historical view. I propose we take time and make a commitment to exploring our identity and relevance together using a “Google Earth” view rather than a “Google Maps” view. What does that mean?

Google Maps help us to see roads. It helps us to get where we know we want or need to go based on how other people have gone; it gives us directions. Google Earth, on the other hand, gives us a lay of the planet’s terrain which we must navigate based on the conditions of our time. And we’d benefit from zooming in (moving closer) and zooming out (pulling back) to comprehend the adversities our ancestors have overcome.

Only for the briefest period of mission expansion in the late 1960’s did our story make a Google Maps-type of sense as pastors scouted and speculated on locations for church planting. Most of our naturalization considered oceans, streams, rivers, lakes, fords



Figure 2 -- An alumni of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary (MDiv. '07), Rev. Karen Kuhnert served as Acting Archivist for the Eastern Synod, and Waterloo Lutheran Seminary through recent 150 and 100 year anniversary celebrations. She was born and raised in northern Alberta and attended Luther Campus Ministry (U of A), Edmonton. Then she lived seven years in Inuvik, NWT, assisting at Holy Cross Lutheran Church and then, after amalgamation, at the Anglican Church of the Ascension. Dr. Kuhnert is currently on contract to Zion Luther Church, Stratford, Ontario and continues her work as Acting Archivist and national church representative on the KAIROS indigenous Rights Circle. Here she is seen standing with her husband Rev. Dr. Peter Kuhnert in front of "The Little Deutsch Church", the first Lutheran Church in Canada (Halifax, 2011).

and safe harbours. Lutheran settlement to and on the North American continent make far more sense when one looks at the Google Earth view without the imposition of labels and human-made boundaries like the 49th parallel and the expressways and bypasses on either the 401 or the TransCanada Highway!

Readers, teachers, students, clergy and laity -- yes, even bishops -- would do well to take ten minutes to look at a downloaded version of Google Earth and begin to ponder “us” anew from this site/sight of God. Once you’ve looked again to see the same differently, you can find a pertinent identity story and prayerfully reconsider that formative narrative from this new perspective.¹⁶

To choose to look to see Canadian Lutheranism from a Google Earth view is to choose to see the “same” planet as simply “different” in our time. It is a first step to choosing to remember our past but expressly for the sake of the future and our need of an authentic identity narrative for the 21st century. Some thought exercises are much more difficult, complex, multi-faceted, perspectival and complicated. They will take more courage (such as the courage to think ecumenically or from an Abrahamic faith perspective). Just *looking* at Google Earth *should* be easy.

But perhaps it is not. The ease with which one does this first exercise of simply looking from a Google Earth perspective will reveal something of one’s own willingness to be liberated from themes and tropes that may have served us well but no longer help us navigate the future to which we are called. If you can bring yourself to look, and moreover to consider, ponder, imagine, based on what you see, then you might be in possession of a Spirit of Adventure,¹⁷ as Peter Steinke of the Alban Institute is choosing to call it these days.¹⁸

Here’s an example. One of the long accepted storylines we’ve told ourselves is that North American Lutherans have never had much to do with “Indians.” Accepting this self-perpetuating quietistic myth has given us a consistent excuse that has kept us from acting in solidarity with Canada’s indigenous peoples.

Indeed there have been exceptions. Twenty years before the Oka Crisis, in 1972 the Eastern Canada Synod assembly had a Haudenosaunee (Mohawk) woman from Maniwaki, Quebec, speak to the gathering.¹⁹ In 1970, Ed Riegert and Norm Wagner were teaching classes with indigenous guests at Waterloo Lutheran University and Seminary on Aboriginal traditions and spirituality, including leading an archeological dig of a First Nations village (which dated from ca. 1400 C.E.)²⁰ Clearly, in point of fact we did have *something* to do with “Indians.” And these multi-disciplinary, cross-cultural connections were rich! But such engaging encounters have been too limited, too few, too regional and too easily forgotten!

In truth, we have needed, but moreover wanted, to be preoccupied with executing calls, building churches and filling pews. We have indeed been motivated to serve our neighbour, but we have been more comfortable with, and felt more connected to rescuing, our European neighbours who came to Canada after World War II, than speaking against our own biased judicial system or Indian Act “status” policies. Apartheid was something that happened in Africa!

In 1976, William Hordern, as quoted above, addressed our historic lack of action on social justice issues, naming specifically a lack of solidarity with movements of indigenous peoples. In endorsing the Consultation on Identity he says, “Lutheranism’s failure to be involved with native people heretofore may turn out to be an advantage. Native people trust us precisely because we have not been a party to the past missionary attitudes and actions which they resent so deeply.”²¹ The endnotes on the Consultation feedback sessions lead me to believe Hordern’s push towards greater social justice action was not received with enthusiasm.

While it is true and positive that quietism kept us out of committing Residential School abuses, and it is also true and positive that our lack of involvement has brought us to a helpful and courageous place on the national scene today -- both in the advocacy agency known as KAIROS as well as in the current healing effort known by the term “Truth and Reconciliation” -- it is not, however, reasonable to think that we were acting with positive intention. We were not being virtuous! Rather, Hordern’s overall point was that we had not been doing enough to take up opportunities to help out our native neighbours (or any other non-Lutheran neighbours) in need. Hordern was pushing leaders to see that we historically have been *incurvatus in se*, naturally and too comfortably, “curved in” on our own self interests.

And it is additionally not true that Lutherans and First Nations people have only just found each other as allies in these recent decades. Lutherans and a diversity of First Nations peoples have had extensive contact with one another. We’ve been neighbours, and good neighbours at that, at various points in



Figure 3 -- ELCIC Bishops Susan Johnson (centre), Michael Pryse (second from right) and Mark MacDonald (far right - the Anglican Church's National Indigenous Bishop) joined a cross-country "banner train" to walk with Aboriginal Peoples and KAIROS' ecumenical and coalition partners to the HUMAN RIGHTS Monument on Parliament Hill. The walk was organized to encourage the implementation and living out of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. (KAIROS Canada, June 2011).

history - but neither Lutherans nor First Nations peoples mattered enough to make it into the kind of history books that traditionally tell stories of nation-building winners and/or losers.

As neither winners nor losers, but historical “irrelevants” in the traditional telling of Canadian histories, we largely weren’t worth mentioning accurately in history. The stories of our authentic identities have not been kept front and centre in the annals of history. We’ve been missed. And we’ve been mislabelled! We are known in archives variably as Lutherans, Foreign Protestants, Palatines, Hessians and Germans. It is worse for the First Nations peoples who were often known in history by the name given them by the British, French or Americans, lumping them together as a singular group of “natives” or a vast array of other character-wounding terms. To consider this, a “peoples’ history” of the eventual Loyalist descendants of Johan Jurg Kass, Colonial American from German Flatts, Herkimer NY, would pull the veil off much of what classical history has revealed and kept hidden about Lutherans and the matrilineal Haudenosaunee “Iroquois” of the Six Nations that would powerfully inform our self-understandings in the context of Canada today.²²

As a Canadian child raised in the public school system of Alberta I was taught a “last-spike” pro-reserve patriotic view of our home and native land. I was led to believe that the French and Jesuits “had” the Huron, that the British “had” Brant and Tecumseh, and that “the Church” and *everyone* agreed Metis Louis Riel was a traitor. What prejudices have other Lutherans been raised with? What are we doing about our prejudices?

We don’t as Canadians tell our children, nor as Lutherans tell our confirmands, that Lutherans and native peoples and Metis peoples are as important to the historical record as anyone else. And we don’t tell them that Joseph Brant’s grandfather SaGaYeathQuaPiethTow met Britain’s Queen Anne as one of “the Four Kings” and that this relationship helped Lutheran refugees (Palatinates) settle and survive in North America beginning in 1710.²³ We don’t say that first-generation North American Lutheran Conrad Weiser lived with SaGaYeathQuaPiethTow’s Haudenosaunee (Mohawks) for years, learning the language and culture during the time of the building of the Mohawk Chapel, and we ignore the dedication of the Queen’s communion ware. We feel we have no need to say Weiser’s learning by the longhouse fire and in the chapel pew enabled him to be one of the most significant interpreters, peace-makers and politicians of the continent. We certainly don’t say that Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) was married to his second wife Susannah by a member of the Lutheran clergy. And instead of telling them that Lutherans have had centuries-old connection with the Six Nations through Lutheran Pietists (Muhlenburgers and Moravians), we say what all the others say... that Brantford (Brant’s Ford of the Grand River between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie) is the home of Wayne Gretzky and a new campus for Wilfrid Laurier University - because that’s what we know, that’s what’s easy and that’s what seems most relevant.

Six Nations history has so much to teach us about confederacy, area ministry, unity and diversity in spite of adversity. Reading the Moravian Journals' collections of unfiltered words, thoughts and actions of Haudenosaunee people is an education in patience, perseverance and fortitude. Their history isn't blemish-free, but it's considerably more impressive than our biased history books and TV shows have led us to believe.

As Lutherans look across Canada from sea to sea to sea, it is important and relevant for us as variously ethnic Lutherans to know more about who we've been alongside the speakers of the surviving eight major indigenous language groups in Canada: Wakashan, Salishan, Eskimo-Aleut, Shahapatian-Penutian, Siouan, Iroquoian, Algonquian, Athapskan speakers that sub-divide into more than 2000 linguistically distinct peoples who were living here prior to our 1619 arrival.²⁴ It's important because the question of identity (who we are as people, as church) as it relates to relevance (what we will feel called to do, for whom, by Whom) matters. Identity and integrity (integration of self) are at stake whenever roads cross and choices are made.²⁵

Only if...

I think we need to come alive again to our stories without so much emphasis on previously dominating overlays (French/Catholic, British/Anglo, American, European...). We could learn so much from what we've forgotten, and as the examples show, we could learn particularly from our aboriginal neighbours who repeatedly acted as "Good Samaritans" to us. We also need to reread original historical texts with the same suspicious and also gracious eyes of historical criticism that we use to see the Good News *pro me, pro nobis* in Biblical texts that were also written in considerably different contexts. Liturgically put, we need "anamnesis," remembering that remembers, *re-members* and *re-members* us *for life*.

After one takes a risk on a "Google Earth" type of looking at our context, a trip to see original documents at an Archive such as those at Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU) can be a next step. If that's too risky, many of the original texts quoted in our history books are just a "mouse" click away "on-line," using sources like the Library of Congress "Internet Archive" through a computer, tablet or smart phone. After all, openness and exploration is not about going to an archive or museum (which I do highly recommend); rather, going *to* an archive or museum is about being open to the Word addressing the seeker and struggler on the journey of discovery, including self-discovery; "only if" - not "if only".

Yes, it is an odd assertion that to be a Canadian Lutheran open to the 21st century might mean reading 18th century Moravian journals about American aboriginal people, but there is a brave new world of encounters reliably waiting for us beyond our usual boundaries - encounters that might help us find ourselves and move beyond forming and

storming for ourselves, to norming and performing by grace for our neighbours and the sake of the earth God loves. To be authentically Canadian Lutherans charting a responsible course in our country still in search of identity, we may need to concern ourselves with our connections to the Thirteen Colonies, the Six Nations, the Four Indian Kings, Queen Anne and the rulers of France, so as to more deeply understand who we've been and who we are called to be as God's people on the seas and soil that came to be known as Canada.

Endnotes

¹ Norman J. Threinen, ed.. *In Search of identity: A Look at Lutheran Identity in Canada* (Lutheran Council in Canada, Winnipeg, 1977).

² Norman J. Threinen's book *Fifty Years of Lutheran Convergence: The Canadian Case-Study* published by the Lutheran Historical Conference (Dubuque, Iowa, 1973) is an exceptional read, most apropos for decisions currently being made with regards to the future of the ELCIC: see Chapter III "Evaluation" (p. 120 ff) and "East-West Regionalism" (p. 203 ff). This text would also form an excellent starting place for a thesis on the Lutheran Church "In Mission for Others" addressing CLWR, military chaplaincies, port and inner city ministries, DP and settlement services, labour programs, etc. Creative solutions included thinking of ways Missouri Synod clergy and soldiers could meet expectations without breaking conscience or code. The Eastern Synod has published a book called *Mission and Merger: Wheels of Change* by Roy N. Grosz. Grosz, who served as editor of the *Canada Lutheran* from 1959-1969 and thereafter as Secretary of the Eastern Synod, writes with a particular energy around the Eastern Synod perspective.

³ D'Arcy Hande and Erich Schultz, "Struggling to Establish a National Identity: The Evangelical Church in Canada and its Archive," *Archivaria* 30 (Summer 1990): 64-70.

<http://journals.sfu.ca/archivar/index.php/archivaria/article/view/11664/12612> (accessed 6 September 2012).

Historian Norm Anter notes Lutheran settlers arrived en mass in distinct ethnic or cultural groups from various places in Europe in this order: Wurtemberg-Saxony 1749, America 1783, Iceland 1874, Norway 1876, Sweden 1889, Finland 1893 (Norm Antler collection, Eastern Synod archives).

⁴ <http://expo67.morenciel.com/an/pavilions/christian.php>

⁵ Hande and Schultz, p. 64-70.

⁶ Threinen, *Fifty Years*, p 19-20

⁷ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1993), p. 278.

⁸ See "The Birth of Consensus – Twenty-Five Years Ago" by the journal's founder, Norman J. Threinen (*Consensus: A Canadian Lutheran Journal of Theology* 26/1 [2000]: 89-90). "The more I mulled over this whole matter, the more I became convinced that if Lutheran unity were to be discovered and union were to occur, Lutherans in Canada would need to achieve a better understanding of themselves as Lutherans. I came to believe that if Lutherans truly understood who they were historically, they would be drawn to recognize their common identity and be ready to put aside the suspicions of each other and their prejudices, many of which came from their separate developments as ethnic churches." "The name chosen for the 32 page journal was *Consensus*. As the introductory page indicated, the name did not imply that everything in the Journal will receive unanimous approval of every Lutheran in Canada. Rather, it was intended to provide a place where Canadian Lutherans could struggle with the implications of the Gospel for the mission of our church in Canada. 'In such a struggle,' I as editor wrote, 'there is value in dialogue between varying points of view and differing emphases which come out of a common commitment to the Scriptures and loyalty to the Lutheran Confessions.'"

⁹ "The current projection is that a new church comprising these two bodies [ELCC and the LCA-Canada Section] will be constituted in 1985 and begin life 1 January 1986. In the meantime, LC-C has moved to become an autonomous church in Canada, separate from but in fellowship with the Missouri Synod. If both of these developments remain on course, Canadian Lutheranism will continue to have a divided house. Since the basis for union has apparently

eluded Canadian Lutherans for the present, it remains to be seen whether there is a bases for continued co-operation. The ordination of women was the insurmountable issue to merger." (Threinen, *Fifty Years*, p.215)

¹⁰ Franklin Clark Fry related to Canadian regional expressions under names like: the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Nova Scotia, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada (Quebec/Ontario), and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Western Canada. (Threinen *Fifty Years*, p. 138.)

¹¹ Bruce W. Tuckman, "Developmental Sequence in Small Groups," *Psychological Bulletin* 63 (1965): 396.

¹² Hande and Schultz, p. 69.

¹³ "I can't help but wonder if the people who gathered together 99 years ago to mark the opening of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, the institution to which we trace our roots, could have possibly imagined the nature and scale of the developments that would come in the decades to follow. Somehow, I suspect they did not. But Wilfrid Laurier University is here today because of them, and for that we owe them our respect for their vision, and our gratitude." (quotation from WLU President Max Blouw during the WLS Centennial celebrations 2011).

¹⁴ <http://store.afcanada.com/store/product/17085/Remembering-for-the-Future-DVD>

¹⁵ D. Luther Roth, *Acadie and Acadians* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1890), p. 421. Some of our most valuable historical texts include Rev. D. Luther Roth's *Acadie and the Acadians*

<http://archive.org/details/acadieandacadia00rothgoog>) and *A History of the Lutheran Church in Nova Scotia from 1850 to the Organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Nova Scotia in 1903* (Pittsburgh: D Luther Roth, 1905). Also important are: Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The Foreign Protestants and Settlement of Nova Scotia: The History of a Piece of Arrested British Colonial Policy in the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961); Carl Raymond Cronmiller, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* (Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1961); Valdimar Jonsson Eylands, *Lutherans in Canada* (Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod of North America, 1945); Oscar L. Arnal (with Erich Schultz), *Toward an Indigenous Lutheran Ministry in Canada: The Seventy-five Year Pilgrimage of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary (1911-1986)* (Waterloo, Ont. : Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, 1988). Multiple sources, including D. Luther Roth, suggest that Lutherans came to North America in 1564 as French Lutheran Huguenots settling near St. Augustine, Florida. Historians, including George Gale, affirm the existence of a Lutheran Chapel in Old Quebec in 1629, consequent to a Lutheran chaplain travelling with the Kirke brothers. (George Gale, *Historic Tales of Old Quebec* [Quebec: The Telegraph Printing Co, 1920], p. 133) <http://archive.org/stream/historictalesofo00galeuoft#page/n3/mode/2up> (accessed Sept 6, 2012).

¹⁶ Peter VanKatwyk, "Seeing the Same Different: The 'Living Human Document' in a Postmodern Context of Clinical Pastoral Education," *The Spiritual Care Giver's Guide to Identity, Practice and Relationships: Transforming the Honeymoon in Spiritual Care and Therapy*, ed. Thomas St James O'Connor, Colleen Lashmar and Elizabeth Meakes (Waterloo, Ont: CAPPEWONT and Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, 2008).

¹⁷ <http://www.uua.org/governance/leadership/uuu/2006/13195.shtml>

¹⁸ <http://www.uua.org/governance/leadership/uuu/2006/13195.shtml> (accessed Sept 6, 2012). Note that in this article, Steinke refers to the power of narrative to break "imaginative gridlock" that holds groups and individuals in destructive "anxious" patterns. "Leaders separate themselves enough from the emotional process so that they can see things differently; they can get an aerial view to see the big picture. They pursue their vision and persist in the face of sabotage. A leader feels challenged where others feel anxious, because as a leader you have a spirit of adventure, are willing to deal with challenge, and you choose it over trying to survive. Leaders focus on strength: define yourself, but stay connected."

¹⁹ *Canada Lutheran* (July-August, 1972).

²⁰ Norman E. Wagner, Lawrence E. Toombs, and Eduard R. Riegert, *The Moyer Site: A Prehistoric Village in Waterloo County* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University 1973).

²¹ Threinen, *Fifty Years*, p. 32.

²² Stories of Kasch family members recorded on journeys by Moravians into Six Nations territories before the American Revolution reference members of the Kass family (William Martin Beauchamp, ed. *Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745-66* [Onondaga Historical Association, 1916]). Here are some excerpts as chronicled by the Moravian Ziesburger, April 28, 1755: "To-day Kasch asked what religious doctrine we upheld. Ans.: 'Lutheran.' Kasch: 'What do they believe in Bethlehem?' We told him that the belief there was that Christ came into the world; suffered and died for all men, and that through his blood is obtained remission of sins. He

admitted that this is the right doctrine." (p. 211). "Friday [November] 11, [1954] David visited the Speaker of the [Six Nations] Council, who spoke to him about the singing in the low Dutch Church at Albany, imitated it and asked if we did the same in our Church. David said that God looks upon the heart alone, that all ceremonies are of no avail etc.... Sunday [December] 17, [1954] The young man [Kasch's son], not an ignorant fellow either, told us during the evening that the minister of that place, having seen the two brethren the last time, had asked him who they were. The young man told him they were 'Herrnhutters.' 'Indeed,' said the minister, 'That is the name of a place in Germany.' He was originally from Hanau [Hanover]. We asked, 'Did he not say anything farther about them? for he must know about them.' 'No,' was the answer, but that he had often declared in the pulpit, 'it matters not whether you call yourselves Reformed or Lutheran; all depends on a change of heart.' It is quite possible that such declarations have forestalled the enmity which is often shown toward us, for, with the exception of a very few, they treat us kindly. He [Kass/ch Jr.] said farther that anyone who called would be furnished with lodging, if only he did not meddle with their religious beliefs. We told him that this was not our practice; that we would gladly leave everyone to his own opinions; that whenever we found any who did not know his Creator and Redeemer, and showed any wish to be saved, we would willingly point him to the Saviour of the world, who died for us, and whose blood washes away all guilt, be he white, black or brown. We also told him about Herrnhut, and that its people were from all parts of the world, though all of one mind. He seemed to listen with interest" (pp. 204-206). (<http://archive.org/details/moravianjournals00beau> accessed Sept 6, 2012)

²³ Government of Canada curriculum materials for teaching about the "Four Indian Kings" can be found at the Canadian Heritage Information Network site <http://www.museevirtuelvirtualmuseum.ca/edu/ViewLoitDa.do;jsessionid=5992323224FCBB6417037698AA79D320?method=preview&lang=EN&id=1781>.

²⁴ Gilbert Legay, *Atlas of Indians of North America* (Barron's Educational Series, 1995), p. 5.

²⁵ Barton Beglo, ed. *A Time For Building: Essays on Lutherans in Canada* (Kitchener: St Mark's Press, 1988) gathers writers around "larger-issue" topics that touched down at First-English/St. Mark's Lutheran in Berlin/Kitchener, Ontario. The place of language in identity is well illustrated throughout the book. Otto F. Reble makes a particularly significant contribution (well worth a read in this day) in his chapter: "Transition from German to English Ministry".