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A Tale of Two Seminaries

Shane E. Hein¹

When one considers the unity that exists, at least institutionally, within the Roman Catholic Church, or even the Anglican Church of Canada, one cannot help but wonder why this state of affairs does not exist among the world's Lutherans. Even Canada, which is a relatively small nation in terms of population, is home to two major Lutheran denominations, as well as a few smaller ones. Many casual observers, Lutheran or non-Lutheran, are not necessarily aware that there are multiple Lutheran church bodies in Canada. Even if they are aware of certain divisions and factions, they may still not understand the differences between the Lutheran church bodies that keep them separate.

However, to their detriment, significant differences do exist between the Lutheran Church-Canada (LC-C) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC). Many of these differences have their roots in their respective approaches to Biblical interpretation. Even so, there have been serious attempts in the past to enter into negotiations for cooperation, and even for possible merger between the three (later two) major Canadian Lutheran church bodies.¹ Unfortunately for all Canadian Lutherans, these efforts at cooperation have not met with very much success.

There was, however, one particular instance of the church actually getting beyond the discussion stage and into practical application and cooperation. This particular cooperative effort took place in perhaps the least likely arena from which to foster cooperation, since it dealt directly with the training and formation of pastors for the ordained ministry: the Lutheran seminary. Yet this cooperation did exist. One only has to look at the pictures of graduating classes at Lutheran Theological Seminary in Saskatoon (LTS) in the 1970s and early 1980s to see evidence of this interesting mixture of LC-C, ELCC and LCA-CA students. Such cooperation was quite unheard of elsewhere in Lutheran theological institutions in North America at this time.

This study focusses on the history of Lutheran education in Western Canada in order to discover some of the reasons behind why the LC-C and the ELCIC were unable to maintain a joint educational facility in Saskatoon: a venture which began with so much promise back in the 1970s. Since much of what had transpired with the seminary situation in western Canada was so entwined with events within the LC-C itself at that time, this study begins by exploring the history of the LC-C. It then shifts to the history of LTS in Saskatoon, along with LC-C's abbreviated involvement in the institution and the issues which led to its decision to pull out of the arrangement. Finally, this study will discuss the creative, but ultimately doomed attempts to retain the LC-C as a partner in the Saskatoon seminary, and the subsequent formation of Concordia Lutheran Seminary in Edmonton. In doing so, this study provides some clarity for those wishing to know why there is more

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than one Lutheran church body in Canada and why the separate Lutheran churches in Canada today appear unable to cooperate at any level, including theological education.

The Formation of the Lutheran Church-Canada (LC-C)

To understand the dynamics of the seminary challenges in Canada from the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LC-MS, or Missouri Synod) point of view, one must understand the history of its Canadian wing, namely the LC-C. The idea of an independent Lutheran church in Canada had existed within the Missouri Synod-Canada Section from before the Second World War. The war itself put any movement toward that end on hold, though the idea had regained momentum by the early 1950s. It was felt among the Canadian membership of Missouri Synod that there were sufficient differences in the political, social, economic, and religious thinking between the two countries to provide adequate reasons for an independent Canadian Lutheran body to serve in the unique Canadian context.²

The founding convention of the Lutheran Church in Canada was held on September 11-12, 1958 in Winnipeg, MB. It began life as a semi-independent body, while still holding to the confessional articles of the Missouri Synod. Its goal was to move toward eventual full independence while maintaining an active affiliation with Missouri Synod in the United States. The proposed name for the Canadian church was later changed to Lutheran Church-Canada, dropping the “in,” as it was regarded by some as “too broad and inclusive.” This new Canadian Lutheran church body was given Missouri Synod’s blessing at its 1959 convention in San Francisco, and the new church body was subsequently approved by its Canadian districts.³

The first attempt by the LC-C at complete independence from the Missouri Synod was made in 1964. Over 77% of LC-C’s congregations were in favour of the move, but it was held up by the Ontario district, which had only a 49% positive vote. According to the LC-C constitution, a two-thirds plus majority was required of each district for a resolution to pass. As a result, the LC-C remained a federation of the Missouri Synod,⁴ although the latter would grant more administrative powers to the former by 1965.⁵ Even though it would gain full independence by 1988, LC-C’s status entering the 1970s would prove to be a stumbling block for negotiations towards doctrinal and educational unity with other Canadian Lutheran bodies. LC-C was certainly acting independently, but it still could not approve any major decisions, such as a merger with the other Canadian Lutheran churches without the consent of the Missouri Synod.⁶

Missouri Synod/LC-C Seminary Educational Issues

The traditional method of theological education within the Missouri Synod, whether for American or Canadian students, followed a path of parochial, preparatory, junior, and senior colleges, culminating in seminary training, usually at their St. Louis facility.⁷ The only alternative for a pastoral candidate was to attend seminary at Fort Wayne, IN (previously located at Springfield, IL). The reason for such a methodical approach was that Missouri Synod’s educational policy demanded full control over its pastor’s theological training,⁸ and the system seemed to work well enough for American students. However, Philip Fry, who became president of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the LC-C in

1970, recognized early on the need for a Canadian seminary for the “establishment of an indigenous church.”⁹

Even as early as 1949, long before Fry began to push for discussions on theological education, the need for a Canadian seminary was being recognized. Many reasons were given for this need for the training of pastors on Canadian soil. First, for most Canadian students, both St. Louis and Springfield were too far away from home. Second, other Canadian Lutheran bodies were realizing the benefits of domestic training. Third, Missouri Synod had always been in favour of native seminaries for non-U.S. students. Fourth, a domestic seminary was crucial to the survival of a native church body. Finally, many U.S. born pastors called to Canadian congregations often returned home after a relatively short period of time.¹⁰ This short-term service was not helpful to the long-term health of the LC-C in Canada.

One solution to LC-C’s seminary problem was first proposed in 1959. The Board of Regents of Luther Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, SK invited LC-C to join with them at the newly formed institution. Unfortunately, Missouri Synod was not prepared to enter into any agreements with other Lutheran bodies at this point.¹¹ The Ontario District of the LC-C, however, moved on its own initiative to open a branch of the Fort Wayne Seminary at St. Catharines, ON in 1976. By 1980 it had become an independent seminary on the campus of Brock University.¹²

Luther Theological Seminary’s dream to include the western districts of the LC-C in its plans was not dead, however. Indeed, while the Ontario District was putting together its own plan for seminary education, the two Western Districts were actively involved with the newly merged and renamed Lutheran Theological Seminary Saskatoon.

A Brief History of Lutheran Theological Seminary in Saskatoon (LTS)

Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, which became a federated college of Wilfrid Laurier University (formerly Waterloo Lutheran University) in 1973, had been in operation in one form or another in Ontario since 1908.¹³ With the growth of the Canadian West following the establishment of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905, the need for a Lutheran theological educational facility in that region also grew. The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces, a member of General Council and formed out of the Northwest Conference of the Canada Synod in 1897, responded to this need and formed the Lutheran College and Seminary in the summer of 1913.¹⁴ In 1918, the Lutheran College and Seminary began seminary training to the already existing post-secondary college program in Saskatoon.

The German Lutherans were not the only Lutherans settling in western Canada. The Scandinavian Lutheran churches also wanted to train their pastors in Western Canada. Costs were prohibitive, however. Thus, in 1939, rather than opening its own seminary, the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, who were a part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, agreed to cooperate with the Lutheran College and Seminary (now a part of the United Lutheran Church in America) to share the existing facility, which resulted in the establishment of Luther Theological Seminary in Saskatoon. During the height of the Second World War, the American Lutheran Church-Canada District (which later became autonomous as the ELCC in 1967), the Augustana Synod, the Lutheran Free Church, and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (which became a part of the Lutheran Church in

America, formed in 1962) all agreed to a cooperative arrangement within the institution. During the mid-1950s, however, the Evangelical Lutheran Church moved Lutheran College and Seminary closer to the University of Saskatchewan, which caused a strained relationship between it and Luther Theological Seminary.¹⁵

Also during this time, the various Lutheran bodies were in the midst of merger negotiations, which would adversely affect the seminaries in Saskatoon – negatively in the case of Luther Theological Seminary. In addition, by 1962 the Lutheran Church in America had emerged on the Canadian scene and a new cooperative arrangement for seminary training was entered into between it and the other Lutheran bodies. This arrangement became unwieldy with all of the different churches having representatives at multiple sites, and so a new arrangement was negotiated with the aim of creating a single seminary with one president, one faculty, one student body, and one budget – all located on one site. Thus, in 1965, the Lutheran Theological Seminary Saskatoon (LTS) arose from the merger of Lutheran College and Seminary and Luther Theological Seminary, and it began building on the campus of the University of Saskatchewan. By 1976, its eleventh year of existence, LTS won accreditation from the Association of Theological Schools. It has the distinction of being the first Lutheran seminary in Canada to achieve accreditation, and for a while, the only one in the West to hold that honour.¹⁶

All that was missing from this new cooperative theological training venture was the Lutheran Church-Canada, since its involvement would make LTS *the* theological training centre for all Western Canadian Lutherans.¹⁷ In fact, as early as 1967, LC-C students were starting to attend LTS. This was not considered an issue until one student decided to transfer from the Concordia Seminary in St. Louis to LTS in Saskatoon. That move caught the attention of Missouri Synod's director of student aid, who subsequently terminated the student's financial assistance.¹⁸ Nevertheless, a measure of cooperation between the LC-C and the LTS would be achieved in the very near future.

The LC-C/LTS Experiment

After the incident involving the student who transferred from St. Louis to Saskatoon, the then president of Manitoba-Saskatchewan District, Walter Koehler, was asked to interview the other LC-C students at LTS in an effort to find out why they chose to attend there instead of a LC-MS seminary. The main reasons the students cited for favouring LTS were that they saved around 1000 dollars in student fees, they appreciated the "looser" doctrinal standards at LTS, and they experienced "greater church fellowship" within the new Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (ELCC) body.¹⁹ That, combined with Missouri Synod's tradition of requiring full control over the theological education of its pastors, made it even more surprising that LC-C entertained any cooperation with LTS at all. Yet, to the delight of many Western Canadian Lutherans, that is exactly what happened.²⁰

At their 1968 convention, the LC-C decided to request that the Missouri Synod investigate the possibility of allowing their Canadian students to study at LTS. No immediate action was taken, even though some LC-C students had already been attending the Saskatoon seminary. The Manitoba-Saskatchewan district of the LC-C in 1971 proposed the establishment and financial support of a theological chair on the faculty of LTS in order to ensure that these students would be permitted to become LC-C pastors upon graduation.

Missouri Synod's Commission on Theology and Church Relations "found the plan theologically unobjectionable." Thus, LC-C decided to move ahead with their plan to work with LTS. Roland Frantz, the President of Concordia College in Edmonton, became the first appointment to the chair, followed by Walter Koehler in 1973.²¹

The new arrangement was a win-win solution for everyone involved. LTS received a much-needed professor in the person of Koehler (who would be compensated by LC-C), and the LC-C now had access to seminary education in Western Canada. By 1973, Koehler had accepted a four-year professorship at LTS, and even though this was still technically a temporary arrangement, recent events seemed to be pointing in the direction of full, permanent educational cooperation between the three major Canadian Lutheran church bodies; the ELCC, the LCA-CS, and the LC-C.²²

With the endorsement of this new seminary arrangement, twelve fulltime LC-C students enrolled at LTS as Koehler began his professorship. According to LTS President Hordern, Koehler made a tremendous impact at the seminary, and not just with the LC-C students. The other faculty members appreciated having direct access to the LC-C point of view, and Koehler was well liked by the students of all three church bodies.²³ Indeed, Hordern called the results of Koehler's work "gratifying," and commented that he provided a "real presence of that [LC-C] church in our midst."²⁴

Koehler himself was so pleased with the arrangement at LTS that late in 1977 (the end of his four year mandate) he pushed the district pastors to think "hard and carefully" about theological training for Western Canada. He further suggested that LC-C needed to move toward a one-third partnership in LTS, including two additional LC-C faculty members.²⁵ Again, things looked very optimistic for this partnership to become a reality. In February of 1979 a committee consisting of LTS professors Erwin Buck (ELCC), John Kleiner, and Walter Koehler, along with three LC-C students, was formed to choose a second LC-C faculty member. Dr. Roland Miller was selected, but the Board of Directors of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan District of the LC-C decided to hold off calling him until after the LC-MS convention to be held in St. Louis later that summer. In the meantime, reason for hope increased as Koehler's contract was extended for an additional four years, and the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District indicated their full support of the plan.²⁶

Indeed, optimism for continued educational cooperation even went beyond the seminary. In the words of Dr. Hordern, years later: "We were the only seminary in North America that officially served all three of the major branches of Lutheranism...There were a few heady years when it seemed that merger might be achieved...It looked like LTS was the forerunner of one Lutheran Church in Canada."²⁷ Unfortunately, those statements of lament represent the height of cooperation between Lutherans in Canada as things began to unravel with the close of the 1970s and the dawn of the 1980s.

Attempts to Save the LTS Arrangement

Even before the LC-C decided to pull its professor and students out of LTS there was a sense of gloom in the air among the Lutherans in Canada, which certainly did not go unnoticed by the leaders of any of the main three Lutheran church bodies. Indeed, as the 1970s drew to a close, great efforts were already underway to strengthen the relationships, both between the LC-C, the ELCC, and the LCA-CS, *and* between the LC-C and LTS in Saskatoon. In fact, the ELCC and LCA-CS certainly seemed willing to accommodate the LC-C

wherever they could. Indeed, the LC-C students were receiving the benefit of a full slate of professors while the LC-C itself was, at that point, only required to provide funds for Professor Koehler's salary. However, the leadership of the two Western Districts of the LC-C led the push to maintain, and even to strengthen, the LC-C's relationship with LTS.

Philip Fry, president of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District since 1970, was instrumental in arranging for an LC-C faculty chair at LTS, as well as for covering Professor Koehler's salary. He even secured grant and loan funding for LC-C students at LTS, and allowed the district congregations to raise funds for the seminary. George Rode of the Alberta-British Columbia District had been involved in trying to solve the Western seminary problem since the 1950s and like Fry, was fully dedicated to the LTS solution. Unfortunately, both Fry and Rode decided not to seek re-election to their respective presidencies in 1978, which had the unintended effect of leaving the LTS arrangement open to attack from those who opposed it.²⁸

In an attempt to balance out and strengthen cooperation at LTS, the new Manitoba-Saskatchewan president, Roy Holm, actively pursued the goal of adding one more LC-C professor to the LTS staff by the fall of 1978. The Alberta-British Columbia District added its own weight to Holm's proposal by committing funds for yet a third professor for the seminary in Saskatoon. Even though the LC-C chose the initial professor candidate without consulting the LTS, the LTS Board of Directors were in full support of the efforts of the LC-C's western districts. In fact, LTS President Hordern even began making plans to provide suitable office space for an additional LC-C professor.²⁹

The majority of the opposition to the LTS solution came not from the western districts of the LC-C, but from the Ontario District, which insisted on full LC-C control over any of its educational facilities.³⁰ In response to that policy, a committee appointed by the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District Board of Directors came up with a plan that would allow the LC-C to continue to use the LTS facilities while maintaining control over its own education. The project called for a "seminary within a seminary," which would be known as Concordia House. Concordia House would come complete with three fulltime LC-C professors, along with a Board of Control, occupied by representatives from both western districts of the LC-C. Proposed in October of 1980, the plan would give Concordia House instant accreditation, as it would still be attached to LTS. In addition, LC-C students would be granted full access to the excellent LTS library,³¹ and students from all three church bodies would be permitted to take classes from any of the professors, although LC-C students would have a clearly defined set of classes that they would be required to take from the LC-C professors.³²

It would seem that this plan would satisfy the LC-C's policy of full control over the education of its own pastors, while simultaneously cooperating and interacting with Canadian Lutherans of other stripes. However, even though 32 LC-C students had graduated from LTS by the end of the 1980-81 school year (most of who would go on to serve in the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District),³³ Concordia House never came close to being implemented.³⁴

The Phase-Out of LC-C Students from LTS

The first hint that things were taking a turn for the worse in the Saskatoon seminary relationship was when Professor Koehler's four year posting at LTS came up for renewal in

1977. Although he faithfully prepared for the coming fall term, he was told that he would have to wait until after the LC-MS convention scheduled for that summer to learn his fate. The events of that convention served to add confusion to an already uncertain situation: Koehler was given an additional two year appointment, to be reviewed again at the 1979 convention,³⁵ but it was also decided that LC-C's arrangement with LTS was to be "phased-out" by 1981.³⁶

LC-C's decision to pull out of LTS was not entirely unexpected, but was still somewhat baffling. Setting up a new seminary in Western Canada would be costly with comparatively few additional benefits. Nevertheless, LC-MS was determined to press ahead, and cited four main reasons for the decision to terminate the LTS arrangement: (1) The LC-MS is not in fellowship with the LCA-CS who, along with the ELCC, operated the seminary. (2) One professor on a theological faculty gave the synod no control over doctrine taught. (3) The positions of certain other faculty members on such issues as biblical interpretations and methodologies, along with their position on women's ordination, were contrary to synodical policy. (4) The arrangement represented the dangerous precedent of delegating away the theological training of the synod's future pastors to others. Therefore, although it could be defended as a temporary measure, the program could not stand as it hitherto existed.³⁷ What this statement revealed was a deep and profound mistrust that has its roots in the differing views on theology and Biblical interpretation between the Missouri Synod and the ELCC/LCA churches.

Missouri Synod's theological position was shaped mainly by Franz Pieper (1852-1931), the former systematics professor at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. For Pieper, true Lutheranism had its grounding in a strict view of Biblical inerrancy. At the time that Pieper was active, this would not have been an unusual view for many Canadian Lutherans of any stripe.³⁸ However, the theological climate in the Christian West began to change after the Second World War as most Lutheran bodies, including the Missouri Synod, loosened their views on inerrancy somewhat, especially if those views put up barriers to cooperation between Lutherans. The LC-MS, however, grew uncomfortable with some of the more radical positions of the new theology, and so began to pull back into the more traditional "Old Lutheranism."³⁹

The mistrust that developed as a result of these deep theological differences increased during the "Seminex" crisis of 1974. On February 19th of that year, almost all of the students attending *Concordia Seminary* in St. Louis walked out in reaction to a dispute between the "left-wing" seminary president, John H. Teitjen, and the more conservative LC-MS president, Jacob Preus. Seminex was the acronym for "Seminary in Exile," which the students established at nearby Eden Seminary on the campus of St. Louis University. Teitjen had been suspended from the seminary on January 20th for his policies, which led not only to the student revolt, but also led to a majority of the faculty walking out in support of the ousted president.⁴⁰

Although the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District tried to dismiss the Seminex crisis as an "American" problem, for many in the LC-C it only demonstrated the dangers of allowing room for such unbridled "liberalism." President Preus reacted to the Seminex revolt by requiring that all LC-MS pastoral candidates submit to interviews with the St. Louis professors who *did not* take part in the walkout, before the candidates could be certified for ministry in the LC-C. This would prove to have an indirect, yet adverse effect on the state of LC-C participation at LTS.⁴¹

In addition to the Seminex revolt, the merger talks between the LC-C, ELCC, and the LCA-CS were starting to falter by 1977 after it appeared that progress was being made toward a merger by 1980.⁴² One of the reasons for the breakdown was over the question of female ordination, which the LC-MS and LC-C officially opposed. An Alberta-British Columbia District committee, created to study the issue, stated that having women in the same seminary classrooms as LC-C students is a “rather effective sensitivity training for Missouri to be conditioned to vote in favor of the ordination of women in the future.”⁴³

Although LC-C went ahead with its withdrawal from LTS, scheduled for 1981, it was understood that the students who had begun their training at the Saskatoon seminary would be permitted to finish there – but only after the students themselves had made it known that they had no intention of transferring to Concordia Seminary, the LC-C seminary in St. Catharines, Ontario. This implied, of course, that Koehler would be supported until at least the end of the 1984 academic year. In the meantime, LC-C students continued to register at LTS and would either finish their education at the emerging LC-C seminary in Edmonton, AB, or would simply switch to a different Lutheran church body and remain at LTS.⁴⁴

It was clear by now, however, that there would be no turning back from the decision to “phase-out” the LTS arrangement. As a result, the LC-C was again faced with the challenge of providing a viable seminary education for western Canadian students; a problem they would finally solve by opening their own seminary, not in Saskatoon, but rather in Edmonton.

The Creation of Concordia Lutheran Seminary in Edmonton

LC-C already had a seminary in Canada by the time they decided to pull out of LTS in Saskatoon. The problem was that it was located on the campus of Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario, which was fine for the students coming out of the Ontario District, but was not very convenient for the western students.⁴⁵ LC-MS President Preus reasoned that Canada really only needed one seminary and that it should be located in Winnipeg, MB, due to that city’s geographically central location. Not surprisingly, the Ontario District was adamantly opposed to such a move.⁴⁶ Clearly, if the LC-C was going to terminate its arrangement with LTS in Saskatoon, it would have to find its own solution for seminary training in Western Canada. Hence, at the November, 1981 LC-C meeting on seminaries, the attending delegates voted to build their own seminary in Edmonton, AB.⁴⁷

The LC-C students who continued to enroll at LTS after 1981 were expected to complete their degrees at the new Concordia Theological Seminary in Edmonton, which opened for classes in the fall of 1984.⁴⁸ With that, all hope of a suitable arrangement between the three Canadian Lutheran churches for a shared theological education facility in Western Canada was effectively dead. Professor Koehler took a sabbatical at the end of his contract in 1984, but turned down an appointment to Concordia Theological Seminary, Edmonton, electing to stay with LTS instead.⁴⁹

President Hordern was invited to attend the dedication of the new Edmonton seminary, and was also asked to speak at the St. Catharines seminary during their Lutheran Life Lectures in 1985; both of which he cheerfully and gratefully accepted. Hordern was greeted warmly and was treated well at both events, which served to reassure him that “there remained in Missouri a reservoir of good will towards other Lutherans.”⁵⁰

Conclusion

There are at present four Lutheran seminaries in Canada, serving two Lutheran church bodies with a combined membership of no more than 250,000 people: only a fraction of whom will ever consider ordained ministry. This is a somewhat grievous situation. It would be too easy, however, to blame the LC-C for the present lack of Lutheran unity; too easy and far too simplistic. In fact, there were a surprising number of supporters within the LC-C for a coordinated effort regarding seminary education in western Canada, as well as strong support for a merger of the church bodies themselves. As such, the frustration felt on the LTS side during those years of cooperation and negotiation was just as intensely felt by many of the people in the western districts of the LC-C. The Lutheran Theological Seminary, as William Hordern had pointed out, seemed poised to be the very model of Canadian Lutheran cooperation for the future. Yet, every positive development in the seminary relationship appeared to fizzle out in disappointment as a comparatively small group of decision makers seemed to work relentlessly against it.

In light of these past events, as well as the present respective positions of the two main Lutheran bodies, perhaps the aim of Lutheran cooperation in Canada should not be focused so much in the direction of merger, but rather in the direction of fostering an atmosphere of mutual respect. It is clear that the ELCIC and the LC-C are as far apart as they ever were when it comes to Biblical interpretation and methodologies, but they are still in agreement regarding the truth of the central Gospel message. Perhaps our prayer should be, as sisters and brothers, that regardless of our Lutheran church body affiliations, we do not forget our unity in Christ Jesus, and that all churches – not just the Lutherans, could see fit to gather at the feet of, and rediscover our unity in, the one who is the Church's one foundation.

Endnotes

¹ These Lutheran church bodies supporting LTS were the Lutheran Church-Canada (LC-C), the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (ELCC) and the Lutheran Church in America – Canada Section (LCA-CS). The latter two merged in 1986 to form the Evangelical Lutheran Church In Canada (ELCIC).

² Albert H. Schwermann, *The Beginnings of Lutheran Church-Canada* (Edmonton, AB: LC-C, 1969), 11. See also Theodore Charles Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual: A Brief History of the Missouri Synod's Cooperation with Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon," Academic Dissertation (Saskatoon: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1982), 8.

³ *Proceedings of the Forty-fourth Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 17. See also Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 9.

⁴ Schwermann, *The Beginnings of Lutheran Church-Canada*, 98-100. See also Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 9-10.

⁵ Norman J. Threinen, *The Convergence of Canadian Lutheranism*. Doctoral Thesis-Historical Study (St. Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1980), 286. See also Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 10.

⁶ Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 48.

⁷ Frederick W. Danker, *No Room in the Brotherhood*. (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1977), 9.

⁸ Clifford E. Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 184.

- ⁹ Norman J. Threinen, *A Sower Went Out: A History of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan District of Lutheran Church-Canada*. (Regina: Manitoba and Saskatchewan District of the LC-C, 1982), 144.
- ¹⁰ *Minutes of the Board of Directors, Lutheran Church-Canada* (Winnipeg: LCC, 1958). See also Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 16.
- ¹¹ Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 144.
- ¹² Norman J. Threinen, *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic: A History of Lutherans in Canada*. (Vulcan, AB: Today's Reformation Press, 2006), 176.
- ¹³ Threinen, *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic*, 179. For a history of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, see Oscar L. Arnal, *Toward and Indigenous Lutheran Ministry in Canada: The Seventy-Five year Pilgrimage of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary (1911-1986)* (Waterloo: Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, 1988).
- ¹⁴ A helpful history of the Manitoba Synod, as it was known, is found in Ernst George Goos, *Pioneering for Christ in Western Canada: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces* (n.p; 1947).
- ¹⁵ Threinen, *The Convergence of Canadian Lutheranism*, 260-262.
- ¹⁶ Norman J. Threinen, "A Church in Formation," *The Shepherd* (April 1977), 11.
- ¹⁷ Threinen, *The Convergence of Canadian Lutheranism*, 263-264.
- ¹⁸ Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 144.
- ¹⁹ Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 145.
- ²⁰ Nelson, *The Lutherans in North America*, 184.
- ²¹ Threinen, *The Convergence of Canadian Lutheranism*, 265-266.
- ²² George O. Evenson, *Adventuring for Christ: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada*. (Calgary: Foothills Lutheran Press, 1974), 55.
- ²³ *Proceedings of the Forty-ninth Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod*, 285.
- ²⁴ William Hordern to Arthur M. Alschwede (October 8th, 1974), Cited in Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 34-35.
- ²⁵ Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 147.
- ²⁶ *Minutes of the Board of Directors, Manitoba & Saskatchewan District* (Regina, 1979), 2. Cited in Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 56.
- ²⁷ William Hordern, *Challenged by Change: Memoirs of a Seminary President*. (Regina, SK: Canadian Lutheran Historical Association, 1994), 112.
- ²⁸ Schwermann, *The Beginnings of Lutheran Church-Canada*, 27.
- ²⁹ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 116-117.
- ³⁰ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 117.
- ³¹ *Project Design for Saskatoon Seminary: Report and proposal submitted to the Board of Directors, Manitoba & Saskatchewan District, 1980*. Cited in Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 65-66.
- ³² Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 120-121.
- ³³ Threinen, *The Sower Went Out*, 146.
- ³⁴ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 121.
- ³⁵ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 112.
- ³⁶ *Proceedings of the Fifty-third Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), 140. Cited in Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 57.
- ³⁷ *Proceedings of the Fifty-third Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod*, 140-141. Cited in Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 57.
- ³⁸ Threinen, *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic*, 176.
- ³⁹ Threinen, *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic*, 178.
- ⁴⁰ Danker, *No Room in the Brotherhood*.
- ⁴¹ *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Regular Convention of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973), 250. Cited in Moeller, "Temporary and Unusual," 44-45.
- ⁴² Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 148.
- ⁴³ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 119.

- ⁴⁴ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 120-121.
⁴⁵ Threinen, *A Religious-Cultural Mosaic*, 176.
⁴⁶ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 118.
⁴⁷ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 121.
⁴⁸ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 121.
⁴⁹ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 122.
⁵⁰ Hordern, *Challenged by Change*, 122.