

## Consensus

---

Volume 13

Issue 2 *Canadian Lutheranism, Yesterday and Tomorrow*

Article 5

---

11-1-1987

# An agenda for Canadian Lutherans: the search for prophetic soil

Oscar Cole-Arnal

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus>

---

### Recommended Citation

Cole-Arnal, Oscar (1987) "An agenda for Canadian Lutherans: the search for prophetic soil," *Consensus*: Vol. 13 : Iss. 2 , Article 5.  
Available at: <http://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol13/iss2/5>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Scholars Commons @ Laurier. It has been accepted for inclusion in Consensus by an authorized editor of Scholars Commons @ Laurier. For more information, please contact [scholarscommons@wlu.ca](mailto:scholarscommons@wlu.ca).

# An Agenda For Canadian Lutherans: The Search For Prophetic Soil

Oscar L. Arnal

*Associate Professor of Historical Theology  
Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, Waterloo*

Over a decade ago the theological journal *Consensus* (then sponsored by the Lutheran Council in Canada) dedicated an entire issue to "the Canadian reality" in which Lutherans "are called to proclaim and live the Gospel". This effort was an outgrowth of the ecumenical optimism among the nation's Lutherans that was convinced that an all-Canadian Lutheran church was a hope soon to be realized. Sadly these dreams were shattered on the divisive rocks of women's ordination and the interpretation of Biblical authority, issues portrayed graphically in William Hordern's essay "A Partially Achieved Dream".<sup>1</sup>

Nonetheless, the vision of a distinctly Canadian brand of Lutheranism remains a strong one and has been constructed on a solid foundation since the difficult beginnings of the nation's Lutherans among the settlers of Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia. The Norman Threinen article in this issue singles out three pivotal points in which Canada's Lutherans struggled to find their autonomy in this land. He applauds the courage and success of the German Lutherans of Lunenburg in their effort to free themselves from the financial, cultural, governmental and theological control of the dominant Anglicans. He describes how Ontario Lutherans gave birth to our denomination's first autonomous synod north of the United States border, and he portrays the current Lutheran ecumenism as rooted in the war and postwar refugee crises within a Canadian context.<sup>2</sup>

Threinen is right. From the very beginning, incarnated in the very geography itself, Canadian Lutheranism was developing its own unique and autonomous colouration. The successes of such early missionaries as Charles Ernst Cossman, Hermanus Hayunga, Friedrich Wilhelm Bindemann and H.C. Schmieder

can be traced directly not only to their courage, zeal and vision but also to their creative adaptation to the climate and frontier character of their mission field. They were autonomous out of necessity, and in that autonomy they were rendered indigenous by embracing the Canadian reality rather than yearning for parent bodies no longer relevant to a new land. Willy-nilly they had sowed the seeds of a Lutheranism which would come to bear its own Canadian stamp.<sup>3</sup>

This is not to suggest that the road to an indigenous Lutheranism was a smooth one or, indeed, that the process has been completed with the creation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church In Canada. Hordern's description of "a partially achieved dream" is an apt one. However, should the Lutheran Church-Canada join with the new Evangelical Lutheran Church In Canada, there would be additional and substantive work to be completed before the fullness of our Canadian incarnation would be accomplished. The long and lingering ties of dependence upon ethnic traditions, regional hostilities, varied pieties, European and United States ties remain as a mix of both witness and road-block to expressing our Lutheran faith within Canada. Matthew Diegel's "The New Evangelical Lutheran Church In Canada", published in this issue, is a critical analysis of one of these dependencies.<sup>4</sup>

In this tapestry of more recent struggles, there is a common thread of hope and commitment to the indigenous challenge. Built upon the more gradual and subtle Canadianization of the earlier Lutheran missionaries, those who consolidated their work had a conscious commitment to a more indigenous manifestation of Lutheranism in the land. A few examples suffice to illustrate this. Certainly the formation of the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod in June 1853 was a significant step in the direction of Canadian Lutheran autonomy, as was the creation of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada less than a decade later and six years before Confederation. To be sure the contradiction between geographical distance from Pittsburgh and the immediate needs of Lutherans in Upper Canada were paramount reasons for this pressure of autonomy against a somewhat reluctant parent synod, but there were, in addition, the first seeds of consciousness that Lutherans in Canada had special needs that their colleagues to the south might not understand.<sup>5</sup>

The history of the development of the seminary in Waterloo is another example of both the growing independence of Canadian Lutheranism and an evolving consciousness of the uniqueness of that Canadian witness. The need for indigenous clergy prompted both the German- and English-speaking synods of eastern Canada to undertake the heroic chore of founding a seminary on Canadian soil. With its birth in 1911 Canadian Lutherans could be served by pastors trained within their own land. An important watershed had been reached; an era of pastoral stability for the Canadian church had begun. The words of a *Canada Lutheran* editorial (1916) reflected a new consciousness and pride in these momentous events:

When five years ago we founded this institution and began our work to train a native Canadian ministry we little realized how soon, in the providence of God, the importance of our actions should be borne home upon us. When our class graduates on the 31st of May we will have supplied to our Canadian Church through this institution, enough pastors to make an entire synod as large as some now organized in America. They will be serving in different parts of Canada and thus disseminating throughout the country an influence that must react to the advantage of the Seminary and our Canadian Lutheran Church. To support this institution is to show in a very practical way our devotion to the Evangelical Lutheran Church and our loyalty to Canadian interests.<sup>6</sup>

However, it was largely from the western Canadian Lutherans that the most recent vision for an all-Canadian Lutheran church, fully independent from its United States connections, came. Spearheading this move was the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (ELCC) which severed its ties with its U.S. predecessor body the American Lutheran Church (ALC) in 1967. For over four decades the ELCC's ancestor organizations reflected the dogged spirit of independence characteristic of their respective Scandinavian heritages. They clamored for more independence of action, insisted on increasing administrative autonomy and took independent positions over against their U.S. counterparts. Though they kept the U.S. connection when the ALC was formed in 1960, the Lutherans of the ALC's Canada District insisted on a number of powers not held by other Lutheran bodies in the land. Thus it is not surprising that seven years later these Lutheran pioneers became the first independent Lutheran denomination in Canada. It was the

ELCC which would serve as the impetus to create the Evangelical Lutheran Church In Canada (ELCIC). The Canada District's firm affirmation in 1960 that "a Canadian church would be free to choose its own course in developing an all-Canadian Lutheran Church" is ample affirmation of this dream.<sup>7</sup>

Indeed, the hope for an all-Canadian Lutheran church, dedicated to its Reformation heritage and to its Canadian incarnation, has been partially realized. For this we owe a debt of gratitude to those who went before us. However, our obligations to our forebears, both Lutheran and Canadian, remain our persistent challenge. Of course, the most obvious shadow is that our unity is incomplete until we are indeed only one Lutheran church in Canada. Yet deeper than the unity question is the issue of fidelity. Are we true to the gospel? Is our unity, our new church, finding unique ways to hear and respond to the Biblical God of radical grace that will be simultaneously loyal to the insights of the Lutheran Reformation and the Canadian scene? I am convinced that we are struggling with these issues faithfully; I am convinced we will continue to do so as we seek to make creative contributions in serving the gospel in our dual incarnation as Christians who are both Lutheran and Canadian.

A particularly difficult and sensitive area of our overall mandate is the issue of prophetic witness. In the priestly and nurturing ministries of worship, pastoral care, charity and institutional support, Lutherans in Canada and elsewhere have made enduring contributions. In the arenas of social justice, prophetic confrontation and righteous challenge to established authority our record is more slender and conflictual. A long history of submission to political authority; of strands of individualism and quietism; of years of self-defense, much of it necessary in past eras; and of comfortable burgher conservatism have rendered us all too cautious in the face of those insistent prophetic voices which confront us with the radical dimensions of God's Word. In the remainder of this article I will seek to draw us into the world of the prophetic dimension by identifying examples of such ministry in our history and life so that we will not lose sight of this arena of our Biblical heritage. To be sure, limits of space demand that my examples be somewhat arbitrary, but at the very least, they will demonstrate that we have within our history a cloud of witnesses which

demonstrates that we are called to speak for and with the oppressed and marginalized because we are Lutheran, because we are Canadian, and because we are Canadian Lutherans. The presence of such incarnations in our collective Lutheran and Canadian soil will not permit us to reject as alien the flowers that have grown from this historical loam.

As Lutheran, we run immediately up against the confrontational and rebel Luther himself. Certainly there is much in Luther that gives comfort to a status quo and quietistic notion of ministry. His behaviour during the Peasant's War, the conservative nature of his two-realm political structure, and his reliance upon princely authority are cases in point and have been used as recently as Nazi Germany to justify the church's silence in the midst of flagrant injustice.<sup>8</sup> However, there is another side to Luther which is both prophetic and revolutionary, a side which is a direct challenge to "legitimate" authority both political and ecclesiastical. In spite of many Lutherans' attempts to separate Luther's radical notion of justification by grace alone through faith in Christ from the sociopolitical realm, the reality was quite different. Under the banner of this gospel Luther advocated and practised rebellion against both the political and religious authorities of his era. In the name of conscience and his notion of God's Word he raised the banner of revolt against the dual legal establishment of his times. He called upon the local princes to repudiate traditional church authority and advocated confiscation of both property and taxes which belonged to his church. Based upon his corporative medievalist convictions, Luther attacked with deep passion the burgeoning capitalist system with its profit motive. Further, he condemned the inflationary spiral of his day and the planned effort to drive out competition via monopolistic practices. His frequent warning that money and property are "the most common idol on earth" is just one more example of Luther's prophetic insights. Like most of us, Luther was a man of contradictions, but seeking to use Luther to justify a narrow notion of obedience to existing authorities is to cling to only half the man. Fundamentally, Luther was a rebel and a prophet who was a leading actor in demolishing the religious and political establishment of his era. This dimension of our Luther heritage dare not be lost in our new church.<sup>9</sup>

Few would doubt that Dietrich Bonhoeffer is one of our most obvious and courageous prophets. Avant-garde in his en-

tire ministry, this Barthian theologian was an avid ecumenist, a worker among the German urban poor, an advocate of justice for American blacks, a promoter of Gandhi's non-violent independence movement and a member of the German Confessional Church which produced the anti-Nazi Barmen Declaration. Beyond this, Bonhoeffer moved where his anti-Hitler allies were not prepared to go. He directed an underground seminary in Pomerania which lived the communal life and refused to take the safe road of exile offered to him during the war years. Instead he remained in Germany to take an active part in the small resistance movement to overthrow Hitler's regime. It cost him his liberty, and while in prison, his links to a bomb plot designed to assassinate the Führer led to the supreme sacrifice of martyrdom.<sup>10</sup> Few are admired within our North American churches as Bonhoeffer; he has won a place in our church's hagiography like no other since Luther. However, it must be remembered that Bonhoeffer contrived not only to overthrow a legally constituted government, but also he did this against the authority and convictions of the vast majority of his own church.

Thus, it should not be surprising that, like his forebear Luther, Bonhoeffer's notion of radical or "costly grace" led him to adopt and live the call to prophetic and revolutionary discipleship. His transforming notion of the Reformation's central principle was in sharp contrast to "cheap grace", as he called it, a "grace without discipleship, grace without the cross, grace without Jesus Christ". For him, the "Christian life" meant "nothing more than living in the world" and there "in the thick of foes".<sup>11</sup> Bonhoeffer proved the seriousness of his convictions by living them and dying for them, and to that end his was a prophetic voice bringing forth both judgment on his church and hope for a future mission more reflective of the gospel he cherished. Much like later liberation theologians, Bonhoeffer identified Christian life with the marginalized. "The exclusion of the weak and insignificant, the seemingly useless people, from a Christian community", he claimed, "may actually mean the exclusion of Christ. In the poor brother [and sister] Christ is knocking at the door." He was certain that "Christians want to be down below with the lowly and the needy, because that is where God found the one who would be Christian".<sup>12</sup> The imprisoned Bonhoeffer, shortly before his execution, began to

chisel out some guidelines he envisioned for the postwar church, and they are shockingly prophetic even for our own day. He indicted even the bold Confessing Church for being a lackey of "ecclesiastical interests", an "incubus of traditional values", a haven for "the upper and lower middle classes", a church "on the defensive" and unwilling "to take risks in the service of humanity".<sup>13</sup> His solution was a most radical body of Christ:

The Church is her true self only when she exists for humanity. As a fresh start she should give away all her endowments to the poor and needy. The clergy should live solely on the free-will offerings of their congregations, or possibly engage in some secular calling. She must take part in the social life of the world, not lording it over people, but helping and serving them.<sup>14</sup>

Within our own North American Lutheran community, a group of pastors and laity have sought to embody the prophetic tradition envisioned and lived by Dietrich Bonhoeffer. This is the controversial Denominational Ministry Strategy (DMS), a collection of clergy and radical laity committed to both reform and Biblical justice. Although ecumenical in origin and development the DMS (or DMX, as it is now called) is dominated by Lutheranism in terms of its leadership, constituency and theology. To be sure, its radical critique of the mainline Lutheran church and its confrontational style have brought the opprobrium of most Lutherans in authority upon their heads. So also have they felt the weight of corporate powers, life threats and prison terms. Two of their pastors, Douglas Roth and Daniel Solberg, were incarcerated for months because they refused to vacate their pastoral charges.<sup>15</sup> Today the debate rages. The church, the government, the higher echelons of labour and the corporate planners of the new Pittsburgh deny them any prophetic credentials, but these reasons are hardly satisfying when we examine the prophetic witnesses of the faith either Biblically or historically. Habitually prophets are lauded only after they are safely dead or, at least, circumscribed.

Although the DMS forces may be fruitfully criticized for this or that misjudgment, careless word or wrongly calculated tactic, nonetheless, they represent a conscious commitment to that part of our tradition which has sought to be radically prophetic. In none of their words, none of their tactics have they been any more threatening, outrageous or radical than either Luther or Bonhoeffer or, for that matter, than the collective prophetic tradition found in the canonical Scriptures.



So far they are learning as they go, and the life and theology which has emerged from their pilgrimage reflect that. Taking most seriously the Lutheran Church in America's statement on "Economic Justice", DMS sought to apply it in a living way to the massive unemployment situation that was devastating the lives of the Pittsburgh area's working class people. When appeals and dialogue failed to work, the DMS began to employ a confrontational strategy which used direct action to help the beleaguered steel workers. Picketing of Mellon Bank, obstructionist tactics, skunk oil, dead fish in bank vaults and symbolic worship actions brought the DMS world-wide attention, unified opposition from the established political, ecclesiastical and corporate establishment, some successes and some failures. Division and discord have escalated, but the surviving DMS congregations have a vitality and witness that involves them deeply in both parish life and community service. DMS's prophetic challenge to our church is patterned consciously after that of Bonhoeffer's. Are we to let society's models of progress, prestige and power become subtly both the form and content of how we express the gospel?<sup>16</sup> Is the voice of DMS the voice of our prophetic tradition? As always, only God knows, yet it seems that they reflect the words, style and challenge of our past prophets. Painful though they may be, they are an intrinsic part of our tradition.

Beyond our Lutheran prophetic heritage, we have also in Canada a radical tradition from which we can draw as well. Three examples provide ample illustration of this. The first I have chosen is the Protestant labor church movement which emerged in the wake of the Winnipeg General Strike. These peoples' churches, as they came to be called, were radical expressions of the social gospel movement in its prairie colours. Taking seriously the Presbyterian and Methodist statements on industrial reform, on an end to the profit system and on the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth, a number of sensitive pastors in Winnipeg and Alberta sought to lead their congregations into antiwar and industrial justice activities. Reeling under attacks from wealthy congregational members, these men sought to organize churches which would be broadly ecumenical in theology and passionately devoted to establishing a just social order for and with the oppressed. The first of these interdenominational churches was founded

by William Ivens in June 1918, and the remaining eighteen on record were responses to the worker protests in Winnipeg the following year. Rev. A.E. Smith organized his base church in Brandon, Manitoba, and from there he became a circuit rider throughout the west setting up sister congregations. The well-known social gossellers William Irvine, Salem Bland and James S. Woodsworth were all avid supporters of these peoples' churches, and Woodsworth himself replaced Ivens at the Winnipeg church's helm when the latter was elected on the Labor ticket to the Manitoba legislature. By the mid-1920s the movement was dead. Its leadership had moved into the arena of reform politics, and the formidable opposition of government, business and ecclesiastical leadership had marginalized this prophetic movement.<sup>17</sup>

Woodsworth himself is the most well-known of this visionary circle. His work among the immigrant poor in Winnipeg had sensitized him to the plight of the oppressed, and his experience in the field of social work gave him the tools to promote the radical social programs which were so sorely needed in prairie industrial life. During the General Strike Woodsworth edited the labor newspaper after Ivens' arrest, but it was not long before he too was behind bars. Upon his release he became an outspoken advocate of the labor church experiment which he called a "religious movement among the common people" and a response of solidarity in the name of "a better day for humanity". Like the others, Woodsworth entered electoral politics, and for two decades he represented the working class riding of North Winnipeg in the House of Commons. His contributions to social welfare programs, the cause of peace and the founding of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation have immortalized his name in the annals of Canadian prophetic justice.<sup>18</sup>

Among the fisheries and farms of upland Nova Scotia some English-speaking Catholic priests brought vision and organizing skills to the hard-pressed settlers of that area. In the tiny hamlets where these largely Catholic highland Scots live, Fathers Jimmy Tompkins and Moses Michael Coady began a program of adult activist education which led to effective political organizing and the founding of a series of cooperatives to bring justice and meaningful life to the oppressed people of this rural area. Their base of operations was St. Francis-Xavier University at Antigonish; indeed, the effort was soon called the

Antigonish Movement. Father Tompkins published his famous pamphlet "Knowledge for the People" in 1921. In it he urged the college to develop an adult education program which would enable the people acting collectively to transform their lives—personally, socially and economically. It was Tompkins who laid the groundwork for linking adult education and the cooperative movement. In such a fashion he and the younger Coady employed the liberationist educational model for transformation which was named and utilized by Paulo Freire in Brazil decades later. However, it took seven more years before the university set up this avant-grade Extension Department. Moses Coady, a native of the area, was named director.<sup>19</sup>

For the next three decades until his death in 1959 Father Coady would be the movement's figurehead. He was a natural with the farmers and fishers with whom he had grown up. Well-known as both a public speaker and radio personality, Coady would drive from locale to locale in his car to organize the people into classes and co-ops so that they could fight for their rights. Using a blend of humour, sociological knowledge, religious passion and common sense, the Rodinesque priest could inspire and mobilize a lethargic and crushed people. His dreams were the poetic articulations of the people he loved so much. He called the "thrilling experience of actually engaging in creative thinking by the people on their own account... the finest flower of education". His abiding faith in democracy, both economic and political, and his commitment to social justice for Biblical and Christian reasons place him in a long line of faithful prophets. Today his legacy survives and thrives. Both the Extension Program and the Coady Institute at Antigonish are known world-wide, and they train not only Canadian justice advocates in visionary and practical reform but also the brightest and best from Third World countries. Today the Coady Institute continues to affirm the dignity of human beings as "God-endowed" who deserve a transformed order reflecting "the equitable allocation of societal opportunities and the full development of all persons in society". The Antigonish Movement is indeed worthy of emulation.<sup>20</sup>

A third example of prophetic ministry in Canadian Christian life has been the ministry of our worker-priests. As early as 1964 the Rev. Daniel Heap, now an NDP member of Parliament, was an Anglican priest who earned his living doing

manual labor. He viewed his ministry as one of advocacy for the workers, and he was convinced that the laboring classes would turn away from the church increasingly because of its "privatization", its refusal to risk "the ill-will of the rich and powerful", and its timidity in moving beyond its high-standing social statements. A decade later a French-Canadian priest in Windsor, René Giroux, took up factory work in his city in order to be closer to the life of people. "One should share the life of these people in order to have compassion for them", was his firm conviction. "And we ourselves, in so far as we are priests, we should be sensitive to the anxieties, the aspirations, the deceptions... of factory workers. Can we do this without being among them?" For Giroux this ministry was a form of Christ's incarnation in the midst of life. Today Father Giroux still ministers in the poor and marginalized neighbourhoods of Windsor, and like his prophetic predecessors he is not always well received by his ecclesiastical colleagues.<sup>21</sup>

In the last fifteen years most of the Canadian worker-priests have conducted their ministry in *la belle province*, especially in Montreal and its environs. Some are secular priests, others both male and female belong to such religious orders as the Jesuits, the Capuchins, the Fils de la Charité and the Petits Frères et Petites Soeurs de Jésus. Many of them have adopted a communal form of life for both reflection and action. Representative of this is the artisan collective Opération Dignité and two Montreal-based *équipes* called Le Groupe PRROQ and le Mouvement des Travailleurs Chrétiens. Often they worship, study, eat and reflect together, but, above all, they earn their living by manual toil. By conscious incarnation they identify fully with the privations and hard life of the Quebec working class. Further, they have embraced the visionary hopes of their adopted class and have joined actively in its militant struggles. Like their continental French counterparts many of them are deeply involved in the trade union movement. One such priest was Benoît Fortin. Now a Capuchin Provincial, Father Fortin was a dock loader at Quebec City's Hotel Hilton. There he struggled against much opposition to form a union which would effectively serve the interests of his fellow toilers. Why did he pursue such militancy? Because, he affirmed, "the place where you earn your bread should not be a place of oppression".<sup>22</sup>

Countless other examples could be cited in the Canadian experience which provide models for a more radical prophetic ministry in our society. The life testimonies of Louis Riel and Nellie McClung, the Jesuit and GATT-Fly research teams of Toronto, Project North and other ecumenical coalitions of which Lutherans are a part, the bold experiments in justice matters of the United Church of Canada and the recent statements of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops illustrate some additional efforts in that direction.<sup>23</sup> These and other indigenous experiences can be criticized, of course, but for the prophetic needs of our new church it might be well for us to borrow from others within our native or chosen land.

Finally, there are indicators that we have some examples of prophetic ministry within the history and life of our own Canadian Lutheran church. Most of these are scattered and the workings of a handful of committed visionaries, and many of them remain on the borders of the church's life. Yet they are there, an existing soil to be discovered and celebrated. Above all, they are there to become part of our collective wisdom and prophetic *praxis*. In the east there is Pastor Henry Fischer's Faith Place at Oshawa and his community work in this working class city, and in the west there is the worker-pastor Glen Carlson who is an Alberta farmer. William Hordern's prophetic voice has been heard for years throughout our church, and the Rev. John Zimmerman has received some business and ecclesiastical backlash for his strong stand against corporate exploitation in Third World countries. Throughout our church much sacrificial work has been accomplished by providing a haven for fleeing refugees whether from the Baltic lands or from Central America. At Waterloo Lutheran Seminary an Institute for Christian Ethics has been set up, and a New Testament professor has been hired who is both a layperson and a woman. Other examples could be cited, but these are enough to show that the prophetic dimension is not dead within our new church and its antecedent bodies.<sup>24</sup>

Nonetheless, this heritage is more than a past or present to be celebrated. It is also a mandate to get on with the task. The nurturing and priestly ministries of our church are well-established and at the very heart of our tradition. The prophetic dimension is much more fragile, but its solidly Biblical and historical mandate is an insistent voice for our new ELCIC.

By drawing on those resources which are Lutheran, Canadian and Canadian Lutheran we can marshall these creative forms in new ways that will make our prophetic call a meaningful one. Instead of continuing the fruitless debate of whether a personal relationship with Christ or justice to our neighbours is most central, we might respond to this question as did the old Lutheran Pietist, "which is more important, breathing in or breathing out?"<sup>25</sup>

## Notes

- 1 *Consensus* 1/2 (April, 1975) 3-32. Hordern's "A Partially Achieved Dream" is published *in toto* in this issue.
- 2 See this issue for Norman Threinen's "Pivotal Points in Early Canadian Church History".
- 3 Carl R. Cronmiller, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* (Waterloo: Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1961) 56-65, 87-115; Valdimar J. Eylands, *Lutherans in Canada* (Winnipeg: Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 1945) 39-40, 63-67, 231-235; Paul W.H. Eydt, "A Historical Survey of Lutheranism in Ontario prior to 1861", unpublished STM thesis (Philadelphia: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1940) 14-23, 27-29, 31-33, 41, 77-84; "That Man Bindemann", *Canada Lutheran*, special edition (June-July 1984) 2; Ernest G. Goos, *Pioneering for Christ in Western Canada* (1947) 5-8; Klaus H. Burmeister, "Pioneer Missionary in the Northwest: The Schmieder Papers" (unpublished paper, 1983).
- 4 See Diegel's article in this issue. Works such as those by Carl Cronmiller, Valdimar Eylands (both cited above), Norman Threinen's *Fifty Years of Lutheran Convergence: The Canadian Case-Study* (1983) and Oscar L. Arnal's *Toward an Indigenous Lutheran Ministry in Canada: The Seventy-Five Year Pilgrimage of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary* (1987) provide material to illustrate those points in more detail.
- 5 Cronmiller, *History*, 138-149; Eylands, *Lutherans*, 94-96; Eydt, "Historical Survey", 106-110.
- 6 "Editorial", *Canada Lutheran* 4/7 (May 1916) 4.
- 7 Threinen, *Fifty Years*, 140-142.
- 8 For examples of this see his "Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should be Obeyed" (1523); "Admonition to Peace" (1525); "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants" (1525); and "An Open Letter on the Harsh Book Against the Peasants" (1525), all in J.M. Porter, ed. *Luther: Selected Political Writings* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974).
- 9 For these prophetic insights of Luther, see "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nations" in Porter; "Trade and Usury" in *The Christian in Society II, Luther's Works* Vol. 45, 247-270 and *Large Catechism*,

- 365 in Theodore Tappert, ed., *Book of Concord* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1959).
- 10 For a thorough account of Bonhoeffer's life and witness, see the definitive biography of Eberhard Bethge (*Dietrich Bonhoeffer*, 1970 [1967]).
- 11 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship* (New York: MacMillan, 1965) 45-47, 54; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Life Together* (New York: Harper and Row, 1954) 17.
- 12 Bonhoeffer, *Life Together*, 38, 94.
- 13 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (New York: MacMillan, 1962) 237.
- 14 *Ibid.* 238.
- 15 Dave Davis and Tim Peek, "Pittsburgh pastor rallies victims of hi-tech visions", *In These Times*, 19 December 1984-8 January 1985, 16-17; DMS, "The book on Pittsburgh: The Other Side of the Story" (Munhall: DMS, 1985) 1-80; Philip D. Long, "Prophetic Ministry", *Lutheran Partners*, March-April, 1986, 18-20; Douglas Roth, interview given to the author, 5 May 1985; Daniel Solberg, interview granted to the author, 2 July 1985.
- 16 John Zingaro and Philip Harnden, "Since Steel Went Down", *The Other Side*, April/May 1985, 30-36; Davis and Peek, "Pittsburgh pastors"; Mary Pat Flaherty, "We Pray We Are Right", *The Pittsburgh Press Sunday Magazine*, 20 January 1985, 12-19, 23; Bohdan Hodiak, "Prophets in Steeltown", *Christian Century*, 8 May 1985, 460-462; Michael Hoyt, "How to Make Steel: Agitate and organize", *Christianity and Crisis*, 4 March 1985, 62-65; Charles W. Rawlings, "U.S. Steel vs. the People", *Christianity and Crisis*, 29 March 1982, 75-85; Wayne Cochrane, Roth supporter, interview given to author, 30 June 1985; John and Coleen Gropp, interview given to author, 5 and 7 May 1985. Having spent two months with DMS people in a wide range of parish and community activities and after interviewing over fifty of their leaders and supporters, I can testify to the vitality and commitment of their life together.
- 17 Richard Allen, *The Social Passion* (Toronto: University Press, 1973) 81-86, 90-95, 97-103, 159-174; Vera Fast, "The Labor Church in Winnipeg", 233-249 in Dennis L. Butcher, et al., *Prairie Spirit* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985); Douglas Pratt, "William Ivens M.A., B.D. and the Winnipeg Labour Church", unpublished B.Div. thesis, St. Andrew's College, Saskatoon (1962); Rev. A.E. Smith, *All My Life: An Autobiography* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1977 [1949]) 55-64; Richard Allen, "Salem Bland and the spirituality of the social gospel: Winnipeg and the West, 1903-1913", 216-232 in *Prairie Spirit*; W. Irvine, "The Labour Church in Canada", *The Nation*, 1 May 1920, 583-584; "Notes of the Labour Churches", United Church Archives—Department of Evangelism and Social Service, Box 7, File 122, pp. 1-26; James S. Woodsworth, *The First Story of the Labour Church* (5 April 1920) 1-16 (found at Victoria University Library, Toronto).

- 18 G.N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All People's Mission, 1889-1914", *Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions*, Series III, No. 28 (1971-1972) 85-100; Woodsworth, *First Story*, 5; J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (Toronto: University Press, 1972 [1909]) 217-218, 220. The definitive biography of this social pioneer is Kenneth McNaught's *A Prophet in Politics* (Toronto: University Press, 1959).
- 19 Jim Lotz, "The Historical and Social Setting of the Antigonish Movement", *Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly* 5/2 (June 1975) 99-116; A.A. MacDonald & F.J. Miffelen, "Some Considerations on the Transfer of a Social Movement: A Case Study of the Antigonish Movement", brochure, 1980s; Gregory Baum, *Catholics and Canadian Socialism* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1980) 189-204.
- 20 See Alexander F. Laidlaw, *The Man from Margaree* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971) and M.M. Coady, *Masters of Their Own Destiny* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967) for the biography and writings of Father Coady. Laidlaw, *Man*, 43; *Annual Report*, Extension Department: St. Francis Xavier University, 1984, 11. See also, *Annual Report*, Coady International Institute, 1983-1984.
- 21 Dan J.M. Heap, "The Church and the Workers", *Canadian Journal of Theology* X/2 (April 1964), 132-138; Jules Brosseau, "René Giroux, prêtre-ouvrier", *Relations* (Nov. 1970) 304-305; conversation with the Rev. Gisela Nolte, Waterloo, 12 June 1987. Giroux tells his own story in "Le Journal d'un prêtre-ouvrier canadien" found in *Prêtres et Laïcs*, Aug.-Sept. 1970.
- 22 "Churches—The Worker Priests", *Time* (Canadian edition) 103 (8 April 1974) 8-9; Tony Clarke, "Communities for Justice", *The Ecumenist* 19/2 (Jan.-Feb. 1981), 19-20; Pretres, Religieux et Religieuses Ouvrier(es) du Quebec, *Le Groupe PRROQ, le monde ouvrier et l'église* (Montreal: PRROQ, 1982); Stephen Cianca, "From Hotel Worker to Capuchin Provincial", *Mustard Seed* 4/4 (Oct. 1986) 1-2, 6.
- 23 For some examples of these see Paul R. Dekar's presidential address at the Canadian Society of Church History, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, 4 June 1987; the work of Randy Warren on Nellie McClung; Remi De Roo, *Cries of Victims Voice of God* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1986); Hugh and Karmel McCullum, *This Land Is Not For Sale* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975); and "Apology to Native Congregations", brochure of United Church of Canada, 1986.
- 24 Henry Fischer, "Love with Dirty Hands", *Canada Lutheran* 6/8 (Oct. 1968) 2; "Project Faith Place", *Canada Lutheran* 19/3 (March 1980) 3; Mark A. Staples, "Two Fields to Plow", *The Lutheran* 21/13 (July 1983) 4-6; William Hordern, "Political Theology", 43-60 in Benjamin G. Smillie, ed., *Political Theology in the Canadian Context* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1982); J.M. Zimmerman, "Comments on 'Reds' in the Church", *Canada Lutheran* 20/1 (January 1981) 2; Nancy Kelly, "Seamos Amigos—Let's be Friends", *Canada Lutheran*



2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>5</sub> (May 1987) 14-17; Paul W.H. Eydt. "I Was a Stranger", *Canada Lutheran* 41/8 (Sept. 1983) 3; "An Institute for Christian Ethics is Born", *Praxis* 1/1 (Spring 1987) 2; John Asling. "A builder of bridges", *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*. 13 June 1987. E7. To be sure, the hiring of women and laity at Christian seminaries is no new experience for Canadian Christians, but the recent action by Waterloo Lutheran Seminary's Board of Governors is an important step for Lutherans.

- 25 Informal conversation with the Rev. Henry Fischer about his father, Waterloo, June 1985.