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# The Missionary Spirit in the Augustana Church

George F. Hall

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**The  
Missionary Spirit  
in the  
Augustana Church**



George F. Hall

## **THE MISSIONARY SPIRIT IN THE AUGUSTANA CHURCH**

The American church is made up of many varied groups, depending on origin, divisions, changing relationships. One of these was the Augustana Lutheran Church, founded by Swedish Lutheran immigrants and maintaining an independent existence from 1860 to 1962 when it became a part of a larger Lutheran community, the Lutheran Church of America.

The character of the Augustana Church can be studied from different viewpoints. In this volume Dr. George Hall describes it as a missionary church. It was born out of a missionary concern in Sweden for the thousands who had emigrated. As soon as it was formed it began to widen its field. Then its representatives were found in India, Puerto Rico, in China. The horizons grew to include Africa and Southwest Asia. Two World Wars created havoc, but also national and international agencies.

Augustana's part—one of support, cooperation, leadership—in missions throughout the world is a fascinating story, and a contribution to the history of missions. It is a story that the Augustana Historical Society is happy to add to its lengthening series.



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# **The Missionary Spirit in the Augustana Church**

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*Gratefully dedicated to*  
**DR. EMEROY JOHNSON**  
*parish pastor and church historian*  
**ADOLPH and EMILY LOKENSGAARD**  
*both deceased 1984*  
**MR. and MRS. T. N. MAURITZ**  
**MRS. ADAIR NELSON**  
*generous contributors to the support of Missions.*



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## CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	Conrad Bergendoff	VI, VII
ACKNOWLEDGMENT		VIII, IX
I. THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD—		
A PRODUCT OF MISSIONS		1-3
II. INDIA AND THE GENERAL COUNCIL		5-7
III. COLLEGE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES:		
THE KNANISHUS		9-14
IV. EMMY CARLSON EVALD : THE WOMAN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY		15-18
V. G. SIGFRID SWENSSON : PUERTO RICO		19-21
VI. AUGUST WILLIAM EDWINS : THE CHINA FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY		23-28
VII. RALPH D. HULT : SUDAN		29-34
VIII. TANGANYIKA AND WORLD WAR I		35-40
IX. GEORGE NATHANAEL ANDERSON : IRAMBA-TURU, TANGANYIKA		41-47
X. RICHARD REUSCH : ORPHANED GERMAN MISSIONS AFTER WORLD WAR II		49-52
XI. THE ZAM ZAM: MISSIONARIES FOR AFRICA IN WARTIME		53-56
XII. S. HJALMAR SWANSON : EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS		57-61
XIII. ERNEST WEINHARDT : SOUTH AMERICAN PRAYER LEAGUE		63-66
XIV. PAUL AND JONATHAN LINDELL : WORLD MISSION PRAYER LEAGUE		67-69

XV. HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI : THE NEW AGE ..	71-75
XVI. JOHN L. BENSON : LUTHERAN CHURCH OF CHINA IN HONG KONG .....	77-86
XVII. RUEBEN LUNDEEN : THE BASEL SELF- ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF NORTH BORNEO. .	87-90
XVIII. GEORGE L. OLSON : JAPAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH .....	91-94
XIX. DR. CHUNG-AN CHIN : TAIWAN : LUTHERAN CHURCH OF CHINA; MALAYA .....	95-99
XX. PAUL HUBERT BENSON : URUGUAY .....	101-106
XXI. ELMER REINHOLD DANIELSON : LUTHERAN CHURCH OF NORTHERN TANGANYIKA : THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION .....	107-117
XXII. MELVIN ADOLPH HAMMARBERG : EMERGENT LUTHERAN UNITY .....	119-122
XXIII. DONALD CECIL FLATT : THE SCHOOL OF MISSIONS, LUTHERAN SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CHICAGO .....	123-128
XXIV. RUDOLPH CARL BURKE : MERGER DECISIONS .....	129-132
XXV. AUGUSTANA AND MISSIONARY LITERATURE: KNANISHU TO ANDERS HANSON .....	123-140
XXVI. DAVID LUTHER VIKNER : LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA .....	141-147
XXVII. THE BEGINNINGS VIEWED A CENTURY LATER .....	149-155
APPENDIX .....	156-157
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	158-162
INDEX .....	163-166

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## Introduction

With the passing of an institution, as well as of an individual, the image fades quickly away. Soon few will remember what kind of a church the Augustana Synod was before it merged and became a part of the Lutheran Church in America.

It is the purpose of this book to emphasize one of its characteristics. Augustana was a missionary church. Emmet Eklund in his recent book on *Peter Fjellstedt Missionary Mentor to Three Continents* has described the influence of this Swedish churchman on the leaders of the immigrant body and their missionary concerns. From the first Augustana people thought of the world field as well as of their own. Their first cooperation with other Lutherans opened paths to India and Puerto Rico.

In retrospect it seems that the flowering of missionary activity in Augustana came after the world missionary conference at Edinburgh in 1910. The interest of college students goes back to the 19th century, but in the first two decades of the 20th there was eager response to calls from China and Africa. Not only was this on the part of individuals on campuses but also in the dedication of Augustana families whose names appear in many parts of the world. Furthermore we meet with organizations that involved whole groups of church members: the student missionary societies, the China Society, the Woman's Home and Foreign Missionary Society. Comparatively the Synod was a small body—was there any other Lutheran church that inspired so many of its members to missionary study, to volunteer service, to financial contributions, to positions of leadership?

In World War II the map of the earth changed. We now read of necessary alterations in Africa and Asia as well as in Europe and America to meet recurrent crises. Fruits of earlier

generations now appear in the part played by Augustana persons in decisions of the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council. The Church had become ecumenical and a new chapter was written in the overseas churches. Missionary interest could not be confined to the established denominations—individuals went forth on their own to bring the message of Christ to a broken world. Augustana missions were represented in important administrative positions on several continents as well as on lonely paths of faith endeavors in obscure places.

To tell the story of the missionary character of this church, especially in its later phases, Dr. George Hall has been prevailed on. Few have had access to the fields of our own generation as he has had in meeting assignments both in education and administration. His personal acquaintance with the personnel on the fields gives authenticity to the story he tells. His 50 years as an ordained minister has given him an almost equal portion of service before and after the 1962 merger. Knowing Augustana before and after, he speaks with experience of a church which now is history but, which also, through the grace of God, helped make history.

Conrad Bergendoff

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Appreciation is due Dr. Conrad Bergendoff, my mentor in seminary days and following who first visualized this project and has through re-writings and revisions served as advisor and editor. In addition he secured funds for its subsidy. Our relationship in these past five years in this project has been of consistent growth. His concern for missions was evident in his early years as he considered the missionary vocation for himself and has been expressed in his relationship to nearly all of the pastors and their wives who have served as Augustana missionaries.

Readers for the first version for the Augustana Historical Society were Dr. Paul Anderson, Dr. Ellis Benson, Dr. H. Daniel Friberg and Rev. Stanley Swanson. Others also graciously read this manuscript in whole or in part and aided me and appreciation is expressed to them as well, namely Rev. Donald Anderson, Rev. Philip Anderson, Rev. Earl Bengtson, Dr. William Berg, Dr. Elmer Danielson, Mr. Charles Erb, Rev. Robert Esbjornson, Rev. Donald Flatt, Rev. Anders Hanson, Dr. Emeroy Johnson, Mrs. Hobart Johnson, Rev. Le Roy Kindschuh, Mr. Jonathan Lindell, Rev. Joel Lundeen, Dr. Russell Nelson, Rev. Howard Palm, Rev. Richard B. Pierson, Mrs. Hilda Benson-Powicke, Rev. Harry Victorson and Dr. David Vikner. Their help has been accepted with gratitude.

Institutions have assisted also, namely the Archives of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, Joel Lundeen, Archivist; North Park College library and archives, Dr. Sigurd Westberg, Archivist; Gustavus Adolphus College archives, Prof. Chester Johnson, Archivist; De Paul University libraries and office facilities where I have done most of my writing; and my

congregation, Lutheran Church of the Holy Spirit, Lincolnshire, Illinois, Pastor Marvin J. Raymond Jr.

Publication would not be possible without a subsidy of major proportion. Mr. Adolph Lokensgaard and his wife Emily of St. Peter, Minnesota, friends of all of the Augustana churches' program throughout their lifetimes, provided the larger portion. Mrs. Adair Nelson of Canado, Texas, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T. N. Mauritz continued the generous support of missions of her parents in generously contributing to this subsidy as well. These families are representative of the support of the laity of the Augustana Church which made a world mission possible.

George F. Hall

Epiphany 1985.



## I

### **The Augustana Synod—A Product of Missions**

The founding of the Augustana Synod by Swedish Lutheran immigrant congregations and pastors in 1860 was itself a fruit of the missionary movement in the churches of Europe and America. In the last decade of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th a remarkable number of societies appeared in various countries. In England the Baptist Missionary Society dated from 1792, the London Missionary Society 1795, the Church Missionary Society 1799, the Methodist Missionary Society 1813, and the British and Foreign Bible Society 1804—all testifying to the burst of missionary interest in the Protestant churches. In Germany and Switzerland the Basel Mission, 1815, the Berlin Mission 1824 and the Rhenish Society of 1828 became active centers of missionary work. In the same period important events bore witness to a similar awakening in the United States. The Haystack Prayer Meeting of 1806 marked the beginning of Christian students' interest in foreign fields, followed by the organization of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. The American Education Society, 1815, the American Bible Society, 1816, the American Sunday School Union, 1824, revealed trends toward interdenominational cooperation which would affect all the churches. Later organizations were the Y.M.C.A., 1844, the Y.W.C.A., 1855, and the Evangelical Alliance, 1846.

Pastor Lars Esbjörn, one of the founders of the Augustana Synod, had been involved in the missionary movement in the Church of Sweden before he came to Illinois in 1849. As a parish pastor in Hille, Uppland, he had come to know Peter Fjellstedt, the leader of missionary education in Sweden, and had invited



him to his parish in 1843<sup>1</sup>. Even before this parish was sending gifts to the Swedish Missionary Society, which was an outgrowth of Fjellstedt's influence, in 1836. And when Esbjörn emigrated to America he was aided by a small subsidy by the Society. In Sweden Esbjörn had been among those who favored a stronger confessional stand by Lutheran missions, an emphasis that led to the formation of strictly Lutheran agencies such as the Leipzig Society, 1836, the Bremen Society, 1836, the Norwegian Mission Society, 1842, and to the Hermansburg Mission, 1850 to which the Augustana Synod sent money. Ironically, when he found himself without support in Illinois, Esbjörn accepted help from the American Board of Missions which was the agency of American Presbyterian and Congregational Churches.

At its organization June 5, 1860, in Clinton, Wisconsin, the Synod adopted the name Augustana to make clear its confessional stand. The Swedish pastors and churches who had been associated with German background congregations in the Synod of Northern Illinois since 1853 claimed the latter was loose in its doctrinal loyalty to the Augsburg Confession. The Augustana Synod contained a small number of Norwegian congregations, but was predominantly Swedish. At the first annual meeting in Galesburg, Ill. June 1861, a committee for missions was elected. The three members were leaders in the body—Pastors Erland Carlsson of Chicago, Eric Norelius of Minnesota, Jonas Swensson, Andover, Ill. The committee was to collect monies from the congregations and forward them to missionary societies in Europe. While the sums which were sent to both Swedish and German societies were not large, they represented an interest on the part of pastors who preached missionary sermons and of people who either as individuals or groups wanted to have a part in world missions.

An important asset in missionary education was the official journal of the Synod. Even before the Synod's origin Hasselquist had given missions a prominent place in his paper *Det Rätta Hemlandet*, 1856, and *Missionsbladet* was added to the title in 1863. In the 1870s a separate publication, *Missionären* appeared, which was merged with the official *Augustana* in 1879.

<sup>1</sup>Peter Fjellstedt, *Missionary Mentor to Three Continents*, Emmet E. Eklund, p. 115. Rock Island, 1983.

From the start the Synod saw as its prime mission the gathering of the immigrants into congregations akin to the parishes in Sweden from which they had come. But also voices were raised to bring the Gospel to American people. In Sweden Pastor P. A. Ahlberg conducted lay schools for Bible study and evangelistic efforts. From these schools in Småland a considerable number of candidates for the ministry came to America and studied at Augustana College and Seminary, first in Paxton, then in Rock Island. Ahlberg challenged these men to serve the blacks, a task not feasible in the states chosen by the immigrants. Just as visionary was the hope of Olof Olsson, a pastor in Värmland who was to become an intellectual leader of the immigrant church. An admirer of Fjellstedt and his missionary zeal and one while preparing for a missionary career, Olsson came to Kansas in 1869 wanting to do work among the Indians. After talking about missions among the blacks for half a dozen years, the Synod decided it was not equipped for such a venture. In 1877 Pastor John Telleen reported to Synod on the possibility of an Indian mission, but when Matthias Wahlstrom was called to begin such a mission on his ordination in 1879 he chose a different field, the presidency of Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minn. The funds which had been secured for the Indian project were directed to a mission among Swedish immigrants in Utah. The Mormons had been successful in winning converts in Sweden and a large Swedish contingent was a part of the growing Mormon empire.

Thus it soon became clear that with its limited resources the Augustana Synod would be taxed to care for the thousands of Swedish immigrants who were coming to America and settling from one end of the country to the other. To accomplish this task the Synod in 1870 created a central board for missions in this country. The Synod was divided into Conferences, and these in turn into districts. The district was responsible for education for and support of missions, and in each congregation were two boards—the trustees to care for the material needs of the congregation, the deacons to assist the pastor and serve as a local missionary board. From its inception the Augustana Synod thought of itself as a missionary church and agency.

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## II

### **India and the General Council**

Ten years after its organization as an independent church body the Augustana Synod became a member of the General Council. The fear of Esbjörn and other leaders that the Synod of Northern Illinois was drifting away from Lutheran confessionalism was but one part of a general questioning of how far American Lutherans should go in accommodating themselves to Protestantism in this country. The problem came to a head when a new association of Synods broke away from the older General Synod (to which the Synod of Northern Illinois belonged) and under the name of General Council clearly adopted a basis conserving the principles of the Lutheran Reformation.

In joining the Council the Augustana Church allied itself with the older Lutherans of the Eastern states whose theological school was at Philadelphia. The Norwegians who had been a part of the Synod were less interested in this alliance and preferred to retain their nationalist identity. In 1870 they separated from the Synod. From this time Augustana became involved in the educational and missionary progress of the older, Eastern Synods.

Pastor C. F. Heyer began work for the General Council in India in 1842. Lacking resources he had to depend on European agencies on the field and after 3-1/2 years he returned to America and prepared for a medical career, attaining an M.D. at the age of 54. In India his successor, Pastor Eric Unangst, unable to get home support because of the Civil War, was at the point of transferring his field to the Church of England's Missionary Society. To save the Rajahmundry work Father Heyer returned with two younger men in 1869, and

the General Council continued the mission. In 1876 a report on the work by C. W. Gronning to the convention at Bethlehem, Penn. described the difficulties and needs. At the meeting was an Augustana theological student who was attending the Philadelphia Seminary, Augustus B. Carlson. He volunteered for the India fields, was ordained in 1878 and soon on the field. He was the first of the Synod's foreign missionaries.

Reports in the Synod's press informed the congregation of Carlson's work and of the Rajahmundry mission. Before he learned the native language Carlson who had a strong and lovely voice, sang Swedish hymns to the delight of listeners. He was instrumental in persuading an English seaman to give up the sea for missionary work. Though courageous and zealous Carlson suffered ill health and his ministry was cut short by death in 1882.

Seven years passed before the coming of Pastor Emanuel Edman. Edman had studied at the Johannelund Missionary Institute of the Swedish Evangelical Missionary Society in Sweden before coming to America. He was one of the 12 students at Augustana who founded the College and Seminary Missionary Society in 1886. After ordination and a brief parish ministry he studied medicine in Chicago and New York and came to India to serve at Samulkot both as pastor and physician (1889-94, 1900-1903). Later 1910-15 he served as missionary among the Kurds in Persia.

Rajahmundry and the mission in India was often a topic in Augustana literature. Even Sunday school children knew something of this work. Missionaries on furlough were welcome speakers in all parts of the church. The field had an influential spokesman in Claude W. Foss, professor of history and political science at Augustana College. As a commissioner of the General Council Board of Foreign Missions Dr. Foss, with Dr. C. Theo Benze, spent six weeks in a visitation of the field in 1909-10. He gave his impressions and report in a popular book *Glimpses of Three Continents*. This field was a principal concern too, of the Woman's Missionary Society.

The missionaries on the Indian field included pastors, doctors, nurses, teachers, and their names constitute an honor roll

that deserves to be remembered. The names and year of arrival read thus:

Hans Erik Isaacson, D. D. 1893  
Charlotte Swensson, 1895  
Hedwig Wahlberg-Landorff, R. N. 1902  
Pastor Oscar L. Larson, 1905  
Pastor O. D. Eckhardt, 1908  
Dr. Betty Nilsson, 1908  
Pastor Thure A. Holmer, 1912  
Pastor Ivar F. Witting, 1912  
Pastor Edwin Albin Olson, 1914  
Christine Erickson, R.N. 1915  
Agnes Christenson, 1915  
Hilma E. Levine-Werner, R.N. 1915  
Verna Lofgren, R.N., 1923  
Ruth Hildegaard Swenson, 1924  
Ray L. Cunningham, 1925  
Lillian Cunningham, 1925  
Ada Kron-Pearson, R.N. 1929  
Pastor Paul Holmer, 1946  
Ella Hanson, 1948  
Pastor David T. Lindell, 1951

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### III

#### COLLEGE MISSIONARY SOCIETIES: THE KNANISHUS.

Eight years passed since the ordination of Augustus B. Carlson. As yet there was no successor to Carlson from the Augustana Synod in India. Mission support was expressed in the offerings which, quite minimal, were directed to the work of the General Council.

There were stirrings among youth throughout the world expressed in Carlson's decision in Augustana circles. Although there were barriers in generations of immigrants, culture, language and the snobbishness of academic institutions, the same Christian concern for the evangelization of the world was strong among Christian youth everywhere. The beginning of this movement so revolutionary in character is generally traced to the "Haystack Prayer Meeting", organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Young Women's Christian Association. Campus organizations of Christian students were older than the YMCA. Harvard's Christian organization started in 1690 and similar organizations were developed almost everywhere by 1800. These organizations were evangelistic by nature often following an objective of winning at least a soul at each meeting or of leading someone to announce their call from God to mission work. The Student Volunteer Movement emerged with the slogan to "win the world for Christ in this generation."

The greatest impetus in this network of Christian organizations came through the leadership of John R. Mott, himself a product of a college religious organization. Upon graduation he began work with International YMCA and traveled the world establishing local YMCAs. He became the successor to Dwight L. Moody in the Northfield Conferences, moved into the ecumenical arena of the World Missionary Council



and the World Council of Churches. Although Augustana was separated by distance from the center of these movements students were infected by the same passion for Christ's work and created their own social vehicles to express the same.

In 1886 the college and seminary students at Augustana organized a missionary society. They wanted "to form a society for the creation and promotion of a warm interest in foreign missions. We propose to hold prayer meetings, promote Bible study and study of missions, and spread mission literature." This aim, expressed in the constitution, was realized in monthly meetings where members, faculty, and guest speakers gave talks on the missionary enterprise. Their ambition to call and send out missionaries was not endorsed by the Synod authorities. Undaunted the Society sent out representatives to the congregations to give information and collect funds, which the Synod gratefully accepted. Over a period of 30 years (1916-46) the Society sponsored summer representatives in the Synod who gave missionary programs, enlisted members, and asked for funds. In 1929 the representative covered over 100 congregations and raised over \$1000. In the 75 years, 1886-1961, the reports show income of over \$200,000. In 1921 an annual *Missionary Calendar* was begun and for 10 years served as a valuable source of information and of propagation of the educational purposes of the Society.

In 1891 a similar society was organized at Gustavus Adolphus College whose president, Dr. O. J. Johnson, was a leader in the Synodical mission program. Bethany and Upsala Colleges also had active organizations. Especially fruitful was the society at Luther College, Wahoo, Neb., which proportional to its size probably contributed the largest number of candidates for foreign service. The most important contributions of these college groups were the missionaries themselves. The Augustana Society enjoyed the leadership of theological students, most of whom came from the church colleges. Reviewing the records, one is tempted to say that these schools were the well springs for the missionary activity of the Synod, though one must hasten to add one other organization, the Woman's Missionary Society. Almost all of the ordained missionaries were products of the colleges—Gustavus Adolphus had identified 63 missionaries from its society. A less noticed contribution had been the influence of the missionary groups on the colleges of which they

have been a part—the campus as well as the foreign field felt their impact.

The aggressive vigor of the Augustana association was shown in its petition to the Synod, 1889, for permission to work to awaken mission interest in the Synod, to receive contributions for missions from congregations and others, to keep and disburse these funds according to the directions of the donors and to call and send out missionaries, support them and the institutions founded by them on mission fields. Understandably the Synod appreciated the overture but was reluctant to surrender its own areas of authority especially since this involved new fields and, in the event of failure of support, the full responsibility would fall back upon the Synod. It was enough for the Synod if it could support the India work with personnel and funds, the field in common with the General Council. Until the administration of Dr. Gustav Brandelle, the Augustana Synod countenanced no projects unless these projects were financed and supported apart from the usual Synod income and expenditures.

Augustana was introduced to support of Christians in Persia by the visit of Pastor Knanishu Morathare from the Nestorian Church. He was a Deacon in the Christian church in area of Lake Ooroomia. He opened schools in three neighboring villages. In a Muslim state, most Christians living in this fertile region were periodically raided and persecuted by Muslims from adjacent districts. Missionaries from the German Hermannsburg Mission Society were at work and many Persian Christian leaders made their way to Europe to solicit funds for their work. Pastor K. Moratkhare did the same and in Germany he was encouraged to go to Sweden and Christians in Sweden urged him to come to the Augustana people in the USA. He was the guest of Dr. C. A. Evald, pastor of the Immanuel Church, Chicago, when he appeared at the Augustana Synod meeting in Galesburg 1888. He captivated the hearts of those present and free will offerings for his work were authorized with the stipulation that it be used for his Lutheran Bible Society for Persia and that it should strengthen and support work already in progress, not to establish another church body.

While in the USA he made arrangements for his son Joseph Knanishu and wife to come to Rock Island for theological

studies which began the next fall. An extant letter from Moratkhare Knanishu to Pastor Evald calls attention to the lack of letters from the Augustana people and of sufficient funds for his work. He also reminds them that Mrs. Evald is to be a mother to his son Joseph and he is to follow her counsel.

The next fall his son arrived in Rock Island and began theological studies. He was supported by college missionary funds plus those sent directly to him and the income from his visits to congregations. His deputation schedule was well advertised with a huge poster describing the program to be presented about Persia and its people. He was dressed in Persian garb and lantern slides depicted scenes from his homeland. He petitioned for ordination in 1901 and the Synod forwarded this request to the Hermannsburg Mission Society suggesting that they were the proper church body to provide ordination since he would work in Persia where they had a mission. By the next Synod meeting the question of his ordination was clarified and he was ordained on a call from the Mission Board. Dr. C. W. Foss, Professor of History at Augustana College, recommended his work and ordination at the 1901 synod on the basis of his investigations of the situation in Persia.

Two additional Persians came to Rock Island for studies and were later ordained, namely Isaac Yohannan (1906) and George Azoo (1908).

The Joseph Knanishus returned to Persia and offerings supported their work. When Dr. Foss was asked to visit India by the mission board of the General Council as a Commissioner, it was planned that he could now on this journey also visit the Knanishus and bring home an eye witness account of their work.

Dr. Claude W. Foss had a prominent role in world missions serving on the General Council's Central Mission Board (1897-1923) and its successor the Board of Foreign Mission (1923-25). In 1907 he was requested by the Synod to visit Persia in connection with his visit as a Commissioner of the Board of Foreign Missions which had jurisdiction over the India mission. This was undertaken in 1908. He spent six weeks on the India field itself with Dr. C. Theo. Benze, who was making the same visit as a Commissioner. There was need for better communication. People at home wanted a third party evaluation of the mission effort and a visitor could bring a report

replying to the same questions people had at home. The heaviest responsibility in the Augustana Synod was toward the work in Persia. The primary responsibility for the India field was the General Council.

Dr. Foss reported regularly through the columns of the church periodicals thus informing the constituency of the work station by station in India. Later this report became a book, *Glimpses of Three Continents*. The most dramatic and tragic were his efforts to visit Persia. The original plan was to visit Persia on the way home from India. An appointment was made to meet Joseph Knanishu April 1, 1909 in Batoum, Russia close by the Persian border. "I arrived there," he reported to the Synod... (1910 Minutes, pages 94-96) "March 31st and began to seek out Pastor Knanishu but did not find him." He tried letters and telegrams but could not reach Urmia because the northern half of Persia was involved in civil strife. He was advised by both the American and British consulates to leave the matter rest and continue his journey. He waited three weeks, then proceeded to visit Western Europe with plans to return later if the area returned to normalcy. Six weeks later in Mainz he had a message, "I am in Tiflis. Knanishu." He noted that there was as yet no peace in Persia and he imagined that Joseph Knanishu somehow had escaped to Russia safely. Arrangements were made to meet this Knanishu who turned out to be the brother of Joseph, Dr. Baba Knanishu who had prepared for Ophthalmology at Uppsala, Sweden. He bore sad news that Joseph Knanishu had undergone treatment for a chronic boil on the neck at a Presbyterian hospital. The salve administered by the American doctor brought about blood poisoning which caused his death in eleven hours time. This death occurred just six days before the date set for meeting in Batoum.

The same Synodical *Minutes* carried the letter of Sarah J. Knanishu about personal conditions since her husband's death. Synod authorized the Mission Board to provide transportation for the Knanishu family to America and to arrange general collections in the congregations for this purpose.

Mrs. Knanishu was urged to come to the USA with her two sons, who had citizenship by birth, to protect their citizen status. Their journey in troubled times brought them eventually to Rock Island via Russia. The family remained in Rock Island

until quite recently with their sons graduating from Augustana College. The Synod and College aided them in the difficult years when the children were very young.

In Persia conditions did not improve and Pastor Isaac Yohannan was murdered, possibly a victim of the riots of that time (1912). Pastor George Azoo continued work but under other auspices.

In this manner then the mission in Persia to aid the Nestorian Christians there 1888-1912 ended. It was an idealistic chapter in mission history for support was given for the training of indigenous leadership, assistance was given for the purpose only of strengthening existing Christian churches and no tangible return was expected for the investment. It was near to the ideal of *agape*.

However concern for Persia and its people continued. Dr. Johannes Telleen who had envisioned a mission to the American Indian brought an expanded mission concern for the establishment of new congregations and world missions wherever he served. He gathered interested persons in Berwyn, Illinois where he was pastor to organize the Lutheran Orient Society in 1910. He was its first president. The following year the society sent missionaries to Persia to evangelize the Kurd. They began their work September 6, 1911 in Sujbulik, near the southern shore of Lake Ooroomia, the same area served by the Knanishus, Yohannan and Azoo. They entered a country of 2-1/2 million persons, nearly all Muslims. Pastor Emanuel Edman, M.D., who had served two terms in India, went also to Persia as a missionary and served 1910-1915, also for a while as president of this Kurdistan Mission. Telleen himself became Field Secretary for the mission to the Kurds (1915-1917). At the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference (1910) representatives of the Boards at work in the Near East agreed that American Lutherans should be responsible for the evangelization of the Kurds. After 1912, Persian concern failed to hold the interest of the Augustana people because of the dramatic success of the China venture, an official mission of the church.

## IV

**EMMY CARLSSON EVALD:  
WOMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETIES**

The greatest single organization in the Augustana Church for education and financial support of missions was the Augustana Woman's Missionary Society. (The original name was spelled thus, but in popular usage and even in synodical records *Woman's* soon became *Women's*—briefly WMS). Its origin and leadership is attributed to Emmy Carlsson Evald. An organizer and leader from early youth she conducted a school for girls in Andover, Illinois, her father's parish. She also brought the young people together into a society, a forerunner of the Luther League. In her husband's parish in Chicago she organized a women's missionary society of 180 members which was the prototype of the national organization which she organized and led. No age group escaped her attention for in time there were organizations for mission among young single women and children, the "Young Women's Missionary Society" and the "Junior Mission Band."

In the first seventy-five years of Augustana's history a cultural pattern predominated that the pastor's wife presided over the women's groups in her parish. In all cases there was an auxiliary which started out as a "sewing circle" and in short order became an arm of the church community for raising funds; providing dinners for the social life of the group; meeting social needs of the poor, ill and grieving in the community through benevolent acts and support; and in general able and willing to meet the needs of the parish and community outside of the preaching of the Word and administration of the sacraments. This much valued support seldom was extended to meet needs outside of the local parish and its obligations to Conference and Synod.

A call went out to leading synodical pastors' wives to meet in Lindsborg, Kansas while they were there with their husbands attending the Synodical convention, June 1892. Fifty women from many areas of the church met in the parsonage of Dr. and Mrs. C. A. Swensson (Dr. Swensson was a leader in establishing Bethany College, became a figure behind the scenes in national politics, was involved in land development plans to aid newcomers to the area, active from coast to coast in many significant Swedish-American projects while effectively leading the local Bethany congregation). In this organizational gathering of established leaders of women in the Synod and the ever growing Swedish-American community, the choice for president of this new organization to emphasize missions was Mrs. Emmy Evald. In this position she presided almost without contest for forty-three years.

The national organization format paralleled the church: National, Conference, and District. Annual meetings of the national body were scheduled for the same dates and places as the Synod, and at some evening meetings the Synodical Convention joined for missionary programs. Speakers for special causes also addressed both conventions separately. Issues demanding the support of both bodies were resolved quickly.

When committees and boards were organized and re-organized in the church for American Missions, Home Missions, Social Service and Youth, the WMS and its auxiliaries were represented in their membership. Support was provided for special projects in all of these but the major emphasis was constantly on world missions. The WMS retained its identity for 66 years and built lasting institutions on every mission field, supported missionaries and led the church in prayer for missions.

The structure of all auxiliaries was changed in 1958 when all women's organizations in the congregations united in The Augustana Lutheran Church Women. The program of the traditional WMS was continued in this new body.

The results of the society with its auxiliary membership of thousands in the congregational units were impressive. Seventy-nine buildings were erected in various parts of the world: U.S.A. 13; India 11; China 38; Holy Land 2; Africa 9; and Canada 1. The first missionary supported from their funds was Dr. Betty Nilsson (1908). The Women's Missionary Society in-

come annually prior to 1920 was greater than that of the entire Augustana Synod.

Mrs. Evald concentrated her leadership upon the W.M.S. and its auxiliaries. Scholarships aided young women in their studies to prepare for missionary careers. Printed materials were provided for study at meetings and special presentations. Two periodicals: *Mission Tidings* and *Lutheran Women* and special educational materials kept women informed about missions. General church publications could not provide that much space for missions so that the church was nurtured in missions through the WMS.

This dynamic leader helped found the Augustana Hospital in Chicago (1884), served as President of the World Woman's Congress at World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, was a charter member of the International Suffrage Association, appeared before the Illinois State Legislature and the U. S. Congress in behalf of women's suffrage.

A review of the 50 years' activity, in 1942, affords an opportunity to judge the extent and the success of this remarkable organization. In that year it had a total of 1734 parish societies, with 59,495 members, including older women, young women and children. The adult societies numbered 822, young women groups 329, and junior bands 589, with a membership respectively of 30,549, 7,280, and 19,817. There were thousands of life members and honorary life members.

Through the 13 conference and 85 district organizations the Society reached into almost every home in the Synod, and its program was made known in the *Mission Tidings* with over 23,000 subscriptions. In 1941 alone the income was \$165,495, while for the 50 year period the total was about 3 million dollars. A mere enumeration of the causes which were supported is indeed impressive, for contributions in money and personnel were not for a year but over decades: the fields in India, China, Africa; Migrant, Mexican, Jewish programs; Inner Mission Homes, Bethphage and the Deaconess Institute. As a Jubilee gift the society presented to the Church a gift of \$50,000.

In his greeting in 1942 to the Society, the president Dr. P. O. Bersell recalled how his mother, Mrs. Uma Bersell, inculcated in him a respect for the Women's Missionary Society—she was one of the pioneer members half a century ago. He spoke of



the effect of the missionary groups in the life of a congregation which he had witnessed over 30 years. Considering the financial, educational and inspirational place of the Society's activities, he emphasized, "this has given tone and strength to the missionary spirit of the Synod and has fostered a spirit of devotion and sacrificial service beyond that of any other human agency. In heroic leadership and loyal membership the Women's Missionary Society has written a unique chapter in American church history."

The Western World at the turn of the century confidently predicted a "Christian" century. The project of the Student Volunteer Movement to win the world for Christ in its generation was thought capable of realization. One of the instruments created to achieve this goal in obedience to God's Word in the Augustana Church was the Women's Missionary Society and its auxiliaries. In raising the women of that church to an unprecedented place of activity and authority and joining in the national movement for greater political participation of women, Emmy Ewald proved to be a forerunner of the "liberation" movement of more recent times.



V

**G. SIGFRID SWENSSON: PUERTO RICO**

The new century was greeted in the Western world by prayer and devotional services among Christians (and other faiths which observed the same calendar) and unusual public and private festivals. Western civilization had extended its strong influence almost everywhere. Colonial governments in the main were treating all religions alike which also allowed the entry of Christian missionaries. The United States had concluded the short Spanish-American War (1898) and the Treaty of Paris had ceded former Spanish colonies, the Philippines, Guam, Cuba and Puerto Rico to the administration of the United States while working toward independence.

On the day of the beginning of the new century people gathered in San Juan to organize formally the first Lutheran Church on the island. At their first gathering a year earlier to the day they lacked proper credentials to form a congregation, but they organized a Lutheran association. It was not the result of a carefully planned missionary effort of a church or society but came about through a student, G. Sigfrid Swensson, of Augustana College, who after the Spanish American War came to Puerto Rico to study Spanish.

Puerto Rico, originally called "Borinquen" by the Arawak Indians, was discovered by Columbus November 19, 1492. Ponce de Leon conquered the island for Spain (1509) and the first European settlement followed at Caparra across the bay from San Juan. Sugar Cane was introduced (1515). European diseases caused the decimation of the Arawak population, and slaves were brought from Africa (1518) to work the fields. Slavery was abolished later (1873). The island was on a single crop economy until "Operation Bootstrap" in the 1940s when industrial development was encouraged. In the history of the island, Spain fought off attempts by the British and Dutch to

add the island to their colonial holdings nearby. The island was ceded without a struggle to the United States together with other Spanish possessions for 20 million dollars. It was a time of new beginnings for this area which had been under Spanish rule and culture for four centuries.

As a result of student Swensson's work the General Council, in which the Augustana Synod had membership was appealed to and two pastors were quickly sent to the field, Pastors B.F. Hankey and H.F. Richards. Swensson returned to the seminary to continue his studies. Later, while still a seminary student, he visited the island again in 1902. Upon ordination he served congregations in the United States until his death (January 13, 1948). Congregations were organized in Cantano (1903), Bayamon (1908) and Tao Baja (1909). Although rapid progress was evident, health problems harassed workers from the mainland.

Augustana Synod workers, Annette Wahlstedt (1901-1905), Clara E. Hazelgreen (1904-1907), and May Mellander (1906-1917), were supported by the Women's Missionary Society in establishing kindergartens and schools. Miss Gabriella Cuervós, the first confirmed Puerto Rican, was educated in the U.S.A., prepared for future work in her homeland by training at the Milwaukee Deaconess Institute. A home was built for her work. As the program developed two chapels were also built. The Puerto Rican Box Mission, which was later called the Christmas Cheer Fund, provided clothing for poor children and funds for charity. Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Ostrom (1905-1931) and Pastor and Mrs. A. P. G. Anderson (1907-1918) provided a continuity in pastoral services. The WMS assisted Ostrom in building a church in San Juan. Mrs. Betty (Olson) Ostrom saw the excellent laces and fine needlework of the Puerto Rican women and brought a consignment to sell at the Synodical meeting in 1907, initiating a venture reaching \$2700 a year in 1923. Mrs. Ostrom managed this industrial work until her death (1924). It provided an income for the women of the island and its success led to the commercialization of these products with better returns for the women but an inferior quality product. Profits of \$4000 were used to build the church in San Juan where A. Ostrom served. Both husband and wife were musicians. He was an organist and teacher (1887-1895) and edited the music for the first Augustana Synod English Hym-

nal (1901). Pastor Ostrom and Anderson were editors of the publication *El Testigo*. Ostrom translated and prepared a Spanish hymnal, Swensson translated the catechism, Anderson also prepared textbooks in Spanish. In 1977 about 3000 out of a population of 3 million were confirmed Lutherans, members of 24 congregations 22 of which are located in a 198 square mile area around San Juan. Puerto Rico has an area of 3,421 square miles. Some Augustana people contributed to work in the neighboring Virgin Islands, but no personnel was associated with the field. Later, as pastor in California, A. P. G. Anderson continued Spanish work among Mexicans in Bell.



## VI

**AUGUST WILLIAM EDWINS: THE CHINA  
FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY**

Wide spread interest in expansion of Augustana's mission commitments was expressed in the Augustana press with a special concern for China, an area opened to Western influence because of its troubled internal political situation. China concern appears in the Synodical records of 1894. Enthusiatic expressions were normally controlled by the reminder of Augustana's weak support of the India mission. Assuming another greater responsibility was disastrous for both causes. Prudence won the day. Augustana should not have its own field but remain in a supportive role to an established society or general church agency. This common sense position did not satisfy everyone. One was Pastor J.G. Hultkrans who invited interested persons to his home, the parsonage of Bethlehem Lutheran Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota to pray about China and the salvation of its troubled millions. This was the summer of 1901. Their basic premise was that China's salvation was God's work. God should not be hindered but be permitted to use His power and resources latent in the Augustana people to accomplish His work. A few weeks later, September 3-4, 1901, seventeen charter members organized the Foreign Missionary Society. The news spread through the church press, *Lutersk Tidskrift* and people dissatisfied with conservative mission policy responded with eagerness. They developed a constitution and published their own journal, *Kinamissionären*. They were not students who were asking permission from Synod to call and support missionaries but mature pastors and laypersons. Before they had found a field a promising candidate came to them, Dr. C.P. Friberg, and they called him to go to China, January 23, 1903. In a few days this action appeared rash and pre-mature and they tabled and postponed the effective time of that call because they deemed it best to have the work opened

by a pastor. Dr. Friberg, eager to begin work, was inclined to go and serve immediately wherever he was called. A Church of Sweden mission working in Africa needed a missionary doctor and he went and served there for three years. Unknowingly his career would be recapitulated in part by his sons and daughter as they would serve on both continents. He visited Sweden on his return home from Africa and while there married Miss Nelly G. Wennerstrom. In 1908 his call to China, once postponed, was made effective. He was the first called but the second to go to China. Five years had passed by.

Pastor August William Edwins was called by the society, February 9, 1905. He was serving effectively in the 700 member parish in Stillwater, Minnesota and left its security to find a new field in Honan, China for the work of this new missionary society. His life was endangered on his initial visit, a foretaste of future troubles for the mission. By 1908 the China Mission Society had more than 600 members, 5 missionaries were on the field, property had been bought in Hsuchow and paid for and still there was \$3000 in the treasury. With this favorable record the society offered their work and resources to the Augustana Synod (June 11-18, 1908). The Synod accepted the gift, created a Board of China Mission to administer the work while the society went on to function as a support group for a decade (until March 14, 1919).

Missionaries began work in Honan after the Boxer Rebellion in which an estimated 10,000 Chinese were massacred. The missionaries mastered a working knowledge of Chinese quickly, built their own homes of materials in the area. Edwins called for more missionaries so that by 1914 there were 32 missionaries (wives included) serving an area of 10,000 square miles, 5 million persons. *Svenska Kinamissionen*, an affiliate of the China Inland Mission, withdrew from Loyang so that Dr. Friberg could work there. He rented a parcel of ground with 4 buildings for medical work. Nine persons were baptized at the first baptismal service (last Sunday in May 1910). By the end of 1910 there were five stations. A language school was started for new missionaries at Kikungshan, Dr. Edwins headmaster. By 1935 there were 53 congregations, 36 out-stations and 61 preaching places. Three thousand had been baptized and there were 4000 catechumens. The mission had gained its foothold in rural areas and now entered Hankow.

A pan-Lutheran church, the Lutheran Church of China was organized at Kikungshan August 25, 1920. Charter members were: The Lutheran United Mission (Evangelical Lutheran Church); Norwegian Missionary Society; Finnish Missionary Society; Church of Sweden Mission and the Augustana Mission. Discussions about church unity started in 1903 (two years prior to Augustana coming to China). At the time of organization there were 14,000 members in these church bodies. By 1948 15 of the 20 Lutheran missions in China were affiliated.

Education: Schools opened in Hsuchang (1909) and primary schools at every station by 1920. The Emmy Evald School for Girls (Boarding) was founded by Thyra Lawson (January 18, 1915) located at Hsuchang near the Hasselquist Middle School for Boys and the hospital. In 1927, as an example, 29 Lower Primary Schools 884 pupils; 8 Higher Primary Schools 152 pupils; One Senior Middle School and two Junior Schools, 137 pupils, ninety-eight Chinese teachers. Kuomintang armies closed the schools in that same year 1927, destroying all equipment. National and provincial authorities were hostile. They required registration to operate a school to follow the national curriculum of the Kuomintang and supervised by the Educational Bureau. Missions chose to operate schools without accreditation and opened a Bible School in Hsuchang (1929) and congregations established their own primary industrial schools. In cooperation with the Lutheran United Mission (Evangelical Lutheran Church) a school for boys preparing for the seminary was opened with 35 students, 10 teachers. When Government policy again changed to permit the teaching of the Bible (1939) schools were registered again. But political conditions deteriorated (1940) because of the Japanese invasion and most schools were closed in 1944.

Medical work: The work centered in Loyang grew rapidly: 1920—10,867 patients; 1921—24,000. Battles nearby brought casualties to the hospital, hence 34,500 patients in 1924. When missionaries were asked to leave in 1927, Dr. Friberg remained but passed away, a victim of a typhus epidemic, January 23, 1930. Dr. Oscar W. Lindorff also had been a casualty of typhus. He had worked from 1912 without furlough until his death (June 20, 1921). His plans for a hospital at Tsuchang were frustrated by political changes. Foundations were laid (1926) and Dr. Emmy Evald was present for the



groundbreaking of this hospital to be built with funds from the WMS. Six weeks later the plans were abandoned and the Emmy Evald Girls Middle School building was turned into a hospital, Dr. Arthur J. Colberg in charge (1929). The medical work at Linru suffered similarly. When missionaries returned reconstruction was necessary

Missionary bodies engaged in cooperative work such as the Lutheran Theological Seminary, American School for Missionaries Children, *Sin i Bao* (a weekly publication), Lutheran Board of Publication, and Mission Home and Agency in Hankow.

The Seminary was originally located on a plot of 15 acres at Shekow, near Hankow (1907-08). It was transformed from a desolate place to a lovely campus of a dozen buildings, lawns and trees. Class work began 1913. Augustana became part owner in 1921. Augustana personnel included Dr. Edwins (a career of 20 years), Dr. Gustav Carlberg, President 1928-52 and Dr. Russell Nelson his successor until 1954. By 1935, 124 Chinese had graduated from the seminary and 17 were pastors on the Augustana field. During the Japanese war and occupation it continued in Hsuechang, Shekow and Chungking. Finally in 1948 the faculty and students were forced to flee from Mainland China to Hong Kong finding space temporarily in the buildings of Taofengshan until the seminary settled in near-by Shatin, Hong Kong in 1955.

*Sin i Bao* has been continuously published since 1931. The Lutheran Board of Publication which originated at the same time as the Lutheran Church of China (1920) also continued to publish books, hymnals, pamphlets and tracts. The Lutheran Missions Home and Agency in Hankow opened in 1922 served as a home for missionaries en route, as a business office, space for publication work and depot for distribution of Christian literature.

This cursory review indicates the triumphs and the troubles of the mission and the courage and ability to survive. In the triumph of Communism, September 1949, the control over all religious activities and organization was placed in the Department of Religious Affairs. All missionaries were excluded. Augustana missionaries were evacuated to Hong Kong. The continued story of their mission is found in other parts of the world they entered.

Augustana came to China in troubled times. Western powers were gaining control over Chinese areas and Japan was always a military threat. In the hope that China's territorial rights would be respected by European nations, John Hay issued the "Open Door" policy. Chinese reaction to the entrance of Western powers with a show of force was the Boxer Rebellion, so named because of the positions taken by soldiers similar to that in the boxing ring (1899-1901). Missionaries were also considered enemies in this rebellion. There were attempts at reform but regionalism developed under various military leaders and no uniform national policy was evident in China. The new era began with Sun-Yat-Sen, a Christian, who led a revolt to remove the Manchu Dynasty and establish a republican representative type of government. His party became the party of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Party (1918) after the Revolution of 1911. This attempt to form a representative government was broken by the War Lords. During World War I Japan invaded China with "21 Demands" (1915). To gain a place in the making of the peace China declared war on Germany. The Communist movement began in classes in a university campus (1918) leading to visits and contact with Russia. For a short while Communist and Kuomintang forces were united. Chiang Kai Shek became the President of the Republic of China and tried to bring peace and unity. In the meantime Mao-tze-tung worked up through the ranks in Communism and led a successful guerilla warfare that drove Chiang Kai Shek from the Mainland to Taiwan, one province of the Chinese empire (1949). The Republic of China has continued there with Taipei as its capital.

Some of the events in Honan which involved Augustana's mission were: 1) Civil War and Banditry of 1921-1925 in which Pastor Anton Lundeen and Mr. C.O. Forsberg were kidnapped by bandits and held captive for two months. 2) Nationalist forces in battle in Honan. Most missionaries were evacuated by request of the State Department (1926-1927). 3) Missionaries returned 1928-1929 to rebuild what had been destroyed.

4) Honan, beginning summer 1937 and continuing through 1944 was a battlefield where 300 thousand persons were killed. Mission premises were occupied 60 times for periods of a few days or months. In spite of disruptions, missionary work

continued unabated. During 1936 large sections were invaded by the Japanese and there were constant air raids. Honan was protected from invasion by changing the course of the Yellow River. Refugees streamed through the area for two years.

Before 1949 China had approximately 1 million Protestant, 3 million Roman Catholics. For approximately three decades after the victory of Mao there was no communication between China and the Western nations. It was assumed that all Christian work had been lost under the pressure of anti-religion communism. In terms of buildings and grounds this impression was correct, but when the doors of China opened again in 1978, contacts were made personally with Christians in mission areas. Missionary children such as David L. Vikner, the Hansons and others returned to Honan to find and speak with childhood friends who remained Christian and maintained the faith in community through informal religious meetings in their homes and elsewhere. City churches have now been opened and large crowds have attended services.

All missions made a great investment in China's future. It is too early to know precisely what has happened and is happening today. But the promise of the Word is vindicated that it shall not be void but bring its proper return in God's own time.

With the advent of Communism China missionaries were dispersed. Some returned to the U.S.A. permanently. Most continued in the Asian area where their knowledge of Chinese language and life was valued. Those who went to Tanganyika learned another language, and served out a full career. Others served in other Lutheran missions. Miss Hilda Anderson, R.N. of an earlier generation of missionaries who served in China 1918-1930 as a Medical Missionary, continued her work with another society on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem, ministering to the Arab population of that area.

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## VII

## RALPH D. HULT : SUDAN

At a regular Sunday evening missionary society meeting of students at Luther College, Wahoo, Nebraska, April 14, 1907 a guest speaker talked about the Sudan. He was Pastor Fredrik William Wyman who was serving nearby Malmo, Nebraska. His topic : *Sudan—the Greatest Unevangelized Field in the World*. Ralph D. Hult, a student from the Wahoo area, was present and listened intently. After the meeting was over he walked out into the nearby cornfields and considered deeply his future in God's will. He came to an understanding that he was called to begin a mission in the Sudan. From that moment on, this call dominated his education and life.

Pursuing his studies preparatory for the ministry at the Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois, he met with Dr. Carl August Blomgren, Professor of Hebrew and the Old Testament, and then treasurer of the Augustana Missionary Society. A decade had passed by and the call was stronger than ever in his heart to enter the Sudan. After prayer and consultation it was decided to lay the matter before the Augustana Missionary Society. The China society was specializing on its field only buttressing the work which had been accepted by the Synod as its own. Since this was a new field, the Augustana Society was the proper channel to bring before the Synod a plea that the Synod immediately accept another mission field in its program. His cause was therefore placed before the Society on January 20, 1917 and after due consideration the Society prepared and presented a petition to the Synodical Board for its evaluation and a possible recommendation to the annual meeting of the Synod itself. The Augustana Missionary Society members assured the Synod that if this candidate for a new field were approved, they could provide the financial support for the work.

The matter was placed on the agenda of the Synod and the burden of presenting the cause and defending the same was placed on Ralph Hult, a candidate for ordination by the Synod if the petition were approved. Hult spoke in the favored language of the delegates, Swedish, and at the conclusion when the question was presented to the assembly the response was a mighty "Ja" of unanimous approval. This was Thursday, June 14th. Ordination followed that Sunday and he was commissioned on Monday while the Synod was still in session. The Mission Board worked out details the next Thursday and issued the call to Hult with its particulars spelled out.

The procedure, so carefully worked out in a short period of time, became the subject of serious debate for many years. For circumstances changed and the call had to be altered. Some maintained that a Synod decision could only be changed by the whole Synod in session. Can a church turn back upon what has once been accepted as God's will and directive? Among missionaries themselves a parallel question could never be settled: Does God call persons only to one field and if such persons serve in another geographical area, are they disobedient to this call?

The United States was involved deeply in World War I and every resource was directed towards victory. This wartime condition delayed Hult's move to the Sudan. He continued his preparation during that time at the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Connecticut.

He married Gertrude Jacobson in 1919 while awaiting permission to travel but it was understood that she could not join him in going to Africa to seek a field for future work. Hult went in 1920 to the Camerouns and found a desirable field among the Sara people. His projected work was welcomed by the chief and people. He prepared a report and wired Dr. G. A. Brandelle, President of the Augustana Synod, the good news. SARA PEOPLE WAITING. But in 1922 he heard from Dr. Brandelle the terse order via cable GO TO TANGANYIKA.

World War I and post-war conditions demanded radical changes everywhere. The Augustana Synod was spun about in its attitudes and procedures. Dr. Brandelle, whether he intended it or not, became more ecumenically and world minded than his predecessors needed to be. He was involved in international meetings and understood what the fortunes of war

had done to the world missions of the numerous European mission societies. The missions of the German Lutheran societies were without missionary support and leadership. German personnel had been expelled from the areas where they had labored long and successfully. Roman Catholics had a centralized administration and easily moved personnel from areas where they were politically *persona non grata* to other friendly political areas. They, too, experienced disruption but there was a well established way to handle it. Lutherans working in their separate parochial ways were forced to get together to meet the needs of the orphaned mission areas. The National Lutheran Council created an independent body, the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference to consider these needs and provide solutions. This Conference requested that Augustana Synod send missionaries to Tanganyika Territory in East Africa. Dr. Brandelle courageously provided leadership based upon the common sense that it was better to save a mission floundering than to let it fail while beginning a new mission. Hult was agreeable and spent seven years in Tanganyika rendering notable service.

Tenaciousness was an admirable quality in Hult's personality. Critics considered it to be stubbornness. He never let the vision for Sudan fade. Returning to the United States he declined to return to Tanganyika because the Synod had called him to the Sudan, approved a field there, and he had found a good field which was still waiting. The Board lacked authority to issue such a call and he declined the call they offered. They had committees at work on the matter as did the Synod itself, seeking to resolve this question with Hult. He and his family settled for a decade on a small farm in Missouri where Hult earned whatever he could for their support. It was a great period in the building of family relationship with ten children. The farm was also dedicated to missions and later served as a mission home and retreat. Eventually he returned to serve again in Tanganyika during World War II, another emergency. Hult had justified his service in Tanganyika Territory as an emergency but declined to serve other than in Sudan under normal conditions. Hult served 1941-1943 and died on that assignment in Dar es Salaam, away from his family, March 18, 1943.

At the very time that the Augustana Synod and pastor Hult were wrestling with the question of Augustana's continued responsibility for the Sudan, Pastor Ernest Weinhardt went to the Sudan as a missionary in the A. E. Gunderson faith mission. He had been inspired as Hult was and after conferring with him accepted the call. Weinhardt did not go to exactly the same area as Hult intended. He was stationed by his mission at Mboula, Cameroun and Abba, French Equatorial Africa. Inspired by the freedom to enter fields wherever God called people to serve, while on this tour of duty Weinhardt drew up a model of a Lutheran faith mission which would trust God for support if the society acted in faith on His call. This became the charter statement later of the South American Prayer League and its successor the World Mission Prayer League.

At the Memorial Service for Pastor Hult, Ingrid, his daughter, stated publicly that she was going to the Sudan to fulfill her father's work. After six years of preparation she was ready to serve. Supported by many friends from the Augustana Synod and elsewhere she applied to the Gunderson mission asking to go to the Sara people, the very area her father had found for Augustana's work. After studies in the French language in France she went on to the Camerouns (1949). During her studies in the United States and Europe she met Pastor Walter Trobisch, a German pastor also deeply concerned about missions. She went on alone, later married him. They continued work in the Sudan soon meeting the son of the chief who had welcomed Pastor Hult and given him a lovely steed and beautifully printed Koran. The same generous gesture of welcome was accorded them in a courtly ceremony. In time the Trobischs were associated with higher education in the area. This expanded into marriage counselling throughout Africa via books and other materials from their home in Europe.

The work in the Sudan started by A. E. Gunderson (1923) was assumed by the Norwegian Lutheran Church (1952) and successor body, the American Lutheran Church. On African soil it became the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Cameroon (ELCC) in 1960. In 1978 the population of the Cameroon was 6.5 million and membership of the church was 41,000. In the present mission program of the American Lutheran Church it is the third largest field which, similar to



most of Africa, shows great gains in membership and spiritual growth.

After Pastor Hult's death his widow went to Bolivia as a missionary. Twenty years later there was a family reunion (1963). Of the ten children three had served in Africa, one in Pakistan and one in Korea. The others were professionally trained and served in social, medical or pastoral positions.

The differences between Pastor Hult and synodical decisions did not alienate them from the Augustana congregations and Synod. They were loyal in membership, attended Augustana schools and nurses' training in hospitals, served on Augustana foreign fields. Dr. P. O. Bersell sagaciously observed that the pastors of the Augustana Church were incorrigible individualists. This was even more true of missionaries during that same period. He added, however, with his characteristic twinkle, "They are individuals. But they are loyal." The Hult family made up of strong willed individuals was a loyal family whose persistence also strengthened the body of Christ.

One might speculate how the history of missions in the Augustana Church might now read if the Synod had chosen to continue to honor its commitment to Hult and the Sudan. From all that we know we can assume that the work would show a tremendous growth comparable to the Gunderson record throughout Africa south of the Sahara. The personnel and the means, a recurrent problem, would have fared the same as the other missions of the church. The impediments which seemed so large—two area commitments in Africa—dealing with both French and English Colonial governments—missionaries having to acquire another European language in their preparation to serve—indeed would have taxed the Augustana resources. The proximate judgment at the time was that these were insurmountable, and since they perceived them so, so it was.

It is not of great moment what our speculation may be but we must note that this conflict and its resolution marks a watershed in many matters, both obvious and subtle. On the surface the centralized power of Synod officials is emerging. Ecumenical concerns are gaining a priority over parochial earlier decisions. The Lutheran church in the United States and the World is raising a voice that is heard. Emergencies on foreign soil are within the purview of a Synod's respon-

sibilities. All of these represent a church gaining maturity. Subtle attitudinal messages were also gaining attention here, heard before in European churches. The church is too cautious and free missionary societies are still needed if the world is to be won for Christ. The church's evaluation of the call of God is of greater moment than an individual's and the individual should conform to the call which the church issues. The college missionary societies now retreated to become supports, no longer the initiators spurring the church to decision with promises to bear the responsibility. At this moment the church alone acts through its official leadership. The alternative grasped before will be taken again—the autonomous faith missionary society which in time, when it has proven its merit, is assumed by the church.

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## VIII

### TANGANYIKA AND WORLD WAR I

Pastor Gustav Albert Brandelle was President of the Augustana Lutheran Synod 1918-1935. Historically there was a close association between European mission societies and the Augustana Synod. They had assisted Augustana. Circumstances had now changed so that Augustana could help their work significantly, in fact, save some from complete loss.

The United States Census of 1916 shows the Augustana Synod to have 1,165 congregations, an increase in ten years of 158 or 15.7%. Membership was 204,417, an increase in the decade of 14.1%. The average congregation listed 175 members. The general tenor of the Synod membership towards isolation after World War I may be due in part to the reluctance of the Synod to join the United Lutheran Church, the logical successor to Augustana's church relationships in the General Council. The Council and the United Synod of the South merged with the General Synod in 1918. The nation reacted also against international relationships rejecting the leadership of President Woodrow Wilson and membership in the League of Nations in spite of the promise of peace inherent in its charter. Dr. G. A. Brandelle was the leader of the section in the Augustana Synod which favored the merger in the United Lutheran Church but was defeated. After the experience of World War I Americans were wary of all entangling alliances in the nation and church. Augustana wanted to keep its identity. This was an easy decision for persons not in leadership roles, but forces were at work which demanded decisions and actions immediately. A powerful movement was transcending the organizational boundaries of the existing Lutheran churches and societies. The National Lutheran Council of the United States had come into existence to meet unprecedented circumstances.

The National Lutheran Council had its beginnings in the Lutheran Society to promote the 400th anniversary of Luther's Ninety-five Theses (1517-1917), directed by Rev. O. H. Pannkoke. The next year World War I religious service needs created the National Lutheran Commission for Soldiers and Sailors Welfare. In time 150 camp pastors, 89 Army and 11 Navy Chaplains served. At the conclusion of the war a European commissioner was appointed to administer relief. Eight Lutheran bodies worked together. In European relief and reconstruction \$600,000 was subscribed. By 1921 \$1,250,000 was contributed plus food and clothing. In 10 years eight million dollars was given to European relief.

At an Executive Committee meeting (April 24, 1919) the National Lutheran Council requested the formation of a Foreign Missions Conference to study the world Lutheran mission situation, to see what emergency work yet needed to be done and to make recommendations for relief. Each church body was to have one representative. Nine men met in Chicago July 1st and organized this conference. During 1919-1920 \$700,000 was given for the support of foreign missions otherwise lost to the Lutheran church. The Conference had annual meetings. There was however no organized connection between the Foreign Missions Conference and the National Lutheran Council.

World War I was over. Everyone now talked hopefully of a world safe for democracy, freed from tyranny, armaments under control, and the League of Nations to insure peace and development by providing an arena where all issues could be settled between the nations without war. At last the moment had come in missions when the Gospel might be preached throughout the world.

Protestant missionary leaders were concerned about the fields of the German missionary societies which were without missionary leadership. The Protestant missions had no one overall organization and were forced to approach societies and churches asking that they assume this total mission responsibility for an emergency of unknown duration. In September 1921 the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference asked Augustana to accept the work of the Leipzig Missionary Society in Northern Tanganyika. The situation was critical. Augustana's president, Dr. G. A. Brandelle, went to Germany and met with Professor Carl Ihmels after the Board of Missions had taken

action (December 1, 1921) to finalize this agreement as reported to the next meeting (March 9, 1922).

What was needed most? Personnel. The Leipzig field was well provided with stately churches, basic school buildings, hospitals and missionary homes. Ample lands had been provided the mission by the German Protectorate for future development including an income producing farm. Most important, a growing church of many thousand Christians on the fertile slopes of the mountains of Northern Tanganyika—Mt. Meru, Mt. Kilimanjaro, and the highlands of North and South Pare.

Dr. Brandelle wired Pastor Ralph Hult in the Sudan GO TO TANGANYIKA March 26, 1922. He obeyed arriving December 19, 1922. Other missionaries were already on the field, from European societies: John Steimer, A. C. Zeilinger, Leonard Blumer and Alexander Eisenschmidt. The following year Heinrich Pfitzinger (Alsace-Lorraine) and Richard Reusch (Russia). Pastors Herbert S. Magney, N. L. Melander. Miss Selma Swanson, Pastor George N. Anderson, Ms. Bertha Anderson, M. D., and Ms. Elveda Bonander, R.N. came from Augustana (1924). It was an international missionary team, a pattern to be repeated after World War II.

These new missionaries moved easily into the vacated work but they lacked a common background of language and culture. Continuity and permanency was fragile. Shortly after the newcomers had gained some ability in Swahili the German missionaries began to return (1924). The Africans were in a delicate dilemma having welcomed the new missionaries and now meeting again their former leaders. Where could these missionaries be equitably placed—in their former stations or in new areas? It was an uneasy climate in which to work.

On two continents, Europe and Africa, concerned persons met to resolve the difficulty. In London representatives of the German Societies met with representatives of the colonial government (Tanganyika after World War I was under the League of Nations mandated to Great Britain), the International Missionary Council and Dr. G. A. Brandelle. They divided the area: Leipzig to have the area west of Moshi, dividing the Chagga people and joining the Meru Arusha and Masai peoples; Augustana to the east of Moshi with half of the Chagga

people and the North and South Pare peoples. No missionary and no African was there to protest the unnatural division.

The Augustana missionaries proposed another solution. They had no desire to remain in the rich and well developed Leipzig area. They visited another Leipzig field that had no leadership, Iramba 225 miles to the south and west. Missionaries Hult and Richard Reusch made the first visit (1924) scouting out the situation and on their recommendation the decisive visit was made by George Anderson, Herbert Magney and J. N. L. Melander (January 26—February 4, 1925). They gathered a group of Christians at Ruruma, held a service and listened to their pleas that they return as missionaries to them.

At a special conference in Moshi, September 23, 1926, as representatives of Augustana they surrendered all claims to the Northern area accepting a new agreement made in London that the Leipzig work in Iramba be transferred to Augustana and the northern area be returned intact to Leipzig. By August 26, 1926 all arrangements were completed. Augustana's administration ended (1922-1926).

Dr. Brandelle was fortunate to have at the leadership of the mission boards Dr. Oscar J. Johnson, President of Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota. Dr. Johnson was president of the China Mission Board (1914-1923) and the Board of Foreign Missions (1923-1939). Until the employment of a Field Secretary Pastor Fred Wyman (1920-1932) the work of administration was divided among four members of the Board with the heaviest load falling upon Dr. Johnson. The rapid recruiting and sending of Augustana missionaries indicates the zeal for missions. Almost all of these African missionary pioneers spent their full lifetimes in Africa and their children followed after them in the service. Although Augustana had the primary responsibility for the Leipzig work in Tanganyika, the other missionary societies of Europe freed some of their workers to come quickly to the field. Thus the area was served and was prospering when the Leipzig missionaries returned to their former field.

Although Dr. Brandelle was subject to criticism for his ecumenical and international stance, he continued consistently surviving reflections for a total of 17 years of service in the President's post. He was a delegate to the International Sunday School convention (Chicago); International YMCA

(Philadelphia); one of the founders of the National Lutheran Council and the American Lutheran Conference. He attended world meetings in Eisenach (1923), Copenhagen (1925), Paris, Stockholm and Örebro, Sweden (1929) and the Northern Bishops in Sweden (1930). He succeeded in turning administrative policies toward common Lutheran work, broader ecumenical concerns and relationships.

Dr. Brandelle's office was a roll top desk in his home. Augustana College and Theological Seminary was just a few blocks away as well as Augustana Book Concern. It was Rock Island, Illinois with convenient railroad connections to most parts of the area of the Augustana people. To a student of the college and seminary during those years leaders of the Augustana Synod became known by sight as they met with Dr. Brandelle in his home, at the college and seminary or Book Concern. This was the heart of the Synod where decisions were made, personnel chosen and policies set that brought the people of the Augustana Synod solidly into the arena of worldwide Christian evangelism and life.

The United States itself was changing. In the decade 1920-29 it had a total population of 106,461,000. For the first time in its history the urban population exceeded the rural, a slight 50.9%, with the largest single population grouping in cities of a million or more. It was becoming a nation of city dwellers, also better educated as 598,000 students attended 1041 higher education institutions. Four percent of the population age group 18-24, were in school. Swedish immigration resumed after the war with as many as 24,948 coming in one year (1923) and as many as 5341 returned to Sweden in a year (1920).

It was mid-westerners in the main who responded to the call for missionaries to Tanganyika Territory. Tanganyika itself has a long history of human life recorded in still extant pictograph writing in caves and more dramatically the remains of earliest man at Olduvai Gorge. Tanganyika became widely known through the missionary-explorer David Livingstone and the news reporter-explorer Henry M. Stanley (1871). It came under a German Protectorate, 1884-1918. During this time Tanganyika was divided between Roman Catholic and Protestant missions equally by land area by alternating bands of influence the boundaries running down from the mountain sides to the uninhabited *pori* (plains). All German missions were

zealous in developing the resources of the land. Timber was planted and cared for to become the valued heritage of the forest in hard woods in Tanzania today. Irrigation systems were built which were organized on the lines of organizations of the tribes themselves. These became world renowned. Coffee was introduced almost simultaneously by the various missions, Roman Catholic and Protestant. Model farms were developed to demonstrate tropical agriculture and provide an income for the missions. The highland areas of the Arusha, Meru, Kilimanjaro, and Pare mountains were beautifully developed by the missions.

Handsome cathedral churches, schools and hospitals were solidly constructed together with homes for European missionaries and personnel. European hotels were also developed by the government conveniently stationed to serve government and business travellers. Roads were as yet not all weather and were washed out in the rainy seasons. In coming to the Leipzig field at this time almost everything was comfortable for the foreign missionary and conducive to preaching the Gospel because physical questions of existence had been met. There was also a great African church responsive to the Gospel. When the Augustana missionaries chose to leave this area and begin work in Iramba they went to an area totally undeveloped, ravaged by disease and inhospitable to man.



## IX

**GEORGE NATHANAEL ANDERSON:  
IRAMBA-TURU, TANGANYIKA**

The move from the Northern area of Tanganyika to the Central area to work among the Iramba and Turu tribes was a team effort. Wisely work began at Ruruma where the Leipzig Mission Society missionaries had made a successful beginning in 1911, building a small chapel and missionary home and opening a school. Six years later these missionaries were removed (1917) as personnel of an enemy nation when German colonial forces in the area were defeated by British and South African troops and sea forces. The stay of the Leipzig missionaries was cut short but the people they converted and began to educate, small in number, were faithful and were quickly found by Pastors Richard Reusch and Ralph Hult when they visited the field seven years later (1924). The reputation of the mission was so favorable that as Hult stayed for three weeks and made contact with the Christians and chiefs in the area, there was an openly expressed desire to open the schools again and to have missionaries at work among them. Augustana missionaries were welcomed because of the previous work of the Leipzig missionaries. This led to another visitation by Augustana missionaries, Pastors George Anderson, Herbert S. Magney, and Ludwig Melander the following year, January 6- early February, 1926. Their findings were reported to the missionary conference which settled upon Iramba as the field for future Augustana mission work. It was a team of four Augustana missionaries and one Leipzig missionary, Dr. Richard Reusch who was permitted to come and serve in Tanganyika because his nationality was Russian, not German. They made these decisive preliminary surveys together.

Perhaps the most important members of this team were African Christians who served as living communication links. Two Chagga teachers came with Hult and Reusch and

although illness shortened their stay, their witness was evident. One in particular, Noe Minja, who came in the first move as a builder, was a Chagga Christian who had served as a builder in Ruruma in 1912 and had learned some Iramba language. He now returned and often led the morning *sala*, worship to begin the new day. He considered himself called of God and asked his son, Metusela, also to come and serve. Metusela honored his father's request and while serving later in Iramba his father came and visited him. On that visit his father died in the hospital in Kiomboi and was buried at Ruruma. His grave is held in high honor. Two other craftsmen came and worked and witnessed with the first missionaries. Thus it was symbolic of this team that upon their arrival in Ruruma at night

"We knelt at the dilapidated steps of the little mission house to thank God for a safe journey and pray for His guidance in the days ahead, we six, three missionaries and three Africans, prayed in five different languages—a multilingual beginning which it seems was appropriate in an area where missionaries must learn to use several languages." (G.A. Anderson, *Lutheran Companion* 3/13/57).

Eleven Christians were found advanced in the faith sufficiently to warrant training for leadership. Of these, seven were sent by the mission to Marangu Teacher Training Center for training and accreditation as teachers. Others served as local leaders. Each missionary assumed a specific field: Anderson—Evangelism and study of the Iramba Language; Magney—building supervisor; and Melander (although not a doctor)—medical concerns. As the season of Christmas drew near, the three married men returned to their families while Melander remained. About mid-summer (1927) the families moved to Iramba. Three medical missionaries came: Dr. Bertha Anderson, M.D., Elveda Bonander, R.N., and Selma Swanson, R.N. Except for the Magneys stationed at Iambi, all were located at Ruruma. Understanding and control of malaria was in its early stages and they had come from an area relatively free from malaria. Some were deathly ill and Marcus Anderson, child of George and Annabel Anderson, died.

The work expanded. New missionaries: Dr. Hobart Johnson, M.D. and family, Miss Edna Miller, Margaret Samuelson (1928), Pastor V. Eugene Johnson and family, Pastor Elmer

R. Danielson and Miss Lillian Larson (who married later that year, August 15, 1929), Dr. C. Einar Norberg, M.D., and family, and Miss Edythe Beck.

Singida, a town with many Indians, was central and in time became the administrative center for the mission also. It had two scenic salt lakes with exotic flamingos and other tropical birds in abundance and flat plains partly bounded by the steep escarpment of the Rift Valley, at points dramatically accentuated by huge upturned boulders, rock formations in grotesque disarray. There were few roads, impassable in rainy weather, and streams forded were subject to flash floods. Missionaries built feeder roads to the mission stations.

From humble beginnings at Ruruma the Augustana mission grew rapidly. Even in the first years, thousands attended Christmas and Easter and over a thousand came on ordinary Sundays. Dr. George N. Anderson was in this work from the beginning (retired 1954). In the post World War II years he was the General Director of all Lutheran missions in Tanganyika. He was the liaison with all agencies of government. Together with Dr. Fredrik Schiotez, Executive Secretary of the Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions (National Lutheran Council, USA and Lutheran World Federation) they negotiated knotty problems of ownership and property rights of the German mission societies.

The program of the Augustana mission was basically a translation to the Tanganyika scene of the Augustana liturgy, emphasis on Bible preaching and teaching, stewardship, education and medical care. Methods successfully used in the United States were tried and usually succeeded. While hymns were translated into Swahili and the vernacular in all missions, there was also an encouragement to the people to produce their own. Dr. Howard S. Olson collected and published 20 such hymns translated for the English speaking public. The extemporaneous songs of the evangelists exhorting the people, telling the news and prayers occupied an hour or more as people assembled for the liturgical service. Churches at first were simple Western architecture but these became expressions of local architecture and materials in time. In addition to hospital services at Kiomboi, every station aimed to have a dispensary with a registered nurse and medical assistant. Lepers were served at Mkalama for years, then at the new leprosarium at Iambi. A School for

Missionaries Children was built and in operation at Kiomboi serving all missions and others (Government, businessmen and non-Europeans—Indians and Africans).

Pastor Ruben Pederson, president of the mission, made a final summary of Augustana's work to the Augustana Board of World Missions (November 1961). At that time the Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika had 22,000 members and ministered to a constituency of 400,000 persons in twenty six parishes, 15 African and 5 missionary pastors. One of its own pastors, Manase Yona, was president of the church. The church itself became a member of the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika organized 1959, 345,000 Lutherans; the largest Protestant communion in Tanganyika. This Federation worked with the Christian Council of Tanganyika, representing 700,000 Protestants (total population 9 million). When Tanganyika gained full political independence in 1961, six members of the Legislative Council were Lutherans, one from the Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika. During Augustana's mission, 11 students from Central Tanganyika studied in the USA supported by Augustana (1961-63). No estimate is made of the many who have studied elsewhere who gained their basic preparation in Augustana schools.

In a short period of time, 33 years (1927-1960), the Augustana mission among Iramba-Turu-Barabaig peoples became an indigenous church choosing one of its own pastors as president.

Pastor Fred Wyman served as Field Secretary for the Board of Foreign Missions (1920-1932). The Board of Foreign Missions of the Augustana Synod was the successor to previous administrative bodies: The Committee on Foreign Missions (1861-66); The Central Mission Board, Board of China Mission Society and the China Mission Board. This Board of Foreign Missions was responsible to the Synod for all world mission work (1923-1961).

Tanganyika, now Tanzania, East Africa. 364,900 square miles. Population (1977) 16.2 million. Tanganyika and Zanzibar were merged (April 1964) to become Tanzania. Prior to 1884 the only contact with the outside world was through the Arabs except for dramatic meeting of David Livingstone (1813-1873) and Morton Stanley in 1871 at Ujiji which gained the attention of the world. Under the German Protectorate 1884-1914

the capital was shifted from Bayamoyo to Dar es Salaam. The railroad, Dar es Salaam to Kigoma, started 1905, was completed 1914. The Tanga to Moshi railroad began 1893 and was completed 1911, the first railroad built in a German colony. In World War I Tanganyika was made a mandate of Britain under the League of Nations. Similarly after World War II a British Mandate under the United Nations. Independence was attained in 1961, and Julius Nyerere became President.

When Augustana missionaries came to Central Tanganyika in 1924, Tanganyika had already been opened by the building of two railroads, 1896-1903. The Central Railway system was 80 miles south of Singida at Itigi and reached by lorry over the Great North Road from the Cape to Cairo. A grand name for a mud road passable only in dry weather. Arusha was 200 miles to the North over Native Authority Roads and the Great North Road, also impassable in some seasons. Highway transportation steadily developed and services contingent upon them became available. In time telephone became available in government offices on a reservation in advance basis. The Augustana mission developed its own radio communication system between the stations in the 1960s.

The Iramba plateau was located on the upper rim of the Great Rift Valley and the view from some mission stations was down that steep escarpment of a thousand feet that entrapped water to become saline lakes and ponds, and herds of animals as well. The Rift Valley begins in the Jordan River in Palestine follows the length of the Red Sea, a sea which may be considered an inland lake with a small opening into the Indian Ocean. The valley then proceeds southward down through Lake Rudolph where it divides and spreads out around Lake Victoria but joins again at the head of Lake Nyassa. It follows the Shire and Zambezi rivers and finally goes out to sea in Zimbabwe continuing as a valley in the ocean floor. Geologists consider this rift as an example of the separation into the continents and the development of oceans on a world wide scale. The Rift Valley extends through more than 70 degrees of latitude, almost 1/5th of the way around the world, and contains some of the deepest lakes on earth. Augustana missionaries frequently spoke to visitors from home saying that they had walked where Jesus walked. If there was a reaction they explained the statement in terms of this great Rift Valley.

Of the pioneer missionaries George N. Anderson was the oldest coming to Africa after serving parishes in the midwest and while in St. Paul, Minnesota assisting in the foundation of the Lutheran Bible Institute. He and his wife Annette (Elmquist) served 1924-1956. They were particularly effective in deputation work when on furlough stimulating great interest and support in African missions. One child, Marcus, was the first death of a member of the missionary family in Iramba. Seven children survived and the family was at times divided, with the mother remaining in the USA for a period because of the education of the children. Four sons became pastors and one of these, Paul, became a missionary to Tanganyika. Their daughter Louise married Pastor Howard Olson, Ph.D. and together they spent a lifetime of service as missionaries in Iramba. In addition to his heavy duties in administration as President of the mission and General Director for all Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika, Dr. Anderson translated the New Testament into Iramba language, also Catechism, hymns and liturgies as needed in the early development of the mission. Upon his retirement the African church in love invited him to return to live his last years among them, a sentiment which he appreciated deeply. He died October 8, 1958.

Pastor Herbert Sigfred Magney served from 1923 until his death on the field in Dar es Salaam May 14, 1954. He held offices in the mission. At a crucial time during World War II, he was President of the Augustana Mission 1935-1940, 1942-1944 and was Superintendent of two former German missions. A practical man, in the first years of the Iramba mission he recruited 200 Africans to work building eleven miles of road with hand tools in three days time. His daughter Dorothy also became a missionary with her husband Pastor Kermit Youngdale in Tanganyika.

Pastor N. Ludwig Melander came as a single man to Tanganyika and served continuously 1923-1961. He was capable of living in the African bush on the African economy, still maintaining his health. His musical hobby was the violin which he played everywhere to the delight of young and old interspersing his music with songs which he taught them along with his Gospel message. He was usually engaged in contacting new villages and working with them before a resident missionary could serve. He married Esther Olson, a missionary

who had survived the Zam Zam sinking, December 28, 1946 and the two carried on a ministry of hymns and witness, she playing the accordion. Melander was not a medical doctor himself but like many others, he met African ills with the malaria (and other simple) cures, knowing that most diseases in that area were malaria-related.





## X

### **RICHARD REUSCH : ORPHANED GERMAN MISSIONS, WORLD WAR II.**

Mission work by the German societies became increasingly difficult and limited under the Nazi regime. Funds were scrutinized and restricted in terms of foreign trade. Missionaries were expected to be loyal representatives of their government. Spies and agents may have come under that guise and at least one was active in promoting a Nazi organization in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika. Missions were thrown upon whatever resources they had in the field itself. When war broke out (1939) only those missionaries were interned who were suspected of being Nazi sympathizers. Some missionaries fearing reprisals declined to sign a pledge of loyalty to the British administration and they too were interned. On each great field only one missionary remained to keep the work together, in time these were compelled to leave. Exceptions were made when a parole was accepted and the work they were doing was essential. Before the missionaries left, leaders of the Tanganyika congregations who had demonstrated their understanding of the faith and lived without reproach were ordained, thus insuring pastoral leadership. Treasurers were also appointed.

A letter from the President of the Augustana Mission, Pastor Herbert S. Magney (January 23, 1940) formally asked the Government of Tanganyika that Augustana be permitted to serve these orphaned Lutheran missions, suggesting ways in which this was possible. This request was backed by the Augustana Board of Foreign Missions. The American Lutheran Churches joined in such support through Lutheran World Action (LWA). Actually Augustana was the only mission able to offer assistance. The Swedish Church did assist admirably well but was limited by wartime restrictions on communication and some suspicion because of the neutral position of their nation.

The Leipzig mission had 55 missionaries and all but two were interned. Augustana had this responsibility in addition to its own understaffed work in Iramba. Their total resources were seven pastors and nine lay missionaries. When the war began there were 172 German missionaries in the Territory. They served in these areas; under these German societies:

Northern Area, Leipzig. 40,000 Christians, 55 missionaries

Southern Highlands, Berlin. 20,000 Christians, 40 missionaries.

Lake Victoria and Zaire, Bethel. 20,000

Christians, 30 missionaries

Usambara, Bethel. 10,000 Christians, 30 missionaries

Uzaramo, Bethel. 2,000 Christians, no missionaries.

Augustana's offer was accepted by the Tanganyika Government on April 30, 1940. Some suggestions were not accepted such as German missionaries to be released on parole and supported by Augustana funds. Some fields were directed to other missions. Those remaining were Leipzig, Bethel and Berlin fields.

Dr. Richard Reusch came to Tanganyika to serve in the emergency following World War I as a Leipzig missionary (1923), married an American Augustana missionary, Miss Elveda Bonander, R.N. (1927). While on furlough in 1938 he was accepted as an Augustana pastor and missionary. In the beginning of this wartime emergency he provided leadership.

Dr. Reusch was Headmaster at Kinampana Teachers Training Center when he was appointed by the Augustana Mission (1940) to replace Pastor Paul Rother as Superintendent of the Leipzig Mission. Shortly he was also serving Usambara and Uzaramo in the same leadership role. His interests in sports such as mountain climbing (he was reputed to have climbed Kilimanjaro 60 times) and his Russian Czarist aristocratic background had established contacts with the European community and British officials that now facilitated his work as one voice for the Lutheran former German fields. He traveled extensively and tirelessly through the area he supervised. Under his leadership and teaching a two year theological course for all Lutheran missions was conducted at Machame (1941-1943) which resulted in pastors for the congregations and established ties between Lutherans separated by distance and

tribes. It proved to be a model for all later theological education of only one seminary for all Lutherans of Tanganyika.

Leading African church men and their chiefs, Abdiel Shangali and Petro Marealle, under Reusch's leadership drew up a constitution for the Lutheran Church in Tanganyika (1942), registered it with the Government and thus safeguarded the integrity of the church for the future. To meet acute personnel needs, non-Lutherans were asked to serve but African Lutherans insisted that they not serve as pastors, only in other technical fields such as education and medicine.

Augustana's responsibility extended to 1952, a period of twelve years.

Augustana missionaries in Tanganyika the early war years were: Pastors Elmer Danielson, George N. Anderson, A. C. Zeilinger and Martin Olson, doctors; five nurses: Miss Edith Kjellin, Miss Margaret Peterson, Miss Dorothy Anderson, Miss Ruth Safemaster and Miss Selma Swanson; two teachers: Miss Edna Miller and Miss Elinor Lindbeck, two Parish Workers: Miss Herta Engelman and Miss Vivian Gulleen.

Augustana fulfilled its stewardship to hold the field intact for the German societies, serving as a liaison with Government, securing support and channeling it efficiently. The fields were never staffed with as many persons as under the German society but this was compensated in part by the persons who were placed in key positions who understood the new forces at work in Africa and the world. Africans were coming of age and moving towards church autonomy and political independence.

In addition to official Records and Minutes, Herbert S. Magney, S. Hjalmar Swanson, Elmer R. Danielson, Bengt Sundkler, Inkeri Peltola, P.O. Bersell, Donald C. Flatt, Fredrik A. Schiotz, Martin Nordfeldt and Gustav Bernander have written and published their own accounts of this period of mission history in Tanganyika.

Gustav Bernander in *LUTHERAN WARTIME ASSISTANCE TO TANZANIAN CHURCHES, 1940-1945* provides the following statistics of growth during that period of five years. The total number of Christians grew from 81,300 in 1939 to 130,800 in 1945. The number of congregations increased from 60 to 66. African pastors grew in number from 46 to 73. During this time of growth the number of mission stations with missionaries was reduced from 53 in 1939 to 12

in 1945. The number of missionaries not including wives was reduced from 132 in 1939 to 28 in 1945. Other statistics cited by Bernander indicate similar trends and changes in program from missionary centered leadership to indigenous African leadership and the effectiveness of the same.

Augustana personnel who served those war years (1940-1945) on the former German Fields were Dr. Richard Reusch, Dr. Olof Olson, M.D., Selma Swanson RN, Pastor Ralph Hult (who died in Dar es Salaam while Superintendent of Uzaramo), Pastor Martin Bystrom (Superintendent of Uzaramo, died in Dar es Salaam) and Pastor Herbert Magney (Superintendent in Uzaramo).

Missionaries from other missionary organizations were: Pastor Neville Langford Smith and wife and Miss Mary Dobson (Australian Church Mission Society). Miss Ann Olson RN (American Lutheran Mission Natal, South Africa). Pastor Martin Nordfeldt and wife: Pastor Tore Fryhle and wife (Swedish Evangelical Mission, i.e., Fosterlandstiftelsen), Pastor Gustav Bernander and wife and Dr. Bengt Sundkler (Church of Sweden Mission). Remaining German missionaries were: Pastor and Mrs. Wilhelm Hosbach, Miss Annie Bösch, Deaconess, Berta Scheu and Pastor and Mrs. Heinrich Waltenberg.

Early reinforcements were: Pastor and Mrs. Ray Cunningham, and Miss Velura Kinnan (Augustana); Dr. Caspar Skinsnes, MD, Miss Edna Rollands, RN, and Miss Ruth Tollefson, RN (Norwegian Church, USA); Pastor and Mrs. John Nilsson, Pastor Enok Persson, Miss Frida Lundström, RN and Miss Greta Sjölund, RN (Swedish Evangelical Mission); Pastor and Mrs. Josef Imberg, Pastor and Mrs. Sven Näsmark, Pastor and Mrs. Sverker Agren, Deaconess Rakel Lundström, Miss Ruth Petterson, RN, and Deaconess Walborg Plym (Church of Sweden Mission).

## XI

### THE ZAM ZAM: MISSIONARIES FOR AFRICA

The sinking of the Zam Zam by the German raider *Tamesis* on May 17, 1941 was attributed to error in identifying the ship in the dark. It was a World War I troop transport, the H.M.S. *Leistershire* (built 1910), now under Egyptian registry, a neutral vessel. The name "Zam Zam", beloved to Muslims, the name of the spring in the desert in Mecca which miraculously saved the lives of Hagar and Ishmael who had been banished from Abraham's household (Genesis 21:14-21). Out of fear of raiders the ship had been ordered to sail without running lights and thus seemed to the German captain to be a heavily armed troop ship.

The Zam Zam had appeared as a great hope in sea travel upset by wartime restrictions for 22 Christian missionary organizations and twenty-two American boys, an ambulance crew, in non-combatant service. The crew: four officers, a doctor and 137 Egyptian seamen and service personnel. American passengers mostly (137), Canadian (26), British (15), Belgium (4), South Africa (5), Bahama Islands, Hong Kong and Kenya (2 each), and North Rhodesia, Swaziland, French, Italian and Norwegian citizenship (1 each). Missionaries and their families accounted for 134 of these passengers: Africa Inland Mission, 27, bound for Kenya, Belgian Congo and Tanganyika; Assembly of God, 4 for Tanganyika; Augustana Synod Lutheran, 19 for Tanganyika; Baptist National Convention, 3 for Liberia; Baptist, Northern, 1 Mission Executive Secretary; Baptist, Mid-Mission, 1 for French Equatorial Africa; Baptist, Southern, 5 for Nigeria; Brethren of Christ, 4 for South Rhodesia; Church of the Brethren, 7 for French Equatorial Africa, West Africa and Nigeria; Congo Inland Mission, 2 for Belgian Congo; Disciples of Christ, 4 for Belgian Congo; Norwegian Lutheran Church, 3 for Belgian Congo and

Zuzuland, South Africa; Presbyterian, Southern, 8 for Belgian Congo; Presbyterian, United, 3 for Sudan; Progressive Brethren, 4 for French Equatorial Africa; S.A. General Convention, 2 for Angola; Scandinavian Alliance, 3 for Swaziland, South Africa; Seventh Day Adventists, 9 for South Africa; Sudan Interior Mission, 3 for Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; World Wide Evangelization Crusade, 3 for Belgian Congo; Free Methodist, 5 for Belgian Mandated Territory and Portuguese East Africa; and Roman Catholic, 17 priests for Basutoland, South Africa.

The ships' course: New York (after some delays) March 20, Baltimore March 23, Trinidad March 30, Recife, Brazil April 9. S.O.S. from Norwegian ship brought about a change of course. On April 17, 5:30 a.m. the boat was shelled by the German raider *Tamesis* for 10 minutes. Survivors were taken aboard raider and *Zam Zam* sank at 2 p.m.

The following day survivors were transferred to the *Dresden*, a supply and prison ship. Nine out of the 332 persons aboard were wounded. No lives were lost. The *Dresden* again rendezvoused with the *Tamesis* (April 26) took on supplies and proceeded north to St. Juan de Luz (May 20). Missionaries then crossed Spain and Portugal to Lisbon, taking various ships (June 12), stopping at the Azores (June 15) they arrived New York (June 21-30).

*ZAM ZAM, The Story of a Strange Missionary Odyssey* (1941) was written by the Augustana Synod passengers and edited by S. Hjalmar Swanson. In addition reactions of people in the United States, Africa and the world are recorded. Photos by *Life* magazine and the missionaries illustrate each stage of the account.

Augustana missionaries on the *Zam Zam* were: Mrs. Elmer Danielson (whose husband Elmer had returned alone earlier to meet the needs on the field) and six children; Pastor Ralph D. Hult (who had served in Tanganyika after World War I and was now returning to Africa 15 years later under a similar emergency); Pastor and Mrs. V. Eugene Johnson (returning after furlough) and two children; Miss Velura Kinnan (to begin work, sailed again 1944); Dr. and Mrs. C. Einar Norberg (returning from furlough. Served 1929-1941) and 3 children; Miss Esther M. Olson (also first attempt to reach the field. Sailed again in 1944. She married Pastor Ludwig Melander, 1946).

Earlier that fateful year, the Augustana Luther League scheduled its Ninth Youth Conference for Rockford, Illinois February 13-16. The theme was "Built on the Rock." Three months later the solidity of Christian faith and hope was tested for those on the Zam Zam and Christians everywhere as the first news of the Zam Zam sinking became known and nothing was known of the fate of those on board. There was much soul searching whether churches and mission agencies were justified in placing missionaries and their families in the path of the perils of war. Missionaries thought deeply and prayed earnestly about their vocations and came from it stronger in confidence in God's leadership in their lives and the mission of the churches.

American neutrality had been pledged when war broke out in Europe. Belligerent nations were still permitted to carry on business as usual under a cash and carry basis even in war materials (1939). Protection against subversion was spelled out in the Smith Alien Registration Act forbidding organization of any group to overthrow any government. All men of possible military age were required to register for the draft in the Burke-Wadsworth Selective Training and Service Act, the nation's first peace-time draft for compulsory military duty (1940). Local units of the National Guard were mustered and sent to the Philippines and elsewhere. Colleges became bereft of male students as many enlisted before being drafted to insure a better future in the armed services. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt placed the struggle on a high plane in enunciating the "Four Freedoms" as the basic right of every one. Neutrality became favored treatment to the Allies who could now by the Lend-lease Act purchase arms without cash. Industrial and agricultural America was directed toward needs occasioned by the war. The occasion for the entry into the war came from an unexpected quarter, the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941 which was followed quickly by a Declaration of War, December 11, 1941 by the United States against Japan. Germany and Italy also declared war against the United States.

The story of Lutherans responding to the needs of suffering mankind everywhere of all races and religions, Lutheran World Action and Lutheran World Service, is one of generosity and courage. Augustana people together with other Lutherans gave of themselves and served with devotion. Although our story

concentrates upon the mission events and movements of these years we must never forget that there was no favoritism of causes or preferential treatment of one kind of Christian work over another but all were supported out of the same generous heart in this "finest hour" of the churches, to use a Churchillian phrase. It came not out of abundance alone but went beyond the normal resources of human love and courage.



## XII

### **S. HJALMAR SWANSON: EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS**

At the Diamond Jubilee meeting of the Augustana Synod in Rock Island, Illinois (June 5-10, 1935) Dr. Gustav Albert Brandelle and Dr. Gustav Albert Andreen were retired. The new President of the Synod was Dr. Petrus Olof Bersell, Dr. Conrad Bergendoff the new President of Augustana College and Theological Seminary. Both men gave strong and effective leadership changing the administrative policies of many decades. The external symbol of Augustana presence was buildings grouped in Rock Island—the college and seminary and Augustana Book Concern. Hitherto the Synod president had lived in a city where he was in charge of a congregation. In 1935 Dr. Bersell changed his place of residence and established an office in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The United States itself had changed direction with the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1932) and shortly national measures were taken to alleviate the suffering caused by the Great Depression (October 29, 1929 Stock Market crash) affecting every section of the country and society. The Augustana Synod since 1870 had operated on the principle of the least possible central administration. The Synod now suffered from inertia and welcomed the strong central leadership of the new president. The first department of the Synod to initiate a new kind of administration was the Board of Foreign Missions. Since its inception the policies and programs were put into action by the President (who was a full time College President) and other Board officers who were pastors and laymen. In 1937 the Synod authorized the board to employ a full time executive secretary/director of foreign missions. Pastor S. Hjalmar Swanson was called and installed as first-time executive director at the synodical convention in Lindsborg, Kansas (June 16, 1939).

Six churchmen had served as mission secretaries: Pastor John Telleen (Telugu Mission 1892-1902 and Puerto Rico Mission 1912); Pastor H.O. Lindeblad (Puerto Rico Mission, 1910-1911); Pastor John Torell (China Mission 1910-1915); Pastor Carl Solomonson, DD (General Council, 1911-1912); Pastor Fred W. Wyman (Field Secretary 1920-1932); and Pastor Anton M. Lundeen (Field Secretary, 1934-1943). The position was continued under Swanson's leadership by Pastor C. Vernon Swenson (Promotional Secretary 1948-1949) and Pastor Rudolph C. Burke (1951-1956, Associate Director after 1956). Greatest continuity was provided by the Treasurer, Dr. N.P. Benson, a prominent business man who served from June 29, 1922 until 1954, thirty two years of continuous service. His successor was Mr. A.B. Strom, in a position which now required full time work.

Dr. Swan Hjalmar Swanson was born in Sweden (1886), came to the United States (1895) and attended Gustavus Adolphus College (AB 1910) and Augustana Seminary (BD 1913). He served parishes in Minnesota, then was pastor of First Lutheran Church in Jamestown, New York (1935-1939) when called to direct Augustana foreign missions (1939-1955).

He was called to lead a missionary effort on three fields: India, China and Tanganyika, East Africa, involving the support of 75 missionaries. His administration was well balanced. To inform the constituency he wrote articles for the church press and three well received books: *Three Missionary Pioneers*; *Touring Tanganyika*; and *Zam Zam*. In the first he called attention to the history of the world mission enterprise in the lives of A.B. Carlson (India), A.W. Edwins (China) and Ralph D. Hult (Africa). *Touring Tanganyika* recording his visit of the Lutheran Fields in East Africa became a handbook of knowledge in English about these fields. *Zam Zam* was written in the wake of the near-tragedy of the sinking of this neutral vessel with so many missionaries aboard, describing the sorrow and shock that the news brought as well as the great relief of its outcome with no loss of life. His principal work was *Foundation for Tomorrow* (1960) the most comprehensive record of the century of missions among the Augustana people.

His administration was also the work of a craftsman characterized by thorough preparation before board meetings and other occasions for decision, a quiet resolve with full ap-

preciation of the position of other persons involved, yet strong though polite and tactful. He was highly respected throughout the missionary bodies of the world. He came into his work at a difficult time and proved to be equal to the demands before him including travel and visitation of mission areas in dangerous times. During his incumbency the mission grew to add Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Uruguay, plus aid to orphaned missions in Africa and Asia, a total of 195 personnel on all these fields.

One of the first acts of the new administration of USA President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1932) was a Bank Moratorium of three days to gain control of the economic malaise of the Great Depression. The Gold Standard was dropped and the New Deal initiated. Personal income was at its lowest point, only \$374 in 1933. Government began social programs such as unemployment insurance and employment in public works. A new day began in the United States and the Western world born out of the realities of world wide depression. This affected all of life: philosophy, social ethics, and the governing of the churches.

The Augustana Synod at this time (1936) is listed in the statistics of the USA Religious Census, the last to be published. Augustana now had 1,133 churches, mostly rural (57.5%). The membership, however, was urban, 64.1% of the total of 327,472. Membership registered more women than men. A summary was also provided of the growth in the churches in each decade. Augustana Synod registered the following gains:

- 179,204 1906 membership. (Beginning of Census)
- 204,417 1916 membership.
- 311,425 1926 membership.
- 327,472 1936 membership.

Churches in 1936 were located in 33 states and the District of Columbia. The largest concentrations of Augustana Churches were in West North Central, Minnesota 373 churches; East North Central, Illinois 111 churches; Middle Atlantic, Pennsylvania 46; and New England, Massachusetts 36 churches. Membership growth was reduced to 16,047 or 5.2%, a striking contrast to the 52.3% of the previous decade.

In the "New Approach" of President P.O. Bersell full time Executive Secretaries or "Directors" of the mission work of the

church were elected. As noted before, the Board of Foreign Missions was first to act in calling Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson. The Board of American Missions called Dr. Sigfrid E. Engstrom (1939) to coordinate and lead the efforts of the Conferences and enter new fields to meet new conditions of evangelization and church growth in light of the record of the last decade. No longer could immigration from Sweden be counted upon for new membership. The church must reach out to all persons of whatever national and ethnic background and win them for the Kingdom of God. To provide solid financial strength the Synod turned to a veteran layman, Mr. Otto Leonardson who had put the church on a businesslike basis in 1928 and had introduced the Every Member Canvass. When the Department of Finance was re-organized (1942) he became Director of Finance serving until Dr. Thorsten Gustafson became his successor. The Department of Evangelism was given its Director, Dr. William Berg in 1950. Earlier, however, was the appointment of Dr. Wilton Bergstrand as Executive Director of the Luther League (1946-1962), a most significant post for the future of missions and all church vocations. Augustana youth provided leadership ability, Rev. Harry Victorson while still a student was elected President of the Lutheran Students of America (1938-1940) and his brother Rev. Frans Victorson through the Brotherhood of the Augustana Synod became a national leader in the Boy Scouts of America and served as Chaplain at several World Jamborees (1940 f.).

The new Executive Secretary of Foreign Missions was quickly involved in the world-wide mission of the churches. He attended the International Missionary Council, Madras World meeting in December 1938; the greatest international meeting in the world representing 69 nations and 100 languages. Some World statistics cited at this meeting: Communicant Protestants in non-Christian world grew from 3,565,443 (1925) to 6,045,726 (1938). Baptized Protestants grew from 8,346,378 (1925) to 13,036,354 (1938) in world. Foreign missionaries from 19,384 (1911) to 27,577 (1938). Ordained Nationals grew from 5,584 (1911) to 17,789 (1938). Lutherans from America stationed in 24 parts of the world, 680 missionaries with a national staff of 2,607 of whom 239 were ordained, a growth from 393 (1919). Baptized membership on Lutheran fields was 284,918. Dr. Swanson reported: "Some of the delegates came

from countries which were at war. Men from China and Japan were there. They said, "Our lands are at war but we pray for one another"... Chinese Christians asked that no resolutions be passed condemning Japanese aggression as this would grieve their Japanese brethren who were not responsible for the situation. We are members of a Christian World Community. This may be a new thought to many of us whose thinking has been confined to groups or areas. We believe in denominational and nationalistic loyalties but we must not permit this to make us forget the fact that we must also confess that we believe in "the holy Christian Church, the Communion of Saints."

This was the auspicious beginning of Dr. Swanson's many years as Executive Secretary. He enunciated a position from which he never deviated in administration. Very quickly he was introduced to a magnitude of mission problems and uncertainties because of World War II. He was a vital link in the work of the National Lutheran Council, the agency for nearly all Lutheran bodies in the United States in a work of evangelism and mercy which expended \$2,500,000, 1939 through 1947, to maintain and continue world missions initiated and developed by European Missionary Societies which again were orphaned by a world war.



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### XIII

#### ERNEST WEINHARDT: SOUTH AMERICAN PRAYER LEAGUE

The genesis of the South American Prayer League was a class taught at Lutheran Bible Institute, Minneapolis, Minnesota by Dr. C. O. Granlund on "Unreached Fields" in the fall of 1932. Stanley Olson and John Carlsen talked together after class and both were impressed by the needs of South America. They decided to pray about it and asked another friend, Pastor Ernest Weinhardt (who had served in Sudan in the A.E. Gunderson mission and was now a pastor in Minnesota), to join them. They had a large map of South America rolled out on the floor and on their knees they examined it, area by area, praying. The number of prayer partners grew weekly. Hundreds of prayer cards were circulated and congregations visited (150 in one summer alone). In 1937 they chose a name: The South American Prayer League, A Lutheran Missionary Fellowship.

Pastor Weinhardt and John Carlsen met with Pastor Evald J. Conrad, (who had been elected President at the organization meeting, May 25, 1937); Adolph Andreason (Advisory Committee) and Pastor H.G. Randolph (Faculty, Lutheran Bible Institute) and gave their testimonies of God's call to go to South America. After prayer it was decided that they should go to South America that fall. They were commissioned at a service on December 5th.

Their travel route and choice of field was left to God's direction. Having invitations from churches they travelled to the West Coast. The Bolivian Consul in San Francisco, California urged them to come to his country. Two cancellations of ship's passage provided space without delay. There was an immediate response to their work in Bolivia and Carlsen returned home to tell the story. The area which they surveyed in 1938 was the Altiplano around Lake Titicaca. Centers were opened in Mocomoco, Villa Perez, Itaque and Chuma. The

Coaba farm was purchased in 1944. Work began in La Paz in 1943.

The South American Prayer League was an independent missionary society serving all Lutherans who wished to participate. It was a faith mission in which there was an estimated support for the missionary which depended upon receipts, in faith that the Lord would provide. Twenty six Augustana missionaries volunteered and served in the Bolivian field from 1937-1978.

Two indigenous church organizations, members of the Lutheran World Federation, came out of this work. BOLIVIAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH Headquarters, La Paz. 120 congregations, 55 preachers, 65 lay assistants and more than 4000 members, Aymara Indians who live in the highlands La Paz to the Peru border. Ministers are trained in their own Bible School in La Paz and by Theological Extension courses. Self-supporting since 1970, organized (1972), incorporated in Bolivia (1974) and received in the Lutheran World Federation (1975), this is the largest Lutheran Church in South America composed of South American Indians.

LATIN AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, La Paz, a Spanish speaking congregation organized (1969), led by Pastor Jaimo Michel Aguirre (also a lawyer by profession) ministers to membership with professional and intellectual interests. The church uses a Spanish Lutheran hymnal and liturgy, *Culto Cristiano*, and has a membership of around 60. It is a member of *Movimiento para Unidad Evangelica Latino-americano* (UNELAM) and is in close association with German speaking congregation in La Paz.

The Coaba Farm, 90 miles from La Paz, is the site for an orphanage, school for missionaries children, Bible school, tree planting, bee industry, hydro-electric plant and farm program. A radio station opened in Caranavi (1969). An evangelistic film and literature ministry has been developed. Pastor Arthur Gustafson succeeded Pastor Weinhardt as Field Director.

Augustana Lutherans, in common with all Christians, moved spontaneously to meet needs in society basically through the church itself but also in ventures such as city missions, old peoples' homes, charity and other causes and in a similar way support in personnel and funds flowed into non-synodical mission work abroad. It was consistent with historic Lutheranism



in Europe and America that from time to time non-synodical movements arose to supplement and complement the established work of the church. Illustrations abound: Immanuel Deaconess Institute, Bethphage Mission, Lutheran Bible Institute, China Mission, etc. The South American Prayer League and its successor the World Mission Prayer League were of the same genre.

The South American Prayer League organization fulfilled an entry in Ernest Weinhardt's diary (October 17, 1929) in which he spelled out the principles which became the charter of the society. God will call a large number of persons from the Lutheran Churches in America to foreign missions, calls directly from God independent of ecclesiastical organizations. These persons will be supported materially by the response to prayer by Christians according to God's promises. These missionaries should be sent to the unreached areas of the world to which they are called in the hearts of the continents of Africa, Asia and South America. The work is urgent and most be done within certain time limits. All must be done by God's power, will and guidance.

The characteristics of the society are these. It is Lutheran by statement of faith and its workers are members of Lutheran congregations. It is inter-synodical. Workers and support come from all Lutheran church bodies. It has had a strong Augustana presence from its beginning. It encourages and supports the regular missionary work of the Lutheran Churches and has a working relationship with the leaders of church mission boards.

Radio was becoming common and in time would become the channel for mission evangelization in many countries. The most significant international impact came from the Lutheran Hour (1930), a radio program sponsored by the laymen of the Lutheran Church: Missouri Synod which featured the preaching of Dr. Walter A. Maier on the Columbia Broadcasting System. Its beginnings were modest on only two stations in Detroit and Cincinnati in 1930 but by 1936 there were 26 stations. Foreign broadcasting began in 1940 when 171 stations in the USA were broadcasting in their areas, a number to increase to 559 by 1943. Manila beamed broadcasts to the Far East (1945), a year when the number of USA stations had increased to 800. European broadcast started in 1946. Mean-

while USA stations increased to 905 (1946), 1,100 (1948), the American Broadcasting System was added in 1949 in bringing the total to 1150 stations. Bible Correspondence courses were initiated in 1947. At the death of Dr. Maier there were 1200 stations involved in 52 nations using 36 languages. The increase continued under the Rev. Dr. Oswald Hoffman to 100 countries with 30 million estimated listeners. This very successful preaching program also developed into situation dramas in some countries. It became for all Christian missions in urban areas a source of conversions and memberships because inquiries were re-directed in the spirit of the ecumenical church to the mission which was located best to serve the needs of the inquirer. In time the Bolivian Mission in addition to the Lutheran Hour erected its own radio station and also purchased time on commercial stations for this ministry.

## XIV

### **PAUL AND JONATHAN LINDELL: WORLD MISSION PRAYER LEAGUE**

“I knew Augustana as a spiritually warm church,” wrote Jonathan Lindell (personal letter, December 12, 1980), “preaching the Word of God, with pietistic content, zealous for missions, for conversion, for revival. The Augustana missionaries that I grew up among in China were all this type. The deaconesses....in the Immanuel Deaconess Institute in Omaha (we Lindells had relatives among them: my Dad’s sister was head deaconess, so we visited there on furloughs)....the congregations we came into in the USA in our student days were of this kind. We experienced revival. The Lord put things into the life of Paul and me from our Augustana Church that had a great influence in making us the kind of people we are. We owe the church very much. We thank God for our church.

“Paul and I would have served in the church in missions but at that time there was not room for what we wanted to do. The story is this: In our college days we earnestly sought the leading of the Lord for our lives in World missions. We came to believe that the Lord wanted us to go to the closed lands of central Asia, from the West China side toward Tibet: from the India side toward Nepal and Afghanistan. There were six of us Augustana missionary kids at that time that approached the Augustana Board (President Bersell’s time). We asked if the church would send us to West China, Tibet, Nepal, etc. They discussed this twice with us at that meeting. We offered a plan for ‘extra-budgetary’ missionaries and fields to these places, if it was a matter of finances; meaning to let this new work be carried financially outside of the budget, by free will gifts of interested people. In the end the Board said: We can’t send you to new work; go to the Seminary and we will be glad to send you to the old China field and, if opportunities arise there, you can go to West China. Four of the fellows did this.

They are our close friends. Paul and I stuck to central Asia. We applied to an interdenominational mission, the World Wide Evangelization Crusade, which we learned had work in central Asia. We went to their office and home for a month in the summer of 1940 to learn and to join. There the Lord taught us clearly: Go back into the church where I have put you and find a way to go. So we returned to Minneapolis and found this South American Mission Prayer League. We applied and they changed their name to World Mission Prayer League and took us in. But they kept Paul at home to work at the office and they let me go to the Nepal border. That's our story. We are products of the old Augustana, of the revival in China, of the Lutheran Evangelistic Movement, the Lutheran Bible Institute movement and the spiritual life that the Holy Spirit was working around in the church in those days—a blessed and wonderful work. We were caught up in that and pushed out, according to our 'lights' into God's mission in the world at the places where we found a place to join in. To be involved in God's mission among men is a gift of grace."

Jonathan Lindell has told the story of the Nepal United Mission in his *Nepal and the Gospel of God, the extra-ordinary United Mission to Nepal* (1979).

Jonathan Lindell went to India (1941) to explore the area. With associates he traveled along the borders of Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet, getting to know missionaries and missions. The Church of Scotland had a community of Nepali Christians in the Darjeeling District of Bengal India. Agreeing not to start a separate church, World Mission Prayer League missionaries worked with this mission as evangelists and Bible teachers. Thus the WMPL missionaries were free to move to Nepal when doors opened. The doors did open in 1950 and the United Mission to Nepal was organized in 1954: thirty cooperating missions from twelve countries, 190 foreign missionaries and 600 Nepali and Indian personnel. Seven Augustana missionaries went to Nepal in addition to the Jonathan Lindells including the present director, Pastor Carl J. Johansson who succeeded Lindell. Johansson had served previously in Tanganyika under Augustana and was with the Lutheran World Federation in Ethiopia directing their radio work, 1954-1964.

Work started in Pakistan in 1946. Seven Augustana missionaries served this mission. The Pakistan Lutheran Church was founded in 1955, then merged with the Church of Pakistan in 1970. The Tank Hospital was assumed from a former mission in 1958 and a new hospital was built with funds from the Lutheran World Federation in 1971. The Frontier Bible School and affiliated technical school started in 1963. Other institutions are Christian schools and the Murree Christian School for Missionaries' Children.

One missionary was sent to Afghanistan (1978—). An annual grant is given to the International Afghan Mission and WMPL is represented on its board.

Margaret Miller (formerly Augustana Synod in China, West China 1946-1949, India and Staff (1950-1959) opened work in Kangting in West China, the Tibetan Border field. Paul Lindell accompanied a party of new missionaries (1948) to establish a base for Tibetan work. Civil war in China forced the WMPL missionaries to leave within the year, some to settle in Kalimpong, Darjeeling District of West Bengal, India along one of the trade routes still open to India. Lillian Carlson (1947-76) and Dorothy Christiansen, (1947-1980) continued a medical and literature ministry among the Tibetan people coming to trade in India until the border was closed after the India-China war (1962). A tiny Tibet-speaking congregation developed in Kalimpong among Tibetans who fled to India (1961).

Mr. Paul Lindell was General Director of the World Mission Prayer League (1940-1974). His wife Margaret continued to serve as hostess of the Mission Home in Minneapolis after Paul's death. Other Augustana personnel included Mrs. Arthur Bill (office 1945-1966); Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Carlson (office 1942-45 before ordination, 1950); Mr. and Mrs. Walter Klein (office 1943-53); and Mrs. Dora Nelson (Secretary 1938-1939). Work in Latin America and Africa included Mexico, Ecuador and Kenya.

After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941, the United States became a participant in World War II (1941-1945) declaring war on Japan. Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy then declared war on the United States. The World Mission Prayer League program for missions began under conditions of war on a world-wide scale.

The text on this page is extremely faint and illegible. It appears to be a multi-paragraph passage, but the individual words and sentences cannot be discerned. The content is likely related to the historical or theological context of the Augustana Church's missionary work, as indicated by the page header.



## XV

### HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI: THE NEW AGE

Few churchmen were aware when the atomic bombs were dropped upon the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan, August 6, 1945 what the bomb really was and what were its implications for warfare of the future. In the relief that the war was over, and the boys could come home and life return to normalcy, the radical change in everything pertaining to human life was rarely considered. In all denominations pent up frustrations due to the war opened into a flood of candidates and resources for world missions.

The amazing growth of Christianity and its missions in the next twenty-five years was not expected. Christian missionary leaders meeting during the war prepared themselves for a long drouth or a time of negative growth because Western missionaries would carry the burden of explaining why Christian nations fought each other so savagely. How could brother fight against brother if they both were Christians? The bomb added to this embarrassment as some of the details of what the bomb really did to people in Japan became known.

Instead there were factors coming to the aid of evangelization. People had travelled as never before and many had seen first hand the work of the Christian missions. They returned with these accounts and in many cases resolved to return as missionaries themselves. "What if" expressions were translated into action. Would Japan have attacked its neighbors and the USA if its people had been Christian? General Douglas MacArthur's management of occupied Japan was favorably received by the Japanese people. Resentment festered among the Japanese against the state religion of Shinto (which had been used to incite passions of war and expansion). The door was open to Western culture and religions. Multitudes of missionaries came. The Japanese people were also being wooed

by "new" religions whose founders had blended the new and old from several religions to offer great promises to a distraught people.

Few realized that the retreat of the European colonial powers was starting and that four hundred years of political expansion by the great powers would be completely reversed in twenty-five years, almost the precise distance in time between the atomic bomb and man walking upon the surface of the moon. These powers driving toward independence were just as strong in the churches as they were in the new nations. Recall that prior to 1945 99.5% of the non-western world was dominated by Western powers but that by 1969 this was exactly reversed. The Non-western world, perhaps 56% of the population of the world, was now independent except for that small fraction, one half of one per cent. Radical changes in the power structure of the world were obvious in the United Nations as new nations became full voting members.

Simultaneously as political domination of the world colonial powers waned, new economic blocs were formed out of former political networks or independent nations continued in a commonwealth status with their former administrators. Economic dependency increased. Independent nations desperately needed projects and funds directed to the Third World. Often opportunities opened up for western business in the non-western world. Many independent nations began to depend upon revenue brought in by tourism and the character of their culture changed accordingly. All of these factors in manifold local variations worked to the advantage of missions.

The new era to this day is marked by international tension, cold wars erupting into shooting hot wars. Enough independent nations declined to take up the ideological battle of either East or West and aligned themselves as neutral, thus forming a third bloc of nations. Relationships by the non-aligned independent nations with those of either side were of an *ad hoc* nature, continued only as long as the neutral nation saw concrete benefits and, having something in turn to barter with, taking these things earnestly desired from the highest bidder.

World War II can be viewed as a contest between rival powers in the development and use of technology. Each side was served to an extent unique in human history by science and industry, the highly developed skills and knowledge



residing in universities' faculties and laboratories. Some of these areas were missile development, radar and atomic weapons, preparations for the space age. In the peace that followed the technological lessons of the war were used in every field upsetting basic materials and procedures, luring people into new kinds of work which also were subject to obsolescence. A world of wastemakers developed with the disposal of waste of all kinds becoming a world problem, particularly those containing radioactive and poisonous non-degradable chemicals. Third world nations faced this peril with the rest of mankind. Energy became costly. Nations able to supply energy rose quickly to opulence, unable to avoid it even though this sudden wealth not gained through labor was clearly ruining their culture and habitat.

In retrospect one marvels at the continuation of world mission work by the church bodies during World War II. In spite of difficulties and hazards of travel, long waits for connections, uncertainties about visas, the compounding of all of these problems of communication possible for use now only through rare neutral ports and countries, missionaries and church executives still made their way to fields and world meetings. For the Lutheran Church bodies of the United States and Canada, the National Lutheran Council offices became vitally important and the body it supported, the Lutheran World Federation. Augustana's Executive Secretary Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson visited the fields of the Augustana Synod abroad and was in consultation on the field as new areas were proposed by Lutheran World Federation recommendations.

Lutheran World Federation after 1948 found homes for displaced persons through German church agencies. 20,000 Lutherans went to Australia doubling membership of United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia. 25,000 Esthonians settled in Sweden and formed a church in exile. During 1956, 25,000 refugees a month came to West Germany from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia. 70,000 Lutherans crowded into Austria. The LWF gave travel grants to 18,000 persons and reception centers were opened in Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Australia and Scandinavia. 40,000 Baltic and German Lutherans were admitted to Britain. Lutheran World Service worked with 57 churches in 29 countries. Thus the Lutheran Council in Great Britain

of LWF (organized 1948) represented Lutherans of many nationalities who came to live in Britain, i.e. immigrants, refugees, former prisoners of war, soldiers, embassy, etc., estimated 40,000 persons. Their work was directed by Dr. David Ostergren, an Augustana pastor.

The Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions of the National Lutheran Council, popularly known as CYCOM, was organized in 1948 with Dr. Fredrik Schiotz as Executive Secretary (1948-1956). During the first five years \$3,500,000 was channeled under its direction to 23 mission fields stranded because of World War II conditions. The Commission on World Missions (CWM) followed (1949) the organization of the Lutheran World Federation in Lund, Sweden (1947) and it was also directed by Dr. Schiotz. CWM gained staff personnel after the second LWF assembly in Hannover (1953) and was given supervision of fields in Japan, India, Ethiopia, South Africa, Jordan, Borneo, Indonesia, New Guinea and Singapore. The USA National Committee CYCOM administered Tanganyika. CYCOM was succeeded by the Division of World Missions Cooperation, LWF (1956). LWF/CWM sought to bring Lutherans together on the continents of Africa, Asia and South America in conferences sponsored by them. Educational ventures such as the All Africa Lutheran Theological Seminar sought to bring up the educational qualifications of pastors, in some instances preparing them for future studies in the U.S.A. or Europe. Their investment in the LWF Radio Station in Ethiopia, the Voice of the Gospel, was \$1,500,000 capital costs and recurrent annual costs of \$125,000.

The continued support of missions in the Augustana Synod must be seen in the context of other responsibilities during and following the war. The Lutheran World Convention gave post-war aid to *Hilfswerk* to aid churches in Germany, Finland, France, Holland, Norway and Italy. Dr. S.C. Michelfelder (USA section, Lutheran World Convention) also headed Department of Reconstruction for the World Council of Churches. The National Lutheran Council, USA, organized a special agency, Lutheran World Relief, for the massive task of aid and reconstruction wherever needed in the world. Lutheran World Action, dubbed "Love's Working Arm" captured the generous spirit of all Lutherans, children through

adults, to raise continually by budget and otherwise, the sums needed for this work. Foundations contributed also and grants of surplus foods and materials from concerned friendly nations added resources for this work. Annual gatherings of clothing and blankets by the congregations went to meet human needs. The work of Lutheran Relief never ceased for new emergencies arose occasioned by wars and natural catastrophes. In many instances long after World War II was over, Lutheran World Relief had resources nearby to be the first to arrive to meet the need. Nor must the impression be given in any way that American Lutherans bore this load alone. Each national section, such as Sweden, had its own organization cooperating with all others in assistance. As nations recovered from their own situation through assistance from others, in gratitude for the help they received, they became active partners in worldwide relief entering also into the program of missions. One such program is "Bread for the World", the expression primarily of West Germany and its people.

In the intermingling of agencies to meet specific needs and the understanding of missions to minister to both spiritual and physical needs, these specialized agencies did aid and abet one another ministering to the whole man in the name of Christ.



## XVI

### JOHN L. BENSON : LUTHERAN CHURCH OF CHINA IN HONG KONG

“The evacuation of Augustana missionaries from Honan,” wrote Dr. Russell E. Nelson in a personal letter, “began in the spring of 1944. All the missionaries received urgent orders from Dr. John L. Benson, President of the Augustana Mission in Honan, from the American Consulate in Chungking, and from the Lutheran World Federation, to evacuate from Honan. Arrangements were made with the Swedish Mission leaders at a large school complex of buildings at Hsingping in Shensi Province to provide lodging for the Augustana missionaries and plans were made to get them there as soon as possible, by rickshaw or truck or bicycle to Loyang, and then by train from Loyang to Hsingping. The Japanese air force was constantly overhead, ready to bomb any target they chose, including the railway station and mission homes in Loyang. After sending our own Augustana missionaries on their way, Dr. Benson, Rev. Aspberg of the Swedish Mission in Loyang, and I remained in Loyang to assist other refugee missionaries who fled by way of Loyang. Missionaries from several other denominations came in considerable numbers to go west from Loyang by train. They needed lodging, food, help in securing railroad tickets, and help to get on the trains in between air-raid warnings. The railroad station at Loyang sustained one direct strike by the Japanese air force, then a second one cutting the rails, but the trains continued operating. When large numbers or nearly all of the refugee missionaries had come and gone, and when it was evident that railway communication might discontinue any hour, Dr. Benson, Rev. Aspberg and I also decided to flee west to Hsingping by bicycle. At the first town west of Loyang we paused. After discussing the matter, we three decided that it would be best for Dr. Benson to proceed by train that night to Hsingping, and that Rev. Aspberg and I remain in that small

town as long as we could to assist other missionaries who might be fleeing by that route of Loyang. Finally, Rev. Aspberg and I also fled west, proceeding on bicycle by day and freight trains by night, eventually reaching Hsingping. The last Augustana missionaries to leave Honan on this evacuation were Dr. Emery Carlson and Dr. Astrid Erling, who travelled on bicycle over the mountains all the way from Hsüchang to Hsingping.

“The plan was for the Augustana Mission to settle down in Hsingping for the duration of the war, or until it was possible to move back to Honan even under war conditions. But again we received orders from the American Consulate to leave Hsingping and flee further west. After about five weeks at Hsingping, we therefore decided to flee to Chungking, via Paochi, and Dr. Carlson and I were chosen as a committee to make arrangements for railway accommodations to Paochi for our entire group of Augustana missionaries. Paochi was at the end of the railway running west. When we arrived in Paochi we held another business meeting at which we decided that a skeleton staff of four missionaries be left at Paochi and that the rest find transportation to Chungking from which they could return home. Dr. Benson, Minnie Tack, Eleanor Anderson and Stella Carlson were requested to serve on the skeleton staff. The only way that the other missionaries and their families could get to Chungking was by chartered busses. As chairman of the refugee group, including a number of Catholic and other Protestant missionaries, I chartered two busses and one truck for the baggage. One bus was to go to Chungking, the other to Kunming. After a very eventful trip the Augustana missionaries arrived in Chungking, and after a month’s waiting for plane transportation, left Chungking by military plane that flew over “the hump” to Calcutta, India. From Calcutta, Augustana missionaries traveled by train to Bombay, and after a month’s waiting secured passage on a troopship back to America.”

Other missionaries were interned by the Japanese earlier, namely Dr. Edwins and Dr. Carlberg who were released in a prisoner exchange the following year (1942). Dr. Edwins died on an exchange ship July 1942, and was buried at sea. Carlberg reached the United States in August. Miss Dorothy Ekstrand and Dr. Lillian Olson, M.D. were interned in the Philippines 1941-1945; Margaret Friberg, R.N. and her mother, Mrs. C.

P. Friberg were at the language school in Peking when interned at Wiehsin, 1942-1943.

There were other points of exit from Mainland China for refugees. Hong Kong had served as a haven for displaced persons in all of the political upheavals of Mainland China since 1900. Hong Kong is on the South China coast, a British Crown Colony. The island of Hong Kong was ceded to the British after the Opium War (1842). Mainland Hong Kong was added as Kowloon (1860) and the New Territories (360 square miles) were leased to Britain for 99 years (1898). It is a free trade area, one of the principal ports of the world. The population of 5 million lives on 420 square miles of which only 14% is urban. Across the estuary, 75 miles away is the older Portuguese colony of Macao. Canton, China on the Pearl River is 150 miles distant. With some exceptions, Hong Kong is dependent upon Mainland China for food and water.

The Lutheran World Federation and its agency, Lutheran World Service, was established in Hong Kong to meet the needs of the refugees and the missionaries. Dr. Daniel Nelson, China representative of the Lutheran World Federation at the close of the war bought a twin motored C47 plane which was christened "*St. Paul*". Its first flight was July 4, 1946. In 1948, the year of forced evacuation of China missionaries, it flew 533 trips in 190 days, 230,000 airline miles, 1533 hours. It served all 24 Christian denominations at work in China, Catholics, thousands of missionaries and thousands of Chinese and Koreans. It carried Bibles and tracts, hospital and medical supplies into the interior. The Chinese delegates to the World Conference of Christian Youth, Oslo, Norway, 25 in all, came and returned on the *St. Paul*. a 24,000 mile round trip (1947). The plane was sold in 1950.

Dr. Fredrik Schiotz, Executive Secretary of the Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions of the National Lutheran Council, USA and Lutheran World Federation purchased a four story building at 33 Granville Road, Kowloon to serve as an office and hostel (1948). The Lutheran World Federation, China section made this their headquarters serving the needs of the missions in Asia. Lutheran World Relief carried on a massive work caring for refugees who poured into Hong Kong. Food, clothing, re-training, small factories and businesses, housing, orphan homes, schools...whatever was

needed this agency tried to serve. Refugees lived in shanties they erected from any kind of material, many slept in shifts in attics on the same beds, many lived in cardboard boxes on the streets which they folded up during the day, thirty or more people living in one room was common and those with access to boats made them their homes. Funds for this massive relief came from Lutheran World Action gifts of Lutherans in the USA and Canada and other countries helped as they recovered from the effects of World War II.

Lutheran work in Hong Kong began with Karl August Gutzlaff, Dutch Missionary Society, who tried to enter China (1831-1839). At the close of the Opium War he was interpreter for the British delegation in Peking, then was transferred to Hong Kong to serve as Secretary for Chinese Affairs of the Hong Kong government. He founded the China Union (1844) aimed to win China through Chinese converts serving as preachers and colporteurs. In four years all the provinces had been touched and the Union had 1300 members and 102 preachers by 1874. The China Inland Mission built upon this plan and work under Dr. Hudson Taylor. The Basel Mission and Rhenish Mission began work in 1847 using Hong Kong as their base. The resulting congregations work in cooperation with the Lutheran churches.

The Lutheran Mission to Buddhists was founded by Dr. Karl Ludwig Reichelt (1922) and came to Taofongshan in Hong Kong (1931-1937). Its mission was to itinerant monks, some 300 were baptized and from that number a few entered Lutheran theological studies and were ordained. This institution was located on the top of a foothill by the path usually taken by monks. This building complex provided the first space for the Lutheran Theological Seminary which had started its fall term at Shekow September 22, 1948. The decision to move to Hong Kong was made on November 18, all was packed and moved to Hong Kong by December 1st. Only regular course students were moved to Hong Kong, 38 students. On June 17, 1955 documents were signed whereby the Seminary became owner of the site of the Happy Children's Home in Shatin valley. It is part of the Paktin Village at the foot of Needle Peak Mountain in the New Territories.

Dr. Russell Nelson described the seminary move to Hong Kong in that same personal letter as follows:



“As the armed forces of Mao Tze-tung moved irresistibly southward in conquest of Mainland China, it soon became apparent in 1948 that the administration of the school had to face the question of whether or not it should evacuate from Shekow to some location outside of the mainland. During that year this question was considered at several faculty meetings. When the fall term opened that year, and the Communist armies were pressing forward toward Hankow and Shekow with such strength and speed that the fall of Hankow seemed inevitable, it became imperative that the seminary faculty take definite action. Accordingly, a special meeting was called for the specific purpose of discussing the possibility of evacuation. Under the capable and astute leadership of Dr. Gustav Carlberg, President, the faculty was led to consider three options: (1) continuing operation of the school at Shekow, hoping that the Communist Government would permit this if the area were occupied by them; (2) evacuating the seminary to some other location outside the mainland; and (3) evacuating part of the faculty and part of the student body and continuing operating the school at Shekow under a skeleton faculty and teaching the remainder of the students who did not evacuate. At first the opinions of the faculty members were sharply divided on the issue. Most of the faculty members were strongly in favor of evacuation. The rest of the faculty were just as strongly opposed to evacuation. Those in favor were of the opinion that this was the only way of assuring the continued operation of the seminary. Those opposing contended that if the school did evacuate, the entire seminary property might be lost and that it would be impossible to find adequate buildings and facilities that would enable the school to operate outside of mainland China. After lengthy discussion, there was no progress in the direction of making a decision, as neither those in favor of nor those opposed to evacuation would yield. It was then that a compromise proposal was introduced, in accordance with which part of the seminary faculty and student body would evacuate and the rest would stay and continue operating the school at Shekow. But not enough of the faculty members were willing to stay at Shekow if part of the faculty and student body evacuated. But now it became possible to seriously consider the problem of securing a location outside of the mainland with adequate housing and other facilities. The first possibility con-

sidered was to move to Hong Kong. But where could we find a location in the already overcrowded city of Hong Kong with adequate housing and facilities for a school as large as our seminary. Fortunately, however, God had anticipated our needs and already had a plan for us! During the previous year (1946-1947) while I served as South China Commissioner for the Lutheran World Federation and lived in Canton, I had made several contacts with a number of institutions and organizations in Hong Kong, including the Christian Mission to the Buddhists. In accordance with my proposal, the LWF had also appropriated a sizable amount of funds to the Christian Mission to the Buddhists to help them rehabilitate their work following World War II. I had already suggested to President Carlberg that there might be a possibility that this mission might be able to help us both as to housing and as to other facilities, that they might even have room for us on their premises. This broke the stalemate. Dr. Carlberg was requested to write to the President of the Christian Mission to Buddhists to make enquiry. In a remarkably short time he received a reply, extending unto us the warmest invitation, welcoming the entire seminary family to their premises, promising to provide both housing and classroom facilities! The only limitation they reserved us was that we should not bring more than 50 of our student body. At the Board of Directors' meeting the final decision was then made to evacuate to Hong Kong as soon as possible, taking with us our entire faculty and all our regular students (numbering 53), part of our furnishing and our entire library. The special students (about 15) were to remain in mainland China. The faculty, together with wives and children, numbered about 24.

“Once the decision was made to evacuate, the entire school family cooperated in implementing the plans that were made. Committees were elected to take responsibility for the different aspects of the operation. The evacuation then proceeded on the designated day, by train, from Shekow to Hankow, to Hong Kong, but was as systematic and harmonious as the rendition of a great symphony by a world renowned director. From the vantage point of history, I now realize that the actual director of this symphony was the Lord of Missions Himself, although he needed human assistants to help produce that symphony.

“When we arrived in Hong Kong, just before Christmas in 1948, we discovered that the leaders of the Christian Mission to Buddhists had already made all the necessary preparations to accommodate our entire student family of about 75. Housing for the 53 students was provided on the campus, a large and spacious complex of buildings on Tao Feng Shan, located about 10 miles from the railway station, in the New Territories of the Colony of Hong Kong. Housing for the faculty members was provided, not only in the residences belonging to the Christian Mission to Buddhists, but in other missionary residences that were then fortunately vacant and belonged to various missions and individuals, and in a Buddhist Monastery located just below the mission at the foot of the mountain. Two days after our arrival in Hong Kong, the Lutheran Theological Seminary was again in full operation with the resumption of classwork according to schedule.

“As one looks back upon the scenario of the evacuation of the seminary,” Dr. Nelson continued, “one is convinced that this was the work of the Lord, engineered by Him. This becomes more obvious when we note the effect of this evacuation upon the missionary work in Hong Kong. Before the arrival of the seminary family, there was no Lutheran evangelistic work among the masses in Hong Kong. The work of the Christian Mission to Buddhists was restricted to assisting Buddhists who came from the mainland and from Hong Kong to accept the Christian faith. It was primarily a school and not concerned about militant evangelistic outreach among the unevangelized masses. The evacuation of the seminary had a profound effect upon missionary evangelism in the colony, resulting in a dynamic missionary outreach which actually became the beginnings of Lutheran evangelistic effort there. Every Sunday the members of the faculty, together with the 53 students, went out to preach the Gospel of Salvation in villages near the seminary, in the city Kowloon, and in the city of Victoria on the island of Hong Kong. The results of this preaching were phenomenal. Five years after the seminary began this evangelistic outreach the gospel was being preached in 23 different places, five of which had already become organized congregations. Five years after the evacuation of the seminary, 10 Lutheran missions were cooperating in this great evangelistic effort. In one place after another, little groups of ten or twelve

people gathering for worship at the beginning grew in numbers until now (1981) there are congregations with a membership of over 1000, and a flourishing Hong Kong Lutheran Church! All this could not have happened," he concluded, "at least not that soon, if the Lutheran Seminary had not evacuated to Hong Kong."

"Since that gray December day in 1948 when looking every whit the refugee that it was, the Lutheran Theological Seminary arrived, bag and baggage, at the Taofongshan house of the Christian Mission to Buddhists, the Lutheran Church has been the fastest growing church in Hong Kong," Pastor Herbert Zimmerman reported. "In 1956, only seven and a half years later, the Lutheran Church of Hong Kong is an organized church, concentrated in approximately thirty congregations of preaching places. These small communities of Christians are spread over the length and breadth of this three hundred square mile colony."

The Lutheran Missions Literature Society, the united work of nine missions, continued the former Lutheran Board of Publications in Hankow, reorganizing in Hong Kong (1951). Their list of publications for all of East Asia includes the hymnal of 1955.

The seminary requires college graduation and competence in English for admission. The Lutheran Bible Institute was established in Hong Kong (1952) upon proposals by Augustana missionaries, Dr. Russell E. Nelson Chairman of Planning Committee. The school opened with 31 students and 9 teachers. The school aimed to train lay leaders and prepare others through a 3 year term for entrance to Hong Kong Lutheran Theological Seminary. Total enrollment numbered 48 in 1953-54.

United Lutheran Youth work began in January 1948 with the visit of Pastor David L. Vikner, university student pastor under the China Lutheran Youth Committee. The following summer 162 persons came to an All-Lutheran youth rally in Hong Kong. Further student organization followed and the publication of a youth magazine. Rallies have been held annually and Bible camp programs developed.

Churchmen everywhere, but particularly displaced China missionaries tried to understand the new situation and realities in China. Dr. Gustav Carlberg spoke to the Church Council

meeting in Hong Kong (November 1949) on “What should be our attitude towards the secular powers?” He assumed that totalitarian rule demanded a complete submission to the state in all aspects of life including religion. How should Christians respond? Carlberg, the only Lutheran to address this question, took the traditional Lutheran position. He made Jesus statement (Matt. 22:21) about the payment of taxes into a universal. A Christian is expected to be loyal to his state, pay taxes and serve his country with life and property. However the same Scriptures imply that the state allows freedom of worship. In the spiritual realm the Christian is loyal to God alone. “We must obey God rather than man (Acts 5:29).” Carlberg then warned of dangers in compromise and surrender to the state. A church so committed in time becomes the champion of the *status quo*, the enemy of change. The church cannot tolerate interference in this God-given freedom. If so, the church loses its distinctive message, its vitality and constructive power in society. Governments come and go but the church continues on in God’s grace and power. Carlberg’s analysis was shared by Dr. Fredrik Schiotz (LWF), Dr. Franklin Clark Fry (ULCA) and Dr. T.C. Chao (President, World Council of Churches). This information was circulated in China by Mr. Ain Wei-sheng reaching the Augustana Churches there. Carlberg urged all Christians to stand fast by Scripture and confess the faith boldly and consistently in the face of political changes and threatening world powers.

The Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic (November 3, 1931, paragraph 4) stated: “All workers, peasants, Red Army soldiers, and all toilers and their families, without distinction of sex, religion or nationality, shall be equal before the Chinese Soviet law, and shall be citizens of the Soviet Republic.....” Paragraph 13 continued: “The Soviet government of China guarantees true religious freedom to the workers, peasants and toiling population. Adhering to the principle of the complete separation of church and state, the Soviet state neither favors nor grants any financial assistance to any religion whatsoever. All Soviet citizens shall enjoy the right to engage in anti-religious propaganda. No religious institution of the imperialists shall be allowed to exist unless it comply with Soviet law”.....Article 88 stated: “Every citizen of the People’s Republic of China shall have the freedom of religious belief

(1954)...” Chang Chih-yi, Deputy Director of the United Front Work Department, wrote in *Concerning the Problem of Religious Policy*: “Ideological differences on the question of God is tolerable... It means that the state treats various religions on an equal basis without discrimination and accords protection to believers and dis-believers and believers of different religious faiths their faiths respected... The state protects the legitimate religious activities of believers and forbids any act injurious to their religious feeling.”

Missionaries were dismissed and punished if working against the People’s government. Those not considered reactionary could continue their work but not hold any administrative positions. Self-supporting churches and organizations could continue medical and benevolent work but a Board of Managers must be organized to insure that government regulations were obeyed. “They may petition the government to take over their institutions. Schools established by the churches (not including schools of religion) shall be separated from the churches. If property is used jointly by schools and churches, the local government will make an equitable division. Foreign mission boards turning over their property (not land) to Chinese Christian churches may do so with government approval but these gifts must be unconditional.” Transfer of funds was also regulated.

Augustana Lutheran work in Hong Kong began while the whole world was in turmoil. Lutherans responded to the new situations in life by helping, creating and understanding these events as opened opportunities to bring the Gospel to new masses on all continents.

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## XVII

### **RUEBEN LUNDEEN: THE BASEL SELF-ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF NORTH BORNEO**

Ten Chinese families, Hakkas, came to North Borneo from Hong Kong (1882) to work on the British coconut and rubber plantations. They were Christians, products of the Basel Missionary Society work in Kwantung Province in South China. They gathered and worshipped under their own leadership. In time they made contact with the Basel society and a missionary visited them (1902) to discover that they had organized a congregation (1900) and built a church (1902). Two and a half decades later they chose the name for their church, THE BASEL SELF-ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF NORTH BORNEO (1925). The church grew and congregations were established in towns along the coast such as Jesselton and Sandakan. Basel missionaries came and went serving as educationists leaving evangelization properly to the church. Students prepared in these schools served in offices of the British administration. Few became pastors. The church suffered the ravages of both World War I and II, the latter bringing greater tragedy and devastation. Japan occupied Borneo in 1941. Sandakan was nearly levelled. Schools and churches destroyed. The plight of these people came to the attention of the China office of the Lutheran World Federation in Hong Kong. It was an established church, not a mission orphaned by war, but its needs were just as acute. The Lutheran World Federation provided a grant to rebuild schools and churches and Augustana was asked to provide missionaries who were now available because of the closing of China. The first missionaries were Pastor and Mrs. Reuben Lundeen, to teach English in the Middle School. Pastor Donald O. Nelson and Pastor Herbert Zimmerman followed accompanied by their families. The agreement made for Augustana by Dr. John L. Benson and Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson (March 1950) said that Augustana would

try to provide two missionary families and some women teachers for a period of five years. This agreement released the Borneo pastors for evangelism.

The terms of Augustana missionaries in Borneo were short. Some were completing the terms they started in China. Others were sent on a specific two year call. They were educationists and their work was timed to accommodate school terms. Mr. Stanley Benson, Mr. Clarence Budke, Miss Hanna Hanson and Miss Esther A. Anderson came under this arrangement. By 1953 Benson and Budke were in Tanganyika, Hanna Hanson was in Hong Kong and Esther Anderson on furlough. Full terms were served by Pastor and Mrs. Floyd E. Johnson and Miss Adeline Lundquist and Pastor and Mrs. Kenneth Warren Dugan. The schools prospered and Augustana missionaries left reluctantly. Assistance to the Christians in North Borneo continued through the Lutheran World Federation.

The Basel Mission according to James A. Scherer, "was the earliest and purest example of a society influenced by the Evangelical Awakening." Organized in 1815, "its directors were all drawn from the school of Swabian 'Old Lutheran' pietism. The work of this society was based on the premise that there exists a single evangelical church and a common evangelical faith within the various confessional churches." Lutheran and Reformed confessional statements were deliberately excluded from its doctrinal basis. Missionaries were instructed not to reproduce on the mission fields the Lutheran or Reformed Churches of the West. They worked for a "church of the future". They avoided church control in the homeland because they believed it a threat to the freedom and purity of the mission. Basel welcomed individual support of persons or organizations but stayed aloof from the life of Lutheran Churches.

It is impossible to say how much of the philosophy of missions of the Basel Society was known by the Hakka people who made the move from the Kwantung Province to North Borneo. The same may be said about the missionaries who ministered to them later in Borneo. But the situation was unique. The Lutheran World Federation respected their established church and tradition and the Augustana missionaries served with the same attitude building upon the foundations which had already been laid.



The world "Hakka" means guest and it is used in Hong Kong to refer to a group of Northern Chinese who migrated to the Kwantung Province in waves. The dialect of Chinese which they speak is unintelligible to the Cantonese speaking local people. The Hakka people settled on the poorest farming land in the New Territories. As farmers on marginal lands it was traditional that their sons were sent out elsewhere to earn a living. They were poor. The ten families migrating to North Borneo were in search of a better land economically. They prospered in North Borneo.

Pastor Rueben Lundeen came from the missionary family of Pastor Anton Lundeen who served in China and suffered kidnapping by bandits while there and later aided in the promotion of missions in the United States. Rueben was one of his five sons who entered the ministry namely: Joel Waldemar (1945), Rueben Ariel (1946), Obed Becklund (1953), A. Milton, who served as a missionary to Japan (1954) and Lyman Timothy (1961). Rueben served as a missionary in China, Hong Kong and Borneo (1946-1951). In the United States he was associated with Home Mission and development. Pastor Donald Otto Nelson began his service in Honan, China also (1947-1948), then Yunan, China (1948-1949), North Borneo (1949-1951), Lutheran Seminary Hong Kong (1952-1970), Singapore (1970-1973) and the Lutheran Seminary in Hong Kong (1975---). Pastor Herbert Zimmerman, similarly served in China, Borneo and Hong Kong (1946-1966).

J. Stanley Benson and Clarence Budke were originally intended for service in Tanganyika but to meet the need in Borneo for educationists, they spent their first two years in Borneo 1951-1953 before beginning their work among the Masai in Tanganyika. Miss Hanna Hanson, daughter of China missionary Pastor M.B. Hanson and sister of Pastor Anders Hanson, also a China missionary, similarly served in China in the School for Missionaries Children, then in Borneo, and the remainder of her career in Hong Kong (1944--). Miss Esther A. Anderson began her mission career in 1930 in China, American School, then spent two years in Jesselton, North Borneo and has been in Hong Kong since that time. Pastor Floyd Edwin Johnson also served in China 1947-51 and then in Sandakan, North Borneo 1951-1955. Miss Adelinne Lundquist served a four year term in Sandakan, North Borneo 1951-1955. She mar-

ried Dr. John Hult, son of missionary Ralph Hult, September 6, 1956 and served with him in Tanzania.

The only missionary to spend his full missionary career 1955-1959 in North Borneo was Pastor Kenneth Warren Dugan. Dugan as a young Marine recruit saw action in Asian jungles. He found missionaries at work in the area and assisted them as time permitted. He was deathly ill with malaria and returned home where he completed his college and seminary education. Upon ordination he served in Brooklyn, New York until his system was rid of the malarial parasite and he could safely return. In the beginning of his second term because of health reasons he returned to serve a parish in Port Orchard, Washington.

This recital of personnel who served in Borneo indicates the nature of the emergency, namely the care of the school system of the church solely. Because of school terms, missionaries could be moved in and out without much disturbance. The five year agreement was stretched to ten years and might have continued longer because the need continued and Pastor Dugan was the acknowledged leader in their education system, elected Educational Secretary in 1957. In the beginning of the emergency Borneo offered Augustana a place where missionaries who had come to China to serve might continue to serve using their language skills. This was the first wave of personnel. But they were followed by those who could spend an entire term and for some Borneo was their first field of work.

If the Basel Self-established Church of North Borneo shared the concerns of the founders of the Basel missionary society that they not be hampered by institutional church controls, their experience with Augustana missionaries taught them that a church could work with them in harmony respecting their respective's boundaries. It should be added, the work prospered as the schools were re-established and gained fourfold in attendance during those years.



## XVIII

### GEORGE L. OLSON: JAPAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH

The beginnings of Augustana Synod support for work in Japan (1908-1918) were through its relationship with the General Council. Reports of progress were made annually to the Synod by the synodical Board of Missions. One missionary, Pastor S.O. Thorlaksson (1916--), although not an Augustana pastor was a graduate of Gustavus Adolphus College and had many Augustana friends. In the formation of the United Lutheran Church (1918) the decision of the Augustana Synod to maintain its own identity and become a part of the American Lutheran Conference led to a definition of mission responsibilities which excluded Japan and reduced support of Puerto Rico to a free will offering. Support of the Telugu field in India was continued. The mission to Japan was not considered for three decades until 1949 when the Board of Foreign Missions of the Augustana Church declared itself in favor of sending missionaries to Japan, asking the church for authorization for the same. As a policy the intention was to cooperate with other Lutherans in Japan to further the establishment and support of one Lutheran Church in Japan. Preliminary meetings in Japan between Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson (Executive Secretary), Dr. John L. Benson (President Augustana China Mission) and all resident Lutheran missionaries in Japan together with the Japanese leaders in the 60 year old Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church, resulted in the recommendation that Augustana missionaries begin work in the Hiroshima and Yamaguchi Prefectures. Consultations were continued with Pastor Watanabe at Hiroshima. In World War II he was called into military service and his wife and two daughters continued to serve the Lutheran Church in Hiroshima. They perished in the atomic blast August 6, 1945 with an estimated 800,000 persons, 600,000 wounded. Two daughters were away

from Hiroshima that day and therefore survived with him. Nearly all of the members of the congregation died in the blast. The United Lutheran Church had worked in Hiroshima. Pastor Watanabe and others welcomed Augustana to the area and later helped missionaries begin work.

The report of these consultations and the decision by the Board was brought to the meeting of the Church in Washington, D.C., June 6-11, 1950. It was unanimously approved by the delegation. Assuming favorable action, Drs. Swanson and Benson had made preparations for the coming of the first missionaries placing options on real estate needed while the existing Lutheran Church prepared for their coming. Augustana missionaries arrived in Japan (September 11, 1950) : Pastor and Mrs. David L. Vikner, Pastor and Mrs. George L. Olson and family, Sister Astrid Erling, Miss Eleanor Anderson, Miss Lois Colberg and Miss Ethel Akins. They entered into Japanese community life offering courses in English while they were studying Japanese. They began work in Tokyo in cooperation with the JELC and a small chapel and parsonage for a Japanese pastor were built and dedicated a year later (September 9, 1951). One hundred fifty adults attended the first service, ninety children in Sunday School. A second residence was ready the same year (December 15). A congregation was organized (1952) as a result of this work by Augustana missionaries. Most missionaries studied language in Tokyo, i.e., the first two years, but no missionary (except teachers on the theological seminary faculty) was stationed there.

Pastors Vikner and Olson within sixty days visited Hiroshima to purchase necessary property for a beginning. After a year of language study the Olson family moved to Hiroshima, started Bible classes and two centers were developed, Mihara and Saijo in the Hiroshima Prefecture. A survey in 1952 by Pastors Vikner and Olson of the area assigned to Augustana listed 27 cities, 700 towns and villages, a population of about 4 million (of which 15,000 were Christians of Kyodan—the Japan United Church). A plan was devised for the orderly penetration of the field, from the south to the north of Honshu island, then across the Inland Sea to the northern part of Shikoku island (an additional 4½ million population, 6000 Christians). From fourteen baptisms in Hiroshima (1952) the work continued to spread through the area.

The new realities in Lutheran work in Japan called for the independence of the Japan Evangelical Church. As a self-governing indigenous church, the work of the cooperating missions was integrated and Augustana's field became the Sanyo District of the church (1954). Moves towards the unity of all eleven European and American Lutheran missions in Japan began in October 1953 and on June 6, 1957 nine of these missions who were willing to be a part of this merger began work on a constitution for one Lutheran Church. The merger took place in 1962. This became the largest of the six remaining Lutheran church bodies. All Lutherans in Japan numbered 24,836 in 1976. All Lutherans cooperate in these ventures: Christian literature, theological education, the Lutheran Hour, the Lutheran World Federation Broadcasting Service (1966) and LWF Office of Communications, (Tokyo, 1976.) The Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church consists of 137 congregations, 194 pastors, located on all four major islands. Pastors are educated in Japan Lutheran Theological College and Seminary, Mitake, Union Theological Seminary and International Christian University.

Augustana's mission in cooperation was broad including rural evangelism; social welfare; support for the Lutheran hour (1952) which resulted in the formation of Bible Study courses; Bible Camp, Kabe (1956). Cooperative programs included the Canadian Academy (school for missionary children); The Kobe Lutheran Bible Institute; Theological Seminary; and Lutheran Literature.

Japan prospered under the occupation of the United States. A representative parliamentary government was developed with the emperor as the symbol of the state (1947). Its area of 145,747 square miles was home to a population of 111,930,000 (1976). While the three major classic religions were Shintoism, Buddhism and Christianity their leadership was challenged by strong "new" religions arising after World War II which in a syncretistic manner tried to combine the best elements from classic religions into a new doctrine and ideal for living. The one percent who were Christian in the population came from Roman Catholic missions (1549), Protestants (1859), and Lutherans (1892). In the marshalling of all national elements for World War II, all Christians were required to belong to one church, Kyodan "United Church of Christ." After

the war the major denominations withdrew from this forced merger. When China expelled missionaries and closed the doors to missions (1949), many missionaries of all Christian faiths were available having Asian preparation and experience for new work in Japan. Augustana missionaries were among them. It appeared that shortly Japan would become a Christian nation. Christians worked with one another with a tradition of an organized National Christian Council of Japan including the major denominations since 1923.

Whatever their former experience in missions, Japan was very different for the Augustana missionaries. Augustana missions in the past were directed to illiterate or uneducated rural areas where the great needs for education, health and development were clamant. Japan was urban. There was a common national culture and homogeneity. Western culture and values were becoming prominent. Augustana missionaries were realistic, speaking in sober terms. Dr. David L. Vikner reported that the "growth of the church has not been encouraging.... The influence of the church in the total life of the Japanese remains negligible...The church has not been able to de-westernize itself...Japan and the Christian movement are facing very crucial days..." Dr. Kenneth Dale did not deem Shintoism and Buddhism, the classic religions of Japan, to be the most potent enemy of Christ. Sheer materialism, material success or material survival he considered the sole concern of the Japanese. This explained in part the success of the new religions which provided techniques for gaining power and wealth (1957).

The Japan Evangelical Lutheran Church has the record in becoming an evangelical movement. It commissioned its missionary to go to Sao Paulo, Brazil (1966) to bring the Gospel to Japanese who were now a well established community there. This was its first missionary. It was also the first to enter an exchange program with the church in Germany and later the USA (1975) providing pastors and congregations with the opportunity for fellowship across cultures and continents. Since 1975 that church has been self-supporting in every respect. Assistance on certain projects has been provided by missions since that time such as in theological education (Japan Lutheran Theological College and Seminary) and the Lutheran Hour (Radio and Television).

## XIX

### DR. CHUNG-AN CHIN: TAIWAN: LUTHERAN CHURCH OF CHINA; MALAYA

In a history of missions such as this written from the perspective of the contributions of the Augustana Lutheran Church, it is inevitable that a perception is created that our ordained missionaries were always responsible for the beginning of new work. The story of the Taiwan mission and church is a corrective to this imbalance for it clearly shows the development of an important new work by laymen. They were, of course, products of an earlier mission in another area.

In 1949 a group of factory workers responded to an invitation to Bible study issued by a fellow refugee, Dr. Chung-an Chin. Dr. Chin was a doctor of medicine who was forced to leave his native Honan because of his religious faith and radical political changes. When the Japanese invaded Honan he came to Shensi and together with displaced Christians established two congregations. These Christians in turn brought the Gospel to the adjoining province, Kansu. Again in 1948 he was forced to flee to Hunan and the city of Chucow where he gathered Christians again and started a congregation. Wherever he went, Dr. Chin practiced medicine and started Bible classes. This happened also in Taiwan. He requested aid from Lutherans in Hong Kong. When Miss Ethel Akins and Miss Eleanor Anderson came in response, they were welcomed by a congregation of thirty-seven adults and twenty-one children. They had been baptized the day of the organization of the congregation. A great deal happened in the interval between the call to a Bible study in 1949 and the missionaries arrival in September 1951.

Dr. John L. Benson, President of the Augustana mission in the China area, was present for the organization of the first congregation in Taiwan at Kaohsiung, June 3, 1951. This congregation was the fruit of the labor of another Chinese layman,

Hsieh Hung Fan. Dr. Chin was appointed as licensed pastor of that congregation and received full ordination later.

Soon missionaries from the Scandinavian mission societies were on the field (1952) and the next year the Taiwan Lutheran Mission (TLM) organized (1953). Thus resources and personnel were united in plan and work. The USA Lutheran Brethren withdrew in 1957 to form their own church of 11 congregations and pastors. They are around Hsinchu, southwest of Taipei. The Norwegian Missionary Society withdrew its missionaries in 1966 from the TLM.

The Taiwan Lutheran Church (1954) had 33 congregations and pastors located in Taipei and to the west along the coast including Taichung, Tainan and Kaohsiung. Its beginnings were among Mainland Chinese using Mandarin but indigenous Taiwanese are also members. The approach of the church is ecumenical, its polity synodical. From the beginning its leadership has been Chinese. Its pastors have been educated in Hong Kong or at Tainan Theological College (Presbyterian) and since 1970 at Taichung in cooperation with the China Evangelical Lutheran Church (Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod).

The third Lutheran body in Taiwan is the above, China Evangelical Lutheran Church, an autonomous church since 1966. It originated in the Missouri Synod mission in China at Hankow 1913. In 1951 emigrants from China at Taipei led by missionary Olive Gruen began work which was extended by other missionaries to the Chiayi the next year. This church cooperates with other Lutherans in seminary training, the Lutheran Hour and Christian literature. Twenty-three congregations are members of the church.

Conditions for all religious people on Mainland China were dictated by Chou En-lai to 151 Protestant leaders in Peking, April 16-21, 1951. All religious institutions were compelled to become self-supporting. Connections with mission boards were severed. Such mission boards must cease work in China. Individual missionaries tried to remain under Norwegian and Swedish missions but they fared badly under constant harassment and were compelled to leave shortly. The Bamboo Curtain fell breaking all communications between China and the non-Communist nations.

Two million Chinese Nationalists and the Nationalist government had fled to Taiwan (1949) to set up the Republic of China.



They brought the treasures of classical Chinese art and culture with them to be housed later in the magnificent museum in Taipei. Two rival Chinese groups resulted: Formosans who were established in Taiwan prior to 1949; and the refugees and nationalists from Mainland China, 1949 and later. The Republic of China, set up in 1911, was moved to Taiwan by President Chiang Kai Shek in 1949. Political jurisdiction was proclaimed over the islands which consequently have been under threat of invasion by Mainland China. Their security was bolstered by the military presence of the United States of America. The excellent relationship of Taiwan and the United States was advantageous to the Christian missions.

Support for the admission to the United Nations of Mainland China given by President Nixon (1972) and his successors placed this relationship on a trade basis primarily. Taiwanese factories and people manufacture goods for United States companies often from shoreline factories within zones exempt from export and import regulations and duties.

Taiwan, originally known as Formosa, is composed of 27 islands populated by successive waves of Chinese immigrants. Taiwanese descended from earlier immigrations of the 17th and 19th centuries. They are 80 % of the population and have their own distinctive languages and customs. The ruling class is thus newcomers, refugees bent upon return to Mainland China to their former homes.

The area of Taiwan is 13,893 square miles and a population (1975) of 16,049,100 with 2,022,500 living in the largest city, also the capital city, Taipei. The majority religion is Folk Religions which combine, on a local basis, elements of Mahayana Buddhism and popular Taoism. Roman Catholics number somewhat more than half million, Protestants a little less than a half million. Presyterians were first in Taiwan (1865) and are estimated at 118,000. With the expulsion of Chinese and Christian missionaries from Mainland China, most Protestant groups began work, here i.e., Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, Episcopalians, Seventh Day Adventists and Holiness groups. Most of these participate in the Taiwan Missionary Fellowship. Lutherans have 11,670 baptized members (1976), 2.5 % of the Protestants. With the creation of the People's Republic of China (1949) these church and missionary groups like the people themselves and the government, con-

sidered their life in Taiwan only temporary until political changes made possible their return to their homeland.

The influence of the Christians in Taiwan spread over much of Asia because of the University in Taipei. Missionaries were given teaching assignments and came into close contact with students from many areas. Lutheran student work conducted under missionary sponsorship provided a place for discussion, learning and social life. Whole classes became Christian while engaged in their years of study. It was also a place of meeting for American soldiers and sailors abroad who sought out Christian fellowship with Taiwanese and Chinese Christian students. The missionary also found support from chaplains and their congregations on military bases.

Outside of Taipei, Augustana missionaries made up part of the medical staff of Chiayi hospital. Others were engaged in work in the villages where television viewing is a solid block of daily time. Meetings were scheduled with this conflict avoided. Evenings are warm and comfortable and even children's meetings and classes are successful at what is usually considered a late hour. For a while it seemed wise to have a Lutheran Theological Seminary at Taichung under the leadership of Dr. Russell Nelson but this was discontinued in time in favor of a seminary which would serve all Lutheran bodies.

The work begun by a laymen in a Bible class grew to include nearly all facets of Christian ministry. The diaspora of Chinese Christians bore fruit almost everywhere assisted in God's grace by Augustana missionaries among many others.

The Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions, directed by Dr. Schiotz, convened a meeting in Penang, Malaysia, March 1952, of representatives of the Batak HKBP (Indonesia), Hong Kong, diaspora Tamil congregation in Malaysia and Tamil Ev. Lutheran Church, to discuss concerns relative to the massive Chinese immigration from the Mainland. The next year (1953) the Board of Foreign Missions of the ULCA assumed administrative responsibility for this work to be served by an international missionary team with headquarters at Kuala Lumpur, six administrative districts. In Singapore a joint house of worship was proposed to serve the Chinese, Tamil, Batak and English congregations.

In preparation for this first S.E. Asia Lutheran Consultative Conference (March 26-29, 1952), Bishop J. Sandegren of the

Swedish Missionary Society (Bishop of Tranquebar, India) and Dr. Russell E. Nelson (Augustana, Hong Kong) made a thorough survey of Malaya exploring possibilities of work among the overseas Chinese there. Recommendations were followed and in 1954 the work began, a church was organized and became the fastest growing Protestant church in Malaya. The consultation was attended by 22 representatives from China, India, Hong Kong, Malaya and Indonesia. Sandegren was Chairman, Nelson Secretary.

The Augustana Church in the United States has a long and distinguished history of missionary work. It was founded in 1862 by a group of Swedish immigrants who sought to bring the Gospel to the people of the West. The church has since grown and expanded its reach, with a strong emphasis on evangelism and social service. Its commitment to the well-being of all people, regardless of their background or beliefs, is a testament to the power of the Christian faith.

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**XX****PAUL HUBERT BENSON: URUGUAY**

Incentive for missions and leadership in the Augustana Church usually came from the ranks of the students and young people. As time passed, leaders still appeared from the ranks of youth and prominent among them were the children of missionaries. The China missionaries illustrate this in the story of the Lindells, Lindbecks, Hansons, Vikners, Edwins, Holmers, Lundeens, Zimmermans and Bensons. The pioneer missionary for Augustana in Uruguay was Paul H. Benson.

Official interest in South America appears in the recommendation for support by Dr. G. A. Brandelle in his report to the Synod of 1917 of the first missionary called by the Pan-Lutheran Missionary Society for Latin America, namely Pastor Efraim Ceder who had been ordained at the Synodical meeting in Galesburg, Illinois (June 11, 1916). At the time of the report Ceder had already organized a congregation of 100 members in Buenos Aires, Argentina. These were people from Sweden who needed services in their own language. Some were immigrants but many were stationed in Argentina by government and business. He served this congregation (1917-1920).

The Pan-Lutheran Missionary Society for Latin America aimed to serve all Lutherans in the area by creating one Lutheran Church for each country rather than perpetuating the many Lutheran synods based on ethnic origins typical of developments in the United States and Canada.

This was the philosophy implemented during and after World War II through the Lutheran World Federation ministry. Dr. Carl Lund-Quist who had been chosen Executive Secretary of that body, established a Secretariat for this work with offices in New York City working closely with the USA National Committee, the National Lutheran Council. Dr. Stewart Herman became the first Secretary and he succeeded

in locating Lutherans throughout the Continent and Middle America, bringing them together and providing assistance for pastoral leadership, general funds and theological education. These were not orphaned missions. They were the kind of people that Ceder first gathered, namely immigrants, business people and seamen. Almost all Lutheran countries of Europe had established missions and homes for seamen at the principal ports as soon as trade developed. Pastors to seamen also became pastors in the congregations formed of their countrymen. As the work developed, one building often served Lutherans of all language groups represented and pastors were called who were fluent in several European languages as well as English. Occasionally they were proficient in one of the Iberian languages also but normally they gained whatever competence was needed in the country where they served. In most cases the city congregations were so large and duties so heavy that mastery of Spanish or Portugese was not essential. Some areas of South America in Argentina and Brazil were so heavily populated with second and third generations of Germans that this language was the language used every day in the market and schools. Outreach was impractical for the needs at hand far exceeded human resources.

This condition did not continue indefinitely. People married persons who were Latin Americans and to keep these new families within the church where they were at home, Spanish or Portugese services were initiated even though the number served was so small. This was the congregation of the future.

There were also an increasing number of English speaking Lutherans to serve. Some were married to persons in these congregations of European speaking Lutherans. Although there was usually a union congregation for English speaking persons in large cities, the fellowship and social life was excellent and pastors were ecumenical in theology and practice, but the moment of decision for Lutherans in these congregations was the time of confirmation for their children. As a consequence a need arose for English services in these Lutheran church centers even though the number to be served was very small compared to the number of Germans, Latvians, Hungarians, Scandinavians and others.

These churches were not established well enough to undertake missions among the Indians in the interior rural areas nor

did they attract the city Indians. Each Indian people had its own language which usually had to be changed into written form before the people could advance to literacy. This is a very specialized mission undertaken by the Wicliffe Translators notably. This mission when undertaken went into very remote and isolated regions and the resources for this work were not enough to even make a beginning. The Roman Catholic churches in each country found this mission beyond their resources, even though Indians were nominally Catholic and were served occasionally by visiting priests. It was Protestant missions which undertook these Indian missions but their base was North America or Europe, not the established churches of Latin America.

There is another distinctive and difficult ministry. It is to the unchurched people of many nations in Latin America whose roots are several generations past in religion and culture. They are intermarried. Many are cosmopolitan and are living in the great cities, others are in farming and ranching areas far from any regular church life. They too are often served by Roman Catholic rites for it is the national religion and available.

Uruguay may be the most obvious example of this public. Latin American cultural historians describe the culture as dominated by the philosophy of positivism. Some have called it a "Post-Christian" culture. Uruguay itself illustrates this. Uruguay became a republic in 1825 and attempted bold idealistic social and political reforms improving upon their model state and constitution, that of the United States of America. Thus there was no relationship between church and state. Time has shown that it was too small (68,548 square miles) too dependent upon uncertain rainfall and economic factors dictated by a commercial world needing little of what Uruguay could produce and providing much of what Uruguay lacked and must purchase upon the market. Education is free for everyone and literacy is highest (95 %) in South America. It is a delight to associate with well educated, European cultured Uruguayans. The land was settled by Iberians, joined soon by other immigrants notably from Italy and Germany. The ambience of its cultural life centered in the arts, music, philosophy and the good life resembles ancient Greece. To avoid the rule of the *caudillo*, strong military dictatorship, the role of the military is de-emphasized and a planned rota-

tion of persons in political power preserves democracy. Separation of church and state led to secularization to the point that religious holidays were given secular names and meanings. Christmas coming at the hottest time of the year in the Southern Hemisphere becomes the family day at the beach. There is a spirit of anti-clericalism.

Christian religions in Uruguay came with the first settlers who were Catholic. The strongest denominations at present are the Methodist and Pentecostals. Six denominations work together in the Federation of Evangelical Churches of Uruguay (1956 f.). Of church related organizations, the Young Men's Christian Association has the greatest influence. Dr. Fernandez-Arlt, a prominent Lutheran, served (while Augustana served in Montevideo) as General Secretary for all of South America and was prominent in world circles of the YMCA and the Ecumenical Movement.

The La Plata Evangelical Church of Argentina at the time of Augustana's entrance was the largest Protestant denomination in Argentina—27 congregations. Their work extended to Montevideo in Uruguay three years after its inception (1846). Their work was exclusively German until 1965 when the word "German" was dropped from their name. It is an ecumenical church (World Council of Churches) and promotes unity among Lutherans. This congregation in Montevideo provided space for the beginnings of the Spanish and English work of the Augustana Synod.

Augustana people understood God's call to them to serve all peoples. This goal was tempered by the resources at hand and the principle that no work should be started that was not to be continued indefinitely. The Angelica Church in Los Angeles was sensitive to Latin America's needs because it and neighboring churches had Latin Americans in their membership and neighborhoods. Their members supported the World Mission Prayer League and through it knew of the needs and the response to the Gospel in Bolivia. Consequently the congregation offered in 1943 to pay the salary of a missionary to South America. Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson had suggested the year before that South America should be considered as a new field for Augustana and an investigation of this new mission was authorized by the Synod (1942). Attempts were made to call missionaries immediately even though no field had been final-



ized. One missionary called, Pastor John E. Allen, became ill and did not reach the field (1945). Five years later Pastor Bernt Gottfrid Johnson, who had served in Tanganyika (1935-1938) and was now serving in Bolivia (WMPL 1948-1951) was asked by the Board of Foreign Missions to survey South America and to make a recommendation for the site of Augustana's mission. He recommended Uruguay (1950). Consultations followed with world missionary bodies and denominations at work in Uruguay. It was particularly important that this new work be coordinated with the work throughout all of Latin America under the Lutheran World Federation, National Lutheran Council Division of Lutheran Cooperation in Latin America, Dr. Stewart Herman, Director. The Board of Foreign Missions made its final decision to begin in Uruguay February 19-20, 1952.

Pastor and Mrs. Paul H. Benson were the first missionaries to Uruguay (1952-1957). He was the child of pioneer missionaries to China, Pastor John L. and Lillie Benson. Paul's wife, Elba Aries, was Latin American.

Work began in Montevideo continuing the ministry of the United Lutheran Church missionary in Buenos Aires, Argentina who made monthly visits. The ULCA missionary had met with Spanish speaking people in the German synod's church building monthly and Benson continued this work for a year in that location until a large home on 8 de Octubre was purchased and remodelled to serve as a sanctuary, parish house, parsonage apartment, and business office. The large patio adapted well to outdoor events. The congregation though small had excellent leadership such as Dr. Augusto Fernandez-Arlt who had studied at the Ecumenical Institute in Bossey, was Secretary of the YMCA in Uruguay and a leader in world meetings. In time he headed the Montevideo Ecumenical Institute which met in the church building. At the time of Pastor and Mrs. Irvan Arthur Nelson (1957-1962, 1965-1967) and Pastor and Mrs. Carl Alven Fredrickson (1961-1967) Arlt served as President of the Church and preached at many services as the demands for the missionaries' services increased.

As soon as Benson had the assistance of Pastor Herman Hammer and family (ULCA), he turned his attention to pioneer work in Rivera on the border of Brazil, a twin city of Livriamente, a city of 40,000 with only two Roman Catholic

parishes. He began work May 1955. In time (1966) a lovely church was built with parsonage and offices. Mid-week services and a daily school for small children were started at Cerro de Marco. Rivera developed as a center for radio ministry and Theological Training by Extension.

Hopes for all-Lutheran mission in Uruguay directed by the Division of Lutheran Cooperation in Latin America did not materialize. Direction was given to the Augustana Board (1957) to work in cooperation with the United Lutheran Church. As the German Evangelical Lutheran of the La Plata Synod in Montevideo had provided space for the beginning of Spanish work and had continued in a close relationship with the Augustana/ULCA work, in time all of the congregations and preaching places of the Montevideo area became that Synod's responsibility. The future of Augustana and the new LCA work was centered in Rivera exclusively.

The Ecumenical Institute of Montevideo supported by the LCA has its headquarters in the building which housed the Augustana work and is the offspring of that work in part. The climate of Uruguay is anti-church and this institute seeks to meet students and professionals with the Christian message in courses and other encounters in terms of contemporary culture and religion. It provides a center as well for other Christian groups. Dr. Fernandez-Arlt was the leading spirit in its formation.

## XXI

### **ELMER REINHOLD DANIELSON: LUTHERAN CHURCH OF NORTHERN TANGANYIKA: THE LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION**

Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist, an Augustana pastor, ordained 1936 and with the National Lutheran Council 1946-1952, then Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, was responsible for the preparations for two world assemblies, Hannover 1952 and Minneapolis 1957. Steps were taken in the first meeting for a permanent organization. Each national group created its own National Committee to provide communication and assistance. In the United States and Canada these became their respective National Lutheran Councils. Churches were able to balance their basic work at home with world concerns given support through the direction of this national committee.

Funds were provided for these world assemblies to bring representatives from mission areas. The Third World was represented at Hannover and later Commission meetings and the world assembly in Minneapolis by Christian leaders of the mission areas, not exclusively by Americans and Europeans who were working with them. The first representative who came from Tanganyika was Pastor Stephano Moshi who attended the Hannover meeting, visited the European missionary societies who had work in East Africa, and then visited the United States and Canada, spending a short time at the Lutheran Bible Institute in Minneapolis, Minnesota and visiting colleges and theological seminaries. Upon his return he communicated an understanding of the sending churches to his people. He continued to represent his church and people at meetings of the Commission on World Missions where his presence provided an understanding of the progress of African Christianity and churches.

Pastor Moshi was a second generation Lutheran. His father was an evangelist and bush school teacher. Under his leadership Stephano Moshi spent two years in the bush school. Missionary Magney then tutored him to enter Marangu Teachers' Training Center. After attaining Grade I and Grade II Certificates, he became a teacher for 24 years. Following the practice of the church to ordain pastors who had established themselves by life and theology in the everyday life of the church, he was ordained. The leadership of the church in Northern Tanganyika, deprived of German missionaries during World War II, naturally came to him even though he was not ordained until 1950. After attendance at Hannover (1952), and CWM, Hoekelum, Holland (1954) he became the first African to be elected by the African church to head the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika (1958) as Bishop. Later (1963) he was elected first Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania when it was organized from seven previous regional bodies into one national Lutheran Church.

At Hannover three main departments of the Lutheran World Federation were created: Theology, World Service and World Missions. A secretariat for each was established in Geneva, Switzerland. World Service administered Lutheran World Action funds and gifts from other agencies to meet human needs throughout the world. When World Service was the agency best situated to serve an area, all agencies cooperated in providing resources. Similarly, Lutheran World Service contributed resources to other agencies which were able to serve most efficiently in an area. The portfolios for World Service and World Missions developed according to clamant human needs during the emergency years of World War II and following. In many instances, a secretary such as Dr. Fredrick Schiotz, represented both Departments authoritatively abroad including his own National Committee. The Hannover organization of the Department of World Missions and its management committee, the Commission on World Missions, under peacetime conditions made it possible to delegate administrative responsibilities. Dr. Fritiof Birkeli was the General Secretary for the Department of Missions with world-wide concerns while Tanganyika was placed in the hands of the Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions of the National

Committee of the Lutheran World Federation, the National Lutheran Council of the USA. Dr. George F. Hall served as Secretary for the latter until it appeared that the total responsibility could be assumed by the Geneva office. Although all preparations were made for this move, the CWM meeting of 1956 countermanded its previous decisions and continued its office in New York. Pastor Oscar Rolander then came to the secretariat of CYCOM/NLC with responsibility for Tanganyika (1957-62). He was succeeded by Pastor Donald Trued (1962-1969).

Steps towards the eventual independence of the Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika, their continued support by the missions which had first served them, and the eventual unity of the Lutheran Church in independent Tanzania were facilitated by the leadership provided by people of good will everywhere. Augustana leaders with prominent roles were Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson, Dr. P.O. Bersell, Dr. Carl Lund-Quist and all Augustana missionaries on the field, their leaders Dr. George N. Anderson, Pastor Ruben Pederson, Dr. Richard Reusch, Pastor Donald Flatt and Dr. Elmer R. Danielson. It was a movement of good will expedited by Christian understanding and diplomacy. While all of the Tanzanian churches were deeply involved, our story will follow the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika.

While the Lutheran Church of Tanganyika organized in 1948 was growing rapidly led by its own pastors and a few missionaries, the schools were in a desperate state. This had been known for some years. The visit of Dr. P.O. Bersell to Tanganyika and his report to the Board of Foreign Missions (October 16, 1951), describing his conferences with education officers and others, made the church more fully aware of its gravity. Mr. Donald Flatt, a career colonial administrator (who had married Ruth Safemaster, an Augustana missionary), answered his earlier calling to serve Christ by becoming also an Augustana missionary. His work as Education Secretary (beginning 1949) established the schools on a solid footing which preserved their integrity for more than two decades until nationalized by the newly independent nation of Tanzania. A product of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, Mr. Solomon Eliufoo, became the first Minister of Education in the new nation. (Mr. Eliufoo was educated by the church in

the USA at Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kansas—the first African to be given a college education by Augustana Church people, 1952-1955).

The commitment of all guardians of orphaned missions was to keep the work intact at about the same level of support needed from the home base as before. It was considered wrong to develop and expand the work beyond the ability of the original society to assume and maintain again. This was not realistic. A period of unprecedented growth in the church and schools followed World War II. Expansion was so rapid home offices could scarcely know its full dimension. Government Departments of Education demanded growth according to proscribed Ten Year and Five Year Plans. If a mission could not reach its quota, other agencies were offered these schools such as Native Administration (entirely government supported) Roman Catholic and others. Augustana understood this situation because its schools in Iramba-Turu were under the same pressures. This was the threat which hung over all the Lutheran school systems as well as all others. To make matters more difficult, Mr. Flatt, who had made such an excellent beginning, and his family were in desperate need of furlough time which he requested be lengthened to permit the completion of his theological training and ordination. To meet this emergency Dr. Bersell recommended that Dr. George F. Hall be sent for a short emergency term while on leave from Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota (1952-53). This was accomplished as planned. In Mr. Flatt's absence weighty decisions were made to implement the Ten Year Plan for Education which meant the establishment of many Middle Schools in a short span of time. The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika responded making the required sacrifices matched by funds from the Lutheran churches of the world.

Formerly there were many unlicensed "Bush Schools" which brought elementary reading, writing and arithmetic to anyone who was interested, whatever age or state of literacy. In literature the Bible was the textbook. Teachers were evangelists who did not have enough education to qualify to teach in Registered Schools. Since Bush Schools were under church/mission jurisdiction they were established wherever possible and served a student any number of years. The Department of Education sought to regularize this education allowing credit

in a registered school up to two years of study.

In Registered Schools every student in Standard IV was required to take the Provincial examination to fill the places in Middle Schools. No matter how well a student did, only one in five could go on to the fifth standard. In some communities the parents were concerned that their children were denied education after the fourth standard by this procedure and local parishes created alternative schools for these young people providing schooling even though not accredited.

The next bar to be passed in this system was the 6th standard, then the 8th. At the 8th standard students were admitted to Teacher's Training Schools and Secondary School. Eventually a small number would qualify for Cambridge examinations and to attend Makerere College in Uganda.

This was the condition in general as the Ten Year Plans were inaugurated. It was contemplated that 15% or more of the children in the territory might begin an education. This was a high goal for some areas but it also meant that other areas (such as Chagga and Pare where Lutherans served) were limited and denied funds for growth because they had exceeded these goals before the Ten Year Plan was enacted. Thus it was determined that since 85% of Chagga children started school, this area had more than its quota of Primary Schools. It already had the well established Marangu Teacher Training Center, Ashira Girls School and Arusha Secondary School. The proposals of the Ten Year Plan required sixteen new Middle Schools (Standards V-VIII) with an emphasis on vocational training in agriculture, carpentry, tinsmithing and masonry for boys (12 schools) and the home crafts for girls in their (4) schools. In addition to objections to the cost and difficulty in securing this much land for regulation playing fields and agriculture, Africans were critical of the objectives and curricula of these schools. They wanted a classical liberal arts and science foundation instead of the vocational emphasis which they rightly felt did not prepare the person for any particular work. But in spite of objections, through labor and sacrifice, these schools were built with approved modifications. In a short time the wisdom of the Africans prevailed and the curricula of Middle Schools were changed and specific vocational schools were developed which were able to prepare students to become workers.

An additional Teachers Training Center was developed and Marangu Teacher's Training Center upgraded. The Arusha Secondary School was upgraded to become a full high school and then a Junior College. The Ten Year Plan was the beginning to be developed further in later projections.

In all, the school system in peril consisted of 20,000 pupils in various stages of education from the Bush School to Secondary School, 88 registered schools or streams, over 300 teachers covering the area of the Northern and Tanga Provinces. The area of advance was already evident in schools to be started among the Masai and in acreage being developed in marginal lands in the foothills of the mountain ranges.

The organization of teachers in Lutheran Schools became a model for the territory. They met monthly for lectures on education and to act on common concerns. To outsiders it appeared as an instrument to protect teachers' rights. Administrators in Government feared its political power. Eventually with other teachers organizations when Tanganyika was granted independence, the ideology of the new republic and its leadership came from this segment of the population. These teachers were products of Lutheran schools and taught in Lutheran schools (with few exceptions).

Teachers and pupils were an integral part of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika. Pastors almost always came from their ranks and some carried on pastoral duties as well as their teaching. Dr. Bersell and others clearly saw the importance of this school system for the Lutheran Church. However Government demands had to be met to continue this educational work of proven value.

The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika was one of the Voluntary Agencies recognized by the Department of Education. The representative of a voluntary agency to the Department of Education was the missionary designated as Education Secretary. Because it was administrative and dealt with government constantly, missionaries accepted the assignment only under duress. Few felt comfortable because of their perceptions of what a missionary's call meant. It was therefore often a part-time assignment passed from person to person and government administrators were dissatisfied. Mr. Donald Flatt with his education at Oxford to be a Colonial Administrator, his experience as such in Tanganyika rising to the rank of



District Commissioner, gave to this position of Education Secretary needed weight as he served (1949-1957) until becoming President of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika.

Dr. Richard Reusch, as described in an earlier chapter, was the pioneer who saved the whole work of the mission during World War II and laid the foundations for the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika in its Constitution, Charter and education of clergy. Dr. Elmer Danielson worked closely with him and charted the church through the succeeding years until one Lutheran Church of Tanganyika was created. Rev. Donald Flatt preserved the Lutheran schools and as President of the Church (1957-1959) led the church in final years of preparation for the election of one of its own, Bishop Stephano Moshi, as presiding officer.

This new church was also a missionary church bringing the Gospel to the Masai through Dr. Reusch and succeeding missionaries and to the Arusha area congregations; similarly Dr. Danielson was instrumental with the same congregation and pastor to open work with the Sonjo tribe. Attention was directed to city congregations in Arusha, Moshi, Tanga and Dar es Salaam strengthening their work in the heart of the city in established congregations and providing services in suburban areas.

Dr. Danielson, a man of wide vision, immense sympathy for African rights and aspirations with great tenacity of purpose, loved by his African co-workers, was the key personality in the transitional periods of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika. Africans remembered their former church experience, namely the expulsion of the German Leipzig missionaries in WW I, the work of Augustana missionaries so few in number, the return of the German missionaries. Now this had happened again in WW II. The church had come into being and was prospering. When the German missionaries returned in time, what would happen to their self-reliance and support which was now developing? In the first meeting of the church with Dr. Schiotez (CYCOM) June 1949 these matters were clarified. The National Lutheran Council and its Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions became the home mission board for the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika. The church requested that missionary staff in the future be international, not exclusively from one nation. In

the future the church itself was not to be returned to the Leipzig Society but to continue its progress as an independent body in a new day freed of pre-war rules and regulations of the mission society. This was the first step in creating the one Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanganyika born in June 1963. It was at this meeting where Dr. Schiotz evidenced such understanding of the Africans while also fair to the continuing interests of the Leipzig Society, that Tanganyika Lutherans knew that mutual trust would govern future decisions. Dr. Danielson in his *FORTY YEARS WITH CHRIST IN TANZANIA (1928-1968)*, World Mission Interpretation, Lutheran Church in America, New York (1977) 236 pp. has provided a full record of these years of growth and change.

To meet the needs of the church for specific religious and Biblical education, Pastor Walden Hedman founded the Bible School at Mwika (1952). It quickly became the largest school of any kind (400 students) in the area providing additional educational opportunities for capable students who were no longer permitted in the government system of education because of quotas. It prepared students for evangelistic work and provided refresher courses for teachers, evangelists and pastors.

The First All Africa Lutheran Conference sponsored by the Lutheran World Federation was held in Marangu in 1955 and hosted Lutherans from all over Africa and mission administrators from Europe and America. The Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika had become a member of the Lutheran World Federation at their meeting in Hannover (1952) at which Pastor Stefano Moshi was present. Dr. Birkeli, Director of World Missions, LWF, asked the church to host this first attempt by any church body to bring African Christians together. Difficulties were overcome, i.e., representatives from Southwest Africa and the Union of South Africa were prevented from coming until an appeal from Dr. Lund-Quist to their government provided permission. Dr. Hanns Lilje, President of the LWF attended as well as future presidents Dr. Franklin Clark Fry and Dr. Fredrick Schiotz. Delegates lived together, ate the same food and joined in the same communion table, a new experience for many who experienced racial segregation at home. Language problems were met by a translation system. Although the political TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) had

recently elected Julius Nyerere as its head and independence movements were beginning in other parts of the continent, the conference in its ten days of meeting (November 12-22, 1955) held to its basic purpose.

Dr. Robert Jensen, Head of Medical Assistants Training Center at Bumbuli, was instrumental in developing the Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Center supported by funds from West Germany, Norway and other agencies. The cornerstone was laid by President Julius Nyerere June 8, 1965. The center provides medical specialities to supplement hospital care in an area of 500 miles for a million persons.

The pattern for one theological school for Lutherans in Tanganyika was set by the school at Machame in 1942 by Dr. Reusch. This two year course was followed by a theological school to serve all Lutheran Missions in Tanganyika at Lwandai in the Usambaras (February 6, 1947), Dr. Daniel Friberg, Dean and Pastor Herbert Uhlin, Assistant, organized a three year course, 60 students. Seven of the first class were from the Iramba field and were ordained by Dr. P. O. Bersell at Kionboi (August 16, 1951) at a service attended by more than 3000 persons. Dr. Oscar A. Benson ordained the three men in another class when he visited Africa (September 1954). A new complex was built at Makumira mission estate, ten miles from Arusha. This was a farm property of the Leipzig Mission Society intended to provide income for mission work and experience in modern agriculture for Africans. Some of the acreage was returned to African ownership and the remaining portion was set aside for a model Middle School for Boys and the Makumira Theological Seminary. The first Dean was Pastor Herbert Uhlin (Church of Sweden). Students from all Lutheran missions and churches in Tanganyika attended. Classes opened in 1954.

As schools were upgraded the feasibility of overseas education for African potential leaders increased and many agencies provided overseas advanced education. Africans themselves were fore-runners in this program: the Kilimanjaro Coffee National Union sent young people to Britain for studies of commercial and technical value. This was later increased to include the arts. Missions provided overseas education also for pastoral and educational purposes to a larger degree than others. Nations such as Russia offered overseas education. The African student overseas became a common experience to most

college and university campuses. The persons in leadership who sensed that their parishioners were exceeding them in knowledge and international experience were often disqualified for lack of basic education for overseas study. There was also some fear that persons trained overseas did not want to return to their former homes in Africa for they had temporarily been "over educated or trained" for meeting local needs.

The Lutheran World Federation Department of World Missions experimented with the plan of providing quality education from overseas on African soil. A two year theological seminar for African pastors at Marangu, Tanganyika brought together two dozen experienced pastors from all over Africa. Dr. H. Busse, a renowned Africanist and theologian from Germany was dean. Instructors came from Europe and America for assignments of three months duration. This program, 1958-1960, was watched carefully by all missions anticipating that it might provide a solution of providing advanced education without alienating the African from his environment. One Augustana teacher taught in this seminar, Dr. George F. Hall (March-June 1960). It was not considered viable enough to continue or to be tried elsewhere. It was too limited and specialized to meet the expectations of the African pastor who felt that he needed exposure to all knowledge, such as a university affords, in addition to theological priorities.

In addition to theological training at Makumira, off campus courses included mass media radio ministry through the radio studio in Moshi (associated with the LWF Radio Voice of the Gospel, RVOG-Ethiopia, 1963-1967) and Pastoral Care at Kilimanjaro Christian Medical Center. At Oldonyo Sambu, Pastor Dean Peterson directed theological training by extension to serve students in communities where they lived and served congregations. A junior seminary at Morogoro (opened 1976) prepared young people for church careers.

The All Africa Lutheran Conference at Marangu (1955) was followed by conferences in Madagascar (1960), Ethiopia (1965) and Botswana (1977). The first meeting in Marangu inspired the all African Conference of Churches (1956).

The Lutheran World Federation held its 6th Assembly in Dar es Salaam (1977) at which the Right Reverend Josiah M. Kibira, Bishop of the North-Western Diocese of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania, Bukoba, was elected president.

Reverend Anza Lema, Ph.D., of the Northern Diocese was named Associate General Secretary under General Secretary Rev. Carl H. Mau, Jr.

Societies and Missions which began work in Tanganyika continued their support of the African Church through the Tanzania Assistance Committee, Lutheran World Federation/Department of World Missions. Dr. Elmer Danielson became the first secretary with offices in Geneva (1966-1968).

During Dr. Carl Lund-Quist's years as Executive Director of the LWF (1951-1960), in addition to the two Assemblies (Hannover, 1952 and Minneapolis 1957), the All-Lutheran Latin America Conference (1951) was initiated which led to the LWF Committee on Latin America. This first meeting at Curitiba, Brazil was followed by Petropolis, Brazil (1954), Buenos Aires, Argentina (1959) and Lima, Peru (1965). The All Africa Lutheran Conferences began later as noted (1955).

Dr. Elmer Danielson in reviewing his 40 years ministry in Tanganyika noted that the percentage of Christians in the total population rose from 7% to 26%. Lutherans grew from 28,000 to 490,395 in 1968. Estimates often stated that the majority of the population was Muslim but at the close of his ministry, Christians outnumbered Muslims. The total population of Tanzania (1967) was 12,231,342 persons.

One of the largest gatherings ever held in the area, 20,000 plus persons, was the Billy Graham visit to Moshi February 28, 1960 sponsored by the Lutheran church and nearly all other Protestant churches and missions. This crusade furthered ecumenical interests. One such tangible result was the beginning of YMCA work in the area of Moshi by Lutheran missionaries.

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**XXII****MELVIN ADOLPH HAMMARBERG: EMERGENT  
LUTHERAN UNITY**

Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson served as Executive Director during a sixteen year period filled with war, forced migrations of people, emergency assistance, opening of new fields, developing relations with world-wide Lutherans, independence of many new nations, dropping of the bamboo and iron curtains, the rise of independent churches, the nuclear age and rapid communication with all parts of the world by transportation and electronic media. It was a period of rapid change from which there was no retreat or escape. He was the architect and builder of Augustana missions. The title of his definitive and comprehensive work of missions in the Augustana Synod, **FOUNDATION FOR TOMORROW** in a phrase describes his philosophy of mission as well as the achievement of mission during his incumbency.

His successor was Dr. Melvin A. Hammarberg. The essential element in the qualifications for most posts of leadership filled by the clergy in the Augustana Synod was experience as a parish pastor. Dr. Swanson had served parishes for 26 years before his election. Dr. Hammarberg served 18 years and Dr. Rudolph Burke 18 years as well. Assistants and special projects were assigned to those with missionary experience on the field but the executive post was filled by an experienced pastor. The logic was evident. The missionary on the field gained an expertise to be properly used on the field; the executive was a bridge and the foundation of that bridge was the local congregation, Conference and Synod. Administrative knowledge could be gleaned from visitations and recommendations of those who knew the matters first hand. This principle of selection was not peculiar to the Augustana Church.

Dr. Hammarberg was a child of the Lutheran parsonage and trained in Augustana schools, Gustavus Adolphus Col-

lege and Augustana Theological Seminary. His parish experience was in Des Moines, Iowa and St. Paul, Minnesota. After his term of service as Executive Director (1955-1960) he returned to another parish in St. Paul and then in the new Lutheran Church in America became President of the Minnesota Lutheran Synod (1965-76). When air travel around the world was seldom possible, with Dr. Rueben A. Youngdahl he had visited the mission fields of the Augustana Church. Their travel diary was carried by Twin City metropolitan newspapers as a daily feature which together with television and personal appearances brought new appreciation of world missions to a younger generation of the church. His attendance at the Lutheran World Federation meeting in Hannover (1952) and many positions of leadership in the Synod and ecumenical boards indicated his potential as a mission executive. Dr. Hammarberg's time of mission administration was one of strengthened mission support in financial resources and personnel. It was a period of progress and encouragement in established fields. This contribution cannot be overlooked in the description of moves towards unity in which Dr. Hammarberg and Dr. Earl S. Erb visited fields together and led preliminary moves in their respective mission boards towards organic unity.

Movement towards unity in all major Lutheran bodies was irresistible following World War II. English was now the common language of worship and a Lutheran hymnal prepared for and adopted by nearly all Lutherans removed one of the causes of various Synods, their ethnic background. Membership in most congregations embraced all interested persons without regard to ethnic origins. Lutherans learned to know one another in their common goal to serve mankind in need in World Wars I and II. The Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference had been functioning since the end of World War I and through it Lutheran mission executives learned to know one another as brothers. The Lutheran World Federation was an open manifestation of what had happened some time before, otherwise it could not have become a trend that succeeded. The World Council of Churches, Amsterdam 1948, similarly marked the growth of ecumenism among all Christians.

In official records, Lutheran unity moves in the Augustana church began with a petition from the Kansas Conference



(1948) to the Agenda of the Augustana Synod and placed thereafter on the agenda of every Synodical meeting (1948 f.) which called attention to this concern for unity. The original hope was that all the bodies who were members of the National Lutheran Council could join to become one Lutheran Church. Dr. P. O. Bersell followed this up and proceeded to convene a meeting of these synods' representatives at the Augustana offices in Minneapolis, January 4, 1949. Thirty-four representatives from all of these National Lutheran Council bodies attended. Four years later in Des Moines (1952) the main Synodical issue was Lutheran unity. No longer was it possible to think of all National Lutheran Council bodies entering a union soon. Two divisions had become clear. Complete participation was the goal but not presently attainable. The choice therefore was between the American Lutheran Conference of five Lutheran Synods which existed 1930-1954 or the United Lutheran Church, the successor to the General Council in which Augustana had been associated in the mission in India since 1878, in Puerto Rico, and more recently in Japan. Augustana had declined to become a part in the formation of the United Lutheran Church of America in 1918. Now the first choice of the delegates was a National Lutheran council configuration, their second choice, the United Lutheran Church of America. Deliberations the following three years defined the issue more clearly.

Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, President of the United Lutheran Church of America, responding to the negative results of a poll of the Joint Union Committee in reference to a complete union of all National Lutheran Council bodies, made a statement listing the essential five points of consensus between the ULCA and Augustana (1. Historic Lutheran confessions; 2. No further statements of doctrine needed; 3. Ecumenical posture; 4. Ecumenical relationship; 5. Local and regional autonomy) and invited Augustana to join the ULCA in issuing an invitation to all other Lutheran bodies to join in talks leading to a merger. This invitation was accepted by Augustana at its Annual Synodical meeting in St. Paul, Minnesota (June 1955) and the joint invitation was then issued to 14 other Lutheran bodies (December 16, 1955). This was the climate when Dr. Hammarberg took the office of Executive Secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions November 1, 1955. Merger negotiations

colored every move. Consultations took place about every major matter with future partners in world mission, particularly with Dr. Earl S. Erb, Executive Secretary of World Missions (ULCA).

Under Dr. Hammarberg's leadership missionary morale was high. Mission fields and churches were aware of changes to be made and were prepared to make them. There were no duplication of fields which had not been sorted out before as in Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong. In America in the field of missionary training a hope was finally realized of a school of Missions for the preparation of missionaries, their continued advanced training and mission research.

## XXIII

**DONALD CECIL FLATT : THE SCHOOL OF MISSIONS,  
LUTHERAN SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CHICAGO**

Few persons were as uniquely prepared for missionary education and administration as Pastor Donald Cecil Flatt. His basic education was Edinborough and Oxford Universities in preparation for a career in Colonial Administration in Tanganyika, a mandated territory of the United Nations, British administration. He became a District Commissioner in solidly Muslim areas and adjudicated issues in light of both Muslim and British law. He met Augustana missionaries in Central Tanganyika at a time of deep family tragedies, the deaths of his wife and son. He left Tanganyika totally bereft but he had not left Africa itself before he proposed marriage to Ruth Safemaster by telegram. They married (1946) and he continued in his work for three more years before resigning to become an Augustana missionary. As Educational Secretary of the Northern Area he saved the school system for the Lutheran Church until it was assumed by the new independent nation of Tanganyika (1961). Early in life he had recognized the call to the ministry and during an extended furlough (1952-1954) he prepared for ordination in the Augustana Synod by studies at Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois. Returning to Tanzania he continued as Education Secretary until elected by the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika as President, the last missionary to hold position (1957-1959). He guided this church to its full independence when Bishop Moshi was elected as the first African to lead this church, finally to form with others under his elected leadership the Lutheran Church of Tanganyika. Returning to the United States Pastor Flatt was made a Professor in the School of Missions, Lutheran School of Theology, Maywood, Illinois (1960-1970).

Perhaps the most noteworthy experimental educational project of American Lutheran missions was this School of Missions

undertaken by the United Lutheran Church and Augustana Lutheran Church mission boards before the actual date of merger of these and other churches. Augustana from the beginning insisted upon adequate professional training for the missionary, (i.e., pastor, teacher, doctor, nurse, engineer, etc.) assuming that instruction in mission theology, history, anthropology and area information was added on the job in some manner. The missionary call was taken seriously and every resource was used to assure success and health. Candidates were carefully screened as to dedication, educational qualifications, work experience, personal family situation, attitude towards ethnic group to be served on the foreign field, personal financial obligations and basic health. Augustana was deliberate even in emergencies when personnel was needed desperately. No one was sent to a field unless experienced, mature, competent, in good health, and a sincere sense of call. These standards were constantly tightened even in the critical war years, 1940 and on.

The first missionary to India was given a period of time for study. The first missionary to Africa studied at Hartford, Connecticut—the Kennedy School of Missions. While Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson was Executive Director most missionaries spent some time at this Kennedy School. A missionary's training was highly individualized to prepare for a specific area and work. Doctors needed tropical medicine, nurses, mid-wifery, and both studied hospital administration and treatment of special diseases such as Hansen's disease (leprosy) and malaria. Pastors and teachers were seldom given anthropology, world religions and area studies. These disciplines were not advanced enough at first to be available, and were looked at askance for the Word alone was sufficient. China missionaries studied at Yale University, language and orientation, or at College of Chinese Studies in Peking where a whole year was set aside for this work. Whatever the location it was a time of difficult adjustment for a family in living quarters, schedule, education of the children and a return of the wife/mother to the classroom as well. Adjustments were less difficult for single or newly married persons.

As Augustana grew in mission experience and approaches were made to an educated public it became increasingly clear that it was important for missionaries to know the religions and culture of the land where they worked. Mission history,

philosophy and theology provided a background for understanding their work to avoid mistakes of the past. For Africa it also meant understanding Islam and Traditional Religions, in Asia, the Oriental religions, i.e., Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, Shintoism and Zoroastrianism. A School of Missions provided an arena in which dialogues and personal relationships of trust were encouraged of missionaries in preparation and believers in these religions who were willing to articulate their faith.

During the last years of Augustana's independent existence, Augustana joined the United Lutheran Church in the School of Missions, at the Lutheran Seminary in Maywood (soon to be known as Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago). It was maintained for a bit more than a decade (1958-1969) and its successor was the Summer Institute of Missions which has continued in quarters leased each summer since that time.

The School of Missions was the fruition of the experience in missionary training at Hartford and elsewhere and the careful planning of mission executives Dr. Earl S. Erb (UCLA), Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson and Drs. Melvin Hammarberg and Rudolph Burke (Augustana) and area secretaries. All were concerned about the Lutheran context of missionary studies. It was assumed too readily that one who had the missionary call was versed in Scripture, theology and the religious culture of the Lutheran churches. Although there was no basic complaint about training provided by other non-Lutheran schools, a Lutheran center was deemed essential. Pastor James Scherer (UCLA) was Dean, housing for students was built and classes began with missionaries on furlough and teachers in the Chicago area universities assisting. Dean Scherer was well prepared for this work. He graduated from Yale University, a student of Church historian and Missiologist Kenneth S. Latourette. He served three years in China in the Yale in China program. This was followed by a term in Japan, then studies for the doctorate at Union Theological Seminary, New York. Dr. Scherer's book *MISSIONARY GO HOME* (1963) made everyone aware of the radical changes coming in mission areas with independence of churches and nations. He became a member of the Commission on World Missions of the Lutheran World Federation. Post-doctoral studies followed at Oxford and Cambridge Universities in England. Besides administra-

tion, he taught courses in the Theology of Missions and East Asia Area Studies (1958---

The second permanent member of the Mission School Faculty was Pastor Donald Flatt. During his years at the School of Missions he spent a year in field anthropological studies in Arusha Traditional religion and culture. He visited and lectured in all of the Lutheran mission areas of the LCA in the world. He pursued further studies in American Indian anthropology. Previously, in addition to courses in preparation for his work as a civil servant in an Islamic area, a year was spent in the study of Islam.

The third permanent member of the faculty was Dr. George F. Hall whose basic studies were at Augustana College and Seminary (AB and BD), University of Chicago (Ph.D) and post-graduate studies at Union Theological Seminary, New York. While associated with Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota (1938-58) he was a member of the Board of World Missions (1948-55), he served an emergency short term in Tanganyika as Education Secretary (1952-1954), some later as Executive Secretary of CYCM (1955-1957). While Campus Pastor (LSAA) at the University of Minnesota he was called to teach in the School of Missions (1963-1969). Since Pastor Flatt taught African Area Studies, Dr. Hall prepared himself for South and Central America studies with a study tour of the fields; studies at Cuernavaca, Mexico; Ponce, Puerto Rico; and Uppsala, Sweden.

In addition to subsidized leaves provided the faculty, a library collection was established in missions. Additional faculty were engaged for needed courses, seminars were sponsored with outside leaders and an attempt was made to use the resources of the area's schools and institutions for the benefit of missionary candidates, those in training and missionaries on refresher courses during furlough.

Ideally the time spent by the student was 9 months but this varied according to circumstances dictated by the field to be served. In some cases work was correlated with courses in other parts of the country requiring residence there. Sometimes because of delays in obtaining visas or health clearance, students attended more than a year.

The schedule was heavy. Additional lectures and seminars; business visits of area secretaries; preparations for the field,

packing, immunizations, passports and visas, etc. The student body ranged from thirty to seventy persons. Many clergymen coordinated their mission studies with graduate work and eventually earned advanced degrees. Some lay persons began the study of theology and returned to complete studies for ordination. More than 500 missionaries in their preparation were served by the school.

As a part of the Lutheran School of Theology it moved to the Hyde Park location adjacent to the University of Chicago (1967). Some students from seminaries in the area preparing for missions took their area studies at the School of Missions. The time for optimum service had come as the faculty now had been prepared for their assignments and the resources of the university and other theological schools were immediately at hand.

The School of Missions was terminated in 1969. All missionary sending agencies knew the value of preparation for the missionary vocation and looked upon the schools for missionaries established by European mission societies as an ideal to be attained. Mission executives in all American Lutheran church bodies talked informally about the need for a school which might serve all the Lutheran agencies: on occasion it was an item on the agenda. These deliberations came to the fore as the large mergers of Lutherans materialized. The plan at the School of Missions in Maywood to hold sessions during the usual school year was not acceptable to the Missouri Synod and American Lutheran Church. Each had its own philosophy of what a school of missions should do: Missouri limiting the courses to non-theological subjects assuming that candidates were already established in their faith and knowledge of the Bible; the American Lutherans and Lutheran Church in America Lutherans were concerned primarily with proper instruction in the message of the Gospel in addition to area studies, linguistics, anthropology, etc. The time of the year was also critical because of needs to be met on the fields by certain dates and often a nine month's period of study could not be accommodated to schedules overseas.

The School of Missions was subsumed in this united effort beginning with a summer school of ten weeks to be hosted alternately at the theological seminaries of each body. The faculty of the School of Missions became part of the staff of teachers

each summer. The program was determined each summer by the needs of the participants and in addition to Lutheran missiologists experts from nearby universities or from abroad participated for short periods of time giving personal attention as indicated. After theological seminaries had hosted the Institute in rotation another site was tested which became the regular location, namely St. Benedict's Center near Madison, Wisconsin. The Missouri Synod withdrew its participation as internal divisions within the church body developed. The program itself was examined critically each year and was reduced in time to five weeks.

Theological seminary curricula accommodated missiological courses and were centers for conferences, seminars and mission research filling the void at the discontinuation of the School of Missions.

Augustana made a large investment in each missionary in measurable time and funds to insure competence on the field. Consequently most missionaries were highly esteemed in circles beyond the mission itself. The church made certain that persons were properly trained before they went to the field, and encouraged and supported advanced studies when on furlough, lengthening the same when needed to accommodate this program. The abiding value of their work and testimony bore out the wisdom of this mission policy. It was always understood that the School of Missions while it existed was just one resource for advanced studies to serve only when it was the best possible resource for a missionary's needs. Thus in addition to the School of Missions, missionaries were supported in many other schools and endeavors that served best.

In retrospect, the most critical need met by the School of Missions was theological and Biblical instruction for wives and single women. During the decade of its existence few women attended Lutheran theological seminaries for ordination was not open to them. Missionary wives and single women were not limited in any manner in Augustana mission policy for then were considered as equal partners with all others in the mission enterprise. The School of Mission had a program to serve all members of the family preparing them all, even the small children, for the work to which they had been called. This policy was continued by the Summer Institute for Mission.



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## XXIV

### RUDOLPH CARL BURKE: MERGER DECISIONS

When Dr. Hammarberg resigned as Executive Director for the Board of World Missions to become pastor of Gloria Dei Lutheran Church in St. Paul, Minnesota, Pastor Rudolph C. Burke, D. D., was elected to serve as Executive Director until the new Lutheran Church in America began to function. Dr. Burke became Director of Promotion for the Augustana Board of World Missions in 1951 leaving the pastorate of the Calvary Lutheran Church of Minneapolis, Minnesota, a congregation of real missionary concern and support. He quickly entered this work visiting South America in the company of Dr. Stewart Herman, Lutheran World Federation Secretary and other Lutheran mission executives. He visited the work of the church in Asia as well as Tanganyika. In each case he prepared himself well by studies prior to visiting the field, and then reporting from the field by printed word and camera what was of primary interest to the lay constituency of the church. In 1956 Dr. Burke was elected Associate Director. The office had the difficult task of preparing for the merger of the Augustana Missions into the proposed Lutheran Church of America.

Four Lutheran Churches joined in the new Lutheran Church in America. The United Lutheran Church in America was created in 1917 through a union of the General Synod (1860), United Synod South (1862) and General Council (1866). Its roots go back to the Ministerium of North America, 1748. The second body was the American Evangelical Lutheran Church of Danish origin, 1872, an expression of Gruntvigian piety. The third body was of Finnish origin, known as the Suomi Synod of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (1890). Augustana Lutheran Church (1860) was the fourth member in the merger bringing together one third of the Lutherans in the United States into one body.

For Augustana Lutheran Church, the final decision was timed to coincide with the one hundredth birthday to the day of the church, June 8, 1960. This was the Centennial Synod. The decision was subject to the ratification of the 13 Conferences during the coming year. Their votes as Conferences were tallied a year later in Seattle, Washington (June 16, 1961). The vote of the synodical assembly was in favor, 495 to 21, 151 votes in addition to the required 2/3s majority vote.

In some respects the transition to one church in world missions was less complicated because each mission field had its own identity. But this was changing too in the rise of independent nations and their perception that missionaries favored the former colonial governments. They had been the teachers of this new generation which had gained national independence and in the minds of everyone carried more authority than their students. It was disconcerting to them and their home constituencies when missionaries with the finest and longest records of unselfish service were sent home early by the indigenous churches. It brought home their message of independence. These churches on the fields also expressed themselves in developing ties of unity with churches in their nation which were the fruits of other mission societies. Dr. Burke was prepared for this unique diplomatic work of meeting the rising expectations of new nations and new churches. Augustana's foreign missions had survived economic recessions at home and abroad, wars—local and world-wide, the rise of Communism and other perils and was now being tested at home by adjustments to merger and abroad by a new world of independent nations which would soon as a non-aligned block out vote the great established nations in the United Nations.

The record is that 43 missionaries were commissioned during these years of change for the needs of all of the Augustana fields. There was no diminution of the primary work of missions, the preaching of the Gospel to the nations. A new work was entered in consultations on the field and with the United Lutheran Church of America. Dr. and Mrs. Clifford Ansgar Nelson were called to serve the multi-lingual congregation in Singapore (1960-1961). The Lutheran Church in Malaysia was organized a few years later (1964) and became self reliant by 1980. The growth of this church is remarkable and began with the work of two missionaries in 1953.

Dr. Burke continued to serve in the new church after its inception in Detroit, Michigan June 25-27, 1962 as the Africa Secretary of the Board of World Missions. In addition to the church of the new nation of Tanzania he supervised the large and well established mission of the former ULCA in Liberia. The Board of World Missions of the new LCA entered into other fields in Africa as well, in a supportive manner, sometimes on a term basis in a project of limited dimensions. His duties and responsibilities increased in his new position working out of the New York office. His next area of service was Sweden where he served as pastor in the American congregation in Stockholm (1965-71) then returned to the USA to serve the congregation in Olivia, Minnesota (1971-75).

Another congregation in Europe was served at this time by an American pastor but not under the auspices of the Board of World Missions. Pastor and Mrs. Lowell Albee ministered in four languages (English, Swedish, French and German) in the Lutheran Church in Geneva, Switzerland (1960-1961). Ministries at American churches abroad in time became the responsibility of the Board of World Missions and Ecumenism of the Lutheran Church in America.

Two developments in the Lutheran church should be noted.

At Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois a chair had been established in Missions in memory of Dr. Sigfrid Engstrom, Executive Secretary of the Board of American Missions 1937-1955. The intention of the donors was to provide lecturers in all fields of missions and that mission courses should be offered regularly to students. Before this time, Dr. E. H. Wahlstrom, who had gone to the China Mission field shortly before it was closed, offered courses regularly in addition to his work as New Testament Professor and Dean. The first call issued to a person requiring him to devote most of his teaching time to world-wide Christianity was extended to Dr. Arne Nils Bendtz (1957-1963). Dr. Bendtz was born in Sweden, educated in Stockholm, Oslo and London universities (BA 1936); Yale Divinity School (BD 1949); Union Theological Seminary and Yale University (Ph.D. 1953). His service included Swedish Mission in China (1936-1941); War Prisoners Aid World's Commission, YMCA (1942-1946); and Lutheran World Federation in Indonesia (1952-1957) where he worked for the founding of Nommensen University. He was ordained

in 1952.

His successor was an Augustana missionary to Japan, Dr. David. L. Lindberg a product of Augustana schools, Gustavus Adolphus College (BA 1951) and Augustana Theological Seminary (BD 1955). He served in Japan (1957-1962). Later at the University of Chicago he earned his advanced degrees (MA 1966, Ph.D. 1972). He remained on the faculty of the Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago as the incumbent of the Chair of Missions (as distinguished from the School of Missions). At the termination of the School of Missions, Dr. James Scherer was continued on the faculty in the Chair of Missions and Ecumenism (1969—). Dr. Lindberg has been the Director of Field Studies such as the interne year of seminarians but has continued to teach courses and seminars in mission concerns since his beginning in Rock Island, Illinois in 1963. His doctoral dissertation was on the China mission study and recommendations made by a former president of the University of Chicago, Ernest De Witt Burton.

## XXV

**AUGUSTANA AND MISSIONARY LITERATURE:  
KNANISHU TO ANDERS HANSON**

From the beginning Christian literature has been a constant concern of missions. Pioneers, in addition to everything else that was necessary, translated needed materials for instruction and worship. Many pioneer missionaries came to people to learn their language first, then analyze it and "break" it, so that its structure is formalized and the people themselves can become literate in their own language. At the moment of an understanding of one's own language, one attains a new stature in self-esteem and the uniqueness of humanity. Even though language and literature is so important, almost all missionaries looked upon their language and translation work, their literature, as part-time, yes even less than part-time for it was not considered a priority in the full time work they had before them always. Augustana missionary movements developed their own publication support systems alone, but always ready to work in cooperation with other publication systems. Each Augustana field produced literature as we will note, but the China mission was in a cooperative relationship from the beginning and its work has gone on continuously represented in the South East Asia Lutheran Literature Society in Hong Kong. Pastor Anders Hanson was its director 1963-1982.

Anders Bernhard Hanson was born in Honan, China. His parents were Augustana missionaries Pastor Mauritz B. Hanson and his wife Gerda. He was educated in China in the mission school, and in the USA at Augsburg College and Augustana Theological Seminary. Following ordination in 1944 he went to China serving as a missionary in the Linru, Honan station (1946-47), then Kuming, Yunna (1948-1949). After a short pastorate in Centerbrook, Connecticut he returned to the China mission serving in Taiwan at Kaohsiun (1952-1955), Taipei (1955-1957) and Tuanghai University, Taichung (1959-1963).

He was also chairman of the mission during this period. This was his life preparation for his work in Hong Kong as Director of the Lutheran Literature Society of Hong Kong and Taiwan.

In Augustana history, publications preceded the organization of the Synod itself and contributed to its organization and the missionary goals of the new church. Some articles were very lively, challenging and controversial, debating whether Augustana should seek its own mission field or be content to continue as a supporting arm for established European societies.

The first book length work was Joseph Knanishu, *ABOUT PERSIA AND ITS PEOPLE. A description of their manners, customs and home life including engagements, marriages, modes of traveling, forms of punishment, superstitions, etc.* (Rock Island, Ill. Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, printers. 1899. 300 pp.). Mr. Knanishu during vacations, while preparing for ordination, gave illustrated lectures in synodical congregations. There was a small admission charge and his book was available for purchase. His personal presentation and his book created interest in the mission he was soon to undertake in his home land.

The Puerto Rican mission quickly translated needed materials into Spanish such as the Catechism (G. Sigfrid Swensson, 1900) and later a hymnal was prepared (Dr. and Mrs. Alfred Ostrom). The church publication was *El Testigo* edited by missionary Pastors Ostrom and A.P.G. Anderson.

The broadest exposure to Augustana people of the India mission in relationship to the General Council and most of the Lutheran European societies came out of the six weeks spent in India by Dr. C.W. Foss and Dr. C. Theodore Benze (Chapter VII) and six weeks and more in Europe visiting Lutheran centers of mission. His reports of his visits to each station were carried by the Augustana publications as they were received. The climax for most Augustana people was his inability to meet with Joseph Knanishu before the latter's death (Chapter III). The concern of the Augustana people for the Knanishus was very deep as, in that day of surface mail communication only, they awaited news. This concern about the fate of missionaries was repeated with greater intensity but for a shorter time in the Zam Zam event of World War II. Dr. Foss reported to the Synod at its next annual meeting and his

articles became a book **GLIMPSES OF THREE CONTINENTS** (Augustana Book Concern, 1909).

Oscar L. Larson prepared an unpublished manuscript on **AUGUSTANA IN INDIA** based upon his experience as a missionary.

The Foreign Missionary Society (1901) was aware of the value of the printed word promoting its work in China by publication of two journals, *Lutersk Tidskrift* (1903-1908) and *Kinamissionären* (1908-1938). Missionaries contributed essays for each ten year resume of their works; in *Our First Decade in China* (Swedish, F.M. Eckman.ed, 1915); *Our Second Decade in China* (1915-1925); and *Thirty Years in China* (1936), the last two edited by Dr. Gustav Carlberg. The *Fiftieth Anniversary Booklet* (1905-1955) was edited by Anders Hanson and published by the Augustana Lutheran Churches of Hong Kong.

Gustav Carlberg wrote **CHINA IN REVIVAL** (1936) and the **CHANGING CHINA SCENE**-the Lutheran Theological Seminary in its Church and Political Setting over a period of 45 years, 1913-1958.

Anton Lundeen narrated his experience, **IN THE GRIP OF BANDITS and yet in the Hands of God** (1925).

J. Torell, **CHINA AND THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD'S MISSION IN THE PROVINCE OF HONAN** (1914, 30 pp.) was one of the earliest accounts written while the author was a solicitor for funds for the China mission (1909-1914). Augusta Highland wrote **CHINA—CHUNG HWAH** (1945, 48 pp. Women's Missionary Society) and Dr. O. J. Johnson wrote "Our Mission Abroad" in **AFTER SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS** (1860-1935), *China* pp. 202-213.

Victor E. Swenson wrote a gripping personal story, **PARENTS OF MANY** (1959, 348 pp.), of the ministry of Pastor and Mrs. Swenson (1913-1957) in China areas, nearly the entire life span of the Augustana mission in China. This was written in an entertaining narrative style.

Cooperation between Lutheran missions in China began early in the Lutheran Theological Seminary (1913), the American School for Missionaries' Children (1915), Lutheran Center, the Lutheran Missions Home and Agency in Hankow (1922) and publishing. The Lutheran Church quarterly *Sin I Bao*, "The Lutheran", first appeared in 1913, Professor K.L. Reichelt, editor. Dr. Edwins followed as editor in 1916. The publica-

tion continued through the years finding its home in Hong Kong after the evacuation of China missions. The Lutheran Board of Publication began the same year as the Church of China was organized (1920). It has published translations of needed Lutheran classics; pamphlets and tracts; textbooks for Sunday Schools, Bible Schools, Theological Seminary and other schools; hymnals in Chinese for the Lutheran Church in China, etc. The Lutheran Literature Society is the editorial agency in this long history of publishing. It provides other services to the churches such as audio-visual materials. It is a center for consultation and cooperative work with other Asian societies, committees and publishers.

The first publication of the *South American Mission Prayer League Bulletin* was 1938 followed later by *Fellow Workers*, the official organ of the World Mission Prayer League. Jonathan Lindell *NEPAL AND THE GOSPEL OF GOD* (1979 United Mission of Nepal, 279 pp.), tells the story of this extraordinary United Mission to Nepal.

The Vuga Press was created by the Bethel Mission in the Usambara mountains of Tanganyika. It served the needs of the German societies in the publication of hymnals and textbooks for their schools and churches. During World War II their stock of paper was confiscated by the British government and it was impossible to secure paper through normal channels for it was in short supply until some paper was sent from New York by a Reformed Church Mission Board. The aim was to re-open the press under an agency that would represent all Protestant missions. Pastor Herbert S. Magney put the press in operation (1945) and Pastor Ray L. Cunningham continued its supervision as it regained its full functions. Mr. Ray Bolstad served (1946-1957) as fulltime manager bringing his knowledge and skills as a professional printer and binder to the work. The monthly magazine *Bendera Ya Kikristo*, "The Christian Banner", was the official periodical appearing monthly in Swahili serving the seven Lutheran Churches and Missions in Tanganyika. Dr. H. Daniel Friberg served as editor while he was in the Usambara area as Superintendent of the Mission. Friberg, it should be noted, as a China missionary contributed to the China mission literature, *WEST CHINA AND THE BURMA ROAD* (Augsburg 1941), before continuing his missionary career in Africa. *Bendera's* circulation was



modest (7,000 in 1958) but its influence was much greater as copies circulated from family to family and the contents were read aloud to thousands. The Vuga Press printed hymnals in the languages of the Tanganyikan churches used in their worship. Swahili was used for school materials. Books and materials were also printed in English and other western languages.

The Ten Year Plan for Education in Tanganyika (1946-1956) emphasized advanced standards such as more middle schools, teachers' training schools and secondary education, and accepted the reality that most Tanganyikan children would never start school during that period. The Christian missions had started education with Bush Schools which accepted any person who wanted to attend but Bush Schools were eliminated in the plan and only children of a certain age could begin school. The missions faced a dilemma. To continue and to initiate non-registered schools (Bush Schools) defied the government policy. One remedy was to open Bible Schools which were entirely mission/church supported religious schools which could set their own policies. But these schools would be very few and serve a large area on the boarding school plan. A more attractive and feasible program appeared in literacy and literature. The Augustana Mission assigned Marian Halvorson to full time work in literacy (1956) through which missionaries and African lay persons were trained to go into illiterate areas and bring reading and writing to entire communities, in effect a bush school short course for adults. This was approved by Government and some assistance provided.

Development of literature came the same year (1956) when a World Literacy Team conducted a three month workshop at Kinampanda. This was sponsored by the Christian Council of Tanganyika. The team was sent out by the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature of the National Council of Churches, USA. Material was prepared on subjects of primary need which was then translated into the vernacular with editorial adaptations. The finished translation was then given to the churches for their reading and approval before publication and use. Special education was provided for Africans with an aptitude and interest in literature. The goal which was attained was to encourage the African to produce his own literature. This was extended also by *Bendera* into hymn composition and each issue featured a hymn composed

by a Tanganyikan. Dr. Howard Olson published 20 Tanganyika hymns translated into English: LEAD US LORD, A Collection of African Hymns (Augsburg, Minneapolis, Minn. 1977).

Augustana missionaries wrote individual books. Ingrid Hult Trobisch told the story of her father and mother (Ralph Hult) involved in Augustana's projected mission to Sudan in ON OUR WAY REJOICING (Harper, 1964). Pastor V. Eugene Johnson (1929-1953) wrote PIONEERING FOR CHRIST IN EAST AFRICA (Augustana Book Concern, 1948). Martin Bystrom's letters home were published after his death, LETTERS FROM AFRICA (Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois 1951). Elmer Danielson contributed articles to *Tanganyika Notes and Records*. "Proverbs of the Waniramba People" (1958) and "A Brief History of The Waniramba People Up To The Time of the German Occupation" (with Kidamala 1960). His books include STARS OVER AFRICA (1953); GATEWAY TO SONJO (1959) and FORTY YEARS WITH CHRIST IN TANZANIA, 1928-1968 (World Mission Interpretation, New York 1977). He prepared an essay for the Lutheran World Federation Handbook for Delegates, Dar es Salaam Assembly, 1977 entitled *The Approach of the Lutheran Missionaries from America to Lutheran Mission Work in Tanzania.* George F. Hall wrote a book for Social Studies in USA schools COME ALONG TO TANGANYIKA (Minneapolis, Minnesota. Denison 1963), photography by Douglas Jesse Augustine.

Unpublished manuscripts include Dr. P. O. Bersell, REPORT ON VISIT TO AFRICA (1951); Herbert S. Magney, HISTORY OF THE AFRICA MISSION; Donald C. Flatt, AUTOBIOGRAPHY; also THE ARUSHA PEOPLE: An Anthropological Study; Martin C. Olson, HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN MISSION; and George F. Hall, EDUCATION IN TANGANYIKA.

While "Bendera Ya Kikristo" became the news organ of the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika other periodicals developed namely, "Umoja" the news magazine of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika (1948-1966), now the Northern Diocese. The news periodical for the new The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania which superseded the others was named "*Uhurru na Amani*" (1966—).

The Women's Missionary Society published booklets on each field and studies in their publication "*Mission Tidings*". General articles by missionaries and about missions appeared in *Augustana* and *Lutheran Companion*; Augustana Annual books such as MY CHURCH, KORSBANERET, AUGUSTANA ANNUAL, and A CENTURY OF LIFE AND GROWTH (1948); and complete annual reports in the Minutes of each Field, the Board of Foreign Missions and the Augustana Synod. Missions were featured in Luther League materials, Sunday School lessons and local conference periodicals.

In addition to a book in Swahili on Matthew (published 1947) and another on Bible History (published 1953) Dr. Richard Reusch wrote books published in Germany. DER ISLAM IN OST-AFRIKA (1931) described his experience disguised as a Muslim travelling in solidly Muslim areas and because of his knowledge of the Koran and Arabic being accepted by them in secret religious confraternities. This was followed by a tract ICH LEBTE UNTER MOHAMMEDANERN (1954). A definitive work followed, HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA (1954 Stuttgart: Missionsverlag. 343 pp. Foreword by Sir Edward Twining, Governor of Tanganyika). He also wrote a textbook in the Gustavus Series WORLD RELIGIONS (1957, Gustavus Adolphus College Press, St. Peter, Minnesota 127 pp.).

The year 1960 marks the publication of the most comprehensive and authoritative single volume of Augustana world missions. Dr. S. Hjalmar Swanson, FOUNDATION FOR TOMORROW (Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois 1960. 326 pp.) contains a narrative history of the missions, a chronological listing of all the missionaries according to the field served, Board secretaries, Board employees, Board members and years of service. It marked 100 years of Augustana history in mission. It was his gift to the churches and the world at the conclusion of his secretaryship which can be drawn upon by all interested persons with confidence. Three volumes preceded it: THREE MISSIONARY PIONEERS (1945); TOURING TANGANYIKA (1948); and ZAM ZAM: THE STORY OF A STRANGE MISSIONARY ODYSSEY (Editor 1941).

During Augustana's years of mission every missionary was primarily involved in the work of the extension of the Kingdom

of God. Literature produced by missionaries and mission executives was written during leisure hours by hand or on old worn out typewriters by the light of a kerosene lamp or an electric bulb that flickered according to its power source limited to a few hours per night. They were not professional writers in training but their contribution was still massive and excellent enough to merit attention. The Lutheran Literature Society had the longest record but each field produced the literature it needed and created whatever structure necessary to get the work done well.

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## XXVI

### DAVID LUTHER VIKNER: LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA

The transition from the Augustana Lutheran Church World Mission program to the merger creating the Lutheran Church in America (June 25-27, 1962) was the culmination of cooperative work by the Lutheran missions on various fields, cooperative work of administrations of missions in the National Lutheran Council/Lutheran World Federation and steps taken prior to the actual merger in filling staff vacancies. Dr. Vikner, as an example, became a member of the staff of World Missions United Lutheran Church in 1960 as secretary for their mission in East Asia.

The final consolidation vote in the Augustana Church was taken at the annual convention in Seattle, Washington June 12-18, 1961. The Lutheran Church in America was constituted on June 28, 1962 in Detroit, Michigan. The presiding officer was Dr. Malvin Lundeen, President of the Augustana Church. Dr. Franklin Clark Fry was elected President. The Augustana Lutheran Church, part of whose story we have re-told, originated in Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin in 1860, ended its corporate existence in joining the larger fellowship of the Lutheran Church in America.

At the final meeting of the Board of World Missions, November 1961, Pastor Ruben Pederson presented a summary statement of the mission in Tanganyika: "Its extra-ordinary growth is indicated by the membership in the Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika of 22,000 members in 26 parishes served by 15 African pastors and five missionary pastors. A constituency of 400,000 persons. This church holds membership in the Federation of Lutheran Churches in Tanganyika organized in 1959 out of seven member churches, a total of 345,000 Lutherans, the largest Protestant communion in Tanganyika. Pastor Carl Johansson served as full time

secretary. Its predecessor was the Lutheran Missionary Council. This Federation is ecumenical, part of the Christian Council of Tanganyika, 700,000 Protestants out of 9 million population. Tanganyika gained full independence December 9, 1961. In the first government formed under Dr. Julius Nyerere six members of the Legislative Council were Lutherans, one from the Lutheran Church of Central Tanganyika."

During Augustana's mission (1961-1963) eleven students came from Central Tanganyika to study in the USA with the support of the Augustana Church. No estimate of the number who have studied under other support who have come from the Augustana mission schools which qualified them for education grants. It took only 33 years, 1927-1960, to bring the indigenous church from small beginnings to an independent church with its own qualified president, Pastor Manase Yona.

In the last year as an Augustana World Mission Board, a pastor and wife were commissioned for Japan (Pastor and Mrs. Dwight R. Johnson), three doctors for Africa (Dr. Kenneth Wilcox, M.D., Dr. Richard Finlayson, M.D., and Dr. J.B. Dibble, M.D.), and four lay persons for Africa (Mrs. Henrietta Lindberg, Miss Mary Nelson, Mr. Bruce Henning, Jr., and Miss Lois Burmeister).

Looking at the roster of Augustana missionaries it is noted that from these families many children and grandchildren have also responded to the missionary vocation. These families include the following: Dr. George N. Anderson, Pastor Ray L. Cunningham, Dr. Elmer R. Danielson, Dr. August W. Edwins, Dr. C.P. Friberg, Pastor Mauritz B. Hanson, Pastor Thure A. Holmer, Pastor Ralph D. Hult, Pastor Carl Johansson, Pastor John W. Lindbeck, Pastor John J. Lindell, Pastor Anton M. Lundeen, Pastor Herbert S. Magney, Mr. A. Herbert Munson, Dr. Russell Nelson, Pastor Dean A. Peterson, Dr. S. Hjalmar Swenson, Pastor C. Vernon Swenson, Pastor David W. Vikner, Dr. David L. Vikner and Pastor Herbert A. Zimmerman.

Dr. David Luther Vikner and his wife Louisa Lindbeck came from such missionary homes. They met in China as children and although they attended different schools in the United States, maintained their ties and were married when their education was complete. David Vikner was born in Honan, China, the son of Pastor and Mrs. David W. Vikner, father

and son both graduates of Augustana College and Theological Seminary. He and Louisa Lindbeck, daughter of Pastor and Mrs. John Lindbeck were married in 1942. Their son, Pastor David Vikner, Jr. is a missionary in the China area. Thus there are three direct generations of Vikners in Lutheran missionary vocations. In the Lindbeck family, two brothers of Louisa became internationally recognized authorities in their fields. John Matthew Henry Lindbeck, Ph.D. (1915-1971), was a Sinologist associated with Harvard, Princeton, Yale and Columbia Universities; The United States Department of State; and East Asia Research Center. George Arthur Lindbeck, Ph.D., is a distinguished professor at Yale University, Lutheran World Federation observer at Vatican II, and a leading voice in Lutheran/Roman Catholic ecumenism. Louisa's sister married Mr. Allan J. Gottneid, a career Augustana Africa missionary in the field of education.

David Vikner's life was the missionary calling. After ordination (1944) he served in China (1944-1949), Japan (1950-1959), became Secretary for the United Lutheran Church work in East Asia (1960-1971) continuing in this same post in the Lutheran Church in America. He was promoted to Associate Director, then Executive Director of the LCA/Division of World Missions and Ecumenism (1973-1982). As a missionary on the field he was instrumental in the development and organization of the Japan mission, of youth work in the China area and later became President of the Augustana Japan mission. As an area administrator, he was joined by Pastor Rudolph Burke in the merger as Africa Secretary; later by Delbert E. Anderson as East Asia Secretary when Vikner became Associate Director (1970); by Dr. Ruben A. Pedersen, Associate Director of the Lutheran World Federation Department of World Missions and Secretary for LCA/DWME Liberia and Tanzania (1961-1977) and Mr. A. Herbert Munson, Director of Finance, LCA/DWME.

At Dr. Vikner's retirement (September 1982) *World Encounter*, the journal of LCA/DWME, listed missionaries and pastoral ministries in these countries: Argentina (5). Belgium (1). Brazil (1). Chile (3). Ecuador (1). England (2). Finland (1). German Federal Republic (6). Ghana (1). Guyana (3). Hong Kong (9). India (16.) Indonesia (3). Japan (29). Kenya (2). Liberia (22). Malaysia (3). Middle East (5). Nepal (3).

Netherlands (3). Peru (5). Philippines (1). Republic of Singapore (7). Surinam (1). Sweden (2). Switzerland (1). Taiwan (4). Tanzania (17). Thailand (2). Uruguay (1). LCA members serving the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation (6), total of 171 personnel serving overseas. Retired couples or widows 85. Students from overseas were 13 in number.

Among Augustana people, ministries overseas were associated only with work among non-Christians in Third World areas. It was assumed that Christians living in Christian countries were responsible for all services and foreign visitors and residents should learn to worship in the language of the country where they were now living. There was now a new understanding of these persons and their needs abroad and it gave rise to the establishment of American or English-speaking churches. The Evangelical Lutheran Church (ELC), predecessor to the American Lutheran Church (ALC) initiated a ministry in Oslo, Norway, the country with which the church constituency had the closest ethnic ties. Augustana Church did not consider this kind of ministry to Sweden necessary during its life time. Priorities needed all the support possible. With the merger a relationship with the Church of Sweden opened and Pastor Lael Harold Westberg was sent to Stockholm to begin this ministry. There were already in Stockholm two other English speaking churches, Episcopal and Non-denominational. Neither attracted a very large following and there was every reason why they should have unified their programs but each was adamant and the choice was between high church Anglicanism or Baptist evangelism. Later, Roman Catholics provided several centers for English services. Pastor Westberg provided a *via media* ministry with a minimum of liturgy, emphasis on preaching, and adult education in the Sunday School. Many efforts were made to combine English speaking ministries in Stockholm but only Westberg and his successor Burke were able to work out a middle way to provide a ministry for the many people in Stockholm in business, embassies and universities who were living there temporarily and were not inclined toward a denominational expression of Christian faith and fellowship.

Worship was held in rented quarters. The pastor's residence was on nearby Lidingö. Three or four adult study groups met



in homes in various parts of Stockholm and suburbs weekly. Sunday morning offered one hour of Sunday School with a well attended adult class led by one of the members and the hour of worship followed by fellowship in a hall next door. Sunday evenings youth met in the pastor's home. The two sacraments were included in the ministry but weddings and funerals were the province of the Swedish State Church.

Pastor Lael Westberg was acquainted with Sweden from his studies in University of Stockholm (1942) followed by years in University Student work (LSAA) in Oregon and Minnesota (1942-1948). He was Executive Director of the Board of Parish Education of the Augustana Church (1948-1962). He came to this ministry well prepared to meet the unusual needs of English speaking people abroad. Many in this congregation came from other English speaking churches abroad. The Swedish Church cooperated with this ministry. Attempts were made to bring about comparable ministries in centers other than Stockholm. In recent years Swedish churches have found ways in which they might offer English services parallel to their own to serve foreigners and the many Swedish people who enjoy using the English language for worship. The American Church worked in close cooperation with the school for English speaking students in Stockholm. Like all American congregations abroad, this one also ministers to personnel who are quickly moved in their residence and the program is therefore centered in the pastor and whoever is in residence at the time. Long range programs are difficult to project and accomplish. The ministry by the same token is vital and essential to provide a spiritual home away from home.

Pastor and Mrs. Lael Westberg served the American Church in Stockholm 1962-1965. Dr. and Mrs. Rudolph C. Burke followed them 1965-1971 and the staffing of this post and the support of the work has been under the LCA Board of World Missions and Ecumenism. As mentioned earlier, Pastor and Mrs. Lowell Albee served the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Geneva, Switzerland 1960-1961. Dr. and Mrs. Clarence T. Nelson left the Augustana Church in Washington D. C. to serve in Saudi Arabia under the Protestant Fellowship 1961-1965. In the ministries of the Lutheran Church of America persons originally from Augustana have served in similar posts in Jerusalem, Israel and Cairo, Egypt.

A full score years has passed since Augustana Church and missions became an integral part of the Lutheran Church in America. During this time great changes have taken place. Many missionaries have been able to return to their former homes in China to visit and have found childhood friends. It has become commonplace to visit some parts of China. The children of China missionaries who studied at Ki Kung Shan have held a reunion (1980) in St. Paul, Minnesota which brought together these former classmates who have in most cases followed in some manner in the footsteps of their parents. A systematic attempt is made in the China research center at Luther/Northwestern Theological Seminary site to record on tape the memories of the China mission to provide oral historical sources for future historians. Most missionary families are bringing together old letters and other materials that have historical value and some have already been placed in the care of the Lutheran Archives at Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago, Illinois where Pastor Joel W. Lundeen (son of Pastor Anton M. Lundeen, missionary in China) has been Archivist (Author PRESERVING YESTERDAY FOR TOMORROW. A Guide to the Archives of the Lutheran Church in America, 1977).

Mrs. Hilda Benson-Powicke wrote a tribute to her father, China missionary John L. Benson for family members and friends (Mimeo 12 pp. May 2, 1973). Mrs. Magda G. Hallquist-Lindbeck (widow of China missionary John Walter Lindbeck, mother of Louise, Mrs. David Vikner, and Alice, Mrs. Alan Gottneid, wrote I REMEMBER (little essays or vignettes written between August 18, 1963 and January 1, 1974, 44 pp.), for family and friends. These afford rich descriptions of scenes of beauty and crisis involving her early life; when the children were small in China, their illnesses (Alice near death, George's four year rest treatment for heart illness); the scenes and threats of war and bandits...in all testimony of God's ever present help. Dr. Clarence T. Nelson wrote an autobiography BENT NAILS (mimeographed 200 pp.) for his family and relationship which recounts their experience in parishes, Saudi Arabia and Geneva.

Mrs. Lillian Danielson for the occasion of their 55th wedding anniversary wrote a 130 page book for her family members entitled RAISING A MISSIONARY FAMILY IN AFRICA. Recognizing the importance as well of their parent's experi-

ence, the Lundeen relationship has xeroxed the out of print booklet by Anton Mander Lundeen, **IN THE GRIP OF BANDITS**, for new generations in the family.

While there is enough extant information in the official records of the Augustana missions and published materials, the personal element has been minimized. Correspondence in the files of the Executive Secretaries of a personal nature remained in the possession of these persons upon leaving office and has usually been destroyed to preserve the confidentiality of the relationship. As the eye witnesses pass from the scene, historians of the future will have to rely on what missionary families themselves have done to remember objectively the lives and contributions of the individual missionaries of the Augustana Church.





## XXVII

### THE BEGINNINGS VIEWED A CENTURY LATER

Immigrant pioneer pastors came with a divine call to win the continent for Christ, not necessarily to minister to Swedish immigrants only. Their first concern expressed in Synodical records 1868-1875 was for the newly freed American Black people. Since they lived where there was no concentration of Blacks it was considered in the same manner as world missions, that is, sending missionaries into an area. This was never done for they recognized that other agencies were in a more advantageous position to initiate and maintain such a mission.

Black students were encouraged to attend Augustana schools and Jesse Routte from a pastor's family in Rock Island, Illinois completed his work at Augustana College (1929) and Theological Seminary (1932). He sought a call for ordination but the Augustana Synod had no work in which he could be used as effectively as in the Black parishes of the United Lutheran Church. He was ordained in their ministerium and had a long and fruitful career. It may be questioned whether there was a place for him in the established Augustana church channels until the last decade of Augustana's independent life.

Augustana's outreach to the minorities and all ethnic groups was part of the "New Approach" of the Synod in the new Home Mission plan. Before this home mission development was the province of each district but with the appointment of Dr. Sigfrid E. Engstrom as Executive Director (1939) of American Missions changes were evident. Congregations were encouraged and aided in remaining in their present locations rather than to move with their people to new areas where there were advantages such as parking space and modern building in a new and lively community. Instead new congregations were developed in these areas in consultation with other Christian churches free to develop their own traditions and providing

opportunities for leadership to a newly formed congregation. Ministering to whomever lived in a community accelerated the Americanization of the Augustana Church. City areas could change very quickly in the coming of different ethnic groups. In inner city areas Blacks moved in to secure work and hopefully a better life. For years it seemed that they were effective in caring for their own religious needs and the Sunday morning worship hour became the most segregated hour of the week. Racial tensions in communities however called all pastors and people of good will to a new understanding.

Augustana Church in Washington, D.C. was a congregation where members did not live nearby and Blacks in great density of population surrounded the parish church. Dr. Clarence T. Nelson was pastor there (1946-1961) and led his people in a One Mile Operation to invite everyone within a mile of the church to visit and become a part of their program of service.

Dr. Philip A. Johnson, pastor at Salem Church in Chicago (1949-1958) met the panic in that neighborhood when middle class Blacks purchased homes. He took the leadership in organizing the residents in blocks where they could discuss their situation openly with one another. Property owners' fears were allayed as they met and welcomed the new Black residents. Tensions ran so high that police protection was provided for the Johnson family. His book written a few years later, **CALL ME NEIGHBOR, CALL ME FRIEND** described the events of those years. The result of this ministry was a renewed Salem congregation of several races working in harmony and respecting and maintaining the historic culture of the congregation. Dr. Johnson went on to ecumenical posts in the National Lutheran Council, Division of Public Relation (1958-1966); World Council of Churches (1966-1969); Council on Religion and International Affairs, New York (1975 f). He serves on numerous boards, commissions and conducts conferences on ecumenical concerns such as human ecology, international policy and relations between Christians and Jews. Dr. Johnson's successor was Pastor James P. Claypool who had just returned from Korea where he was Executive Director of Korea World Service in Seoul (1955-1958) and after serving in Salem (1958-1961) he became a part of the Division of Parish Services in the new Lutheran Church in America. Pastor Norman

A. Nelson (1961-1970) continued the succession in this multi-racial parish.

Other pastors were similarly involved in their communities. Pastors Paul T. Seastrand in Augustana Church, Houston, Texas (1948-1960); Pastor Glen Pierson in Gustavus Adolphus Church in New York City (1955-1962); Pastor Paul Berggren in Zion, Deerfield, Illinois (1954-64); Dr. Charles J. Curtis at Bethel Lutheran Church (South-side) Chicago (1953-1959) and Pastor W. Douglas Larson at Atonement Lutheran Church in Chicago, led their congregations through racial change and, in some instances have remained for a decade or more to serve a congregation almost exclusively Black.

Pastor L. William Youngdahl, son of Governor Luther W. Youngdahl of Minnesota and later Judge in the District of Columbia, came to the Augustana Church in Omaha, Nebraska (1955-66) from the Board of Social ministry of the LCA. He suggested an exchange program with a Black congregation so that they might get to know each other on a personal basis. The congregation was deeply divided over the issue and the Nebraska Synod as well. The confrontation was the subject of a documentary *A TIME FOR BURNING* which was shown nation-wide on television and was available for years for study and discussion groups.

Dr. David T. Nelson began work as pastor of Bethel Lutheran Church (West side) Chicago in 1965 during rioting on the streets. He was joined by his sister Dr. Mary Nelson (who had served a term in Tanzania as missionary). As children of Dr. and Mrs. Clarence T. Nelson they had participated in Operation One Mile in Washington, D.C. The neighborhood on the West side had changed in five years from a white middle class community to one that was solidly poor Black people. Five pastors remaining in the area organized a Christian Action Ministry and started an academy with the name, CAM, to provide grammar and high school education on a tutorial basis for drop outs. Under this program many now qualified to seek work in the market and a few went on to college and later professional schools. Bethel in time developed its own program apart from CAM aiming for re-development of the neighborhood. Small businesses by members were backed, several factories went into operation in buildings rented or which were given to them because they were abandoned.

Similarly houses were bought and rehabilitated under government programs, townhouses were built on land burned over in the demonstration following Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination (1968). Programs are in progress for people of all ages offering education and employment. A home for the aged was opened. Housing and employment for handicapped and senior citizens is planned with marked progress. To beautify the community and provide food, gardens are planted and harvested in vacant areas. The great burden of the cost of this extensive program is carried by the congregation and the individuals themselves for one of their basics is that there is no charity offered to anyone but all must work together to achieve what is needed. The various aspects of the project have been assisted by grants from corporations and government projects available to anyone.

The second concern raised in official agendas and actions of the Augustana Synod was that of the American Indian (1876-1879). Dr. Johannes Telleen surveyed the field for the Synod and Pastor Matthias Wahlstrom was called as missionary. The mission was short lived because of unrest and wars as Indians were moved to reservations and lands opened for settlement. Funds collected were diverted to the Utah mission. There was no society founded to promote this mission and no program to introduce work on any reservation. Few Augustana churches were located where Indians were neighbors. Indians did become members of churches in small numbers in instances where they had severed their relationship with their Indian community and passed as Whites. There was no fanfare about their ancestry. As Indians came to cities to seek work, in changing neighborhoods an old established city church found itself in a large community of Indians, many in need of all kinds of service. The most outstanding city ministry to Indians conducted by an Augustana pastor in an Augustana church was the "Crossroads Ministry" of Minneapolis. Augustana Lutheran Church of Minneapolis was the mother of nearly all Augustana congregations in the area, a hospital and home for the aged. This historic congregation once exclusively Swedish by changing urban population became the center for a population of 8700 Native Americans. The pastor was Dr. William E. Berg, former director of the Department of Evangelism of the Augustana Synod (1951-1962) and Lutheran Church of America



(1962-1965). This work was described in *Swedes and Indians Together* (LUTHERAN, September 5, 1979). This also is not a program of charity but self-help. Besides the support of the congregation, other congregations in the Twin City areas and grants from corporations and government have assisted. (Dr. Berg in his work as Evangelism Director had conducted Christian Ashrams with Dr. E. Stanley Jones and others and came into this parish with a profound knowledge of the church both at home and on other continents.) The tangible results of this Native American work are not found in new congregations "Indian" in nature but membership in the local congregations of many peoples of different cultures.

The illustrations which we have provided of Black and Indian ministries indicate how difficult it is to separate American and World Missions. In the increasing complexities of a pluralistic world and continued immigration to America, world mission has come to the doorstep of many congregations. Here is where mission begins, the local congregation, and it is through the local congregation and its pastoral leadership that mission is most naturally and best conducted. The congregation, Christ's body, is the basic mission station in Christ's mission to this world. Many congregations are hosts to other congregations worshipping in their building in their own language from Asia, the Near East, South and Middle America and perhaps even Africa.

The third mission concern raised in official agendas and missions was India. Its story is told in Chapter II and its results in the Andhra Evangelical Church.

Before concluding our study we need to return to the fourth concern appearing in the official acta 1888-1912. It was the work supporting Persian pastors who came to Augustana College and Theological Seminary for training to serve their own people. The story in its glory and tragedy is told in chapters 3 and 7. As indicated, Johannes Telleen organized the Lutheran Orient Missionary Society in 1910 and Dr. Emmanuel Edman was an Augustana missionary who served after a time in India (1889-94, 1900-1903) in Persia (1910-1915). Telleen also served as Promotion Director (1915-1917). The field was primarily the Kurd population, which as a result of the Revolution in Iran 1978, moved to Kurdistan. Support for this society came from all Lutheran groups but primarily ULCA Northwest

Synod and American Lutheran Church people of Minnesota and the Dakotas.

Personal reports from Assyrian friends from Iran and a former Orient Missionary family, Pastor Paul Bungum, indicate a surprising turn of events since the revolution. Established Christian churches are filled with believers and many Muslim inquirers even though their lives are in jeopardy for the same. This is particularly true in the area of Ooroomia (Urmia) where the Knanishus worked and Teheran, the capital city. These Christian Assyrians in Iran report that throughout the revolution their property and religious rights were respected. I visited with them in Teheran, in 1978 as the revolution was beginning, attending the Protestant church in that city. I met Assyrian Christians who acknowledged their historical indebtedness to Nestorianism. It was a vigorous congregation with a preponderance of young people and young families. Their general background was this: before World War II living in the Ooroomia area their families survived many attacks by Kurds, Turks and Russians and continual Muslim harassment and there were periods of exile in other countries such as Russia but they eventually returned home to the area of Lake Ooroomia as small farmers and business people. After World War II U.S. Military material was sold cheaply and they purchased trucks, built oil tanker bodies and provided transportation before the pipelines were built to central points. The center of their living became Teheran where taking the gains of this transportation work, they invested in small farms and businesses. This particular family followed the first generation who developed such a small farm, went on into commercial poultry production on a fully automated grand commercial basis with all of its related industries. It is remarkable that through the decades of persecution and displacement they have not only managed to survive but have been able to retain their Christian faith with great vigor through the generations. The Christian community in Iran is very closely knit as they share with one another their joys and sorrows.

There may be a note of disappointment as we have reviewed these first mission hopes and investments that there is no special church we can point to as Lutheran in Iran until we remember the original stance of the pioneers that support for the Persian Christians was paramount in strengthening their

work and that no new church should be founded. This was wise and idealistic and productive in the unseen realities. The Word sown in faith is productive in God's time and in His way. To Him be glory always.

Such were the beginnings a century ago. None could have dreamed what would happen after the rise of the students' Missionary Societies at Augustana, Gustavus Adolphus, Bethany, Upsala Colleges and the formation of the China Society. Between World War I and II Augustana Synod missionaries found their way to Asia and Africa, South America and the South Seas, and their names are inscribed in the annals of the missionary societies and churches of the ecumenical world.

## APPENDIX

### MISSION RELATED CHURCHES SERVED BY AUGUSTANA PEOPLE

In a century the Augustana Church grew from modest beginnings to a church of 629,547 baptized members, 1,269 congregations and 1,354 pastors. During the last eight decades in cooperation with first generation Christians Lutheran churches were developed and organized in certain areas of the continents of Asia, Africa and South America. Augustana people also served under other Christian organizations. While the text has dealt with these organizations in context, for the reader's convenience we are appending a list of these Christian organizations including some in which the Augustana contribution was minimal and temporary.\*

**INDIA.** *Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Organized 1927. 300,000 members, 2035 congregations and 225 ordained pastors.

**PUERTO RICO.** *Lutheran Church in America; Caribbean Synod.* Organized 1952. 6000 members in 24 congregations.

**MAINLAND CHINA.** *Lutheran Church of China.* Organized 1920. In 1951 a baptized membership of 100,000, 1250 places of worship, 180 pastors and 1000 lay workers.

**HONG KONG.** *Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hong Kong.* Continuation of Lutheran Church of China. Organized 1954. 10,236 members, 31 congregations and 42 pastors.

**TAIWAN.** Taiwan Lutheran Church. Organized 1949. 6,206 members, 33 congregations and 30 pastors.

**MALAYSIA** (Sabah, formerly British North Borneo). *Basel Christian Church* of Malaysia. 9,519 members, 28 congregations and 14 pastors.

**TANZANIA** (formerly Tanganyika Territory). *Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania.* Organized 1963 in a union of all existing Lutheran churches. 757,789 members, 2170 congregations and 417 ordained pastors.

**MALAYSIA AND SINGAPORE.** *Lutheran Church in Malaysia and Singapore.* Organized 1963. 4,200 members, 30 congregations and 18 pastors.

**URUGUAY.** *Lutheran Church in America, Mission in Uruguay.* Ecumenical Institute in Montevideo (1950). Lutheran Church of the Resurrection, Rivera (1952) is the only indigenous Lutheran congregation in Uruguay. 220 members

**BOLIVIA.** *Bolivian Evangelical Lutheran Church.* Organized 1972. 4000 members, 120 congregations. 55 preachers and 65 lay assistants Largest church in South America composed of South American Indians

*Latin American Lutheran Church,* organized 1969. 69 members, 1 congregation.

**MEXICO** *Mexican Lutheran Church.* Organized 1957. 1500 members, 12 congregations and 12 pastors.

*Christ Redeemer Lutheran Church—Lutheran Missionary Conference of Northwestern Mexico.* Organized 1964. 103 members in one congregaion.

**ECUADOR.** *Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches of Ecuador.* Organized in 1963 and 1974. 445 members.

**NEPAL.** *United Mission to Nepal.* Organized 1954. Thirty cooperating missions from 12 countries. 190 foreign missionaries. 600 Nepali and Indian personnel.

**PAKISTAN.** *Pakistan Lutheran Church.* Organized 1955. Merged with Church of Pakistan 1970.

**KENYA, EAST AFRICA.** *Lutheran Church of Kenya.* Organized 1958. 15,000 members, 95 congregations, 12 pastors and many evangelists.

**MINISTRIES TO ENGLISH SPEAKING NON-NATIONALS** in Jerusalem, Israel; ARAMCO in Saudi Arabia; Stockholm, Sweden; and Geneva, Switzerland. Mission to Arab population Mount of Olives, Jerusalem, Israel, Swedish Mission Society.

\*Most recent information: David B. Barrett, **WORLD CHRISTIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA: A COMPARATIVE SURVEY OF CHURCHES AND RELIGIONS IN THE MODERN WORLD, A.D. 1900-2000.** New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. Best Lutheran source is E. Theodore Bachmann, **LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN THE WORLD** (*Lutheran World*, publication of the Lutheran World Federation, Vol. 24, 1977 Nos. 2 & 3 pp. 113-352).



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# INDEX OF PERSONS      INDEX OF PERSONS

Agren, Sverker 52  
 Ahlberg, P.A. 3  
 Akins, Ethel 92, 95  
 Albee, Lowell 131, 145  
 Allen, John E. 105  
 Anderson, A.P.C. 20, 21, 134  
 Anderson, Bertha 37, 42  
 Anderson, Delbert 143  
 Anderson, Donald VIII  
 Anderson, Dorothy 51  
 Anderson, Eleanor 78, 92, 95  
 Anderson, Esther 88, 89  
 Anderson, George N. 37, 38, 41,  
     42, 45, 46, 51, 109, 142  
 Anderson, Hilda 28  
 Anderson, Louise 46  
 Anderson, Marcus 42  
 Anderson, Paul 46  
 Anderson, Philip VIII  
 Andreason, Adolph 63  
 Andreen, Gustav Albert 57  
 Aquirre, Jaimo Michel 64  
 Aries, Elba 105  
 Aspberg, Rev. 77, 78  
 Augustine, Douglas Jesse 133  
 Azoo, George 12, 14  
  
 Beck, Edyth 43  
 Bendtz, Arne Nils 131  
 Bengtson, Earl VIII  
 Benson, Ellis VIII  
 Benson, John L. 77, 78, 87, 91,  
     95, 105, 146  
 Benson, N.P. 58  
 Benson, Oscar A. 115  
 Benson, Paul Hubert 101,  
     105-106  
 Benson, Stanley 88, 89  
 Benze, C. Theo. 6, 12, 134  
 Berg, William 60, 152  
 Bergendoff, Conrad 57  
 Berggren, Paul 151  
 Bergstrand, Wilton E. 60  
 Bernander, Gustav 51, 52  
 Bersell, P.O. 17, 18, 33, 51, 57,  
     59, 67, 109, 112, 115, 121, 130  
 Bill, Mrs. Arthur 69  
 Birkeli, Fritiof 108, 114  
 Blomgren, Carl August 29  
 Blumer, Leonard 37  
 Bolstad, Ray 138  
 Bonander, Elveda 37, 42, 50  
 Bösch, Annie 52  
 Brandelle, Gustav 11, 30, 31, 35,  
     36, 37, 38, 39, 57, 101  
 Budke, Clarence 88, 89  
 Bungum, Paul 154

Burke, Rudolph 58, 119, 125,  
     129, 131, 143, 145  
 Burmeister, Lois 142  
 Burton, Ernest De Witt 132  
 Busse, H. 116  
 Bystrom, Martin 52, 138  
  
 Carlsen, John 63  
 Carlson, August B. 6, 9, 58  
 Carlson, Emery 78  
 Carlson, Harvey 69  
 Carlson, Lillian 69  
 Carlson, Stella 78  
 Carlsson, Erland 2  
 Carlberg, Gustav 26, 78, 81, 82,  
     84-5, 135  
 Cedar, Efraim 101, 102  
 Chao, T.C. 85  
 Chin, Chung-An 95  
 Christiansen, Dorothy 69  
 Christenson, Agnes 7  
 Claypool, James P. 150  
 Colberg, Arthur J. 26  
 Colberg, Lois 92  
 Conrad, Evald B. 63  
 Cuervos, Gabriella 20  
 Cunningham, Lillian 7  
 Cunningham, Ray 7, 52, 136,  
     142  
 Curtis, Charles J. 151  
  
 Dale, Kenneth 94  
 Danielson, Elmer R. 43, 51, 107,  
     109, 112, 113, 114, 117, 138,  
     142, 146  
 Danielson, Elmer, Mrs. 54  
 Dibble, J.B. 142  
 Dobson, Mary 52  
 Dugan, Kenneth Warren 88, 90  
 Eckhardt, O.D. 7  
 Eckman, F.M. 135  
 Edman, Emanuel 6, 14, 153  
 Edwins, August William 23, 24,  
     26, 58, 78, 135, 142  
 Eisenschmidt, Alexander 37  
 Eklund, Emmet VI  
 Ekstrand, Dorothy 78  
 Eliufee, Solomon 109  
 Engelman, Herta 51  
 En-Lai, Chou 96  
 Engstrom, Sigfrid 60, 131, 149  
 Erb, Charles VIII  
 Erb, Earl S. 120, 121, 125  
 Erickson, Christine 7  
 Erling, Astrid 78, 92  
 Esbjörn, Lars 1, 2, 5  
 Esjörnson, Robert VIII

**INDEX OF PERSONS**

Evald, C.A. 11  
 Evald, Emmy Carlson 12, 15, 16,  
 17, 18, 25

Fan, Hsieh Hong 96  
 Fernandez-Arlt, Augusto 104,  
 105, 106  
 Finlayson, Richard 142  
 Fjellstedt, Peter 1, 2, 3  
 Flatt, Donald 51, 109, 110, 112,  
 121, 126, 138  
 Forsberg, C.O. 27  
 Foss, C.W. 6, 12, 13, 134  
 Fredrickson, Carl Alvin 105  
 Friberg, C.P. 23, 24, 25, 78, 142  
 Friberg, Daniel 115, 136  
 Friberg, Margaret 78  
 Fry, Franklin Clark 85, 114, 121,  
 141  
 Fryhle, Tore 52

Gottneid, Allan 143, 146  
 Graham, Billy 117  
 Granlund, C.O. 63  
 Gronning, C.W. 6  
 Gruen, Olive 96  
 Gulleen, Vivian 51  
 Gunderson, A.E. 32, 63  
 Gustafson, Arthur 64  
 Gustafson, Thorsten 60  
 Gutzlaff, Karl August 80

Hall, George F. 109, 110, 116,  
 126, 138  
 Halvorsen, Marian 137  
 Hammarberg, Melvin A. 119,  
 120, 121, 122, 125  
 Hammer, Herman 105  
 Hankey, B.F. 20  
 Hanson, Anders 28, 89, 133-4,  
 135  
 Hanson, Ella 7  
 Hanson, Hanna 88, 89  
 Hanson, Mauritz B. 89, 133, 142  
 Hasselgren, Clara E. 20  
 Hasselquist, T.N. 2  
 Hedman, Walden 114  
 Henning, Bruce Jr. 144  
 Herman, Stewart 101, 105, 129  
 Heyer, C.F. 5  
 Highland, Augusta 135  
 Hoffman, Oswald 66  
 Holmer, Paul 7  
 Holmer, Thure A. 7, 142  
 Hosbach, Wilhelm 52  
 Hult, Gertrude Jacobson 30, 33  
 Hult, Ingrid 32, 138

**INDEX OF PERSONS**

Hult, John 90  
 Hult, Ralph D. 29, 30, 31, 37,  
 38, 41, 52, 54, 58, 142  
 Hultkrans, J.E. 23

Ihmels, Carl 36  
 Imberg, Josef 52  
 Isaacson, Hans E. 7

Jensen, Robert 115  
 Johansson, Carl J. 68, 142  
 Johnson, Bernt Gottfrid 105  
 Johnson, Chester VIII  
 Johnson, Dwight R. 142  
 Johnson, Emery Dedication VIII  
 Johnson, Floyd E. 88, 89  
 Johnson, Hobart VIII, 42  
 Johnson, O.J. 10, 38, 135  
 Johnson, Philip A. 150  
 Johnson, V. Eugene 42, 54, 138

Kibira, Josiah M. 116  
 Kindschuh, LeRoy VIII  
 Kinnan, Velura 52, 54  
 Kjellin, Edith 51  
 Klein, Walter 69  
 Knanishu, Baba 13  
 Knanishu, Joseph 11, 12, 13, 134,  
 154  
 Knanishu-Moratkhare 11  
 Kron-Pearson, Ada 7

Larson, Lillian 43  
 Larson, Oscar L. 7, 135  
 Larson, W. Douglas 151  
 Lawson, Thyra 25  
 Lema, Anza 117  
 Leonardson, Otto 60  
 Levine-Werner, Hilma E. 7  
 Lilje, Hanns 114  
 Lindbeck, Elinor 51  
 Lindbeck, George A. 143  
 Lindbeck, John M.H. 143  
 Lindbeck, John W. 142, 146  
 Lindbeck, Louisa 142  
 Lindberg, David L. 132  
 Lindberg, Henrietta 142  
 Lindeblad, H.O. 58  
 Lindell, David T. 7, 142  
 Lindell, John W. VIII  
 Lindell, Jonathan 67, 68, 136  
 Lindell, Paul 67, 68, 69  
 Lindorff, Oscar W. 25  
 Livingstone, David 39, 44  
 Lofgren, Verna 7  
 Lokensgaard, Adolph and Emily  
 Dedication IX

**INDEX OF PERSONS**

Lundeen, A. Milton 89  
 Lundeen, Anton M. 27, 58, 89,  
 135, 142, 147  
 Lundeen, Joel 89, 146  
 Lundeen, Lyman 89  
 Lundeen, Malvin 141  
 Lundeen, Obed 89  
 Lundeen, Rueben 87, 89  
 Lunquist, Adeline 88, 89  
 Lund Quist, Carl 101, 107, 109,  
 114, 117  
 Lundstrom, Frida 52  
 Lundstrom, Rakel 52

Magney, Dorothy 46  
 Magney, Herbert S. 37, 41, 42,  
 46, 49, 51, 52, 108, 136, 138,  
 142  
 Maier, Walter A. 65  
 Mao-Tze-Tung 81  
 Marealle, Petro 51  
 Mau, Carl H. Jr. 117  
 Mauritz, T.N. Dedication IX  
 McArthur, Douglas 71  
 Melander, N. Ludwig 37, 38, 41,  
 42, 46, 47, 54  
 Mellander, May 20  
 Miller, Edna 42, 51  
 Minja, Metuselah 42  
 Minja, Noe 42  
 Moody, Dwight L. 9  
 Moshi, Stephano 107, 108, 123  
 Miller, Margaret 69  
 Michelfelder, S.C. 74  
 Mott, John R. 9  
 Munson, A. Herbert 142, 143

Näsmark, Sven 52  
 Nelson, Adair Dedication IX  
 Nelson, Clarence T. 145, 146,  
 150  
 Nelson, Clifford Ansgar 130  
 Nelson, Daniel 79  
 Nelson, David T. 151  
 Nelson, Donald 87, 89  
 Nelson, Dora 69  
 Nelson, Irven Arthur 105  
 Nelson, Mary 142, 151  
 Nelson, Norman A. 151  
 Nelson, Russell 26, 77, 80-4, 98,  
 99, 142  
 Nilsson, Betty 7, 16  
 Nilsson, John 52  
 Nixon, Richard 97  
 Norberg, Einar 43, 54  
 Nordfeldt, Martin 51, 52

**INDEX OF PERSONS**

Norelius, Eric 2  
 Nyerere, Julius 115, 142

Olson, Ann 52  
 Olson, Edw. Albin 7  
 Olson, Esther 46, 54  
 Olson, George L. 91, 92  
 Olson, Howard S. 43, 46, 138  
 Olson, Lillian 78  
 Olson, Martin 51, 138  
 Olson, Olof 52  
 Olson, Stanley 63  
 Olsson, Olaf 3  
 Ostergren, David 74  
 Ostrom, Alfred 20, 21, 134

Palm, Howard VIII  
 Pannkoke, O.H. 36  
 Pederson, Ruben 44, 109, 141,  
 143  
 Peltola, Inkeri 51  
 Person, Enok 52  
 Peterson, Dean A. 116, 142  
 Peterson, Margaret 51  
 Petterson, Ruth 52  
 Pfitzinger, Heinrich 37  
 Pierson, Glen 151  
 Pierson, Richard B. VIII  
 Plym, Walborg 52  
 Powicke, Hilda Benson 146

Randolph, H.G. 63  
 Raymond, Marvin J. IX  
 Reichelt, Karl 80, 135  
 Reusch, Richard 37, 38, 41, 49,  
 50, 52, 109, 113, 115, 139  
 Richards, H.F. 20  
 Rolander, Oscar 109  
 Rollands, Edna 52  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D. 55, 57  
 Route, Jesse 149

Safemaster, Ruth 51, 123  
 Samuelson, Margaret 42  
 Scheu, Berta 52  
 Scherer, James 88, 125, 132  
 Sandegren, J. 98  
 Schiotz, Fredrik 43, 51, 74, 79,  
 83, 98, 108, 113, 114  
 Seastrand, Paul T. 151  
 Shangali, Abdiel 51  
 Sjölund, Greta 52  
 Shek, Chiang Kai 97  
 Skinsness, Caspar 52  
 Smith, N. Langford 52  
 Solomonson, Carl 58

# INDEX OF PERSONS      INDEX OF PERSONS

Stanley, Henry M. 39, 44  
Steimer, John 37  
Strom, A.B. 58  
Sundkler, Bengt 51, 52  
Swanson, Selma 37, 42, 51, 52  
Swanson, S. Hjalmar 51, 54, 57,  
58-61, 73, 87, 91, 104, 109,  
119, 124, 125, 139, 142  
Swanson, Stanley VIII  
Swenson, C. Vernon 58, 142  
Swenson, Hildegaard 7  
Swenson, Victor E. 135  
Swensson, Charlotte 7  
Swensson, C.A. 16  
Swensson, Jonas 2  
Swensson, G. Sigfrid 19, 20

Tack, Minnie 78  
Taylor Hudson 80  
Telleen, John 3, 14, 58, 152, 153  
Thorlaksson, S.O. 91  
Tollefson, Ruth 52  
Torell, John 58, 135  
Trobisch, Walter 32  
Trued, Donald 109  
Twinging, Sir Edw. 139

Uhlin, Herbert 115  
Unangst, Eric 5

Victorson, Frans 60  
Victorson, Harry 60, VIII  
Vikner, David L. 28, 84, 92, 94,  
141, 142, 143, VIII  
Vikner, David W. 142

Wahlberg-Lindorff, Hedwig 7  
Wahlstedt, Annette 20  
Wahlstrom, Eric H. 131  
Wahlstrom, Mathias 3, 152  
Waltenberg, Heinrich 52  
Watanabe, Pastor 91  
Weinhardt, Ernest 32, 63, 65  
Wei-sheng, Ain 85  
Wennerstrom, Nelly G. 24  
Westberg, Lael H. 144, 145  
Westberg, Sigurd VIII  
Wilcox, Kenneth 142  
Witting, Ivar F 7  
Wyman, Fredrick William 29,  
38, 44, 58

Yohannan, Isaac 12, 14  
Yona, Manase 44, 142  
Youngdale, Kermit 46  
Youngdahl, L. William 151  
Youngdahl, Luther W. 151  
Youngdahl, Rueben A. 120  
  
Zeilinger, A.C. 37, 51  
Zimmerman, Herbert 84, 87, 89,  
142







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