

THE CHURCH OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION IN QUEBEC

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the story of the (Lutheran) Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec. Both from within and without, the Church has been influenced in its theology and practice by a unique configuration of factors, making it distinctive from Lutheran churches elsewhere.

In addition to the expected differences from the dominant British Protestant and French Roman Catholic teaching, there was the added Quebec peculiarity of Canadian millennial nationalism. This politico-religious nationalism was at its height just at the time that the confessional Lutheranism being implanted in Quebec was at an acutely amillennialist point.

Theology though, was not the only distinctive feature. The Church as a whole tended to be an immigrant church. This was especially true for the first century, but even when English-Canadian congregations were established later on, they were largely composed of Lutherans originally from outside of Quebec.

As was the case for most nineteenth and twentieth-century immigrants to the province, the Lutheran immigrants tended to be integrated into anglophone society. The anglicization and resultant decimation through the English exodus of the late twentieth century played a major role in the development of what is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Lutheranism in Quebec, that of its francophone missions.

The author concludes that the combination of theology, ethnic diversity and minority status of Lutherans in the province has determined that the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec be a distinctive Church. This distinctiveness sets it apart from other denominations in the province as well as from the Lutheran churches in the rest of Canada, North America, or for that matter, the rest of the world.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF LUTHERAN DENOMINATIONS	v
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE - A COLONIAL GLANCE	4
CHAPTER TWO - THE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES	10
CHAPTER THREE - THE ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITIES	32
CHAPTER FOUR - THE FRANCOPHONE MISSIONS	40
CHAPTER FIVE - THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE CHURCH OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION IN QUEBEC	54
CONCLUSION	82

APPENDICES

Appendix I - STATISTICAL INFORMATION	84
Appendix II - DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF LUTHERAN WORSHIPPING COMMUNITIES IN THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC AT FOUNDING	88
Appendix III - LUTHERAN WORSHIPPING COMMUNITIES IN QUEBEC 1854-1994	90
Appendix IV - THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION	93

BIBLIOGRAPHY	106
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LUTHERAN DENOMINATIONS IN QUEBEC - LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(chronological order according to when work was initiated)

INDEPENDENT (IND)

SYNOD FOR NORWEGIAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (NS) stopped work in Quebec in 1895.

THE UNITED NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (UNLCA) stopped work in Quebec in 1899.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD OF MISSOURI, OHIO, AND OTHER STATES; 1947 - name changed to LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD (LCMS). An administrative restructuring saw LCMS Ontario District congregations in Quebec reorganized with most LCMS congregations in Canada to form the **LUTHERAN CHURCH - CANADA (LCC)** in 1990. LCMS English District and SELC congregations in Quebec (of which there was one each) remained with the LCMS.

NORWEGIAN SEAMEN'S MISSION (NSM) stopped work in Quebec in 1994.

NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND SYNOD (NYNES) congregations in Canada merged with anglophone ELSC congregations to form the ESCC in 1909.

AUGUSTANA SYNOD (AUG) stopped work in Quebec in 1918.

EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF CENTRAL CANADA (ESCC) Seceded from German-language ELSC in 1909 to concentrate on English-language work; rejoined become-bilingual ELSC in 1925.

UNITED DANISH EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN. CHURCH (UELC) part of merger forming ALC in 1960.

FINNISH STATE CHURCH (FINN) stopped work in Quebec in 1932.

SLOVAK EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (SELC) - merged with LCMS in 1972.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD OF CANADA (ELSC) part of merger forming the ULCA in 1918.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH (ALC) An administrative restructuring saw ALC congregations in Canada reorganized in 1968 as **EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH OF CANADA (ELCC).**

UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ULCA) part of merger forming the (LCA-CS) in 1960.

LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA - CANADA SECTION (LCA-CS) -merged with ELCC in 1989 to form the **EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN CANADA (ELCIC)**

WISCONSIN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (WELS)

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will examine various factors which have contributed to the formation of the Church of the Augsburg Confession on Quebec soil. Between 1852 and 1995, there have been at least thirty communities of faith¹ in Quebec which subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. The purpose of my dissertation is to inquire as to what is distinctive about these congregations.

In Canada, the worshipping communities which subscribe to the Augsburg Confession are generally known as Evangelical² Lutheran churches.³ Their unity and mutual recognition are based upon the acknowledgment of the Lutheran Reformation-era confessional writings. These doctrinally definitive statements of faith, particularly the Augsburg Confession (1530) are normative for practice and teaching. Doctrine⁴, not organizational uniformity, determines the Lutheran character of a given community of faith. Thus, as many as seventeen differently-structured church bodies adhering to the Augsburg Confession have been present in Quebec, but all are considered Lutheran by each of the other groups.⁵

¹ For purposes of this dissertation, the terms "congregation, community of faith, worshipping community, and (local) church" are used interchangeably to describe a gathering of believers.

² The use of the term "evangelical" dates from the Reformation era and refers to the normative role of the doctrine of justification (see note 4) in the Lutheran movement over and against the inclusion of tradition as the normative base in Roman Catholicism. This usage of the term is not to be confused with a later usage of the term applied to the evangelical movement within Protestantism as a whole. Broadly speaking, that later development manifested itself within Lutheranism in a movement known as pietism.

³ Elsewhere in the world, various names are given to Christian groups which subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. These names normally include the words "Protestant, Augsburg Confession, Augustana, or Concordia".

⁴ The central doctrine of the Lutheran Reformation is justification (the reconciliation of God and man wrought by forgiveness) by divine grace through faith in the sufficiency of Jesus Christ's vicarious atonement on the cross. Thus God's action towards man, not man's action toward God, is emphasized. This evangelical message is communicated through the proclamation of the biblical word as well as the sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist, and Absolution.

⁵ For the purposes of this dissertation, these various Lutheran church bodies are referred to as "denominations".

The story of these churches has been shaped by the peculiar set of circumstances in which they found themselves in the Quebec context. First, the members were a tiny minority relative to the surrounding church population. This held true for their confession of faith as well for their languages and customs. While they were Protestant and largely Nordic in culture, they were not part of the broad family of Reformed, British Protestantism that all but monopolized the provincial anglophone scene. As part of the Protestant family on a broader scale, the Lutherans were part of the religious minority in a province where francophone Roman Catholics formed the overwhelming majority of the population.

Further amplifying the Quebec Lutheran congregations' alien status was their dependency on American or European affiliations for support in terms of finances, literature, personnel, and theological training. Along with the predominantly U.S. connections came the theological shift towards confessional orthodoxy which was so clearly at odds with the millennial nationalism of Canadian Christianity until the mid-twentieth century. Even when this dependency was lessened for Canada as a whole, the churches in Quebec never developed any provincial-specific infrastructure.

Characteristic of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec is the degree to which the Lutheran communities have been estranged from each other. Either because of language, geographic separation, or denominational affiliation there has been limited group cooperation. To a great extent, each community functioned as an independent outpost of Lutheranism serving a given group of the faithful in the language it could.

When the Lutheran churches did integrate with the host culture, the tendency was towards the anglophone community. This proved to be devastating as the English Exodus from Quebec accelerated in the last decades of the twentieth century and decimated the congregations' rosters.

This demographic movement in turn served as a major impetus for the realization of plans to reach out to the francophone community with the Lutheran message. Resultant was the development of the most distinct characteristic of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec: francophone worshipping communities of former non-Lutherans. Thus the minority of minorities in the anglophone milieu (Lutherans among British Protestants) put itself into a more pronounced double minority situation by branching out into the predominant francophone milieu.

It is the peculiar configuration of these factors that has determined the distinctiveness of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec.

CHAPTER ONE

A COLONIAL GLANCE

ISOLATED REFERENCES

The task of tracing the history of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in early Quebec is not an easy one. Isolated references to Lutherans provide but a sketchy picture with the sources only incidentally recognizing their existence. Mention of Lutherans most often occurs in reference to abjurations during the French regime⁶ or adherence to Anglicanism during the British regime.⁷

The first instance of a Lutheran-Quebec connection is a reference in Jacques Cartier's report on his second voyage to the New World is a reference to the "bad Lutherans" and how they should be kept away from the colonies.⁸ In the same vein, another author claims that "Louis of France first sent priests to Canada to compensate the Church for European losses due to those 'wicked Lutherans'."⁹

Another reported instance is that of the chaplain with the Kirk brother expedition. Thus, for the duration of the Kirk occupation of Quebec (1627-1632) there was a Lutheran clerical presence. In fact the chaplain was the only clerical presence serving the military

⁶ Heinz Lehman, The German-Canadians, 1750-1937, edited by Gerhard Bassler, (St John's, Newfoundland: Jespersion Press, 1986), 45. See also Robert Lionel Séguin, "L'apport germanique dans le peuplement de Vaudreuil et Soulanges," (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, vol. 63, 2, 1957), 42.

⁷ Carl Cronmiller, A History of The Lutheran Church in Canada, (n.p.: The Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 1961), 33.

⁸ René Maran, Jacques Cartier - Voyages de découverte au Canada, (Paris: Éditions anthropos, 1968), 25.

⁹ Cronmiller, 22.

personnel as well as the remaining French colonists. The pastor's probable performance of the baptism of the grand-daughter of Quebec's idyllic habitant, Louis Hébert, attests to the latter fact. The child's later re-baptism by a Roman Catholic priest¹⁰ proves that the first baptism was considered faulty.

The chaplain was enough of a convinced Lutheran that he was imprisoned by the Calvinist Kirk at least in part because of theological conflict, with the expedition's men siding with the chaplain.¹¹ While the pastor's theological convictions may well have been doctrinally if not denominationally Lutheran, his role of military chaplain for British soldiers probably dictated that he follow Anglican rites while with the expedition.

An even more obscure reference to Lutherans is perhaps suggested in the listing of the religious adherence of the inhabitants of New France. Those identified as "Protestant" or "Reformed" or "Huguenot" were probably Calvinists, but the loose application of these terms in the Roman Catholic circles¹² does not preclude the possibility that some of these Protestant residents in Quebec were Lutherans. In any case, nine Protestant inhabitants are listed specifically as Lutherans,¹³ another forty-eight as Germans,¹⁴ and thus likely Lutherans.

¹⁰ Marc-André Bédard, Les protestants en Nouvelle France, (Quebec: La Société Historique de Québec, 1978), 26.

¹¹ Cronmiller, 25.

¹² Clifford Nelson offers an example of this confused nomenclature: Upon his 1564 massacre of Huguenots in Florida, Spanish Roman Catholic Peter Menendez is reported to have explained "I do this not as to Frenchmen but as to Lutherans." In the sixteenth century Spaniards applied the term *Luteranos* to any and all Protestants and not merely to Lutherans. In this case the reference was to Calvinists rather than Lutherans. (The Lutherans in North America, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 3-4.

¹³ Bédard, 62.

¹⁴ Bédard, 46.

The anti-Protestant opinion that Cartier directed against Lutherans persisted even two centuries later. When Swedish scientist Peter Kalm, a devout Lutheran, visited a convent in Quebec in 1749, he was cordially received. Nevertheless, the sisters told him they would pray for his conversion to Roman Catholicism. He responded in a more catholic manner, saying that he would pray that they all be good Christians.¹⁵

Yet another anecdote indicates evidence that Cartier's sort of antagonistic feeling persisted and was by no means one-sided. One historian refers to a New York German-Lutheran congregation's public thanksgiving for the fall of Quebec to the British in 1759. He implies the thanksgiving was at least in part because of the victory of Protestants over Roman Catholics.¹⁶

ASSIMILATION

During the British occupation of Quebec in 1776 a Lutheran chaplain, The Reverend Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, accompanied the Hessian mercenaries. In his journal he speaks of worship services that he conducted. This, then, was the first instance in the province of Lutherans gathering regularly for Lutheran liturgies led by a Lutheran pastor. He makes further mention that the few Lutherans resident in Quebec customarily attended Anglican services.¹⁷

The type of assimilation noted by Melsheimer was again manifest among the Loyalists that settled Quebec's Eastern Townships a decade later. "With no Lutheran pastor to serve them, the

¹⁵ Cronmiller, 30.

¹⁶ Cronmiller, 31.

¹⁷ Cronmiller, 33.

German Lutherans of Mississquoi drifted into membership of the Methodist and Anglican churches."¹⁸ Another instance of this assimilation appears to have taken place in Shefford County in the Eastern Townships. The 1844 government census¹⁹ records the presence of eighty-eight Lutherans in the County. No prior or subsequent statistical report makes any mention of them, nor do any local or denominational histories. They were perhaps absorbed into the local Protestant populace as described above.

In none of the above references is there an instance of any lasting or historically significant Lutheran presence. Not until the mid-nineteenth century did the elements of residency, favorable political climate, gathered faithful and available clergy combine to allow for the formation of the first church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec. Significantly, this did not happen until the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Quebec in 1852.

Until then, the tendency was to assimilate into the French Roman Catholic or Anglican majorities. The pressure to assimilate was not only due to numbers. The state-given exclusive privileges afforded the Roman and Anglican churches included rights to the tithe (which could be collected from all citizens) and land-grants (initially not available to other confessions). The illegitimate status of any baptism or marriage outside the Roman or Anglican Churches also discouraged formation of congregations outside these two communions, since these official acts had to pass through one of the established churches to be legally recognized.

¹⁸ Cronmiller, 82.

¹⁹ Census of Lower Canada, 1844.

Added to the numerical and legal pressure was a North American Lutheran penchant to consider the Anglican church simply as an English-language equivalent of the European Lutheran Church. This transfer from one tradition to the other was largely based on the similarity of the liturgy and theology of the two communions. Anglican absorption of Lutheran individuals or communities because of this mind-set occurred not only in Quebec, but in Nova Scotia²⁰, Ontario,²¹ the American colonies,²² and later, the United States.²³

In more direct fashion, assimilation was brought about by Anglican attempts to include Lutherans as members of the Church of England. These attempts were normal enough in an age where attitudes were still shaped by the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*.²⁴ Sometimes, German-speaking priests offered their services to Lutherans if they were to become Anglicans. One such overture was rejected by the Lutherans of Labelle County in West Quebec.²⁵ Perhaps wishful thinking was the cause of the listing of this same group of Lutherans as members of the Church of England in the 1871 census.²⁶

Finally, the lack of clergy and or money to organize and maintain congregations was a consistent contributing element to the process of assimilation. One historian sums up the situation in one sentence: "Lutheranism existed in Canada during the colonial period only on a small scale, and, lacking adequate support, was assumed by other denominations."²⁷ Nevertheless, increased

²⁰ Cronmiller, 54.

²¹ Cronmiller, 107.

²² Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History, (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1933), 45.

²³ Wentz, 279.

²⁴ This attempt parallels the strategy implemented by Anglican Church authorities to convert Quebec's Roman Catholic population by placing French-speaking priests in the colony, as well as offering to establish Protestant, English-language schools in each Roman Catholic parish.

²⁵ Anne Schnurr, Tracing their footsteps, (Ottawa: Department of State Multiculturalism, 1988), 94.

²⁶ Schnurr, 94.

and more concentrated numbers of Lutherans arriving in Quebec, as well as heightened awareness of theological differences, plus cultural and linguistic factors, thwarted complete assimilation.

Still, group-scale assimilation continued until the end of the nineteenth century during the transition to the establishment of Lutheran congregations. One case in point is that of the immigrants from Lutheran Sweden, 125 strong, who settled in Waterville (Compton Township). Their arrival was at the instigation of Swedish-born Dominion Immigration Agent, Charles O. Swanson. He had settled in Waterville in 1869, was well assimilated into the town's life, bought a furniture factory, became a City councillor and a trustee of the Congregational Church. Presumably, the other Swedes followed the integration pattern. By 1891, while Swedish names persisted, only forty-three Lutherans were listed in the town's census, ten years later, none were listed. There is no trace of Lutheran clergy or worship services among those immigrants.²⁸ However, they may be the contingent of Swedes referred to in a local history as being under the care of the Anglican priest from neighboring Cookshire in the 1880's.²⁹

²⁷ Nelson, 202.

²⁸ L.S. Channel, History of Compton County, (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Co., 1975), 191.

²⁹ Channel, 70.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IMPLANTATION OF THE IMMIGRANT CHURCHES

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: 1852 - 1899

The second half of the nineteenth century saw three nationalities bringing Lutheranism to Quebec soil. They had come for economic, rather than religious reasons. Nevertheless, these Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans retained their Lutheran identity.³⁰ Of the three, only the Germans would succeed in establishing and maintaining church communities with a continuous history into the twentieth century. The Swedes were eventually assimilated into the majority British Protestant population, while most of the Norwegians eventually left the province.

GERMANS

German Protestants began plans to organize a congregation in Montreal in the 1850's. A sizeable German-speaking community had found its way to the city through a variety of independent circumstances, none of which were connected to religion. Nevertheless, in terms of religion the Germans who were in Montreal were rather a homogeneous group, being mostly Lutheran. Already by 1835 the community had founded the German Benevolent Society, which served the German community on a variety of social levels. It was through association with the

³⁰ Lutheranism is the State Church of Norway and Sweden to which more than ninety-five percent of the population belongs. The use of "German" as nationality refers to common linguistic, cultural and historical bonds of the German-speaking people more than a political entity. Lutheranism is and was the territorial church of most parts of German-speaking Europe, including the present-day country of Germany. Large settlements of Germans in the territories of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were also Lutheran.

Society that religious services were occasionally held. When circumstances did allow for the presence of a clergyman, it was a pastor from Lutheran Pittsburgh Synod in the United States who came to serve the faithful.³¹ But the tendency to assimilate with English-speaking Protestant congregations remained the norm.

However, by the 1850's, the German community was sufficiently established to consider its own congregation. The community's own social, numerical and economic stability coincided with the increasing disestablishment of the British Protestant Churches, as well as a Lutheran-gathering missionary impetus on the part of Lutheran synods in the United States. With these elements in place, *Saint John Evangelical Lutheran Church* (hereafter referred to as "Saint John - Montreal") was founded in Montreal in 1853.

The new congregation was independent of any official synodical affiliation. Nevertheless, the denominational influence was great. As mentioned above a member of the clergy of the Pittsburgh Synod served the fledgling community of faith. At a later date those early ties would determine the choice of denominational membership.

By the mid-century, the Pittsburgh Synod had been brought into the fold of the then ever-increasing move among North American Lutherans to confessional orthodoxy.³² In 1861 the Lutheran congregations in Canada affiliated with the Pittsburgh Synod formed the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada (ELSC), commonly called the "Canada Synod". This Synod, along with sister churches constituting the "General Council", established a seminary in Kropp,

³¹

Saint John's Evangelical Lutheran Church Anniversary Booklet, (Montreal, Quebec, 1953), 12.

³²

The significance of the shift to confessional orthodoxy is discussed in chapter five.

Germany to train pastors for the North American Church. The Seminary would eventually supply pastors to many of the confessionally-based German Lutheran denominations. This same seminary was also the source of pastors for Saint John - Montreal. In 1939, largely because of need for financial support, the congregation became a part of the ELSC.

Starting in the 1860's, a government-organized German immigration materialized in West Quebec. Eventually, two groupings of settlements were established: one in Labelle County, the other in Pontiac County. There, even more so than in Montreal, the German immigration was not only overwhelmingly Protestant but virtually all Lutheran. The rural, isolated context of the West Quebec settlements also contributed to the situation that nearly all the German population was a churched population. Thus even in 1971, at least 95 per cent of the ethnically German population of Labelle and Pontiac Counties was Lutheran.³³ The correlation was never so high in Montreal.

In West Quebec, the procedure for denominational affiliation was different from that of Montreal. Instead of a local initiative that sought to establish a congregation, German-speaking Lutheran missionaries sought to gather Lutherans into congregations. This gathering activity became the normal pattern for establishing Lutherans worshipping communities in Quebec.

In Labelle County, an Ottawa-based missionary of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States,³⁴ commonly called "the Missouri Synod" (LCMS), worked with

³³ See charts in Enoch Padolsky and Ian Pringle, A Historical Source book for the Ottawa Valley, (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1981), 311, 375.

³⁴ The name of this synod was changed to the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (LCMS) in 1947. For purposes of this paper the synod is referred to as the LCMS, regardless of the year.

the German communities. Thus *Saint Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran church* in Inlet (hereafter referred to as "Saint Matthew's - Inlet"), and *Saint Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church* in High Falls (hereafter referred to as "Saint Paul's - Poltimore"³⁵) were established in 1876. In Pontiac County, it was an ELSC missionary from Pembroke who ministered to the immigrants and helped organize *Saint John's Evangelical Lutheran Church* in 1876 (hereafter referred to as "Saint John's - Ladysmith").

As mentioned above, the Pittsburgh Synod had undergone a transition towards orthodoxy. By mid-century, the Pittsburgh Synod's leader, William Passavant, had "experienced a conversion to the more strict confessionalism that was fast gaining ground in the United States."³⁶ He steered the entire synod in the same direction. By the time the synod's daughter synod, the ELSC, began working in Quebec, the doctrinal transition was all but a foregone conclusion. As long as the German language was used, the Kropp seminary provided clergy for Saint John's - Ladysmith. When the two World Wars brought about a change to English, the clergy was provided by the ELSC seminary in Waterloo, Ontario (1912) or General Council-linked American seminaries.

Nevertheless, the ELSC was considered only moderately conservative by comparison to the LCMS. If the Pittsburgh Synod had become confessionally orthodox, the LCMS had never been anything but since its formation in 1847. Indeed, many of its founding members had left Saxony because of the government-imposed Prussian Union of 1817 that forced a Reformed-Lutheran church union. All LCMS clergy was trained at one of two seminaries in the United States. This situation did not change until Canadian seminaries were founded in Saint

³⁵ Saint Paul's - High Falls was moved to Poltimore in 1930 because of a dam project.

³⁶ Paul P. Kuenning, *The Rise and Fall of American Lutheran Pietism*, (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1988), 129.

Catharines , Ontario (1976) and Edmonton, Alberta (1980). Even then (as of 1995), over a period of one hundred and twenty five years, only four of the LCMS clergy who have ever worked in Quebec were trained in the Canadian seminaries.

NORWEGIANS

The Norwegians established themselves in four geographically separate areas of Quebec. The first area was on the Gaspé peninsula. In the years 1859 and 1860, thirty Lutheran families came to settle along the region's coast. They constituted the population of a colonization scheme, that went awry because of financial mismanagement and fraud on the part of the Norwegian organizer.³⁷ "Thoroughly discouraged, many left the scene of their hardships the second summer. By boat they travelled to Montreal where they had the glad experience of meeting a Norwegian Lutheran Pastor, the Rev. Abraham Jacobson who directed them to a new place of settlement" (in the United States).³⁸

Meanwhile Quebec City was becoming an important port of entry for Norwegians. Already in 1862 an American-based Norwegian missionary had been sent to the city to work among immigrants, but that effort was stopped in the same year. Work among Norwegians in Quebec City was not again attempted until 1888 by the Seamen's Mission as discussed below.

The third area of settlement was in the three adjacent townships of Compton, Eaton, and Bury in Compton County in the Eastern Townships. Norwegians had begun arriving there in

³⁷ See Theodore Blegen, "An early Norwegian Settlement in Canada", (Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1930), 83-88.

³⁸ Cronmiller, 244.

1863³⁹. Sixteen families arrived in Ditton Township of Compton County on August 25, 1868. One history of Compton County passingly remarks, "Shortly after they got discouraged, and left one by one for the western states."⁴⁰ Still, in the census of 1891, fifteen Lutherans are listed in the town's population, while the same census lists twenty four Lutherans in the town of Bury (also called Robinson).⁴¹

Nevertheless, the Norwegians were numerous enough in the County to establish three Lutheran worshipping communities, albeit not concurrently. The first, *The Evangelical Lutheran Congregation*, was begun in Bury in 1876 and had 60 members in 1883, but was closed in 1884. Another congregation was begun by a different denomination in Bury in Ditton Township in 1895, but closed in 1899 when a pastor was no longer available. The congregation began with forty members at the time of opening and sixty at the time of closing. The same pastor had been serving a preaching station in neighboring Waterville from 1897-1899, although no other records are available concerning that worshipping community.⁴² The pastors who served these congregations travelled to Quebec from Maine and New York.⁴³

These Lutheran groupings as denominational entities were evidently ignored or unknown to the surrounding community. An 1896 listing of worshipping communities (with or without buildings) in Compton County makes no mention of the two Norwegian congregations, even though individual Lutherans are listed as such in the 1891 census quoted by the same author.⁴⁴

³⁹ Channel, 254.

⁴⁰ Channel, 283.

⁴¹ Channel, 244.

⁴² O.M. Norlie, ed., Norsk Lutherske menigheter i Amerika, 1843-1916, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1918, vol 2), no.44.

⁴³ Cronmiller, 244.

⁴⁴ Channel, 284.

This omission is indicative of the unperceived or unacknowledged impact on the dominant culture's existence.

The fourth settlement was in Montreal, where a preaching station was begun in 1878 in hope of starting a congregation. The work was stopped in 1880 since no church had been formed by then. The *Montreal Scandinavian Lutheran Congregation* was organized by Pastor H. A. Preuss in 1884.⁴⁵ After a year it dissolved, but from 1891 until 1895, *Our Savior's Scandinavian Lutheran Congregation* gathered for worship. Yet another attempt to form a church through a preaching station was undertaken in 1896, but that work was also discontinued, in 1898.⁴⁶ No record of these communities' activities has survived.

Three Norwegian Lutheran bodies were at work in Quebec during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first was the (Synod for) The Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, usually referred to as the "Norwegian Synod" (NS). Its doctrinal statement was consciously confessional, especially after its founding convention purged a Grundtvigian formula which could have allowed the baptismal confession (the apostles' creed) to be placed above Scripture as the criterion of Christian teaching.⁴⁷ The NS had also been established in contradistinction to Haugean pietism.⁴⁸

At the time of the Synod's work in Quebec (1862 - 1895), the NS's theological students were trained at Luther College (until 1875) and later at Luther Seminary as of 1876, both in

⁴⁵ Cronmiller, 244.

⁴⁶ Norlie, no.44.

⁴⁷ Nelson, 189-190.

⁴⁸ H.E. Jacobs and J.A. Haas, eds., The Lutheran Encyclopedia, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 347.

Wisconsin. The names of the institutions are indicative of the Synod's theological tendencies. The Lutheran Cyclopedia of 1899 describes the NS as "the bulwark of conservatism among the Norwegians in America ...defending the inherited doctrines and practices of the Lutheran Church with great vigor."⁴⁹ The NS was responsible for the preaching stations in Quebec City in 1862, and in Montreal from 1878-1880, and again from 1884-1885, and finally from 1891-1895.

The second body, which worked in Quebec from 1895 until 1898, was the The United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America (UNLCA), commonly referred to as the "United Church". The UNLCA was responsible for preaching stations in Waterville (Compton County) from 1897-1899 and Montreal from 1896-1898, as well as for a congregation in Bury (Compton County) from 1895-1899.⁵⁰

The UNLCA was the result of the merger of several Norwegian groups in the United States. Two tendencies that had roots in the eighteenth century Church of Norway were represented in the merger. Both were restorative reactions to the rationalism that had infiltrated the established ecclesiastical institution.

The first was a lay movement sparked by Nilsen Hauge that sought to awaken the masses from the spiritual lethargy which rationalism had brought forth. Haugeanism was highly revivalistic and subjective in nature. The second tendency was a clergy-led, scholarly movement which desired to restore the Church's adherence to confessional doctrine while subjecting hermeneutics to the standard of divine revelation rather than mere human reason. The latter

⁴⁹ The Lutheran Cyclopedia, 345.

⁵⁰ Norlie, no.44.

movement was more academic and objective in nature. The tone of the the merger document was conciliatory and inclusive:

We sought much rather to work to the end that the number of existing Norwegian Lutheran bodies might rather be reduced so that those who sincerely hold fast the heritage of our Norwegian Lutheran Mother Church may eventually constitute one Norwegian Lutheran Church in America.⁵¹

Those Norwegians who insisted on a lay pietistic approach did not join the merger but rather remained in the Haugean Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Synod.⁵²

Thus the confessionally unorthodox movements of Grundtvigianism, Haugeanism, rationalism, and revivalism were excluded from Norwegian denominational work in Quebec. Both the NS and the UNLCA which worked in Quebec were soundly confessional, and devoid of theological tendencies that deviated from the conservative norm that had been taking hold in North American Lutheranism since the mid-nineteenth century.

Chronologically, the Norwegian Seamen's Mission Society (NSMS) was the last Norwegian group to begin work in the province. The NSMS opened a center in Quebec City for Norwegian and other Scandinavian sailors calling at port. As elsewhere in the world where such centers were supported, the mission society provided a haven for sailors to congregate, socialize with fellow countrymen, receive mail, as well as have access to a pastoral presence and worship services in the mission's chapel. Typically, the mission also became the hub of the local, resident Scandinavian community, especially when that community was relatively small and had established

⁵¹ The Lutheran Encyclopedia, 345.

⁵² The Lutheran Encyclopedia, 345.

few other institutions. In this way, the mission was also the parish for the local Norwegians in addition to other Scandinavians, since no other Scandinavian church existed in the city. The mission was in operation from 1888 until 1899 when it closed because of the shift of Norwegian shipping activity from Quebec City to Montreal. However, not until 1939 did the NSMS establish another mission in Montreal.

By the turn of the century the pattern was set, confessional orthodoxy had held sway in North American Lutheranism. If other unorthodox theological tendencies did survive elsewhere, there were not present in the structures of the denominations at work in Quebec. Scandinavian-related pietistic denominations that were established in the United States and Western Canada in the late nineteenth century, for example, did not come to work in the province.

The question was no longer whether or not to be orthodox, but how orthodox. Lutheran groups that came into Quebec after the turn of the century came into a pre-determined system and affiliated with already-established structures. The theological pioneering was done. By the turn of the century all of the Lutheran denominations at work in the province shared doctrinal positions that had been shaped by the North American shift to a conservative interpretation of the Augsburg Confession.⁵³

⁵³ Not only had the Augsburg Confession been increasingly accepted, but the denominational constitutions specified that the Unaltered Augsburg Confession be adopted, thus disallowing a version of the Confession that was more conciliatory to non-Lutheran doctrines.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: 1918 - 1982

SWEDES

One source passingly mentions a preaching station being started among Swedes in Montreal in 1918.⁵⁴ That work by the Augustana Synod apparently was stopped in the same year and no other record of that worshipping community exists. One explanation of the brevity of the work was the Augustana Synod's merger with other denominations, including the ELSA in 1918 to form the United Lutheran Church in America (ULCA). Since the ELSA was at work in Montreal in English but nevertheless serving Scandinavians,⁵⁵ a duplication of effort by the amalgamated denomination may have been deemed impractical.

FINNS

The only group immigration of Finns to Quebec was to the Saguenay area at the turn of the century. Those immigrants were part of a colonization scheme to provide workers for the paper industry. The scheme never materialized but about 100 Finns had arrived in 1902 before it was clear that the development plans would not be realized. One condition of their arrival in the area was that they not congregate as Lutherans.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Cronmiller, 247.

⁵⁵ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer 75th Anniversary Booklet, (Westmount, Quebec, 1980), 4.

⁵⁶ A discussion of this Finnish colonization scheme is offered in Gérard Bouchard, "Les Saguenayens et les immigrants au début du 20 siècle: légitime défense ou xénophobie?" (Canadian Ethnic Studies, XXI, 3, 1989), 20-26. (see chapter five)

After the first World War, Finns came to Montreal in increasing numbers. Most came to Montreal for better economic conditions and were not part of any planned colonization. Rather they came as individuals or families. The single women often worked as nannies or maids.

Finnish Lutheranism included at least three major theological orientations: the Laestadian movement; the conservative, but inclusive State Church of Finland; and the Evangelical movement. *Saint Michael's Finnish Lutheran Church* of Montreal (hereafter referred to as "Saint Michael's" - Montreal) had been organized in 1927 by the Seamen's missionary of the Finnish State church. Both the State church in general, and the Seamen's missions in particular sought to embrace all Finnish Lutheran parties and movements. Because of this inclusiveness, the Pietistic Laestadians and Revivalistic Evangelicals normally shunned association with the State Church.

In any case, Montreal's Finnish population was too eclectic and transient to permit anything but a relatively broadly defined Lutheranism. However, the State Church connection was severed when St Michael's - Montreal became part of the UELSC in 1932. This transfer was subsequent to an agreement that Lutheran Finnish work in Quebec would be carried out by the UELSC for practical reasons. Thus the congregation became part of the confessionally shaped Canadian church. In the United States, the Finnish population was strong enough to maintain a separate synod which maintained ties with the State Church as well as with the umbrella organization of the ULCA, to which the UELSC also belonged.

DANES

Danish immigrants began arriving in Montreal in ever-increasing numbers during the second decade of the twentieth century. When in 1922 U.S. immigration laws tightened, the flow into Montreal was even further heightened. Already in 1911, The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church (UEDLC) had sent a lay preacher, Thomas A Sweet, to lead services on Sundays and church holidays. Pastors from the UEDLC in the U.S. came to Montreal several times a year to administer the sacraments of Baptism and Communion. Still, no congregation was organized. Within a year after the departure of Mr. Sweet in 1917, the work stopped with only five members remaining out of the fifty-seven who had been admitted into the community.³⁷

The wave of immigration continued and the UEDLC again sent a pastor to Montreal in 1924. This second attempt to organize Danish Lutherans resulted in the founding of *St. Ansgar's Evangelical Lutheran Church* (hereafter referred to as "Saint Ansgar's" - Montreal) in 1927.

The UEDLC had been established in 1896 in the United States to retain Lutheran conservatism and oppose Grundtvigianism. Lutheran conservatism emphasized repentance, conversion and a personal experience of faith. Its theology had its roots in the Church Society for Inner Mission, a group of Pietistic laymen that sought to effect spiritual renewal within the framework of the Church of Denmark. Because Grundtvig had so opposed Lutheran orthodoxy, the UEDLC had to defend it to counteract the teachings of Grundtvig, thus giving a confessional tone which moderated the Pietism.

³⁷

Saint Ansgar's Evangelical Lutheran Church 1927-1987, (Montreal, Quebec, 1987), 1.

The tendency toward confessionalism was consummated in 1960 when the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (the word "Danish" had been dropped in 1946)⁵⁸ merged with two other church bodies (the American Lutheran Church and the Evangelical Lutheran Church) to establish the American Lutheran Church (ALC). This denomination was formed on the basis of doctrinal agreement as well as opposition to the Neo-Lutheranism of The United Lutheran Church in America.⁵⁹

HUNGARIANS

Although parish records from 1932 to 1951 for the *First Evangelical Hungarian Lutheran Church* are contained in the archives of Saint John - Montreal, there is no other record of this congregation.⁶⁰ This congregation is presumably among those referred to in one source: "Many attempts were made in the decade (1930's) to establish independent Lutheran congregations...some of these brought only partial or temporary success."⁶¹

SLOVAKS

After World War I many Slovaks immigrated to Canada, especially to the large urban areas where opportunities for work seemed greatest. The immigrants were poor and often unemployed. In Quebec, Montreal became the gathering place for most of these newcomers.

⁵⁸ Nelson, 271.

⁵⁹ Nelson, 502.

⁶⁰ See St John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Montreal, Quebec - Church Records, 1853 - 1975, (Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division).

⁶¹ N.F. Dreiziger, Struggle and Hope, the Hungarian-Canadian Experience in Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982), 153.

By 1927 the Mission Board of the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church (SELC) was made aware of the presence of Lutheran Slovaks in Montreal. The SELC sent various missionaries to conduct worship services for them on an irregular basis, since the local community could not support a full-time pastor. One of the visiting clergymen, Pastor Horarik, gathered people by listening for Slovak speakers on the streets of a downtown neighborhood where many Slovaks lived. Through one of these street encounters in 1927 he was led to a corner store that served as a meeting place for many of the Lutheran Slovaks. When the pastor heard more about the pressing need for these people's spiritual care, he returned to the SELC mission board with their story and was consequently approved for full time ministry in Montreal.⁶² By 1929, the *Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of the Ascension* (hereafter referred to as "Ascension" - Montreal) was founded. In 1953 the congregation built a church and parsonage in the Park Extension neighborhood of Montreal.

As had been the case for the Danes in Montreal and the Germans of West Quebec, the Slovak Lutherans were sought out by missionaries of a Lutheran denomination that functioned in their language. And, as was the case for all but the ELSC, the sending agencies were American based. The SELC was actually one of two Slovak Lutheran Synods that had been formed in the U.S. But the other, the Zion Slovak Synod, did not initiate work in Quebec. Theologically the SELC was the most confessionally orthodox of the two. It was closely associated with the LCMS, trained all of its clergy in the U.S.-LCMS seminaries and joined the Inter-Synodical Conference in 1908. In 1972 the SELC became a district of the LCMS. Once again, the foundation of Lutheran confessionality was reinforced in Quebec.

⁶²

Ascension Evangelical Lutheran Church 1929-1979, (Montreal, Quebec, 1979), 46.

BALTIC LUTHERANS: ESTONIANS, LATVIANS, LITHUANIANS

In 1945, The Soviet Union suddenly invaded the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. In the first two countries the established religion was The Evangelical Lutheran Church. In the third, the Roman Catholic Church claimed ninety per cent of the population but ten per cent of the population was Lutheran.

The swift communist takeover sparked a massive emigration. Part of the Soviet occupation was the targeting of the Lutheran Church as an enemy of communism. In Estonia, for instance, one-half of the clergy fled or was deported.⁶³ Accordingly, unlike other emigrations from Lutheran lands to Canada, many theological students and pastors were included. This immigration was different from the others in other aspects as well. The people expected to return to their homeland after the expulsion of the Soviets. Both the Latvians and the Estonians established Churches-in-Exile to coordinate the Baltic congregations newly flung world-wide. In addition, there was a quickly created ethnic community, bound by similar circumstantial experience.

The Church took on a more immediate and important role in the lives of the Baltic immigrants than it had in Europe. There were at least three obvious reasons for this development. One reason was that the Lutheran Church had been responsible for the sponsorship and settlement of many, if not most of the Baltic refugees in Canada. Secondly, the church by definition as well as by sometimes direct opposition was seen as an organized moral and spiritual defense against the communist regime. Thirdly, the Baltic congregations in Canada arrived as units, complete

⁶³ Kenn Ward, "The Baltic Deportation", (Canada Lutheran, 2, May, 1987), 12.

with clergy, members and a common religious heritage as well as established Lutheran church buildings of other Canadian Lutheran congregations to provide centers of activity. In Quebec, the Balts settled not only in Montreal but also in Rouyn-Noranda where rapidly developing mines required great numbers of workers.

Like the Slovaks, the Balts came from an area where there was but one Lutheran ecclesiastical organization. Although not untouched by various movements, the extremes of rationalism and pietism had not splintered the church into various institutions as had been the case in Germany and Scandinavia. Also like the Lutheran Slovaks, the faithful and the clergy continued quite naturally with the mindset of a single, united church. The practical result of this mentality was that the Latvians, Estonians, and Lithuanians did not seek out affiliation with one or another North American Lutheran denomination because of its degree of adherence to orthodoxy. Rather the association was one of circumstance that depended on who had contact, for whatever reason, with whom. Often the Baltic refugees would congregate around a fellow-refugee pastor they had known in Europe and thus affiliated with the denomination with which he had happened to affiliate. Or, if a pastor were considered particularly political, refugees would sometimes flock around him as part of their statement against communism.

It was within this context that both the ELSC and the LCMS worked with the sudden influx of Latvians and Estonians into Quebec. The LCMS supported an itinerant Estonian pastor who served worshipping communities in Ottawa, North Bay, Thunder Bay as well as Montreal. The ELSC began receiving Estonian and Latvian refugees in Montreal and the facilities of Redeemer - Westmount were made available for worship services. However, both the host

congregation and the new group became too large and the Latvians purchased a church in the Montreal neighborhood of Notre-Dame de Grâce, naming it *Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church*.

As the Rouyn-Noranda mines decreased production the Lutheran population moved away, and the Latvian worship services were discontinued by 1959. The English work in the same area also came to a halt in 1950 for the same reasons. In Montreal initial refugee settlement work by both the ELSC and the LCMS led to the formation of two Estonian and two Latvian congregations (one of each language group belonging to each denomination). There, the eventual English exodus in addition to second and third generation assimilation into the anglophone community resulted in the reduction of the membership of the Latvian and Estonian congregations. Partly because of the indifference to denominational affiliation, partly because of the loss of political fervor and partly because of the existence of an ELSC Latvian church building, the LCMS (which had no building) work was stopped, leaving the ELSC (ELCIC) with the spiritual care of the Balts. Both communities make use of the same church building.

Largely because of a lack of clergy, Lutheran Lithuanians in Quebec never organized a separate congregation. Consequently, they became members of existing Lutheran churches in the Montreal area. Nevertheless, a pastor from a Lithuanian church in Toronto or Chicago periodically leads Lithuanian services at Saint John - Montreal.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ P. Gaida, Lithuanians in Canada, Canada Ethnica, (vol. V, Toronto: Time Press, 1967), 72,73.

GERMANS

The West Quebec German settlement in Pontiac County had grown since the initial immigration in the late nineteenth century. The worshipping community of Saint John's maintained a German-language school and a church building. However, when fire destroyed the church in Ladysmith in 1912, provisions were made to rebuild on the site of the destroyed church as well as to construct another church building in neighboring Schwartz where many Lutherans had also settled. The newly formed (1914) congregation chose the name of *Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church* (hereafter referred to as "Zion - Schwartz"). From that time on the community was a two-point parish consisting of two churches cared for by one pastor.

Work in German had generally decreased in the period between the two World Wars. The anti-German sentiment and the economic stress of the depression took a heavy toll on Saint John - Montreal. The pressure was so great that the congregation nearly closed, but was rescued by financial, spiritual and moral support from the ECLS. The church became a member congregation of that denomination in 1939.⁶⁵ Coincidentally, that move firmly established the formerly independent community within the structure of the confessionally conservative Canadian Lutheran church.

In 1927 the LCMS sent a missionary to set about gathering Lutherans in Montreal.⁶⁶ This was done by contacting some LCMS families who had moved to Montreal from Ottawa as well as ministering to some families who had become disgruntled with Saint John - Montreal.⁶⁷ The new

⁶⁵ Saint John's Evangelical Lutheran Church Anniversary Booklet, (Montreal, Quebec, 1953), 27,28.

⁶⁶ Ontario District Bulletin, (May 15, 1931), 2.

⁶⁷ Ontario District News Bulletin, (March 15, 1931), 2.

congregation grew to number 128 members in 1938, but the depression brought about lingering financial difficulties. Due to the War and the accompanying anti-German feeling⁶⁸, Germans withdrew from the mission and other members were transferred to large cities in Ontario because of work. By 1943 the remaining members became part of SELC's Ascension congregation which was in fellowship with the LCMS.⁶⁹ In West Quebec the War affected the Lutherans differently. The four German congregations reacted to the anti-German feelings by dropping German-language services and adopted the use of English for church affairs.

However, with the influx of New Canadians after 1946, the numbers of German-speaking Lutherans arriving in Montreal was eventually too great to be absorbed by Saint John - Montreal.⁷⁰ To care for the German immigrants not only from Germany but also from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, *Saint Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church* (hereafter referred to as Saint Paul's - Saint Laurent) was founded in the Montreal suburb of Saint Laurent in 1957.

CHINESE

The last of the immigrant churches to be implanted in Quebec was *The Chinese Lutheran Church in Montreal*⁷¹ (hereafter referred to as Chinese Lutheran - Saint Laurent). The community was organized in 1982 and shared facilities with Saint Paul's - Saint Laurent. The

⁶⁸ The era's anti-German sentiment was so intense that the Slovak community stopped meeting at Saint John - Montreal.

⁶⁹ *Grace and Blessing* (Kitchener, Ontario: LCMS Ontario District), 101.

⁷⁰ Cronmiller, 208.

⁷¹ Roy Grosz, *The Wheels of Change*, (Kitchener, Ontario: Eastern Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, 1989), 183.

community differed from the other ethnic churches in that its members did not come from a European, Reformation-era Church. Instead, the members of the church had come from a mission church established by North American and European missionaries in the early twentieth century.

In spite of the difference in historical origin, the congregation has repeated the pattern of the other immigrant churches. The church serves as a focal point for the Chinese Lutheran community and is more connected with other Chinese Lutheran congregations elsewhere in Canada than with other Lutherans in the province and the surrounding Quebec society. Part of the pattern for the church is to seek ultimate integration into anglophone society, as evidenced by having simultaneous translations from Mandarin into English.⁷²

Theologically, the Chinese congregation represents the pietism of the mid-nineteenth century that spawned the churches global mission activity.⁷³ Like the Baltic churches, the Chinese Lutheran community had not been under the direct North American influence of confessional orthodoxy. Nonetheless, the Chinese Lutherans followed the example of the Baltic communities by affiliating with the ELCIC and coming under its direct influence.

One example of this influence is the proposed liturgy for the Canadian Chinese congregations. The ELCIC's Chinese Ministry Conference wants "to create a format for a common bilingual English-Chinese liturgy - a form of worship that could be used as a transition to the worship forms of the Lutheran Book of Worship (LBW)."⁷⁴ The direction toward theological integration is clear. The LBW contains the services officially recognized by the ELCIC and is by

⁷² Grosz, 83.

⁷³ Ferdy Beglo, "Chinese Ministry in Canada", (Canada Lutheran, 2, February, 1987), 14.

⁷⁴ Beglo, 14.

design reflective of liturgical reforms resisting Pietistic influences and embracing more catholic, confessional practices. Further integration into general Canadian Lutheranism is taking place through the training of the Chinese pastors at the ELCIC seminaries.

CHAPTER THREE - THE ANGLOPHONE COMMUNITIES

The Western part of the Island of Montreal is home to the largest concentration of anglophones in the province of Quebec. Accordingly, it has been the site of all but two of the Lutheran congregations in Quebec (Our Redeemer - Buckingham, Good Shepherd - Saint Lambert) founded to work in the English language.⁷⁵

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer - Montreal/ Westmount

Lutheran work in English began in Montreal in the early years of the first decade of the nineteenth century. The Lutheran population had expanded as Montreal had grown. Lutherans from Scandinavia were joined by Lutherans from other Canadian provinces and the United States. "Two things many of the members of these otherwise heterogeneous groups held in common: one was their Lutheran beliefs and traditions; the other, a recognition and acceptance of the fact that English must be their lingua franca."⁷⁶ These Lutherans did not feel they could be adequately served by Saint John's, "the German Church". The result of the desire on the part of this group of laity was the organization of *The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer* (hereafter referred to as "Redeemer - Westmount) in 1905.

⁷⁵ The exceptional case of Our Shepherd - Poltimore is discussed on page 36.

⁷⁶ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer 75th Anniversary booklet, (Westmount, Quebec), 1980, 2.

This development began a new pattern of gathering Lutherans in Quebec; one not according to the language of a Lutheran land, but rather solely according to a shared religious confession. This heightened the doctrinal and liturgical differences of the Church of the Augsburg Confession over and against the same in the British Protestant churches of Quebec. With the stripping away of ethnocentric nationalistic and linguistic elements, the principle purpose of a Lutheran congregation in Quebec became religious. If there had been no differences among the various denominations, there would have been no reason to bother to set up Lutheran communities, given the abundance of other non-Lutheran anglophone churches.

The move to English language work was but part of a wider movement in Canada as well as the United States. In 1902, four anglophone congregations in Ontario had withdrawn from the German-language ELSC to help establish the anglophone Synod of New York and New England. That Synod then was the first affiliation of Redeemer congregation.⁷⁷ In 1909, however, those anglophone congregations formed a new anglophone, Canadian-based organization, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Central Canada (ESCC). By 1925 the ESCC and the ELSC reunited since English had become the main language used in both synods.⁷⁸

Our Savior Evangelical Lutheran Church - Lachine

For several years Lutherans had been moving from the city to the West Island suburbs. The Board of American Missions of the ULCS sent the Rev. F.W. Zinck to Lachine in February, 1955. *Our Savior Evangelical Lutheran Church* (hereafter referred to as "Our Savior" - Lachine)

⁷⁷ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, 75th anniversary booklet, 12.
⁷⁸ Cronmiller, 201.

was subsequently organized in 1956. In 1959, a church was built.⁷⁹ By 1973, due to "population shifts", the congregation was disbanded. Most of the remaining members transferred to Redeemer - Westmount.⁸⁰

Christ Memorial Evangelical Lutheran Church - Montreal

The western-most neighborhood of Montreal proper, Notre-Dame de Grâce, was an anglophone enclave that included many Northern Europeans from Lutheran countries. As those immigrants switched to English, they were joined by an increasing number of Lutheran Americans and English-Canadians who had moved to Montreal because of employment. Many of those North American Lutherans had been members of LCMS congregations and approached that denomination about the possibility of establishing a congregation. The English District of the LCMS, in keeping with its thrust of establishing new congregations in new, growing neighborhoods⁸¹, responded. The district's mission board described the possibilities of working in English in Montreal as "tremendous".⁸²

In 1958 Emil Velebir, the pastor at Ascension (LCMS -SELC) began holding services. Later that year, Pastor H. Bartsch arrived to begin full-time work at the newly established mission which had been given the name *Christ Memorial Evangelical Lutheran Church* (hereafter called "Christ Memorial" - Montreal). A Sunday School begun in Ville LaSalle had an enrollment

⁷⁹ Cronmiller, 190.

⁸⁰ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Our Redeemer, 75th anniversary booklet, 72.

⁸¹ Threinen, 123.

⁸² Threinen, 131.

of one hundred participants within the first year. Membership crested at 186 in 1975 before falling to thirty in 1982 when the congregation disbanded, transferring its remaining members to the other anglophone congregations in the greater metropolitan area.⁸³

Good Shepherd Evangelical Lutheran Church - Saint Lambert

In 1960 Saint Ansgar's decided to move from its downtown site to Notre Dame-de-Grâce. That neighborhood was chosen for the same above-mentioned reasons that Christ Memorial had built there. The two churches were actually located on the same street. With the move came the decision that the frequency of Danish services be reduced to Christmas Eve and Maundy Thursday celebrations. English was thereafter used for all other services. A parish worker was employed to survey the new area for "possible unchurched Lutherans."⁸⁴

That reduction in the use of Danish as well as the relocation prompted the beginning of a new worshipping community. Five families from the Saint Ansgar's congregation felt the need for an anglophone Lutheran mission on the South Shore, and consequently founded *Good Shepherd Evangelical Lutheran Church* (hereafter called "Good Shepherd" - Saint Lambert) in Saint Lambert. In 1961, seminary graduate Robert Zimmerman arrived to lay the groundwork, and a church was built later the same year. The new mission was supported by the American Lutheran Church (ALC) to which Saint Ansgar's also belonged (The ALC had come into existence as a result of a merger of three denominations including the former UELC).⁸⁵

⁸³ Threinen, 131.

⁸⁴ Saint Ansgar's, 15.

⁸⁵ Saint Ansgar's, 14.

Christ Lutheran Church - Dollard-des-Ormeaux

In June, 1964, the LCA-CS sent mission developer Bert Zemke to the West Island. By May, 1965, *Christ Lutheran Church* (hereafter referred to as "Christ" - Dollard-des-Ormeaux) was organized in Dollard-des-Ormeaux with 164 chartered members.⁸⁶ One decade later the congregation had grown to number 600 members⁸⁷ so that the original building was expanded in 1975.

The ecstasy was not everlasting. "By 1976 a new Quebec government with nationalistic intentions was elected. Consequently, much of the anglophone population moved out of the province. Pastor Peter Vanker arrived in February, 1977 to take up the challenge presented by a dramatic loss in membership."⁸⁸

Our Shepherd Evangelical Lutheran Church - Poltimore

Our Shepherd Evangelical Lutheran Church (hereafter referred to as "Our Shepherd - Politmore) is the only congregation in Quebec to be founded because of doctrinal controversy. The members of this community had been part of Saint Paul's - Poltimore (LCMS). Even though the local church remained confessionally conservative, the LCMS, at the denominational level, went through a doctrinal debate involving "liberal" and "conservative" factions.⁸⁹ Out of fear of the possibility of a liberal takeover of the LCMS, the pastor of *The Evangelical Lutheran Church*

⁸⁶ Grosz, 177.

⁸⁷ Christ Lutheran Church 25th Anniversary booklet, (Dollard-des-Ormeaux), 1990, 2.

⁸⁸ Grosz, p. 177.

⁸⁹ A summary of this doctrinal conflict is offered in Nelson, 559-564.

of Saint Paul in Ottawa lead that congregation out of the LCMS into the ultra-conservative Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS).⁹⁰ He also convinced some of the members of Saint Paul's - Poltimore to join the WELS. As a result, twenty-nine members were released from Saint Paul's in 1970.⁹¹ They then established Our Shepherd - Poltimore in the same year. Although small and isolated, this addition of the WELS presence to the Quebec scene further reinforced the overall conservative nature of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in the province.

Living Way Lutheran Church - Kirkland

More than two decades would pass before another anglophone Lutheran congregation would be established in Quebec. The climate surrounding its founding was much different from that of the other anglophone communities. Gone was the assumption of ever-growing membership, gone were the waves of Lutheran immigrants, gone was a generous denominational mission budget, indeed, gone were many of the anglophones. Nevertheless, the attraction of the West Island for anglophones has held true until the end of this century. Even though the anglophone population in general has been greatly diminished, there has been a ghettoizing trend in the West Island so that the anglophone population of towns like Kirkland have actually increased in the last decade.

⁹⁰ The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Saint Paul Anniversary Booklet, 1974-1974, (Ottawa, Ontario), 11.
⁹¹ Saint Paul's Evangelic Lutheran Church, 1979-1979, (Poltimore, Quebec), 9.

While the above-mentioned factors influencing the establishment of new congregations were different for this mission, other factors remained the same. Just as had been the case for the Danish-based Saint Ansgar's, the Slovak-based Ascension congregation was witness to a decline of its membership. Many factors were involved. One was the flight to the suburbs as the once city-centered Slovak community became more affluent. Another was the virtual halt of the Slovak-speaking immigration to the province. Another was the increasing francophone population in Park- Extension. Still another was the close association of Ascension with Slovak ethnic identity, even though Slovak liturgies for Divine Service were stopped in 1992, and English services had been offered since 1946.⁹²

Some members felt a change to the more affluent, increasingly anglophone city of Kirkland was appropriate for access to a wider pool of potential members. Unlike the case with Saint Ansgar's, the mother church did not relocate, but rather chose to create a satellite congregation in the West Island. The strategy was simple. Initially, some of Ascension's members who found it more convenient to attend the new mission would provide a membership base. In addition, a comprehensive telephone campaign focused in on people with the likely-Lutheran names of Slovak, German, or Scandinavian origin. Thus, in September, 1991, *Living Way Lutheran Church* was born.⁹³

With this new group, no new building was to be immediately erected (a municipal chalet provided worship space). Nor would there be a pastor provided to shepherd the fledgling flock since Ascension's pastor cared for both groups. The number determined necessary for

⁹² Threinen, 131.

⁹³ H. Savinsky, pastoral announcement, unpublished, (Montreal: Living Way Lutheran Church Archives, 1992).

continuation of the project was set at fifty regular participants. The modesty in facilities, staffing, and numbers reflected changed times. Still, the targeted group had remained largely the same: people of Lutheran background. Another difference was that this worshipping community would not have to discover the fact of a diminishing anglophone population since it was already well in progress at the time of its founding.

While the exclusive use of English in these congregations opened the door for inclusion of members of non-Lutheran background, membership remained largely Lutheran. The above discussion shows that it was indeed for English-speaking Lutherans that the communities had been founded. Even the seemingly generalized success of Christ - Dollard-des-Ormeaux ultimately included members of mostly Lutheran background. In 1990, 80% of that congregation's membership fell into that category, 11% had been raised as Roman Catholics, while 9% were of other Protestant background. The same survey noted that 61,5 % of the membership was Canadian-born, 26% European-born, and 10% American-born.⁹⁴ For all its growth and outreach, the anglophone Lutheran congregations still had not made inroads into the dominant British Protestant community. In fact, if the above statistics are at all representative they show that more impact had been made on the Roman Catholic community.

⁹⁴ Christ Lutheran Church 25th Anniversary Booklet, 1.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FRANCOPHONE MISSIONS

Not until the commencement of francophone work did the Church of the Augsburg Confession break out of the pattern of serving a membership of primarily Lutheran background. This difference was only one of many that marked the work in the French language. In fact this aspect of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec is the most unique of the Church's distinctive features there.⁹⁵ Accordingly, the story of the francophone work is presented here in detail.

Almost all Canadian Protestant denominations have established missions among Roman Catholic Quebec Francophones. From the Conquest on, the established Anglican Church had persistently planned to convert the French-Canadians through legislation. By mid-nineteenth century, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists were all involved in mission work among French-speakers.⁹⁶ However, the dawn of the twentieth century witnessed dwindling interest and support.⁹⁷ Only the Baptists survived as a dynamic missionary force in the francophone field.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ The importance of the distinctiveness of the francophone missions is indicated by the fact that what limited literature has been written specifically about Lutheranism in Quebec has come from members of the francophone missions.

⁹⁶ see Robert Merrill Black, "Different Visions: The Multiplication of Protestant Missions to French-Canadian Roman Catholics, 1834-1855," (Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820's-1830's), edited by J. Moir and C.T. McIntire, Toronto Studies in Religion, vol 3, (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 49-73.

⁹⁷ John S. Moir, Enduring Witness, (The Presbyterian Church in Canada: Eagle Press Printers, 1987), 155-157.

⁹⁸ W. Nelson Thomson, "Witness in French Canada," Baptists in Canada: Search for Identity Amidst Diversity, edited by J.K. Zeman, (Burlington, Ontario: G.R. Welch Co. Ltd., 1980), 55-59.

Not until the 1960's did interest in mission work among Francophones wax again. This time a full range of protestantism was represented. Pentecostal groups, Mennonites, Brethren groups and others joined the Baptists to work intensely in French-speaking Quebec. Finally, yet another church entered the arena; the Lutherans arrived on the francophone mission scene.

CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO A FAVORABLE CLIMATE FOR LUTHERAN MISSION WORK IN FRANCOPHONE QUEBEC.

Lutheran missionary activity targeting French-Canadians was already a nascent notion in the early post-World War II years. The interest in that community was only part of broader thrust to reach outward and to expand. In general, Lutheranism was maturing on Canadian soil. That coming-of-age provided energy and resources to go beyond the traditionally Lutheran spheres of soul-gathering based on historical affiliation. Immigration swelled the ranks⁹⁹, churches were being built, congregations were growing¹⁰⁰, and Lutherans felt comfortable enough on the English-Canadian scene to look elsewhere. In Quebec, French-Canadians were singled out.

Three major factors, Vatican II, the Quiet Revolution, and public Lutheran awareness, permitted this audacious enterprise to be considered feasible. First, on a global scale, was the series of sweeping reforms of Vatican II which encouraged exchange between Protestants and Roman Catholics. The impact for Quebec's religious establishment was revolutionary. That which had been taboo became sought-out, and with Rome's imprimatur. Naturally, the point of

⁹⁹ Lutherans made up 1% of the Canadian population in 1881, 2% in 1901, 3% in 1921 and 1941, and 4% in 1961. See Reginald W. Bibby, *Fragmented Gods*, (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1987), 47. The number of Lutherans in Quebec listed in the government census jumped from 9,390 in 1951 to 22,857 in 1961.

¹⁰⁰ F.M. Malinsky, ed., *Grace and Blessing*, (Kitchener, Ontario: Ontario District of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, 1954), 26.

departure for reconciliation was the point of initial rupture. Significantly, among the first ecumenical dialogues of which Quebec took note were those between Lutherans and Roman Catholics.¹⁰¹

Secondly, the social upheavals of the Western world in the sixties were made manifest in Quebec in the form of the "Quiet Revolution". With the far-reaching reforms of that revolution came an attitude of openness to the theretofore unknown and prohibited. Religious practice plummeted at an amazing rate from near universal attendance at mass in the early sixties to less than fifty per cent by 1975.¹⁰² On both the religious and socio-political fronts openness was in vogue.

Three other specific events heightened public awareness to help create a climate for Lutherans to ponder the possibilities of bringing the Lutheran Reformation to Quebec's Francophones.¹⁰³ The first event had actually occurred in the nineteen fifties, when the foundations of the Quiet Revolution were but nascent. But precisely because it was the first public-level event specifically dealing with Lutherans in Quebec, its importance cannot be ignored in the history of the province's churches of the Augsburg Confession. In 1954, the Quebec Board of Film Censors refused a permit for the public showing of the award-winning film, "Martin Luther". The Board had deemed the film potentially offensive to the province's majority Roman Catholic population. Media attention and protests from both Roman Catholic and Protestant leaders

¹⁰¹ Jean Hamelin, Histoire du catholicisme québécois. Le XXe siècle, under the direction of Nive Voisine, vol. 3, tome 2 (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1984), 308.

¹⁰² Bibby, 20.

¹⁰³ By the 1960's there were eighteen Lutheran communities, numbering 5,079 communicants. Although nine languages were used for worship, French was not one of them. See J. Bodensieck, ed., The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg, 1965), s.v. "Quebec," by B. Pershing.

continued for a year. In May, 1955, after an appeal to Premier Maurice Duplessis and continued pressure, the film was allowed to be shown for one week. The conditions were that there be no paid, public advertising; no admission charge; and, that the film be shown in Protestant churches alone.¹⁰⁴

The second public awareness-heightening event was the Christian pavilion at Montreal's Expo '67 sponsored jointly by Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, including the Lutheran. This Roman Catholic-Protestant cooperation glaringly legitimized a Lutheran presence on Roman Catholic Quebec territory. Another emboldening event, from within the inner-sanctum of the Lutheran ethos, was that of the approaching five-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth¹⁰⁵.

Yet one other factor helped to determine the choice of mission work in French-speaking Quebec: former non-involvement. The hope was that the openness of the sixties would allow room for a denomination that was recognized as catholic, but without the baggage of law-oriented "romanism" or the distaste for things "English" in the form of the British Protestant churches. For all intensive purposes, Lutherans had simply been absent from any French-Canadian reality. Church officials thought that attitudes of prejudice and resentment of social, historical, and religious nature were linked with specific denominations, but not the Lutheran. The question involved was the reason for the drop in religious practice: wholesale rejection of Christianity, or particular expressions of the same?

¹⁰⁴ see Church of the Redeemer Anniversary Booklet, 72-74.

¹⁰⁵ E.T. Bachman and M.B. Bachman, Lutheran Churches in the World, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Press, 1989), 558. The stimulus of such reformation-related events on Lutheran outreach was observed in Germany at the three-hundredth anniversary which contributed to a confessional revival, as well as the four-hundredth anniversary which led to an intensified thrust of Lutheran doctrine dissemination in the English-speaking world. See Nelson, 151,334.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FRENCH-LANGUAGE LUTHERAN OUTREACH

On November 15, 1948, the Ontario District of the LCMS reported correspondence with a student at the LCMS Concordia Seminary in Saint Louis, Missouri concerning the possibility of French-language work in Quebec.¹⁰⁶ No mission work resulted from that contact.

However, a decade later, Daniel Pourchot, a pastor from the Lutheran Synod of Monbéliard (France) who had studied at the Saint Louis seminary, arrived in Montreal. Although not serving the church in an official capacity, he did occupy the Protestant chair of the University of Montreal's faculty of (Roman Catholic) theology. This position gave him access to seminaries and religious orders as guest lecturer on various aspects of Lutheranism. His contacts with Roman Catholic professors and Dominican fathers earned him the title, "The Pet Heretic of Quebec."¹⁰⁷

This unofficial ministry of the church was legitimized in 1965 by the English District of the LCMS official sponsorship of the *Centre de documentation et rencontres*. Pourchot was named the part-time director. The dream was to make the center a cooperative effort of the major Lutheran church bodies in Canada,¹⁰⁸ so as to avoid the disaster of carrying Lutheran differences into French Canada. Pastor Pourchot envisioned a center that would:

1. Initiate a program for dialogue with French Canada to reach the lay and clerical members of the church in ecumenical studies. There is no

¹⁰⁶ Threinen, 171-172.

¹⁰⁷ Robin Mueller, "Lutherans in La Belle Province," *Lutheran Witness*, (vol. 105, February, 1986), 7.

¹⁰⁸ The major divisions working in Eastern Canada at the time were the ALC; the Eastern Synod of the LCA; and the English District, the Ontario District and the Synod of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (SELC) of the LCMS.

thought of proselytizing among any members of any existing church.

2. The Center, however, could serve those who have no church relationship and might be interested in forming a worshipping community. A congregation could result from the work at the Centre but this should not be the immediate purpose for its establishment.¹⁰⁹

In 1966, independently of the Center's activity, Saint Paul congregation (LCA-CS) in suburban Saint Laurent began bi-weekly services in French. A retired pastor from France, Florimand Canapeel, officiated at the services. Through Saint Paul, this same pastor initiated French (and German) worship services in Quebec City in 1967, and continued to do so for three years. One church historian commented: "However, this ministry was not followed through by the BAM (Board for American Missions) with an aggressive approach towards making an entry into the field...Nor was the BAM excited by the prospects, even though a survey had not been taken...So the dream faded".¹¹⁰

The same fate seemed to await Pourchot's project. The centre that had been built on so much hope floundered for a decade. Still, the prolonged non-directional venture provided time and opportunity for evaluation and planning. Ironically, the attention that the problematic situation required was partially responsible for the perpetuation of the interest in French ministry. Often that stimulus was in the negative in the vein of "so much to do, so little being done, so poorly."

¹⁰⁹ "French Lutheran Centre", 27 May, 1965, minutes of organizational meeting, East District Archives, Kitchener, Ontario.

¹¹⁰ Grosz, 188, 189.

Nevertheless, during the decade 1966-1976, several events steered the French work in a more defined direction. These events led to the establishment of worshipping communities in both Montreal and West Quebec.

In 1969, the work being done by Pourchot was undergirded by the broadcasting of "L'heure luthérienne", a radio program from France sponsored by the Lutheran Laymens' League (LLL), an auxiliary of the LCMS. For several years, only one station carried the program. But by April 5, 1976, two more stations in Quebec added the program, thereby covering most of the province.¹¹¹

Meanwhile, the Center's work progressed. Professors and students gathered for discussion and several students were instructed in the Lutheran faith. This group requested that Pastor Pourchot lead them in regular worship at the University chapel.

Concurrently, Christ Memorial, the LCMS-English District's English-language Montreal congregation began to consider work in French. By September 1975, Pastor Pourchot transferred his work to Christ Memorial which became home of the mission congregation of *La Réconciliation*. The English congregation disbanded by 1982 because of dwindling numbers.¹¹²

One of Pourchot's theology students, Denis Fortin, was preparing to be a Roman Catholic priest. However, in 1979 he was ordained as a Lutheran pastor. Thereafter he began working on

¹¹¹ Mueller, 21.

¹¹² The Statistical Yearbooks of the LCMS indicate that the membership of Christ Memorial dropped from 129 in 1978 to 30 in 1981.

Montreal's East side. His work led to the development of another mission congregation which eventually took the name *La Communauté de la Pâque*.

During the same time that full-time French work was being consolidated in Montreal, similar work was being planned by the Ontario District of the LCMS in West Quebec. The district's official organ, *The Supplement*, revealed the come-of-age mentality that helped spark the new work: "We are ready to begin, for the first time in the nearly 100-year history of the Ontario District, mission work in the French language."¹¹³ The city of Gatineau was deliberately selected so as to be surrounded by the care and support of the seven English-language LCMS churches in the area.¹¹⁴ West Quebec was the only part of Quebec where this physical proximity of so many LCMS churches held true.

The French ministry was launched in 1976 by David Elseroad, a newly-ordained American from the Saint Louis LCMS seminary. At the same time, Charles Cooley, one of Elseroad's classmates, had been assigned to the then century-old parish in Buckingham, thirty kilometers East of Gatineau. Cooley was to study the French language and begin part-time French outreach in that town as a complement to the Gatineau initiative.

The new mission work in Gatineau took hold, and was organized under the name *L'Église luthérienne évangélique du Sauveur Vivant* (hereafter referred to as "Sauveur Vivant"). Door-to-door surveys, small-group Bible studies, and newspaper announcements conveyed the message that the Lutherans were present. A Quebec-produced radio program, "*Au pays des*

¹¹³ Threinen, 173.

¹¹⁴ Four of those congregations were in Ontario: Christ Risen - Kanata; Saint Luke, Mount Calvary, and Our Savior - Ottawa.

vivants," provided another contact to heighten the awareness of that presence. Indeed, the first family of Lutherans-to-be came to the mission through that program.¹¹⁵

EVOLUTION OF THE MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

The initial flurry of activity in outreach and response in both Montreal and Gatineau gave rise to great expectations. Those two spheres of activity were seen as only small beginnings of better things to come. In 1981, Elseroad reported that Sauveur Vivant had ten communicant members. The sobering reality of limited response could not be ignored. Still, far from being discouraged, he optimistically stated: "The faithful are catching a vision of what their mission is throughout Quebec as pioneers of the Reformation witness to the Good News in "La Belle Province".¹¹⁶ Reports from Montreal reflected the same sort of limited response as well as the same sort of optimism.

Despite the optimism, the pioneering endeavor of French work took its toll on the missionary workers. In the period from 1976 to 1990 a total of ten full-time workers were sent to establish a francophone Lutheran presence in Quebec. Various posts were begun and failed. Out of the ten workers who had been sent to do French work, only three were in place by 1990. The monthly French worship services begun in Buckingham in 1976 came to a halt with the departure of Pastor Cooley in 1981. In 1980 a candidate was sent from the Saint Louis seminary to begin work in Aylmer (West Quebec). After six months the pastor felt uncomfortable with the

¹¹⁵ "Mobilizing for Mission in Quebec," (promotional pamphlet, 1983, Archives of L'Église évangélique luthérienne du Sauveur Vivant, Gatineau, Québec, 1983), 4.

¹¹⁶ Threinen, 174.

French-Canadian culture and took a call to a Hispanic parish in Brooklyn. No work had been done to initiate a francophone ministry there in Aylmer.¹¹⁷

In 1985, Elizabeth Chittim, a convert to Lutheranism through the French outreach, began her work as deaconess with the two communities in Montreal. Lack of funds from the district caused her to seek employment as a social worker elsewhere in 1988, while remaining active in the French work.¹¹⁸ Also in 1988 monthly French services and outreach were begun again in Buckingham as a ministry of the Gatineau mission, but after a year the services were stopped because of limited interest. In 1990, after ten years of diligent, intensive and dedicated work, Pastor Denis Fortin left the Lutheran ministry. Combined factors of lack of numerical growth and funding as well as geographic and cultural isolation from the Lutheran community-at-large contributed to his resignation.¹¹⁹ His departure marked the end of the Communauté de la Pâque congregation that had already been reduced through doctrinal controversy and work-related transfers of members. Since the early 1980's, Ascension - Montreal, had half-heartedly attempted to establish some French work but never quite succeeded.

Along with the internal failures that hampered the work were many external factors that adversely effected the missionary activity. The secularization that so devastated weekly participation in the Roman Catholic mass did nothing to inspire the seeking out of another form of Christianity in Lutheranism. Those who did seek out an alternative to Roman Catholicism often

¹¹⁷ The Rev. Kelly-Ray Merrit to Dr. A.J. Stanfel, 29 January, 1982, (East District Archives, Kitchener, Ontario).

¹¹⁸ Report of meeting of the advisory Board for l'Église évangélique luthérienne au Québec in Montreal, 13 September 1989, (East District Archives, Kitchener, Ontario).

¹¹⁹ Denis Fortin, "Bilan pastoral du temps vécu depuis la dernière assemblée de l'Église", 20 May 1989, pastoral report, (Archives of La Communauté de la Pâque, Montreal, Quebec).

found Lutheranism too Catholic in practice or too Protestant in doctrine. Moreover, the element of "former non-involvement" that had been viewed so positively often worked against the outreach because Lutheranism was so foreign and unknown.¹²⁰

By the late 1980's the handwriting was on the wall for Communauté de la Pâque, and La Réconciliation had reached a plateau of growth. But all was not considered lost. Indeed, a series of events brought new life and vigor to the French missionary enterprise. The Gatineau parish, by then being served by Pastor David Somers, had broken out of a holding pattern and began to grow at a very modest but steady rate. In 1988, one of the Gatineau members, Yves Osborne, entered Concordia Lutheran seminary (LC-C) at Saint Catharines, Ontario. He was the first French-Canadian to do so¹²¹. He was ordained in 1992 and assigned to the Gatineau parish.¹²² By 1988, a member of Ascension - Montreal, announced his intentions of entering the same seminary with the goal of working in French.

Then, in 1991, a group of three disenchanted francophone Pentecostals of former Roman Catholic background literally knocked at the door of the English-language Ascension church. After having studied the Lutheran confessions, they had decided that they were Lutherans and thus had sought out the church. Eventually, in September, 1992, their presence gave rise to the founding of a preaching station under the supervision of the East District of the Lutheran Church - Canada (LC-C) through the Gatineau pastors. One member of that initial group entered the seminary at Saint Catharines in 1992.¹²³

¹²⁰ Denis Fortin, "Être Québécois et protestant aujourd'hui," in L'Église Luthérienne: origine et implantation au Québec, (Montreal: Église évangélique luthérienne au Québec, 1987), 16-25

¹²¹ Denis Fortin, the first Quebec-born francophone Lutheran pastor did his theological studies at the University of Montreal.

¹²² East District News, (Lutheran Church-Canada, vol. 1, June, 1992), 1.

Also, in Montreal, francophone Lutherans had become more numerous in the fourteen congregations of the ELCIC. Good Shepherd - Saint Lambert began monthly services in French to serve its own members. Although no independent French-language community existed in the ELCIC the situation led to the formation of "Le comité pastoral francophone" in order to address the needs of the francophone community.¹²⁴

Despite the minimal results after so many workers and so many years of Lutheran outreach, the Lutherans appeared more optimistic than ever. The East District president wrote in 1993 concerning the situation, «prospects for mission outreach in French-speaking Canada are brighter than they have ever been.»¹²⁵

MOTIVATION

The last aspect of the Lutheran missionary outreach among Quebec Francophones in the late twentieth-century to be considered is that of motivation. Limited success notwithstanding, the Lutherans remained determined to continue work in French. The drive to persevere is evident in the pertinent church literature which conveys a consistent message of a sense of uniqueness in the Lutheran presence in Quebec. The first missionary at Gatineau expressed it thus:

The Lutheran Church is the last major church to enter the field
Is our presence necessary or will we only duplicate the efforts
of others?...There is certainly more than any one denomination
can claim to do. But there is also an urgent need for a mission
ministry of Word and Sacrament that is truly informed by the

¹²³ "Montreal French Outreach Goes Ahead," East District News, Lutheran Church-Canada, (vol. 1, October, 1992), 1.

¹²⁴ Derek-Michael Strauch, "The Lutheran presence in Montreal," (Canada Lutheran, vol. 7, November, 1992), 12.

¹²⁵ East District Report by R.E. Winger, in Third Lutheran Church-Canada Convention Workbook, (Lutheran Church - Canada: Winnipeg, 1993), E50.

Scriptures and the Confessions; for a clear witness to the objective Gospel of justification by grace through faith in Christ amidst the confusion of man-centered subjectivism; for a sound demonstration of that Christian liberty that faith in the Gospel engenders... Will that call to stand firm with the authentic Gospel be heard in Quebec?¹²⁶

This zeal for a clearly Lutheran expression of the Christian faith was not unique to the Quebec outreach. One author expressed the same in writing about the necessity for a Lutheran presence in the whole of Canada in 1977: "It would seem that an indigenous Lutheran church is necessary because we would not feel ourselves completely at home with another tradition on account of either doctrine or practice. We feel we have something to say and to show about the Gospel that other denominations are not saying or showing."¹²⁷

This attitude of unique confessionality within the church catholic helps explain the interest in establishing a francophone Lutheran presence in Quebec at a time when ecumenism was all the rage. While other mainline churches were in the mainstream of ecumenism, many Lutherans often tended to swim in the same waters but in other currents. Denis Fortin, the first French-Canadian Lutheran pastor expressed it thus:

Is not the essential for Christians that Jesus be recognized as Savior and Lord? That the Good News be shared with the greater number? Structural Union, desirable though it may be, cannot occur at the expense of the spiritual growth of members, and of the faithfulness to the Gospel message. Differences do remain at this level, and they are more than theological quarrels about theoretical formulations.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ "Q-in," unpublished, (Gatineau, Quebec: Eglise évangélique luthérienne du Sauveur Vivant, 1983), 3,4.

¹²⁷ V. Ericksson, "Rationale for an Indigenous Lutheran Church in Canada," in *In Search of Identity*, edited by Norman Threinen, (Winnipeg: Lutheran Council in Canada, 1977), 45.

¹²⁸ Original French text: "L'essentiel pour les chrétiens n'est-il pas que Jésus soit reconnu comme Sauveur et Seigneur, que la Bonne Nouvelle soit partagée au plus grand nombre? L'union structurelle aussi souhaitable qu'elle soit ne peut se faire aux dépens de la croissance spirituelle des membres et de la fidélité au message de l'Évangile. Des différences demeurent toujours à ce niveau, et elles sont plus que des querelles de théologie sur des

Lutheran missionary activity in the late twentieth century was the culmination of a series of developments. Both inside and outside Lutheranism, the time appeared to be right, everything seemed in place. The opening of the Roman Catholic Church to the outside world through Vatican II at the same time as the Quiet Revolution made Quebec more readily accessible to outsiders than ever before. That accessibility, coupled with an increasing Canadian Lutheran self-confidence, attracted mission attention to the geographically-convenient province where Lutheranism was virtually unknown, especially among the francophone population.

Despite these apparently favorable conditions, the mission endeavor was an uphill battle exacting casualties in personnel, time and energy. Response to the outreach was largely indifferent and growth was not only slow but also limited.¹²⁹

But for one factor the missionary activity might have succumbed to the discouraging situation. The recurring element in the reports concerning the francophone work was the conviction that Lutheranism had a vision of the Gospel that was necessary to communicate, despite the cost. It is that sense of uniqueness that leaves the story of Lutheran missionary activity among Quebec francophones in the late twentieth century an unfinished tale.

formulations théoriques." Fortin, 26,27.

¹²⁹ The three francophone missions of La Réconciliation, Montreal and Sauveur Vivant, Gatineau, had a combined communicant membership of 89 in 1994. See Lutheran Churches in Canada: 1995 Directory, (Winnipeg: Lutheran Council in Canada, 1995), 43.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE CHURCH OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION IN QUEBEC

The Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec has not lived in isolation, unaffected by its surroundings. Indeed, it was because of the environment, both social and political, that the Church of the Augsburg Confession in the province became distinctive from other churches in Quebec as well as Lutheranism elsewhere. From the exterior, Quebec's majority of British Protestants and French Roman Catholics forced the Lutherans to consciously choose a distinct identity or assimilate.

From within Quebec Lutheranism, forces of a social and theological nature came together in a particular way. Although the tendency was to identify with the anglophone community, cultural differences from the majority, continually reinforced by renewed contact with the country of origin, distanced the Lutheran communities from the dominant society. This final chapter will discuss the resultant distinctiveness of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec.

CANADIAN NATIONALISTIC MILLENNIALISM

The idea of Canadian millennialism wasn't new and had certainly been acted upon as early as 1642 with the establishment of Maisonneuve's Ville Marie. The settlement was to be a new Jerusalem in the pristine wilderness. God would come to Canada in a special way. The move was evidently delayed. But by the mid-nineteenth century, Canadian Christianity was again functioning in millennial modes with the vision of a special place where God would reign. He would somehow be Canadian or be particularly pleased with those who were. He would be French, Roman Catholic or English and Protestant, depending on the version. In either case, millennialism and nationalism fed each other. Both were in full force from the mid-nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century.

But not all Canadians could fit the mold. One such group who could not participate in a dream of Canadian nationalism were the members of the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec. Neither theologically nor sociologically were they in a position which allowed them to be mainstreamed into the millennial ideology that swept much of Quebec Christendom at the time. Neither was such integration their desire.

The non-francophone Lutherans could not, by definition, be party to French-Canadian, Roman Catholic nationalism. The anglophone Protestant vision was also ruled out as a possibility for perhaps less apparent reasons. These are dealt with below.

OBSTACLES TO ASSIMILATION

The first reason was a sociological one related to the Lutherans' immigrant status. Like all immigrants, the Lutherans had to adapt to the climate of the new environment. Lack of family networks and employment security and the usually meager monetary resources made adjustment difficult. Most other immigrants to Quebec in the nineteenth century were British (Irish, Scottish, or English). While they too had to undergo the process of adaptation, language and religion were not generally part of that process, since the English language was officially recognized and Roman Catholic and British Protestant churches were readily accessible.

An important part of the mission of the Quebec churches was to welcome newcomers from the European homeland. To the foreigner in Canada, the churches quite deliberately offered something of the familiar. At church, language, liturgy, hymnody, doctrine, food and traditions from the country of origin could be recognized as a bit of home in the new setting. The very purpose of perpetuating the old forms was to preserve and distinguish from what was Canadian and unrecognizable. At least one refuge from the pressure for the immigrants to integrate into Canadian society was the Lutheran church. Not being Canadian was close to the heart of what the churches were offering. It was the foreign element that gave reason to the establishment of the Lutheran congregations in Montreal.

While Canada saw immigrants as potential future Canadians, the Lutheran churches saw the same people as already being worthy of recognition in their own right. Because most of the Lutherans were recent immigrants they could not participate in the dominant anglophone or

francophone social structure. Language was only part of the problem. The Lutherans were newcomers and thus outside the the controlling circles of finance, business, academia as well as outside the dominant Roman Catholic and British Protestant churches.¹³⁰

The socio-linguistic factors alone were enough to impede the Lutherans' integration with a "Canada for Canadians" mentality. But for the Lutheran communities, there were at least two other reasons. Both were integrally related to the church. One was cultural, the other theological.

CULTURE

Culturally, each ethnic or national Lutheran group arriving in Canada came with the consciousness that the Church was closely linked to the identity of the people. In their respective homelands, the Lutheran Reformation had emphasized the availability of the Gospel to a given people in its own language. Resultant translations of the Bible into the vernacular standardized national languages. The literature of the church established not only a common faith, but also a common expression of group identity. Lest the tie between religion and nation be underestimated, consider the following statement by an American (!) Lutheran pastor: "Luther lives in the hearts, in the homes, in the Schools, in the Church, in the inner missions and in the Government of the Fatherland (Germany). He is both the child and the Father of the Fatherland. No nation today is

¹³⁰

A discussion of the exclusive nature of the inner circle of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite (largely Scottish Presbyterian) is offered in Margaret Westley, Remembrance of Grandeur, The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal 1900-1950, (Montreal: Libre Expression, 1990). An example of the difficulty of access to mainstream Canadian society from a (Lutheran) Estonian refugee point of view is discussed in The Political Refugees, A History of the Estonians in Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1985), chapter three.

so completely dominated by one man."¹³¹ The intensity of the perceived tie between faith and nationality is clear.

Indeed, the association of German with Lutheran did nothing to help Quebec's Lutheran churches to participate in nationalistic visions, either from within or without. The last of the several Norwegian groups had stopped work in the province by 1899. No other language group organized a congregation until the Finns and the Danes did so in the mid-twenties. With but one exception (English-language Redeemer - Westmount), the province's six Lutheran worshipping communities were all at least partially German-language. The correlation between Lutheran and German had never been higher than this war-time period when Canadian public opinion against anything German was intolerant.¹³²

But the link with nationalism and Lutheranism was true in other lands as well. In Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Slovakia, Finland, and Latvia nationalist movements were intertwined with the expression of the Lutheran Church.¹³³ In those countries too, the Church had been instrumental in cultural movements.

The links between the Lutheran congregations and the country of origin were continually reinforced. In some cases they became stronger and more numerous with time. Each link outside of the dominant Quebec society served as an obstacle to integration.

¹³¹ John Lenker, ed., Church Postil Gospels - Epiphany, Lent, and Easter Sermons, Standard Edition of Luther's Works, vol. 11, (Minneapolis, Minn.: Lutherans in all Lands, 1906), 12-13.

¹³² Robert A. Wright, "The Canadian Protestant Tradition 1914-1945", The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990, edited by George Rawlyk, (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company, 1990), 143.

¹³³ Joseph Kirschbaum, Slovaks in Canada, (Toronto: Ethnic Press Association, 1967), 274.

Parochial histories reveal the great extent of homeland contacts. The chief link with the country of origin was the constituency of the congregations. Those who undertook the task of establishing the congregations did so to provide a service that was otherwise unavailable elsewhere in the host culture. The names by which the Lutheran congregations were known clearly reveal the non-Canadian nature of the worshipping communities: Saint John's German Church, the Norwegian Seamen's Church, Saint Ansgar's Danish Church, The Slovak Ascension Church, Saint John Estonian Church, Saint Michael's Finnish Church, The Chinese Lutheran Church of Montreal. Often, the broader ecclesiastical structures with which they were involved further revealed the foreign associations: The United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, The Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, Pittsburgh Synod, The Lutheran Church of Finland, The Slovak Evangelical Church, and so forth.

In addition, the clergy that served the churches was foreign-born. Until the World Wars, even those pastors who were American usually studied at seminaries where English was not the medium of instruction. While elsewhere in Canada Canadian-born clergy has increasingly become the norm, the rule of a Quebec clergy of foreign origin has persisted well into the twentieth century. One author observed: "In December, 1977 Montreal pastors gathered ...only one of the clergy was Canadian-born".¹³⁴ In West Quebec, the Lutheran churches whether worshipping in German, French or English have most often been served by American pastors.¹³⁵

134

Grosz, 190.

135

See Threinen.

Service books and hymnals were simply those produced and edited outside of Canada, usually those used in Europe or sometimes the United States, with no attempt at acculturation of the liturgy for North America, much less Canada or Quebec.

The foreign nature of the group identity was constantly and consistently reinforced in church life. Annual bazaars at the Danish, German, Norwegian, Slovak and Estonian churches were an example of events that joined the church community to its European roots. It was during the months-long preparation that the jointure was forged. Regular, often weekly gatherings allowed members to speak together in their maternal language, prepare non-Canadian food and crafts, all at church. Culinary specialties as well as crafts from the homeland were offered to the public in general but served as point of contact with the non-churched members of the nationality the congregation represented. This reinforced linkage of culture and confession was another barrier to participation in a pan-Protestant culture.

Choirs were another example of the congregations' activities that strengthened foreign ties. The particular emphasis of Lutheranism on hymnody and liturgy underscored the role of Lutheranism in the people's cultural lives. The mere repetition of certain hymns by such composers as Luther, Gerhard or Grundtvig evoked both confessional and collective, national memories. A case in point is the Danish Ladies Society at Saint Ansgar's which in part was established "...to gather Danish women and keep alive their Danish hymns and customs..."¹³⁶ "Singing has always played an important part in the Danish worship service...the Danish immigrants brought with them to Canada their love of singing."¹³⁷

136

St Ansgar's Lutheran Church, 1927- 1987, 52.

137

St Ansgar's, 72.

The choral activity was not limited to the church alone. Like the bazaars, music was a reinforcement of the church's connection with the larger national group, including its unchurched members which in fact formed the majority of any of the given ethnic groups concerned. Thus the church's outside contacts were directed away from the dominant francophone or anglophone society. "...the women's auxiliary arranged bazaars and concerts, and thus served the general cultural needs of its members." ¹³⁸ "Saint Ansgar's has made it possible for me to keep in touch with my national and cultural background." ¹³⁹

In addition to the activities that were part of the worshipping community itself, there were also other social organizations associated with the churches. These groups served the wider national or ethnic community to which the congregation belonged. The effect was once again to strengthen ties between the church and the immigrant community which did not belong to things Canadian. Groups such as *The German Benevolent Society*, *the Danish Cemetery Association*, *The Canada-Finland Aid Society*, and Slovak dance troupes met at the churches, included church members, but were intended to serve the entire national group, regardless of religious affiliation.

The ethnicity of Lutheran congregations was not particular to Quebec. What was different in Quebec was the proportion and duration of the congregations with an intense ethnic identity as part of the communities' self-consciousness and reality. Even at the end of the twentieth century, the number of allophone-related congregations exceeded the number of anglophone or francophone communities, both in terms of numbers of congregations and numbers of church members. This marked ethnic identity was especially true of Montreal. In West Quebec, anti-

138

Saint John's, 20.

139

Saint Ansgar's, 97.

German sentiment and lack of a continuous immigration accelerated the pace of assimilation with the surrounding anglophone population. At least at the level of the language used for public worship and other community-level activities, the assimilation was complete by the mid-twentieth century. Nevertheless, a strong majority of the members of the anglophone congregations is still ethnically German.¹⁴⁰

Except for Saint John - Montreal, all of the Lutheran congregations in Quebec have been administered by structures outside the province, if not outside Canada. In most cases, the denominations were U.S.-based. Usually the administrators were American, as were the Sunday-School curricula, the popular daily devotional booklets, Bible studies and periodicals sent to church members.

THEOLOGY

The thinking involving the possibility of causing God to change headquarters from heaven to earth became so widespread that it altered Canadian behavior and perception. Not only would God come to earth, but his new home would be Canada, with a prime site in Ontario for the Protestants or in Quebec for the Roman Catholics. By contrast, the Quebec Lutheran perception was that God had already come to Latvia, Denmark, Estonia, Norway, Finland, Germany and Slovakia. Divine visitation was not in the form of a "most-favored nation" status for Canada because God had come also to them.

140

See charts in Enoch Padolsky and Ian Pringle, 311, 375.

Before the shift towards confessional orthodoxy in the mid-nineteenth century, pietism was the dominant form of theological expression in North American Lutheranism.¹⁴¹ Although (German) Lutheran pietism shared many points with North American Reformed (i.e. non-Lutheran Protestant) millennialism, the movement remained distinct because of its roots in the Lutheran Confessions. Thus a monergistic, grace-centered, Christo-centric, sacramental theology was emphasized. Still, the similarities with Reformed millennialism were sufficient to encourage ecumenical cooperation and dialogue, as well as confusion, among the members of the Lutheran churches in North America. Belief in the spiritual advancement of society through moral reforms, political activism, and revivalism closely connected to the temperance movement were all part of millennial views in Canadian Christianity at the time. The temperance movement in particular was so strong that it overrode denominational lines, even to the point of certain agreement between Protestants and Roman Catholics.¹⁴² Still, Protestant millennial views generally included an anti-Catholic hysteria while Roman Catholic views included the vision of a Protestant-free society.

Church historian Martin Marty provides a description of nineteenth-century Lutherans behavior that sheds light on the situation of Lutherans in Quebec: "They were generally acceptable theologically to the dominant Protestants around them: after all, Martin Luther was the pioneer Protestant. Culturally, however, they were misfits...They drank beer in increasingly temperance-minded Anglo-Protestant America. They kept to themselves and fought over who was most orthodox in seventeenth-century German Lutheran credal senses. Few of them favored revivalism..."¹⁴³ A Montreal detail of that larger picture underscores the lack of puritanical

¹⁴¹ The pervasiveness of this form of Lutheranism in North America is treated in Kuenning.

¹⁴² This case of strange bedfellows is exemplified in the story of Charles Chiniquy, see Marce Trudel, *Chiniquy*, (Les Trois Rivières: Editions du bien public), 1955.

¹⁴³ Martin Marty, "North America", 384-414, in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. J. McMannes, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 399.

behavior: "For hours they talked about the founding of a Lutheran Church...sometimes at the Rascoe Hotel near the Bonsecours Market, where at that time many people met over a glas (sic) of beer."¹⁴⁴

Resistance to a monolithic Canadian religion was also found in the choice of language. Linguistic integration was most strongly advocated by the Lutherans who were most assimilated into English-speaking North American society. It was they who had been in North America the longest, and it was their ancestors who had brought a Pietistic form of Lutheranism to the continent. This fact added fuel to the confessional denominational leaders' suspicion that adoption of English spelled loss of doctrinal orthodoxy.¹⁴⁵ The twinning of language and orthodoxy was by no means unique to the Lutherans. Islam's insistence on an Arabic Koran, and Canada's francophone Roman Catholics' linkage of language and faith are but two examples.

Just as Lutheranism was being implanted on Quebec soil, North American Lutheranism as a whole was undergoing a radical shift to confessional orthodoxy. Defiantly absent from this orthodoxy was a millennial vision of history. At the same time, it was this very feature of millennialism in Canadian theology that was partner to the rise of Protestant and Roman Catholic nationalisms.

Those basic characteristics that bound Lutheran Pietists and most other North American Protestants, and to some degree, francophone Roman Catholics together were categorically rejected by Lutheran orthodoxy. This switch determined the form of Lutheranism that would

¹⁴⁴ Saint John, 13.

¹⁴⁵ Martin Mueller, Amazing Comeback, (English District 75th-anniversary publication, 1986), 2.

develop in Quebec. As discussed in chapter two, the shift toward confessionalism was so sweeping that all the Lutheran denominations working in the province were influenced by the move. This fact created a divergence in theological world views that was not slight in its implications. The generalized move to confessional orthodoxy had been recent and was calculated as a statement against non-Lutheran Protestantism. Slogans such as "Lutheran altars for Lutherans only" became standard. By definition, The Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec was at odds with the popular tide of millennialism in Quebec and the rest of Canada at the time. Since the Lutheran communities in Quebec were all founded after the switch to declared orthodoxy was well advanced, the ground shared by Quebec Lutherans with the other Christians in the province was even slighter than elsewhere, where Pietistic influences, no matter how weak, may have lingered on.

The Lutheran stance contrasted sharply with a Canadian mood of Protestant cooperation.¹⁴⁶ Lest the commonalities shared by the British Protestants be doubted, one has only to consider the mid-nineteenth century alliance formed among Quebec Methodists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Anglicans to convert French-Canadian Roman Catholics to Protestantism.¹⁴⁷ Their Protestantism and British Canadianism were hardly distinguishable.¹⁴⁸ It is at this point that a millennial nationalism came to the fore. To be a good British-Canadian Protestant meant being a good Canadian citizen.

¹⁴⁶ This national cooperative mood on the part of Protestants was epitomized in the forming of the United Church of Canada in 1925.

¹⁴⁷ See Robert Merrill Black, "Different Visions: The Multiplication of Protestant Missions to French-Canadian Roman Catholics, 1834-1855," *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820's-1960's*, eds. J. Moir and C.T. McIntire, (Toronto Studies in Religion, vol.III., New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 49-73.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example John Webster Grant, "Presbyterian Home Missions and Canadian Nationhood," Paper presented at the Seventh International Convention of Canadian Studies, Acireale, Italy, May 18-22, 1988. *Biblioteca della ricerca*. (Scheda Editore, 1988), 139-153.

A somewhat parallel millennial nationalism was in full swing among Quebec's francophone Roman Catholics. Good French-Canadian Roman Catholics made good citizens advocating a socio-politico-religious nation which was favored by God. There, Roman truth and justice would prevail and things would only get better and better, in other words, more and more Catholic.

The full force of this thinking became clearer when the rest of the province, away from the protection of cosmopolitan Montreal, is considered. Through calculated territorial occupation, the plan of an ideal French, Roman Catholic nation was put into action. Where Protestants got in the way, the methods of dealing with them were at least two-fold. Two cases in point concerning Lutherans serve to illustrate the point. The first, in Saguenay - Lac Saint Jean involved an influx of Finns to the area to work in the mines. While the manpower was welcomed, the non-Roman Catholic affiliations were not. The Bishop forbade the construction of a Roman Catholic Church for use by the Finns for fear that it would soon pass into the hands of Lutheran ministers. The immigrants could not be allowed to construct a place of worship, lest their Lutheran faith be kept alive, thus contaminating the Roman territory. A Lutheran place of worship was not all that was prohibited. The Finns were also geographically dispersed so as to assure linguistic, cultural, and religious assimilation with the majority. In correspondence with the bishop of the area, the project developer assured him that the Finns, if allowed to be imported, would make good Catholics. So they came and presumably did.¹⁴⁹

In West Quebec, the plan for establishing God's kingdom had a different strategy for creating a homogenous society. There, nineteenth-century Protestant settlements preceded those

¹⁴⁹ Gérard Bouchard, "Les Saguenayens et les immigrants au début du 20 siècle: légitime défense ou xénophobie?" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, (XXI, 3, 1989), 29.

of Roman Catholics in much of the area. In two townships of Labelle county, and one of Pontiac County, the mid-nineteenth century settlement was virtually all German Lutheran.¹⁵⁰ In order to remedy the situation in Labelle county, the Roman Catholic bishop of Ottawa recommended in the 1930's that as Protestant-owned farm land came up for sale, it be bought by Roman Catholics. In this manner, the Protestant population would be displaced and replaced by Roman Catholics.¹⁵¹

In contrast to this Canadian millennialism, confessional Lutheran orthodoxy saw the world as forever flawed. No amount of social lobbying would cause God to move from heaven to earth where his kingdom would be established.¹⁵² Rather, the mystical union between the individual and Christ through Word and sacrament would transform the individual for eternal betterment, and hopefully for the betterment of his or her temporal environment. At the level of the clergy and seminaries, the entire focus of interpretation of Lutheranism was altered to adapt to this confessional outlook.

Another factor that opened the way to confessionalism was the religious background of the people. The constituency of the largest group of those attending Lutheran services, the German speakers, was also apparently homogeneously Lutheran and not Reformed. While this statement may seem obvious, such was not necessarily the case elsewhere. This differentiates the Quebec churches from early nineteenth-century German Protestant settlements in Ontario and the United States. There, the frequent admixture of Reformed and Lutheran immigrants gave rise to a variety of situations and arrangements. In some cases, such as with the Union churches of

¹⁵⁰ Earlier, shortly after their arrival of the Labelle County Germans, the same group had been the object of attempts at their conversion to Anglicanism. That story was but another instance of nationalistic thought that the Protestant Church on British territory would naturally be British. See Schnurr, 94.

¹⁵¹ Hector Legros, Le Diocèse d'Ottawa 1847 - 1948, (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1949), 379-380.

¹⁵² See Kuenning.

Eastern Pennsylvania, one church building was used by the two groups with their respective worship services being held on alternate Sundays. In other situations, the worshipping was denominationally mixed and had a pastor who was sufficiently vague in doctrine that the members co-existed. If he were not, the congregation either became cantankerous, or ousted the pastor. In other places, such as Welland, Ontario, the German Protestants were served either by a Reformed or a Lutheran pastor with the congregation eventually splitting along denominational lines.¹⁵³ Sometimes the choices of alignment were out of conviction, sometimes out of the practical necessity of taking an available clergyman of whichever tradition, or out of the realization that one or another denomination would finance a pastor for a given church. Particularly in Canada, this latter situation caused many Reformed and Lutheran communities to become Anglican.¹⁵⁴

Surely, especially in Montreal, some members of the German Lutheran Church were of Reformed persuasion. Nevertheless the founding members of the church were Lutheran, and the congregation had established itself as a Lutheran congregation, consistently calling a Lutheran pastor. Records of nineteenth-century immigration to West Quebec indicate that the German immigration was not only Protestant, but virtually all Lutheran.¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ The ethno-religious identification has continued throughout the twentieth century.¹⁵⁷

This basically Lutheran-only constituency was true not only of the German Protestant arrivals in Quebec, but also for vitrtually all German immigration to Quebec into the nineteenth

¹⁵³ Cronmiller, 126, 127

¹⁵⁴ Lehman, 51.

¹⁵⁵ Hessel, 93.

¹⁵⁶ The few families who were Baptists established a congregation of their own. When it closed, some of those families became members of the Lutheran church, others travelled to the Baptist church in Buckingham. See Alice Biehler, Olden Days: A History of the German Settlement in the Township of Mulgrave- Derry, Quebec 1850-1890, (Ottawa: Chesley Publishing, 1990).

¹⁵⁷ See charts in Enoch Padolsky and Ian Pringle, 311, 375.

century. Not until the 1920's did German Roman Catholics arrive in the province in significant enough numbers to organize their own church (St Bonifazius in Montreal).¹⁵⁸

The membership of the congregations in Quebec was thus solidly Lutheran, at least out of tradition, if not theologically so. That fact was coupled with the conservative, orthodox stance of the denominations with which the congregations affiliated, and the confessional clergy that served them. All of these factors combined to establish and preserve the identity of these worshipping communities as churches of the Augsburg Confession.

That no Quebec congregation ever strayed outside the Lutheran communion is an indication of the strength of this identity. Elsewhere in Canada, this was not necessarily so. In some cases, Lutheran congregations elsewhere became Anglican,¹⁵⁹ others Reformed,¹⁶⁰ and still others Unitarian.¹⁶¹

THE ONGOING IMMIGRATION EFFECT

In general, social activism did not figure in the scheme of orthodoxy. The one great, generalized exception to this rule for the Montreal churches was involvement in refugee and immigrant settlement. This emphasis was part and parcel to the Church of the Augsburg presence in the port city. Wave after wave of immigrants poured into Montreal. The churches responded

¹⁵⁸ M. Lefebvre and Yuri Oryschuk, eds., Communautés culturelles du Québec: Originaires de l'Europe Centrale et de l'Europe du Sud, (Montreal: Fides, 1985), 49.

¹⁵⁹ Cronmiller, 45.

¹⁶⁰ Lehman, 51.

¹⁶¹ W.J. Lindal, The Icelanders in Canada, Canada Ethnica, (vol. II, Winnipeg: Viking Press, 1967), 294.

in such a way that immigrant-related work became a mark of the Lutheran communities. Even so, the majority of people helped were not ultimately integrated into the churches.

These constant waves of immigration created a different scenario from that of other Lutheran communities elsewhere in Quebec or the rest of Canada. There, a given group of immigrants typically would settle into a community, usually with a limited input of consequent newcomers, and be largely assimilated into the surrounding community. But in Montreal, meeting immigrant-bearing trains, operating boarding houses and welcome centers, looking for jobs, as well as providing church services and English classes were all among activities regularly carried out by all of the Lutheran Churches.

Orthodoxy did not mean a detached spiritualized Christianity, but as a basic premise there was not a doctrine of lasting eternal bliss on earth through the establishment of political, ecclesiastical or social structures. Needs were met, prayers were said, suffering was addressed. However, to the general public eye, action was not apparent because of the immigrant nature of the communities to whom the charity was specifically directed. This social action was further hidden because of the lack of the Lutheran churches participation in the public arena on an inter-church scale.

One effect of the constant influx was to renew the distance between the Lutheran communities and the majority culture. But this effect on the theology of Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec was not the only one.

Confessional Lutheranism was further tempered by this continuous influx of immigrants in that a broad, inclusive church practice resulted. Doctrinal extremes could simply not hold sway with such a continually renewed, wide variety of people from so many different strands of European Lutheranism. Thus while the North American denominational influences were clearly confessional, conservative, and orthodox, the constituency of the worshipping communities was not so clearly so. Indicative of this trend was a remark concerning St John - Montreal: "...the church had become an important spiritual and cultural outpost serving all Protestant and German-speaking immigrants as well as many citizens of Montreal."¹⁶²

Another indication of the broadness is the significant fact that virtually no pietistic, or ultra-confessional, or charismatic, or liberal, or rationalist, or unionistic, or Grundtvigian Lutheran congregation has ever been established in the province of Quebec. The significance becomes clearer when considering that congregations representing all of these non-orthodox tendencies have been established elsewhere in Canada. Continuous contact with European Lutheran newcomers who were used to national or regional churches dictated an inclusivistic reality.¹⁶³ In fact, with but one exception, divisive theological disputes that racked Lutheranism in Ontario (and acutely so in the Ottawa Valley)¹⁶⁴ were non-existent in the province.

Still, continuous waves of immigration alone do not explain the peculiarities of the Lutheran communities in Quebec. Geography, language and denominational strategy also encouraged inclusivism in any one of the given Lutheran worshipping communities.

¹⁶² Saint John's, 19.

¹⁶³ Nelson, 32.

¹⁶⁴ Hessel, 105.

This state of peaceful co-existence does not lie so much in the virtue of the province's Lutherans. It is rather largely due to the sociological and geographical situation in which the worshipping communities found themselves. Each denomination worked in a specific sphere determined by its physical or cultural proximity to the people involved. Because of the denominations' own limited resources, the most accessible opportunities were seized, leaving other possibilities to others. Thus in West Quebec, where the two groupings of German colonies were separated by a mountain range, each grouping was affiliated with a different German-language denomination. The affiliation was determined by the fact that, to the relatively accessible South just across the Ottawa River in Ontario, two different denominations had already been established in the areas adjacent to the German settlements in Quebec. Accordingly, the Lutherans in Pontiac County became members of the ELSC while the Lutherans in Labelle County became members of the LCMS.

What was true of geography, held true for language. Outside the West Quebec region, a given community was organized to serve a given language group. In Montreal, for example, only one Finnish or Danish or Estonian or Latvian or Hungarian congregation was ultimately formed. It was on the basis of language under the broad banner of Lutheranism, not the kind of confessionality, that the congregations were established. In the case of the Norwegian Synods, both worked in the same territory of Montreal and Compton County, but not at the same time.

The situation of Ascension church serves as an example of the case at hand. The church was founded through the efforts of a missionary pastor from the conservatively confessional Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church (SELC). While this was the case, Ascension was the only

Slovak Lutheran Church in the city, since the relatively more open Zion Slovak Synod had not sent any workers to Montreal. As in West Quebec, here too, geography came into play. SELC congregations had previously been established in Ontario, while the Zion Synod had not ventured anywhere into Eastern Canada beyond Windsor, Ontario. These SELC ties to the East simply made it easier for that Synod to extend work into Quebec. All Lutheran Slovaks then were gathered into this one church, not because of the sort of their confessionalism, but because they were Lutherans who spoke Slovak.

In any case Ascension's adult members were all first-generation immigrants from Slovak-speaking areas of Eastern Europe where there was no structural or denominational differentiation between Lutherans of one theological tendency or the other. These immigrants did not distinguish between the two North American Slovak Synods since in their homeland only one body, The Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession, existed for all Lutherans. If the church did distinguish itself from the other Lutheran congregations in Montréal, it was on the basis of ethnic, linguistic and cultural identity, not denominational difference. So it was for the Danes and the Finns and the Estonians and the Lithuanians and the Latvians and the Chinese and the Hungarians and the Norwegians of Montreal Lutheranism.

Another factor that contributed to a broader sense of Lutheranism for the immigrant churches was that of the sheer difficulty of becoming established in a new land. In addition to the financial, linguistic and cultural barriers that drained energy and resources, the Lutherans also dealt with the reality that they were personally responsible for the organization and continuation of their own congregation's material upkeep (this was unlike what had been the situation for

the established churches of Quebec). The above-mentioned factors, plus their small numbers encouraged cooperation. Doctrinal differentiation was too far removed from the realm of immediacy to play a divisive role. As long as the denomination that presented itself was recognizably Lutheran by its teaching, hymnody, liturgy, it was accepted into the people's midst. This early-established pattern became the rule for Quebec Lutherans until the present.

A comment by a historian concerning North American Danish Lutherans in general sheds light on the situation in Quebec: "Probably only a fraction of immigrants were avowedly Grundtvigians or Inner Mission people, and they did not always have an opportunity to select their synod. If they moved, they often joined a congregation of "the other synod" since no change of language, hymnbook or liturgy was involved. Differences between the two synods were stressed by the pastors..."¹⁶⁵

THE ENGLISH EXODUS

The most recent and ongoing distinction of the Lutheran community is the effect of the English exodus from Quebec. This exodus has deeply transformed the community both in its impact on the number of members and on the eventual direction that Lutheranism would take in the province.

Beginning in the late nineteen fifties until the late nineteen sixties, it seemed that the Lutheran church was beginning a new period of expansion that was reaching into the established non-Lutheran community without merely gathering immigrants. In the period from 1951 to 1961,

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Nelson, 271.

the number of Lutherans listed in the government census tripled (from 9,390 to 22, 857), its highest peak ever. New church buildings for English-speaking congregations were constructed in Lachine, Saint Lambert, Montreal, Dollard-des-Ormeaux and Westmount. However, the promising developments were not to last.

First, the sheer loss of members leaving the province has decimated the congregational constituency in all but the Chinese and French Lutheran communities. Parish histories from the nineteen seventies remark the beginnings of the fallout. In no other province of Canada has there been such a generalized demographic factor affecting the Lutheran churches. This has of course also been true of the other non-francophone Protestant communities in the province, but their initial numbers were much greater.

In 1979, Pastor Jan Evans of Ascension - Montreal wrote: "...our young people for political and economical reasons are moving to other provinces; and many others - what a pity! - are losing their first love towards their spiritual mother. In view of this development it is impossible not to exclaim as did the frightened "Save us, Lord, for we are perishing!"¹⁶⁶

Again, in 1990 the author of an anniversary booklet for Christ - Dollard-des-Ormeaux wrote: "Political events in Quebec, particularly from the mid-70's, have resulted in the well-documented exodus of some Anglophones from the Province. Christ Lutheran has not been immune to this trend and herein lies one of our immediate challenges."¹⁶⁷

166

Ascension 50th Anniversary booklet, 1979, 3.

167

Christ Lutheran Church 25th Anniversary booklet, 1990, 2.

The handwriting was on the wall, the churches' membership was quickly diminishing. The Protestant anglo-saxon community that was the most promising pool of potential members, was also the very population that was moving away. In addition, immigration to Quebec from Lutheran areas outside the province had nearly come to a halt.

However, as discussed in chapter four, there was a parallel development concerning French work that was riding on the wave of growth and confidence of Canadian Lutheranism in general. Just at the time that interest in outreach to Quebec francophones was waxing on an extra-provincial scale, the English exodus was eroding the established congregations' base within the province. The two factors combined gave way to the most distinctive feature of Quebec Lutheranism, that of work among Roman Catholic francophones.

It is ironic that the forces which were the most foreign to the Lutherans of Quebec, namely Roman Catholicism as well as French language and culture became the impetus to expand Lutheranism into those very realms by establishing francophone worshipping communities.

The implantation of Lutheranism into a predominantly Roman Catholic society has affected liturgy and practice. This is especially true of the francophone missions. Catholic, confessionally Lutheran practices that long ago fell into disuse elsewhere because of Reformed influence and/or anti-Catholic sentiment have found a congenial place for revival in the Roman environment.

This phenomenon is most evident in the context of the Sunday worship service. To begin with, the term "mass" is commonly employed to refer to the worship service. While this nomenclature is virtually taboo in many Lutheran circles around the world, the Augsburg Confession itself states "We have not abolished the Mass".¹⁶⁸ Still, because of the Confession's references to the "abuse of the Mass", as well the Reform-influenced tendency to diminish the frequency and importance of the eucharistic celebration, the term has been all but abandoned.

"Mass" is fittingly used because the francophone missions were begun with the practice of eucharistic celebrations every Sunday. Such weekly communion services are no longer the norm for Lutheranism. The usual practice is twice monthly, monthly, or even (albeit increasingly rarely), every four months. The absence of the eucharist disallows the usage of the term mass which by definition specifies the celebration of this sacrament.

Another tendency concerning the sacrament of Holy Communion that finds a meeting point with Roman Catholicism has to do with doctrine of the real presence. While the Roman teaching of transubstantiation is common knowledge, the range of Lutheran interpretation is not. Beginning at the time of the Reformation and gaining support thereafter, the doctrine of Receptionism was encouraged to stress the administration of the elements as essential to the sacrament. The Doctrine of Consecrationalism, emphasizing the efficacy of Christ's words of institution, was also within the sphere of Lutheran teaching. Although the francophone clergy and the people may well have different reasons for accepting Consecrationalism, they both tend to arrive at the same conclusion. For the pastors, the doctrinal position comes from a certain school

¹⁶⁸ Concordia Triglotta, Apology of the Augsburg Confession, article XXIV, (Saint Louis, Mo: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), 65.

of thought of Lutheran confessionalism. For the Lutherans of Roman Catholic background, Consecrationalism offers familiar teaching somewhat similar to that background while still fully including the Lutheran doctrine of justification.¹⁶⁹

This heightening of the centrality of the sacrament of communion in turn leads to other nearly defunct, but confessional practices. One is the inclusion of the eucharistic prayer, a practice that was discouraged by Lutheranism so as not to blur the purely sacramental nature of eucharistic grace. Worshippers making the sign of the cross, especially at the communion dismissal, is another.

Another distinctive feature of the Church of the Augsburg Confession throughout Quebec is that the historic liturgy remains intact, with little influence from free-style North American Protestantism.¹⁷⁰ This constant holds true for a variety of factors, all resulting in liturgical conservatism.¹⁷¹ The first reason would be that of identity. Too much modification of the structure of the liturgy would destroy the outwardly recognizable marks of that which is Lutheran in a context where familiar ecclesiastic landmarks would be few and far between. With the minority of minorities situation, cohesiveness, consistency and continuity become important for the distinctiveness of the church community. A major element of this aspect of liturgical identity is the hymnody which so strongly characterizes Lutheran worship. Thus, the music of Bach, Luther, Mendelssohn and the like remain in place. Ethnic and linguistic diversity

¹⁶⁹ For a discussion of this point of theology, see Luther D. Reed, The Lutheran Liturgy, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1947), 331.

¹⁷⁰ In the rest of North America the issue of retaining the liturgy is divisive. A perusal of articles in the denominational organs readily reveals the extent of this debate.

¹⁷¹ An example of this conservatism is the continued usage of the 1941 LCMS liturgy by the four LCMS/LCC-related anglophone congregations. Elsewhere in North America the majority of congregations in those denominations uses liturgies produced in the 1980's.

notwithstanding, the liturgy remains remarkably unified. Another reason for the conservatism is the liturgical renewal that has swept the Western liturgical churches. This call to more fully appreciate the biblical and historical roots of the liturgy fits in well with yet another factor in the liturgical uniformity: confessionalism. This movement seeks to stress the catholic nature of the Lutheran movement at the time of the Reformation. Liturgically, this means that Reformed (British Protestant) influences that stressed the centrality of the preached Word to the detriment of the sacraments of Communion and Baptism were eliminated. That in turn allows an emphasis on the importance of the mystical and the sacramental, and how those are expressed in the worship context. This preservation of specifically Lutheran theology through the liturgy (*lex orandi lex credendi*) paved the way for survival in Quebec. By conserving catholic forms and practices, communication with the Roman Catholic community was facilitated. When these conservative factors have been exposed to the province's Roman Catholic milieu, they have generated a Lutheranism that is more catholic on the whole than is generally the case elsewhere.

Celebration of Holy Days, including certain saints' days and marian festivals, processions on Palm Sunday, the imposition of ashes on Ash Wednesday are all results of the above factors that find a receptive audience in a culturally Roman Catholic society. Again, this is especially true of the francophone missions.

Perhaps the most obvious change to Lutheranism in Quebec is the abolition of Confirmation in the francophone missions. Culturally, the rite of Confirmation has taken on near-sacramental status and is the high point in the life of many Lutherans. Typically, the youth begin Confirmation courses at the age of eleven or twelve and are confirmed upon the completion

of two to three years of weekly catechetical instruction. Upon confirmation, the youth are permitted to participate in Holy Communion. Even non-practicing families tend to enroll their children in this thorough preparation which normally includes compulsory attendance at worship services as well as other activities. These practices however came into being two centuries after the Reformation and are not prescribed by confessional teaching. Because of those factors alone, then, the rite of Confirmation is under scrutiny by those who are influenced by liturgical renewal and confessionalism. When these tendencies are put into the Roman Catholic Quebec context, the result has been the elimination of the rite of Confirmation and the instigation of the practice of "early communion." Because francophone Lutheran children usually go to Catholic schools, or are of Roman Catholic background, the idea of "doing one's first communion" is part and parcel of growing up in Quebec. Since neither the culture of the Lutheran francophones nor the theology of the liturgical renewal and confessional movements undergirds the traditional Lutheran practice, the nearly sacred rite of Confirmation, so central in the Lutheran church elsewhere, has given way to what is both culturally *Québécois* and historically Lutheran. The francophone missions prepare children for first communion as early as seven years old. Continuing catechetical instruction, Bible studies and Sunday school preserve the traditional Lutheran emphasis on Christian education as a life-long process as well as distinguish the missions from Roman Catholic practice..

~~Individual~~ confession and absolution is encouraged both by the liturgical and confessional movements. The practice has not been successfully revived on any general scale within Lutheranism (except among certain segments of the clergy) because of its identification with Roman Catholic practice and Lutheran repulsion to the notion of obligatory clerical mediation and the enumeration of actual sins. Nevertheless, clergy teaching has had more effect on the

francophone Lutherans who are familiar with private confessions and who have been spared the collective, historical accumulation of resistance to the practice.

CONCLUSION

The Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec has a story of its own to tell. It has been shaped by its presence in that province in such a way that the Lutheran worshipping communities there are distinctive from those elsewhere. Both from within and without, the Church has been influenced in its theology and practice by a unique configuration of factors.

From its mid nineteenth-century beginnings in Quebec, the Church of the Augsburg Confession was surrounded by theologies alien to its own. In addition to the expected differences from the dominant British Protestant and French Roman Catholic teaching, there was the added Quebec peculiarity of Canadian millennial nationalism. This politico-religious nationalism was at its height just at the time that the confessional Lutheranism being implanted in Quebec was at an acutely amillennialist point.

Theology though, was not the only distinctive feature. The Church as a whole tended to be an immigrant church. Constantly and consistently, the churches were dealing with the arrival of new immigrants, thus reinforcing the immigrant character of the churches. This was especially true for the first century, but even when English-Canadian congregations were established later on, they were largely composed of Lutherans originally from outside of Quebec.

As was the case for most nineteenth and twentieth-century immigrants to the province, the Lutheran immigrants tended to be integrated more into the anglophone than francophone societal mainstream. This anglophone connection led to the decimation of the Lutheran Church

membership as the the English exodus gained momentum in the nineteen seventies, eighties and nineties.

The anglicization and resultant decimation played a major role in the development of what is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Lutheranism in Quebec, that of its francophone missions. The churches were faced with the realization that immigration from Lutheran countries was coming to a halt. At the same time, the hopeful situation of other Protestants being attracted to the English-language Lutheran missions of the fifties and the sixties was also dissipated as those potentially new members were leaving the province in record numbers. Attention then was turned to the possibility of carrying Lutheranism to the traditionally Roman Catholic francophones. While that effort did materialize to some degree, it also unexpectedly opened the way for the first time for other newly-arrived Lutherans, most notably from France and Madagascar, to participate in francophone Lutheran worshipping communities

The combination of theology, ethnic diversity and minority status of Lutherans in the province has determined that the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec be a distinctive Church. This distinctiveness sets it apart from other denominations in the province as well as from the Lutheran churches in the rest of Canada, North America, or for that matter, the rest of the world.

APPENDIX I

STATISTICAL INFORMATION

For purposes of this research, the number of members of the churches of the Augsburg confession in Quebec is based on the statistics as submitted by the churches themselves for the national bodies' yearbooks. Normally, the baptized membership is listed and will be the number cited in this study.

Statistics for the number of people who claimed to be Lutheran in government census are available as of 1844 (a decade before the first Lutheran congregation was formed in Quebec), at ten year intervals from 1851 - 1991. However, at least until 1871, Lutherans were sometimes counted as members of The Church of England.¹⁷²

Statistical reports for churches of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod (LCMS), are available since 1879. The statistics for the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church (SELC) Montreal, Ascension congregation (1937) are contained in local records and then in LCMS records, as of 1972. Therein are also found the preaching station in Rouyn (1930), the Latvian congregation in Noranda (1953), four congregations in West Quebec, (Saint Paul (1879) - Poltimore , Saint Matthew (1878) - Inlet , Our Redeemer (1958) - Buckingham, Sauveur Vivant (1976) -

¹⁷²

Schnurr, 94.

Gatineau); as well as six in Montreal, Trinity (1927) the Estonian and the Latvian missions (1953), Christ Memorial (1959), Réconciliation (1976), Communauté de la Pâque (1980)).

Statistics for congregations of The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC) and the denominations that preceded it before mergers, are covered in parish and denominational histories covering most of the other Quebec churches since their founding. Two of these are in West Quebec (Saint John's (1872) - Ladysmith, Zion (1914) - Schwartz), the rest are in Montreal (Saint John's - Montreal, Redeemer (1905) - Westmount-Montreal, Our Savior (1956) - Lachine, Saint Ansgar (1927) - Montreal, Saint Michael's (1927) - Montreal, Trinity Latvian (1951) - Montreal, Estonian - Montreal (1951), Saint Paul (1957) - St. Laurent, Good Shepherd (1967) - St Lambert, Christ (1965) - Dollard-des-Ormeaux, The Chinese Lutheran Church in Montreal (1984) - St Laurent, (refer to denominational diagram below).

The statistical records for four of the Norwegian worshipping communities of the nineteenth century are briefly outlined in a volume entitled Norsk lutherske menighete i Amerika held in the archives of the Norwegian - American Historical Association. The Norwegian seamen's missions in Quebec City and Montreal were by definition transient and did not keep membership lists, despite their serving regular local worshipping communities connected with them. Other mission starts and preaching stations such as the ones in Montreal for Lithuanians, and Hungarians, and Swedes; for Norwegians in Quebec, Compton County, Montreal and Trois-Rivières; for francophones in Quebec have not left statistical records.

The statistical reports for the recently-begun (1992) francophone congregation (Ascension - LCC) are held in its local archives.

Since 1967 the statistics for all active Quebec congregations (except the Norwegian Seamen's mission and the most recent LCC francophone congregation) are available in the yearbook published by the Lutheran Council in Canada. This resource then includes the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS) congregation in West Quebec (Our Shepherd (1976) - Poltimore).

Although statistics are available, they do not necessarily precisely reflect the numerical reality. A disinterested or sloppy record-keeper may effect the numbers reported. This is evident in some of the statistics which for certain congregations remain identical for a decade or more! Moreover, congregations may have limited the numbers to avoid the levies imposed by the national body on a per-member basis. Others may have defensively buoyed up the numbers as the English exodus began taking its toll on the church's rosters. Nevertheless, there is a regularity to the irregularities and the statistics do provide an overall picture of the numbers of members involved in the Church of the Augsburg Confession in Quebec.

**GOVERNMENT CENSUS STATISTICS:
NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS CLAIMING
LUTHERAN AFFILIATION IN QUEBEC**

**CHURCH STATISTICS:
NUMBER OF MEMBERS
IN QUEBEC**

YEAR NUMBER

1844 101

(the first Lutheran congregation in
Quebec was organized in 1852)

1851 20

1861 867

200

1871 496

260

1881 1,003

600

1891 1,385

650

1901 1,642

850

1911 2,619

870

1921 2,209

900

1931 8,261

1,850

1941 7,081

1,938

1951 9,390

2,200

1961 22,857

4,100

1971 23,845

4,737

1981 10,335

4,439

1991 10,700

3,276

APPENDIX II

**DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION OF LUTHERAN WORSHIPPING
COMMUNITIES IN QUEBEC AT FOUNDING**

INDEPENDENT

St John Evangelical Lutheran Church - Montreal 1852

SYNOD FOR NORWEGIAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (NS)

preaching station - Quebec 1862

The Evangelical Lutheran Congregation - Bury 1876

preaching station - Montreal 1878

Montreal Scandinavian Lutheran Congregation - Montreal 1884

Our Savior's Scandinavian Lutheran Congregation - Montreal 1891

THE UNITED NORWEGIAN LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (UNLCA)

Bury Congregation- Bury 1895

preaching station - Montreal 1896

preaching station - Waterville 1899

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD OF MISSOURI, OHIO, AND OTHER STATES; 1947 -
name changed to LUTHERAN CHURCH - MISSOURI SYNOD (LCMS). Ontario District (O) (
name changed to East District (E) in 1991) congregations in Quebec reorganized with most LCMS
congregations in Canada to form the **Lutheran Church - Canada (LCC)** in 1990, LCMS English District
(Eng) and SELC congregations in Quebec remained with the LCMS.

Saint Paul's - Poltimore 1879 (O)

Saint Matthew's - Inlet 1878 (O)

Trinity - Montreal 1927 (O)

preaching station - Montreal 1930 (O)

Latvian preaching station - Montreal 1953 (O)

Estonian preaching station - Montreal 1953 (O)

Christ Memorial - Montreal 1959 (Eng)

Our Redeemer - Buckingham 1956 (O)

Sauveur Vivant - Gatineau 1976 (O)

Réconciliation - Montreal 1976 (Eng)

Communauté de la Pâque - Montréal 1981 (Eng)

Living Way - Kirkland 1991 (SELC)

Ascension - Montreal 1992 (E)

NORWEGIAN SEAMEN'S MISSION (NSM)

Quebec - 1899

Montreal - 1939

AUGUSTANA SYNOD (AUG)

Montreal - 1918

NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND SYNOD (NYNES); 1909-Canadian NYNES congregations formed the **EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD OF CANADA (ELSC)**
Redeemer Evangelical Lutheran Church - Montreal, Westmount 1904

UNITED DANISH EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (UELC)
St. Ansgars Evangelical Lutheran Church - Montreal 1927

FINNISH STATE CHURCH (FINN)
St Michael Evangelical Lutheran Church - Montreal 1927

SLOVAK EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (SELC)
Ascension Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession- Montreal 1937

AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH (ALC)
Good Shepherd Evangelical Lutheran Church - Saint Lambert 1966

UNITED LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ULCA)
Our Savior -Lachine 1954
Saint Paul - St. Laurent 1956
Trinity Latvian - Montreal 1952
Trinity Estonian - Montreal 1953

LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA - CANADA SECTION (LCA-CS)
Christ - Dollard-des-Ormeaux 1965
The Chinese Lutheran Church of Montreal - Saint Laurent 1980

WISCONSIN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (WELS)
Our Shepherd - Poltimore 1976

APPENDIX III

LUTHERAN WORSHIPPING COMMUNITIES IN QUEBEC 1854-1994

<u>YEAR</u> <u>BEGUN</u>	<u>YEAR</u> <u>ENDED</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>LANGUAGE</u>
1853		Montreal	St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church	Independent (until 1939) LCA-LCA-ELCIC	English German
1862	1862	Quebec	preaching station	NS	Norwegian
1876	1884	Bury	The Evangelical Lutheran Congregation	NS	Norwegian
1876		Ladysmith	St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church	ELSC-ULCA-LCA-ELCIC	German English
1876 (1930)		High Falls Poltimore)	St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church	LCMS	German English
1876		Inlet	St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church	LCMS	German English
1878	1880	Montreal	preaching station	NS	Norwegian
1884	1885	Montreal	Montreal Scandinavian Lutheran Congregation	NS	Norwegian
1891	1895	Montreal	Our Savior's Scandinavian Lutheran Congregation	NS	Norwegian
1895	1899	Bury	Bury Congregation	UNLCA	Norwegian
1896	1898	Montreal	preaching station	UNLCA	Norwegian
1897	1899	Waterville	preaching station	UNLCA	Norwegian
1899	1899	Quebec	Norwegian Seamen's Mission	NSM	Norwegian

<u>YEAR</u> <u>BEGUN</u>	<u>YEAR</u> <u>ENDED</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>NAME</u>	<u>DENOMINATION</u>	<u>LANGUAGE</u>
1905 (1912 (1990		Montreal Westmount) Montreal)	Redeemer Evangelical Lutheran Church	NYNES ELSC (SCC) ULCA LCA -ELCIC	English
1914		Schwartz	Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church	ELSC-ULCA LCA-ELCIC	German English
1918		Montreal	preaching station	AUG	Swedish
1926		Montreal	St. Ansgar's Evangelical Lutheran Church	UELC	Danish English
1927	1945	Montreal	Trinity Lutheran Church (remaining members affiliated with Ascension , Montreal)	LCMS	English German
1927		Montreal	Saint Michael's Evangelical Lutheran Church	FINN ULCA-LCA-ELCIC	Finnish
1927		Montreal	Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of the Ascension	SELC-LCMS	Slovak English
1930	1950	Rouyn	preaching station	LCMS	English
1933	1950	Montreal	First Evangelical (Hungarian) Lutheran Church	ULCA	Hungarian
1939	1994	Montreal	Norwegian Seamen's Mission	NSMS	Norwegian
1951	1981	Montreal	preaching station	LCMS	Estonian
1951		Montreal	Trinity	ULCA-LCA-ELCIC	Estonian
1951		Montreal	Trinity	ULCA-LCA-ELCIC	Latvian
1951	1959	Montreal	preaching station	LCMS	Latvian

<u>YEAR BEGUN</u>	<u>YEAR ENDED</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>NAME</u> preaching station	<u>DENOMINATION</u> LCMS	<u>LANGUAGE</u> Latvian
1951	1959	Rouyn			
1956	1973	Lachine	Our Savior (remaining members affiliated with Redeemer, Westmount)	ULCA-LCA	English
1958		Buckingham	Our Redeemer	LCMS-LCC	English
1959	1982	Montreal	Christ Memorial	LCMS	English
1957		St. Laurent	Saint Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church	ULCA-LCA-ELCIC	German English
1965		Dollard-des-Ormeaux	Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church	LCA-ELCIC	English
1967		Saint Lambert	Good Shepherd Evangelical Lutheran Church	ALC	English French
1976		Poltimore	Our Shepherd Evangelical Lutheran Church	WELS	English
1976		Gatineau	Église évangélique luthérienne du Sauveur Vivant	LCMS	French
1976		Montreal	Église évangélique luthérienne de la Réconciliation	LCMS	French
1981	1991	Montreal	Communauté de la Pâque	LCMS	French
1982		Saint Laurent	The Chinese Lutheran Church in Montreal	LCA-ELCIC	Chinese
1991		Kirkland	Living Way Lutheran Church	LCMS	English
1992		Montreal	Église évangélique luthérienne de l'Ascension	LCC	French

APPENDIX IV

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION¹⁷³

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION (1530)

PREFACE.

Most Invincible Emperor, Cæsar Augustus, most Clement Lord:

Inasmuch as Your Imperial Majesty has summoned a Diet of the Empire here at Augsburg to deliberate concerning measures against the Turk, that most atrocious, hereditary and ancient enemy of the Christian name and religion, in what way effectually to withstand his furor and assaults by strong and lasting military provision; and then also concerning dissensions in the matter of our holy religion and Christian Faith, that in this matter of religion the opinions and judgments of parties might be heard in each other's presence, and considered and weighed among ourselves in charity, leniency and mutual kindness, to the end that the things in the Scriptures which on either side have been differently interpreted or misunderstood, being corrected and laid aside, these matters may be settled and brought back to one perfect truth and Christian concord, that for the future one pure and true religion may be embraced and maintained by us, that as we all serve and do battle under one Christ, so we may be able also to live in unity and concord in the one Christian Church. And inasmuch as we, the undersigned Electors and Princes, with others joined with us, have been called to the aforesaid Diet, the same as the other Electors, Princes and Estates, in obedient compliance with the Imperial mandate we have come to Augsburg, and, what we do not mean to say as boasting, we were among the first to be here.

Since then Your Imperial Majesty caused to be proposed to the Electors, Princes and other Estates of the Empire, also here at Augsburg at the very beginning of this Diet, among other things, that, by virtue of the Imperial Edict, the several Estates of the Empire should present their opinions and judgments in the German and Latin languages, after due deliberation, answer was given to Your Imperial Majesty, on the ensuing Wednesday, that on the next Friday the Articles of our Confession for our part would be presented.

Wherefore, in obedience to Your Imperial Majesty's wishes, we offer, in this matter of religion, the Confession

of our preachers and of ourselves, showing what manner of doctrine from the Holy Scriptures and the pure Word of God has been up to this time set forth in our lands, dukedoms, dominions and cities, and taught in our churches. And if the other Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire will present similar writings, to wit, in Latin and German, according to the said Imperial proposition, giving their opinions in this matter of religion, here before Your Imperial Majesty, our most clement Lord, we, with the Princes and friends aforesaid, are prepared to confer amicably concerning all possible ways and means, as far as may be honorably done, that we may come together, and, the matter between us or both sides being peacefully discussed without offensive strife, the dissension, by God's help, may be done away and brought back to one true accordant religion; for as we all serve and do battle under one Christ, we ought to confess the one Christ, and so, after the tenor of Your Imperial Majesty's Edict, everything be conducted according to the truth of God, which, with most fervent prayers, we entreat of God.

But, with regard to the other Electors, Princes and Estates, if they hold that this treatment of the matter of religion after the manner which Your Imperial Majesty has so wisely brought forward, namely, with such mutual presentation of writings and calm conferring together among ourselves, should not proceed, or be unfruitful in results; we, at least, leave behind the clear testimony that we decline or refuse nothing whatever, allowed of God and a good conscience, which may tend to bring about Christian concord; as also Your Imperial Majesty and the other Electors and Estates of the Empire, and all who are moved by sincere love and zeal for religion, and who will give an impartial hearing to this matter, will graciously perceive and more and more understand from this our Confession.

Your Imperial Majesty also, not only once but often, graciously signified to the Electors, Princes and Estates of the Empire, and at the Diet of Spires held A. D. 1526, according to the form of Your Imperial instruction and commission given and prescribed, caused it to be stated and publicly proclaimed, that Your Majesty, in dealing with this matter of religion, for certain reasons which were alleged in Your Majesty's name, was not willing to decide and could not determine anything, but that Your Majesty

173

This 1921 translation by F. Bente and W.H.T. Dau is found in The Encyclopedia of American Religion: Religious Creeds, G. Milton, ed., Detroit, Michigan: Gale Research Co., Book Tower, 1988, 39-49.

would diligently use Your Majesty's office with the Roman Pontiff for the convening of a General Council, as the same was publicly set forth at greater length over a year ago at the last Diet which met at Spires. There Your Imperial Majesty, through his Highness Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, our friend and clement Lord, as well as through the Orator and Imperial Commissioners, caused this, among other things, to be proclaimed: that Your Imperial Majesty had known of and pondered the resolution of Your Majesty's Representative in the Empire, and of the President and Imperial Counsellors, and the Legates from other Estates convened at Ratisbon, concerning the calling of a Council, and that this also was adjudged by Your Imperial Majesty to be of advantage; and because the matters to be adjusted between Your Imperial Majesty and the Roman Pontiff were nearing agreement and Christian reconciliation, Your Imperial Majesty did not doubt that the Roman Pontiff could be induced to hold a General Council; therefore Your Imperial Majesty himself signified that he would endeavor to secure the Chief Pontiff's consent together with Your Imperial Majesty to convene such General Council, and that letters to that effect would be publicly issued with all possible expedition.

In the event, therefore, that the differences between us and the other parties in the matter of religion cannot be amicably and in charity settled here before Your Imperial Majesty, we offer this in all obedience, abundantly prepared to join issue and to defend the cause in such a general, free, Christian Council, for the convening of which there has always been accordant action and agreement of votes in all the Imperial Diets held during Your Majesty's reign, on the part of the Electors, Princes and other Estates of the Empire. To this General Council, and at the same time to Your Imperial Majesty, we have made appeal in this greatest and gravest of matters even before this in due manner and form of law. To this appeal, both to Your Imperial Majesty and to a Council, we still adhere, neither do we intend, nor would it be possible for us, to relinquish it by this or any other document, unless the matter between us and the other side, according to the tenor of the latest Imperial citation, can be amicably and charitably settled and brought to Christian concord, of which this also is our solemn and public testimony.

I. CHIEF ARTICLES OF FAITH.

Article I.

Our Churches, with common consent, do teach, that the decree of the Council of Nicæa concerning the Unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the Three Persons, is true and to be believed without any doubting; that is to say, there is one Divine Essence which is called and which is God: eternal, without body, without parts, of infinite power, wisdom and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible; and yet that there are three Persons, of the same essence and power, who also are co-eternal, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. And the term "person" they use as the Fathers have used it, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which subsists of itself.

They condemn all heresies which have sprung up against this article, as the Manichæans who assumed two principles [gods], one Good, and the other Evil; also the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans, and all such. They condemn also the Samosatenes, old and new, who contending that there is but one Person, sophistically and impiously argue that the Word and the Holy Ghost are not distinct Persons, but that "Word" signifies a spoken word, and "Spirit" [Ghost] signifies motion created in things.

Article II.

Also they teach, that since the Fall of Adam, all men begotten according to nature, are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with concupiscence; and that this disease, or vice of origin, is truly sin, even now condemning and bringing eternal death upon those not born again through baptism and the Holy Ghost.

They condemn the Pelagians and others, who deny that the vice of origin is sin, and who, to obscure the glory of Christ's merit and benefits, argue that man can be justified before God by his own strength and reason.

Article III.

Also they teach, that the Word, that is, the Son of God, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are Two Natures, the divine and the human, inseparably conjoined in one Person, one Christ, true God and true man, who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, that he might reconcile the Father unto us, and be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but for all actual sins of men. He also descended into hell, and truly rose again the third day; afterward he ascended into Heaven, that he might sit on the right hand of the Father, and forever reign, and have dominion over all creatures, and sanctify them that believe in Him, by sending the Holy Ghost into their hearts, to rule, comfort and quicken them, and to defend them against the devil and the power of sin. The same Christ shall openly come again to judge the quick and the dead, etc., according to the Apostles' Creed.

Article IV.

Also they teach, that men cannot be Justified before God by their own strength, merits or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by His death, hath made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness in his sight. Rom. 3 and 4.

Article V.

That we may obtain this faith, the Office of Teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted. For through the Word and Sacraments as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given, who worketh faith where and when it pleaseth God in them that hear the Gospel, to wit, that God, not for our own merits, but for Christ's sake, justified those who believe that they are received into favor for Christ's sake.

They condemn the Anabaptists and others, who think that the Holy Ghost cometh to men without the external Word, through their own preparations and works.

Article VI.

Also they teach, that this Faith is bound to bring forth Good Fruits, and that it is necessary to do good works commanded by God, because of God's will, but not that we should rely on those works to merit justification before God. For remission of sins and justification are apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ attests: "When ye shall have done all these things, say: We are unprofitable servants" [Luke 17:10]. The same is also taught by the Fathers. For Ambrose says: "It is ordained of God that he who believes in Christ, is saved; freely receiving remission of sins, without works, by faith alone."

Article VII.

Also they teach, that One holy Church is to continue forever. The Church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments rightly administered. And to the true unity of the Church, it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike. As Paul says: "One faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all," etc. [Eph. 4:5, 6].

Article VIII.

Although the Church properly is the Congregation of Saints and true believers, nevertheless, since in this life, many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled therewith, it is lawful to use the Sacraments, which are administered by evil men; according to the saying of Christ: "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat," etc. [Matt. 23:2]. Both the Sacraments and Word are effectual by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, notwithstanding they be administered by evil men.

They condemn the Donatists, and such like, who denied it to be lawful to use the ministry of evil men in the Church, and who thought the ministry of evil men to be unprofitable and of none effect.

Article IX.

Of Baptism, they teach, that it is necessary to salvation, and that through Baptism is offered the grace of God; and that children are to be baptized, who, being offered to God through Baptism, are received into His grace.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who allow not the Baptism of children, and say that children are saved without Baptism.

Article X.

Of the Supper of the Lord, they teach, that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord; and they disapprove of those that teach otherwise.

Article XI.

Of Confession, they teach, that Private Absolution ought to be retained in the churches, although in confession an enumeration of all sins is not necessary. For it is impossible, according to the Psalm: "Who can understand his errors?" [Ps. 19: 12].

Article XII.

Of Repentance, they teach, that for those that have fallen after Baptism, there is remission of sins whenever they are converted; and that the Church ought to impart absolution to those thus returning to repentance.

Now repentance consists properly of these two parts: One is contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is faith, which, born of the Gospel, or of absolution, believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven, comforts the conscience, and delivers it from terrors. Then good works are bound to follow, which are the fruits of repentance.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who deny that those once justified can lose the Holy Ghost. Also those who contend that some may attain to such perfection in this life that they cannot sin. The Novatians also are condemned, who would not absolve such as had fallen after Baptism, though they returned to repentance. They also are rejected who do not teach that remission of sins cometh through faith, but command us to merit grace through satisfactions of our own.

Article XIII.

Of the Use of the Sacraments, they teach, that the Sacraments were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather to be signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith in those who use them. Wherefore we must so use the Sacraments that faith be added to believe the promises which are offered and set forth through the Sacraments.

They therefore condemn those who teach that the Sacraments justify by the outward act, and do not teach that, in the use of the Sacraments, faith which believes that sins are forgiven, is required.

Article XIV.

Of Ecclesiastical Order, they teach, that no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments, unless he be regularly called.

Article XV.

Of Rites and Usages in the Church, they teach, that those ought to be observed which may be observed without sin, and which are profitable unto tranquillity and good order in the Church, as particular holydays, festivals, and the like.

Nevertheless, concerning such things, let men be admonished that consciences are not to be burdened, as though such observance was necessary to salvation. They are admonished also that human traditions instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning meats and days, etc., instituted to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.

Article XVI.

Of Civil Affairs, they teach, that lawful civil ordinances are good works of God, and that it is right for Christians to bear civil office, to sit as judges, to determine matters by the Imperial and other existing laws, to award just

punishments, to engage in just wars, to serve as soldiers, to make legal contracts, to hold property, to make oath when required by the magistrates, to marry, to be given in marriage.

They condemn the Anabaptists who forbid these civil offices to Christians. They condemn also those who do not place the perfection of the Gospel in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking civil offices; for the Gospel teaches an eternal righteousness of the heart. Meanwhile, it does not destroy the State or the family, but especially requires their preservation as ordinances of God, and in such ordinances the exercise of charity. Therefore, Christians are necessarily bound to obey their own magistrates and laws, save only when commanded to sin, for then they ought to obey God rather than men [Acts 5:29].

Article XVII.

Also they teach, that, at the Consummation of the World, Christ shall appear for judgment, and shall raise up all the dead; he shall give to the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys, but ungodly men and the devils he shall condemn to be tormented without end.

They condemn the Anabaptists who think that there will be an end to the punishments of condemned men and devils. They condemn also others, who are now spreading certain Jewish opinions that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed [exterminated].

Article XVIII.

Of the Freedom of the Will, they teach, that man's will has some liberty for the attainment of civil righteousness, and for the choice of things subject to reason. Nevertheless, it has no power, without the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God, that is, spiritual righteousness; since the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God [1 Cor. 2:14]; but this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word. These things are said in as many words by Augustine in his *Hypognosticon*, book iii.: "We grant that all men have a certain freedom of will in judging according to [natural] reason; not such freedom, however, whereby it is capable, without God, either to begin, or much less to complete aught in things pertaining to God, but only in works of this life, whether good or evil. 'Good,' I call those works which spring from the good in Nature, that is, to have a will to labor in the field, to eat and drink, to have a friend, to clothe oneself, to build a house, to marry, to keep cattle, to learn divers useful arts, or whatsoever good pertains to this life, none of which things are without dependence on the providence of God; yea, of Him and through Him they are and have their beginning. 'Evil,' I call such works as to have a will to worship an idol, to commit murder," etc.

They condemn the Pelagians and others who teach that, without the Holy Ghost, by the power of nature alone, we are able to love God above all things; also to do the commandments of God as touching "the substance of the act."

For, although nature is able in some sort to do the outward work (for it is able to keep the hands from theft and murder), yet it cannot work the inward motions, such as the fear of God, trust in God, chastity, patience, etc.

Article XIX.

Of the Cause of Sin, they teach, that although God doth create and preserve nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of the wicked, that is, of the devil and ungodly men; which will, unaided of God, turns itself from God, as Christ says [John 8:44]: "When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own."

Article XX.

Our teachers are falsely accused of forbidding Good Works. For their published writings on the Ten Commandments, and others of like import, bear witness that they have taught to good purpose concerning all estates and duties of life, as to what estates of life and what works in every calling be pleasing to God. Concerning these things preachers heretofore taught but little, and urged only childish and needless works, as particular holydays, particular fasts, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, services in honor of saints, the use of rosaries, monasticism, and such like. Since our adversaries have been admonished of these things they are now unlearning them, and do not preach these unprofitable works as heretofore. Besides they begin to mention faith, of which there was heretofore marvellous silence. They teach that we are justified not by works only, but they conjoin faith and works, and say that we are justified by faith and works. This doctrine is more tolerable than the former one, and can afford more consolation than their old doctrine.

Forasmuch, therefore, as the doctrine concerning faith, which ought to be the chief one in the church, has lain so long unknown, as all must needs grant that there was the deepest silence in their sermons concerning the righteousness of faith, while only the doctrine of works was treated in the churches, our teachers have instructed the churches concerning faith as follows:

First, that our works cannot reconcile God or merit forgiveness of sins, grace and justification, but that we obtain this only by faith, when we believe that we are received into favor for Christ's sake, who alone has been set forth the Mediator and Propitiation [1 Tim. 2:5], in order that the Father may be reconciled through Him. Whoever, therefore, trusts that by works he merits grace, despises the merit and grace of Christ, and seeks a way to God without Christ, by human strength, although Christ has said of himself: "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life" [John 14:6].

This doctrine concerning faith is everywhere treated by Paul [Eph. 2:8]: "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God, not of works," etc.

And lest anyone should craftily say that a new interpretation of Paul has been devised by us, this entire matter is supported by the testimonies of the Fathers. For Augustine, in many volumes, defends grace and the righteousness of faith, over against the merits of works. And Ambrose, in his *De Vocatione Gentium*, and elsewhere, teaches to like

effect. For in his *De Vocatione Gentium* he says as follows: "Redemption by the Blood of Christ would become of little value, neither would the pre-eminence of man's works be superseded by the mercy of God, if justification, which is wrought through grace, were due to the merits going before, so as to be, not the free gift of a donor, but the reward due to the laborer."

But, although this doctrine is despised by the inexperienced, nevertheless God-fearing and anxious consciences find by experience that it brings the greatest consolation, because consciences cannot be pacified through any works, but only by faith, when they are sure that, for Christ's sake, they have a gracious God. As Paul teaches [Rom. 5:1]: "Being justified by faith, we have peace with God." This whole doctrine is to be referred to that conflict of the terrified conscience; neither can it be understood apart from that conflict. Therefore inexperienced and profane men judge ill concerning this matter, who dream that Christian righteousness is nothing but the civil righteousness of natural reason.

Heretofore consciences were plagued with the doctrine of works, nor did they hear any consolation from the Gospel. Some persons were driven by conscience into the desert, into monasteries, hoping there to merit grace by a monastic life. Some also devised other works whereby to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins. There was very great need to treat of and renew this doctrine of faith in Christ, to the end that anxious consciences should not be without consolation, but that they might know that grace and forgiveness of sins and justification are apprehended by faith in Christ.

Men are also admonished that here the term "faith" doth not signify merely the knowledge of the history, such as is in the ungodly and in the devil, but signifieth a faith which believes, not merely the history, but also the effect of the history—namely, this article of the forgiveness of sins, to wit, that we have grace, righteousness, and forgiveness of sins, through Christ.

Now he that knoweth that he has a Father reconciled to him through Christ, since he truly knows God, knows also that God careth for him, and calls upon God; in a word, he is not without God, as the heathen. For devils and the ungodly are not able to believe this article of the forgiveness of sins. Hence, they hate God as an enemy; call not upon Him; and expect no good from Him. Augustine also admonishes his readers concerning the word "faith," and teaches that the term "faith" is accepted in the Scriptures, not for knowledge such as is in the ungodly, but for confidence which consoles and encourages the terrified mind.

Furthermore, it is taught on our part, that it is necessary to do good works, not that we should trust to merit grace by them, but because it is the will of God. It is only by faith that forgiveness of sins and grace are apprehended. And because through faith the Holy Ghost is received, hearts are renewed and endowed with new affections, so as to be able to bring forth good works. For Ambrose says: "Faith is the mother of a good will and right doing." For man's powers without the Holy Ghost are full of ungodly affections, and are too weak to do works which are good in

God's sight. Besides, they are in the power of the devil, who impels men to divers sins, to ungodly opinions, to open crimes. This we may see in the philosophers, who, although they endeavored to live an honest life, could not succeed, but were defiled with many open crimes. Such is the feebleness of man, when he is without faith and without the Holy Ghost, and governs himself only by human strength.

Hence it may be readily seen that this doctrine is not to be charged with prohibiting good works, but rather the more to be commended, because it shows how we are enabled to do good works. For without faith, human nature can in no wise do the works of the First or of the Second Commandment. Without faith, it does not call upon God, nor expect anything from Him, nor bear the cross; but seeks and trusts in man's help. And thus, when there is no faith and trust in God, all manner of lusts and human devices rule in the heart. Wherefore Christ said [John 15:5]: "Without me ye can do nothing," and the Church sings:

"Without Thy power divine
In man there nothing is,
Naught but what is harmful."

Article XXI.

Of the Worship of Saints, they teach, that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works, according to our calling, as the Emperor may follow the example of David in making war to drive away the Turk from his country. For both are kings. But the Scripture teaches not the invocation of saints, or to ask help of saints, since it sets before us Christ, as the only Mediator, Propitiation, High-Priest and Intercessor. He is to be prayed to, and hath promised that He will hear our prayer; and this worship He approves above all, to wit, that in all afflictions He be called upon [1 John 2:1]: "If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father," etc.

This is about the Sum of our Doctrine, in which, as can be seen, there is nothing that varies from the Scriptures, or from the Church Catholic, or from the Church of Rome as known from its writers. This being the case, they judge harshly who insist that our teachers be regarded as heretics. The disagreement, however, is on certain Abuses, which have crept into the Church without rightful authority. And even in these, if there were some difference, there should be proper lenity on the part of bishops to bear with us by reason of the Confession which we have now drawn up; because even the Canons are not so severe as to demand the same rites everywhere, neither, at any time, have the rites of all churches been the same; although, among us, in large part, the ancient rites are diligently observed. For it is a false and malicious charge that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches. But it has been a common complaint that some Abuses were connected with the ordinary rites. These, inasmuch as they could not be approved with a good conscience, have been to some extent corrected.

II. ARTICLES, IN WHICH ARE REVIEWED THE ABUSES WHICH HAVE BEEN CORRECTED.

Inasmuch then as our churches dissent in no article of the Faith from the Church Catholic, but omit some Abuses

which are new, and which have been erroneously accepted by fault of the times, contrary to the intent of the Canons, we pray that Your Imperial Majesty would graciously hear both what has been changed, and also what were the reasons, in order that the people be not compelled to observe those abuses against their conscience. Nor should Your Imperial Majesty believe those, who, in order to excite the hatred of men against our part, disseminate strange slanders among our people. Having thus excited the minds of good men, they have first given occasion to this controversy, and now endeavor, by the same arts, to increase the discord. For Your Imperial Majesty will undoubtedly find that the form of doctrine and of ceremonies with us, is not so intolerable as these ungodly and malicious men represent. Furthermore, the truth cannot be gathered from common rumors, or the revilings of our enemies. But it can readily be judged that nothing would serve better to maintain the dignity of worship, and to nourish reverence and pious devotion among the people than that the ceremonies be rightly observed in the churches.

Article XXII.

To the laity are given Both Kinds in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, because this usage has the commandment of the Lord [in Matt. 26:27]: "Drink ye all of it"; where Christ has manifestly commanded concerning the cup that all should drink; and lest any man should craftily say that this refers only to priests, Paul [in 1 Cor. 11:27] recites an example from which it appears that the whole congregation did use both kinds. And this usage has long remained in the Church, nor is it known when, or by whose authority, it was changed; although Cardinal Cusanus mentions the time when it was approved. Cyprian in some places testifies that the Blood was given to the people. The same is testified by Jerome, who says: "The priests administer the Eucharist, and distribute the Blood of Christ to the people." Indeed, Pope Gelasius commands that the sacrament be not divided (*Dist. ii., De Consecratione, Cap. Comperimus*). Only custom, not so ancient, has it otherwise. But it is evident that any custom introduced against the commandments of God is not to be allowed, as the Canons witness (*Dist. iii., Cap. Veritate*, and the following chapters). But this custom has been received, not only against the Scripture but also against the old Canons and examples of the Church. Therefore if any preferred to use both kinds of the sacrament, they ought not to have been compelled with offence to their consciences to do otherwise.

And because the division of the sacrament does not agree with the ordinance of Christ, we are accustomed to omit the procession, which hitherto has been in use.

Article XXIII.

There has been common complaint concerning the Examples of Priests, who were not chaste. For that reason also, Pope Pius is reported to have said that there were certain reasons why marriage was taken away from priests, but that there were far weightier ones why it ought to be given back; for so Platina writes. Since, therefore, our priests

were desirous to avoid these open scandals they married wives, and taught that it was lawful for them to contract matrimony. First, because Paul says [1 Cor. 7:2]: "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife." Also [9]: "It is better to marry than to burn." Secondly, Christ says [Matt. 19:11]: "All men cannot receive this saying," where he teaches that not all men are fit to lead a single life; for God created man for procreation [Gen. 1:28]. Nor is it in man's power, without a singular gift and work of God, to alter this creation. Therefore those that are not fit to lead a single life ought to contract matrimony. For no man's law, no vow, can annul the commandment and ordinance of God. For these reasons the priests teach that it is lawful for them to marry wives. It is also evident that in the ancient Church priests were married men. For Paul says [1 Tim. 3:2] that a bishop should be the husband of one wife. And in Germany, four hundred years ago for the first time, the priests were violently compelled to lead a single life, who indeed offered such resistance that the Archbishop of Mayence, when about to publish the Pope's decree concerning this matter, was almost killed in the tumult raised by the enraged priests. And so harsh was the dealing in the matter that not only were marriages forbidden for the time to come, but also existing marriages were torn asunder, contrary to all laws, divine and human, contrary even to the Canons themselves, made not only by the Popes but by most celebrated Councils.

Seeing also that, as the world is aging, man's nature is gradually growing weaker, it is well to guard that no more vices steal into Germany. Furthermore, God ordained marriage to be a help against human infirmity. The Canons themselves say that the old rigor ought now and then, in the latter times, to be relaxed because of the weakness of men; which it is to be devoutly wished were done also in this matter. And it is to be expected that the churches shall at length lack pastors, if marriage should be any longer forbidden.

But while the commandment of God is in force, while the custom of the Church is well known, while impure celibacy causes many scandals, adulteries, and other crimes deserving the punishments of just magistrates, yet it is a marvellous thing that in nothing is more cruelty exercised than against the marriage of priests. God has given commandment to honor marriage. By the laws of all well-ordered commonwealths, even among the heathen, marriage is most highly honored. But now men, and also priests, are cruelly put to death, contrary to the intent of the Canons, for no other cause than marriage. Paul [in 1 Tim. 4:3] calls that a doctrine of devils, which forbids marriage. This may now be readily understood when the law against marriage is maintained by such penalties.

But as no law of man can annul the commandment of God, so neither can it be done by any vow. Accordingly Cyprian also advises that women who do not keep the chastity they have promised should marry. His words are these [Book I., Epistle xi.]: "But if they be unwilling or unable to persevere, it is better for them to marry than to fall into the fire by their lusts; at least, they should give no offence to their brethren and sisters." And even the Canons show some leniency toward those who have taken

vows before the proper age, as heretofore has generally been the case.

Article XXIV.

Falsely are our churches accused of Abolishing the Mass; for the Mass is retained on our part, and celebrated with the highest reverence. All the usual ceremonies are also preserved, save that the parts sung in Latin are interspersed here and there with German hymns, which have been added to teach the people. For ceremonies are needed to this end alone, that the unlearned be taught. And not only has Paul commanded to use in the Church a language understood by the people [1 Cor. 14:2, 9], but it has also been so ordained by man's law.

The people are accustomed to partake of the Sacrament together, if any be fit for it, and this also increases the reverence and devotion of public worship. For none are admitted except they be first proved. The people are also advised concerning the dignity and use of the Sacrament, how great consolation it brings anxious consciences, that they may learn to believe God, and to expect and ask of Him all that is good. This worship pleases God; such use of the Sacrament nourishes true devotion toward God. It does not, therefore, appear that the Mass is more devoutly celebrated among our adversaries, than among us.

But it is evident that for a long time, it has been the public and most grievous complaint of all good men, that Masses have been basely profaned and applied to purposes of lucre. For it is unknown how far this abuse obtains in all the churches, by what manner of men Masses are said only for fees or stipends, and how many celebrate them contrary to the Canons. But Paul severely threatens those who deal unworthily with the Eucharist, when he says [1 Cor. 11:27]: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." When, therefore, our priests were admonished concerning this sin, Private Masses were discontinued among us, as scarcely any Private Masses were celebrated except for lucre's sake.

Neither were the bishops ignorant of these abuses, and if they had corrected them in time, there would now be less dissension. Heretofore, by their own negligence, they suffered many corruptions to creep into the Church. Now, when it is too late, they begin to complain of the troubles of the Church, seeing that this disturbance has been occasioned simply by those abuses, which were so manifest that they could be borne no longer. Great dissensions have arisen concerning the Mass, concerning the Sacrament. Perhaps the world is being punished for such long-continued profanations of the Mass, as have been tolerated in the churches for so many centuries, by the very men who were both able and in duty bound to correct them. For, in the Ten Commandments, it is written (Exodus 20), "The Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain." But since the world began, nothing that God ever ordained seems to have been so abused for filthy lucre as the Mass.

There was also added the opinion which infinitely increased Private Masses, namely, that Christ, by His passion, had made satisfaction for original sin, and instituted the Mass wherein an offering should be made for daily sins, venial and mortal. From this has arisen the

common opinion that the Mass taketh away the sins of the living and the dead, by the outward act. Then they began to dispute whether one Mass said for many were worth as much as special Masses for individuals, and this brought forth that infinite multitude of Masses. Concerning these opinions our teachers have given warning, that they depart from the Holy Scriptures and diminish the glory of the passion of Christ. For Christ's passion was an oblation and satisfaction, not for original guilt only, but also for all sins, as it is written to the Hebrews (10:10), "We are sanctified through the offering of Jesus Christ, once for all." Also, 10:14: "By one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." Scripture also teaches that we are justified before God through faith in Christ, when we believe that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake. Now if the Mass take away the sins of the living and the dead by the outward act, justification comes of the work of Masses, and not of faith, which Scripture does not allow.

But Christ commands us [Luke 22:19], "This do in remembrance of me;" therefore the Mass was instituted that the faith of those who use the Sacrament should remember what benefits it receives through Christ, and cheer and comfort the anxious conscience. For, to remember Christ, is to remember his benefits, and to realize that they are truly offered unto us. Nor is it enough only to remember the history, for this the Jew and the ungodly also can remember. Wherefore the Mass is to be used to this end, that there the Sacrament [Communion] may be administered to them that have need of consolation; as Ambrose says: "Because I always sin, I am always bound to take the medicine."

Now forasmuch as the Mass is such a giving of the Sacrament, we hold one communion every holyday, and also other days, when any desire the Sacrament it is given to such as ask for it. And this custom is not new in the Church; for the Fathers before Gregory make no mention of any private Mass, but of the common Mass [the Communion] they speak very much. Chrysostom says that the priest stands daily at the altar, inviting some to the Communion and keeping back others. And it appears from the ancient Canons, that some one celebrated the Mass from whom all the other presbyters and deacons received the Body of the Lord; for thus the words of the Nicene Canon say: "Let the deacons, according to their order, receive the Holy Communion after the presbyters, from the bishop or from a presbyter." And Paul [1 Cor. 11:33] commands concerning the Communion: "Tarry one for another," so that there may be a common participation.

Forasmuch, therefore, as the Mass with us has the example of the Church, taken from the Scripture and the Fathers, we are confident that it cannot be disapproved, especially since the public ceremonies are retained for the most part, like those hitherto in use; only the number of Masses differs, which, because of very great and manifest abuses, doubtless might be profitably reduced. For in olden times, even in churches, most frequented, the Mass was not celebrated every day, as the Tripartite History (Book 9, chapt. 33) testifies: "Again in Alexandria, every Wednesday and Friday, the Scriptures are read, and the doctors expound them, and all things are done, except only the celebration of the Eucharist."

Article XXV.

Confession in our churches is not abolished; for it is not usual to give the Body of the Lord, except to them that have been previously examined and absolved. And the people are most carefully taught concerning the faith and assurance of absolution, about which, before this time, there was profound silence. Our people are taught that they should highly prize the absolution, as being the voice of God, and pronounced by His command. The power of the Keys is commended, and we show what great consolation it brings to anxious consciences; that God requires faith to believe such absolution as a voice sounding from Heaven, and that such faith in Christ truly obtains and receives the forgiveness of sins.

Aforetime, satisfactions were immoderately extolled; of faith and the merit of Christ, and the righteousness of faith, no mention was made; wherefore, on this point, our churches are by no means to be blamed. For this even our adversaries must needs concede to us, that the doctrine concerning repentance has been most diligently treated and laid open by our teachers.

But of Confession, they teach, that an enumeration of sins is not necessary, and that consciences be not burdened with anxiety to enumerate all sins, for it is impossible to recount all sins, as the Psalm testifies [19:13]: "Who can understand his errors?" Also Jeremiah [17:9]: "The heart is deceitful, who can know it?" But if no sins were forgiven, except those that are recounted, consciences could never find peace; for very many sins they neither see, nor can remember.

The ancient writers also testify that an enumeration is not necessary. For, in the Decrees, Chrysostom is quoted, who thus says: "I say not to thee, that thou shouldest disclose thyself in public, nor that thou accuse thyself before others, but I would have thee obey the prophet who says: 'Disclose thy way before God.' Therefore confess thy sins before God, the true Judge, with prayer. Tell thine errors, not with the tongue, but with the memory of thy conscience." And the Gloss ("Of Repentance," *Distinct. v. Cap. Consideret*) admits that Confession of human right only. Nevertheless, on account of the great benefit of absolution, and because it is otherwise useful to the conscience, Confession is retained among us.

Article XXVI.

It has been the general persuasion, not of the people alone, but also of such as teach in the churches, that making Distinctions of Meats, and like traditions of men, are works profitable to merit grace, and able to make satisfactions for sins. And that the world so thought, appears from this, that new ceremonies, new orders, new holydays, and new fastings were daily instituted, and the teachers in the churches did exact these works as a service necessary to merit grace, and did greatly terrify men's consciences, if they should omit any of these things. From this persuasion concerning traditions, much detriment has resulted in the Church.

First, the doctrine of grace and of the righteousness of faith has been obscured by it, which is the chief part of the

Gospel, and ought to stand out, as the most prominent in the Church, that the merit of Christ may be well known, and that faith, which believes that sins are forgiven for Christ's sake may be exalted far above works. Wherefore Paul also lays the greatest stress on this article, putting aside the law and human traditions, in order to show that the righteousness of the Christian is another than such works, to wit, the faith which believes that sins are freely forgiven for Christ's sake. But this doctrine of Paul has been almost wholly smothered by traditions, which have produced an opinion that, by making distinctions in meats and like services, we must merit grace and righteousness. In treating of repentance, there was no mention made of faith; all that was done was to set forth those works of satisfaction, and in these all repentance seemed to consist.

Secondly, these traditions have obscured the commandments of God; because traditions were placed far above the commandments of God. Christianity was thought to consist wholly in the observance of certain holydays, fasts and vestures. These observances had won for themselves the exalted title of being the spiritual life and the perfect life. Meanwhile the commandments of God, according to each one's calling, were without honor, namely, that the father brought up his family, that the mother bore children, that the Prince governed the Commonwealth,—these were accounted works that were worldly and imperfect, and far below those glittering observances. And this error greatly tormented devout consciences, which grieved that they were bound by an imperfect state of life, as in marriage, in the office of magistrate, or in other civil ministrations; on the other hand, they admired the monks and such like, and falsely imagined that the observances of such men were more acceptable to God.

Thirdly, traditions brought great danger to consciences; for it was impossible to keep all traditions, and yet men judged these observances to be necessary acts of worship. Gerson writes that many fell into despair, and that some even took their own lives, because they felt that they were not able to satisfy the traditions; and meanwhile, they heard not the consolation of the righteousness of faith and grace.

We see that the summists and theologians gather the traditions together, and seek mitigations whereby to ease consciences, and yet they do not succeed in releasing them, but sometimes entangle consciences even more. And with the gathering of these traditions, the schools and sermons have been so much occupied that they have had no leisure to touch upon Scripture, and to seek the more profitable doctrine of faith, of the cross, of hope, of the dignity of civil affairs, of consolation of sorely tried consciences. Hence Gerson, and some other theologians, have grievously complained, that by these strivings concerning traditions, they were prevented from giving attention to a better kind of doctrine. Augustine also forbids that men's consciences should be burdened with such observances, and prudently advises Januarius, that he must know that they are to be observed as things indifferent; for these are his words.

Wherefore our teachers must not be looked upon as having taken up this matter rashly, or from hatred of the bishops,

as some falsely suspect. There was great need to warn the churches of these errors, which had arisen from misunderstanding the traditions. For the Gospel compels us to insist in the churches upon the doctrine of grace, and of the righteousness of faith; which, however, cannot be understood, if men think that they merit grace by observances of their own choice.

Thus, therefore, they have taught, that by the observance of human traditions we cannot merit grace, or be justified; and hence we must not think such observances necessary acts of worship.

They add hereunto testimonies of Scripture. Christ [Matt. 15:3] defends the Apostles who had not observed the usual tradition, which however, seemed to pertain to a matter not unlawful, but indifferent, and to have a certain affinity with the purifications of the law, and says [9]: "In vain do they worship me with the commandments of men." He, therefore, does not exact an unprofitable service. Shortly after, he adds [11]: "Not that which goeth into the mouth, defileth a man." So also Paul [Rom. 14:17]: "The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink." [Col. 2:16]: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the Sabbath day;" also [v. 20, sq.]: "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, touch not, taste not, handle not?" And Peter says [Acts 15:10]: "Why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers, nor we were able to bear; but we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall be saved, even as they." Here Peter forbids to burden the consciences with many rites, either of Moses, or of others.

And in 1 Tim. [4:1, 3], Paul calls the prohibition of meats a doctrine of devils; for it is against the Gospel to institute or to do such works that by them we may merit grace, or as though Christianity could not exist without such service of God.

Here our adversaries cast up that our teachers are opposed to discipline and mortification of the flesh, as Jovinian. But the contrary may be learned from the writings of our teachers. For they have always taught concerning the cross, that it behooves Christians to bear afflictions. This is the true, earnest and unfeigned mortification, to wit, to be exercised with divers afflictions, and to be crucified with Christ.

Moreover, they teach, that every Christian ought to exercise and subdue himself with bodily restraints and labors, that neither plenty nor slothfulness tempt him to sin, but not that we may merit grace or make satisfaction for sins by such exercises. And such external discipline ought to be urged at all times, not only on a few and set days. So Christ commands [Luke 21:34]: "Take heed, lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting;" also [Matt. 17:21]: "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting." Paul also says [1 Cor. 9:27]: "I keep under my body and bring it into subjection." Here he clearly shows that he was keeping under his body, not to merit forgiveness of sins by that discipline, but to have his body in subjection and fitted for spiritual things, and for the discharge of duty according to his calling. Therefore, we

do not condemn fasting, but the traditions which prescribe certain days and certain meats, with peril of conscience, as though works of such kinds were a necessary service.

Nevertheless, very many traditions are kept on our part, which conduce to good order in the Church, as the Order of Lessons in the Mass, and the chief holydays. But, at the same time, men are warned that such observances do not justify before God, and that, in such things, it should not be made sin, if they be omitted without scandal. Such liberty in human rites was not unknown to the Fathers. For in the East they kept Easter at another time than at Rome, and when, on account of this diversity, the Romans accused the Eastern Church of schism, they were admonished by others that such usages need not be alike everywhere. And Irenæus says: "Diversity concerning fasting does not destroy the harmony of faith." As also Pope Gregory intimates in *Dist. xii.*, that such diversity does not violate the unity of the Church. And in the Tripartite History, Book 9, many examples of dissimilar rites are gathered, and the following statement is made: "It was not the mind of the Apostles to enact rules concerning holydays, but to preach godliness and a holy life."

Article XXVII.

What is taught, on our part, concerning Monastic Vows, will be better understood, if it be remembered what has been the state of the monasteries, and how many things were daily done in those very monasteries, contrary to the Canons. In Augustine's time, they were free associations. Afterward, when discipline was corrupted, vows were everywhere added for the purpose of restoring discipline, as in a carefully planned prison. Gradually, many other observances were added besides vows. And these fetters were laid upon many before the lawful age, contrary to the Canons. Many also entered into this kind of life through ignorance, being unable to judge their own strength, though they were of sufficient age. Being thus ensnared, they were compelled to remain, even though some could have been freed by the provision of the Canons. And this was more the case in convents of women than of monks, although more consideration should have been shown the weaker sex. This rigor displeased many good men before this time, who saw that young men and maidens were thrown into convents for a living, and what unfortunate results came of this procedure, and what scandals were created, what snares were cast upon consciences! They were grieved that the authority of the Canons in so momentous a matter was utterly despised and set aside.

To these evils, was added an opinion concerning vows, which, it is well known, in former times, displeased even those monks who were more thoughtful. They taught that vows were equal to Baptism; they taught that, by this kind of life, they merited forgiveness of sins and justification before God. Yea, they added that the monastic life not only merited righteousness before God, but even greater things, because it kept not only the precepts, but also the so-called "evangelical counsels."

Thus they made men believe that the profession of monasticism was far better than Baptism, and that the monastic life was more meritorious than that of magistrates, than the life of pastors and such like, who serve

their calling in accordance with God's commands, without any man-made services. None of these things can be denied; for they appear in their own books.

What then came to pass in the monasteries? Aforetime, they were schools of Theology and other branches, profitable to the Church; and thence pastors and bishops were obtained. Now it is another thing. It is needless to rehearse what is known to all. Aforetime they came together to learn; now they feign that it is a kind of life instituted to merit grace and righteousness; yea, they preach that it is a state of perfection, and they put it far above all other kinds of life ordained of God.

These things we have rehearsed without odious exaggeration, to the end that the doctrine of our teachers, on this point, might be better understood. First, concerning such as contract matrimony, they teach, on our part, that it is lawful for all men who are not fitted for single life to contract matrimony, because vows cannot annul the ordinance and commandment of God. But the commandment of God is [1 Cor. 7:2]: "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife." Nor is it the commandment only, but also the creation and ordinance of God, which forces those to marry who are not excepted by a singular work of God, according to the text [Gen. 2:18]: "It is not good that the man should be alone." Therefore they do not sin who obey this commandment and ordinance of God. What objection can be raised to this? Let men extol the obligation of a vow as much as they list, yet shall they not bring to pass that the vow annuls the commandment of God. The Canons teach that the right of the superior is excepted in every vow; much less, therefore, are these vows of force which are against the commandments of God.

Now if the obligation of vows could not be changed for any cause whatever, the Roman Pontiffs could never have given dispensation; for it is not lawful for man to annul an obligation which is altogether divine. But the Roman Pontiffs have prudently judged that leniency is to be observed in this obligation, and therefore we read that many times they have dispensed from vows. The case of the King of Aragon who was called back from the monastery is well known, and there are also examples in our own times.

In the second place, Why do our adversaries exaggerate the obligation or effect of a vow, when, at the same time, they have not a word to say of the nature of the vow itself, that it ought to be in a thing possible, free, and chosen spontaneously and deliberately. But it is not known to what extent perpetual chastity is in the power of man. And how few are there who have taken the vow spontaneously and deliberately! Young men and maidens, before they are able to judge, are persuaded, and sometimes even compelled, to take the vow. Wherefore it is not fair to insist so rigorously on the obligation, since it is granted by all that it is against the nature of a vow to take it without spontaneous and deliberate action.

Many canonical laws rescind vows made before the age of fifteen; for before that age, there does not seem sufficient judgment in a person to decide concerning a perpetual life.

Another Canon, granting even more liberty to the weakness of man, adds a few years, and forbids a vow to be made before the age of eighteen. But whether we followed the one or the other, the most part have an excuse for leaving the monasteries, because most of them have taken the vows before they reached these ages.

But, finally, even though the violation of a vow might be rebuked, yet it seems not forthwith to follow that the marriages of such persons ought to be dissolved. For Augustine denies that they ought to be dissolved (xxvii. Quæst. I., Cap. *Nuptiarum*); and his authority is not lightly to be esteemed, although other men afterwards thought otherwise.

But although it appears that God's command concerning marriage delivers many from their vows, yet our teachers introduce also another argument concerning vows, to show that they are void. For every service of God, ordained and chosen of men without the commandment of God to merit justification and grace, is wicked; as Christ says [Matt. 15:9]: "In vain do they worship me with the commandments of men." And Paul teaches everywhere that righteousness is not to be sought by our own observances and acts of worship, devised by men, but that it comes by faith to those who believe that they are received by God into grace for Christ's sake.

But it is evident that monks have taught that services of man's making satisfy for sins and merit grace and justification. What else is this but to detract from the glory of Christ and to obscure and deny the righteousness of faith? It follows, therefore, that the vows thus commonly taken, have been wicked services, and, consequently, are void. For a wicked vow, taken against the commandment of God, is not valid; for (as the Canon says) no vow ought to bind men to wickedness.

Paul says [Gal. 5:4]: "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace." They, therefore, who want to be justified by their vows, are made void of Christ and fall from grace. For such as ascribe justification to vows, ascribe to their own works that which properly belongs to the glory of Christ. But it is undeniable that the monks have taught that, by their vows and observances, they were justified, and merited forgiveness of sins, yea, they invented still greater absurdities, saying that they could give others a share in their works. If any one should be inclined to enlarge on these things with evil intent, how many things could he bring together, whereof even the monks are now ashamed! Over and above this, they persuaded men that services of man's making were a state of Christian perfection. And is not this assigning justification to works? It is no light offence in the Church to set forth to the people a service devised by men, without the commandment of God, and to teach that such service justifies men. For the righteousness of faith in Christ, which chiefly ought to be in the Church, is obscured, when this wonderful worshipping of angels, with its show of poverty, humility and chastity, is cast before the eyes of men.

Furthermore, the precepts of God and the true service of God are obscured when men hear that only monks are in a state of perfection. For Christian perfection is to fear God

from the heart, again to conceive great faith, and to trust that, for Christ's sake, we have a gracious God, to ask of God, and assuredly to expect his aid in all things that, according to our calling, are to be borne; and meanwhile, to be diligent in outward good works, and to serve our calling. In these things consist the true perfection and the true service of God. It does not consist in the unmarried life, or in begging, or in vile apparel. But the people conceive many pernicious opinions from the false commendations of monastic life. They hear unmarried life praised above measure; therefore they lead their married life with offence to their consciences. They hear that only beggars are perfect; therefore they keep their possessions and do business with offence to their consciences. They hear that it is an evangelical counsel not to avenge; therefore some in private life are not afraid to take revenge, for they hear that it is but a counsel, and not a commandment; while others judge that the Christian cannot properly hold a civil office, or be a magistrate.

There are on record examples of men who, forsaking marriage and the administration of the Commonwealth, have hid themselves in monasteries. This they called fleeing from the world, and seeking a kind of life which should be more pleasing to God. Neither did they see that God ought to be served in those commandments which he himself has given, and not in commandments devised by men. A good and perfect kind of life is that which has for it the commandment of God. It is necessary to admonish men of these things. And before these times, Gerson rebuked this error concerning perfection, and testified that, in his day, it was a new saying that the monastic life is a state of perfection.

So many wicked opinions are inherent in the vows, such as that they justify, that they constitute Christian perfection, that they keep the counsels and commandments, that they have works of supererogation. All these things, since they are false and empty, make vows null and void.

Article XXVIII.

There has been great controversy concerning the Power of Bishops, in which some have awkwardly confounded the power of the Church and the power of the sword. And from this confusion very great wars and tumults have resulted, while the Pontiffs, emboldened by the power of the Keys, not only have instituted new services and burdened consciences with reservation of cases, but have also undertaken to transfer the kingdoms of this world, and to take the Empire from the Emperor. These wrongs have long since been rebuked in the Church by learned and godly men. Therefore, our teachers, for the comforting of men's consciences, were constrained to show the difference between the power of the Church and the power of the sword, and taught that both of them, because of God's commandment, are to be held in reverence and honor, as among the chief blessings of God on earth.

But this is their opinion, that the power of the Keys, or the power of the bishops, according to the Gospel, is a power or commandment of God, to preach the Gospel, to remit and retain sins, and to administer sacraments. For with that commandment, Christ sends forth his Apostles [John 20:21 sqq.]: "As my Father has sent me, even so send I

you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained." [Mark 16:15]: "Go, preach the Gospel to every creature."

This power is exercised only by teaching or preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments, according to the calling, either to many or to individuals. For thereby are granted, not bodily, but eternal things, as eternal righteousness, the Holy Ghost, eternal life. These things cannot come but by the ministry of the Word and the sacraments. As Paul says [Rom. 1:16]: "The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Therefore, since the power of the Church grants eternal things, and is exercised only by the ministry of the Word, it does not interfere with civil government; no more than the art of singing interferes with civil government. For civil government deals with other things than does the Gospel; the civil rulers defend not souls, but bodies and bodily things against manifest injuries, and restrain men with the sword and bodily punishments in order to preserve civil justice and peace.

Therefore the power of the Church and the civil power must not be confounded. The power of the Church has its own commission, to teach the Gospel and to administer the sacraments. Let it not break into the office of another; let it not transfer the kingdoms of this world; let it not abrogate the laws of civil rulers; let it not abolish lawful obedience; let it not interfere with judgments concerning civil ordinances or contracts; let it not prescribe laws to civil rulers concerning the form of the Commonwealth. As Christ says [John 18:36]: "My kingdom is not of this world"; also [Luke 12:14]: "Who made me a judge or a divider over you?" Paul also says [Phil. 3:20]: "Our citizenship is in Heaven"; [2 Cor. 10:4]: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal; but mighty through God to the casting down of imaginations." After this manner, our teachers discriminate between the duties of both these powers, and command that both be honored and acknowledged as gifts and blessings of God.

If bishops have any power of the sword, that power they have, not as bishops, by the commission of the Gospel, but by human law, having received it of Kings and Emperors, for the civil administration of what is theirs. This, however, is another office than the ministry of the Gospel.

When, therefore, a question arises concerning the jurisdiction of bishops, civil authority must be distinguished from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Again, according to the Gospel, or, as they say, according to Divine Law, to the bishops as bishops, that is, to those to whom has been committed the ministry of the Word and the sacraments, no jurisdiction belongs, except to forgive sins, to discern doctrine, to reject doctrines contrary to the Gospel, and to exclude from the communion of the Church wicked men, whose wickedness is known, and this without human force, simply by the Word. Herein the congregations are bound by Divine Law to obey them, according to Luke 10:16: "He that heareth you, heareth me."

But when they teach or ordain anything against the Gospel, then the congregations have a commandment of God prohibiting obedience [Matt. 7:15]: "Beware of false

prophets"; [Gal. 1:8]: "Though an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel let him be accursed"; [2 Cor. 13:8]: "We can do nothing against the truth; but for the truth." Also [v. 10]: "The power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction." So, also, the Canonical Laws command (II. Q. vii. Cap., *Sacerdotes* and Cap. *Oves*). And Augustine (*Contra Petilian Epistolam*): "Not even to Catholic bishops must we submit, if they chance to err, or hold anything contrary to the Canonical Scriptures of God."

If they have any other power or jurisdiction, in hearing and judging certain cases, as of matrimony or of tithes, they have it by human law. But where the ordinaries fail, princes are bound, even against their will, to dispense justice to their subjects, for the maintenance of peace.

Moreover, it is disputed whether bishops or pastors have the right to introduce ceremonies in the Church, and to make laws concerning meats, holydays and degrees, that is, orders of ministers, etc. They that claim this right for the bishops, refer to this testimony [John 16:12, 13]: "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth." They also refer to the example of the Apostles, who commanded to abstain from blood and from things strangled [Acts 15:29]. They refer to the Sabbath Day, as having been changed into the Lord's Day, contrary to the Decalogue, as it seems. Neither is there any example whereof they make more than concerning the changing of the Sabbath Day. Great, say they, is the power of the Church, since it has dispensed with one of the Ten Commandments!

But, concerning this question, it is taught on our part (as has been shown above), that bishops have no power to decree anything against the Gospel. The Canonical laws teach the same thing (*Dist. ix.*). Now it is against Scripture to establish or require the observance of any traditions, to the end that, by such observance, we may make satisfaction for sins, or merit grace and righteousness. For the glory of Christ's merit is dishonored when, by such observances, we undertake to merit justification. But it is manifest that, by such belief, traditions have almost infinitely multiplied in the Church, the doctrine concerning faith and the righteousness of faith being meanwhile suppressed. For gradually more holydays were made, fasts appointed, new ceremonies and services in honor of saints instituted; because the authors of such things thought that, by these works, they were meriting grace. Thus, in times past, the Penitential Canons increased, whereof we still see some traces in the satisfactions.

Again, the authors of traditions do contrary to the command of God when they find matters of sin in foods, in days, and like things, and burden the Church with bondage of the law, as if there ought to be among Christians, in order to merit justification, a service like the Levitical, the arrangement of which God has committed to the Apostles and bishops. For thus some of them write; and the Pontiffs in some measure seem to be misled by the example of the law of Moses. Hence are such burdens, as that they make it mortal sin, even without offence to

others, to do manual labor on holydays, to omit the Canonical Hours, that certain foods defile the conscience, that fastings are works which appease God, that sin in a reserved case cannot be forgiven but by the authority of him who reserved it; whereas the Canons themselves speak only of the reserving of the ecclesiastical penalty, and not of the reserving of the guilt.

Whence have the bishops the right to lay these traditions upon the Church for the ensnaring of consciences, when Peter [Acts 15:10] forbids to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, and Paul says [2 Cor. 13:10] that the power given him was to edification, not to destruction? Why, therefore, do they increase sins by these traditions?

But there are clear testimonies which prohibit the making of such traditions, as though they merited grace or were necessary to salvation. Paul says [Col. 2:16]: "Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holyday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days"; [v. 20, 23]: "If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances (touch not; taste not; handle not, which all are to perish with the using); after the commandments and doctrines of men? which things have indeed a show of wisdom." Also in Tit. [1:14] he openly forbids traditions: "Not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men that turn from the truth." And Christ [Matt. 15:14] says of those who require traditions: "Let them alone; they be blind leaders of the blind"; and he rebukes such services [v. 13]: "Every plant which my Heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be plucked up."

If bishops have the right to burden churches with infinite traditions, and to ensnare consciences, why does Scripture so often prohibit to make and to listen to traditions? Why does it call them "doctrines of devils"? [1 Tim. 4:1]. Did the Holy Ghost in vain forewarn of these things?

Since, therefore, ordinances instituted as things necessary, or with an opinion of meriting grace, are contrary to the Gospel, it follows that it is not lawful for any bishop to institute or exact such services. For it is necessary that the doctrine of Christian liberty be preserved in the churches, namely, that the bondage of the Law is not necessary to justification, as it is written in the Epistle to the Galatians [5:1]: "Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." It is necessary that the chief article of the Gospel be preserved, to wit, that we obtain grace freely by faith in Christ, and not for certain observances or acts of worship devised by men.

What, then, are we to think of the Sunday and like rites in the house of God? To this we answer, that it is lawful for bishops or pastors to make ordinances that things be done orderly in the Church, not that thereby we should merit grace or make satisfaction for sins, or that consciences be bound to judge them necessary services, and to think that it is a sin to break them without offence to others. So Paul ordains [1 Cor. 11:5], that women should cover their heads in the congregation [1 Cor. 14:30], that interpreters of Scripture be heard in order in the church, etc.

It is proper that the churches should keep such ordinances for the sake of charity and tranquility, so far that one do not offend another, that all things be done in the churches

in order, and without confusion; but so that consciences be not burdened to think that they be necessary to salvation, or to judge that they sin when they break them without offence to others; as no one will say that a woman sins who goes out in public with her head uncovered, provided only that no offence be given.

Of this kind, is the observance of the Lord's Day, Easter, Pentecost, and like holydays and rites. For those who judge that, by the authority of the Church, the observance of the Lord's Day instead of the Sabbath Day was ordained as a thing necessary, do greatly err. Scripture has abrogated the Sabbath Day; for it teaches that, since the Gospel has been revealed, all the ceremonies of Moses can be omitted. And yet, because it was necessary to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the Church [the Apostles] designated the Lord's Day for this purpose; and this day seems to have been chosen all the more for this additional reason, that men might have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the keeping neither of the Sabbath, nor of any other day, is necessary.

There are monstrous disputations concerning the changing of the law, the ceremonies of the new law, the changing of the Sabbath Day, which all have sprung from the false belief that there must needs be in the Church a service like to the Levitical, and that Christ had given commission to the Apostles and bishops to devise new ceremonies as necessary to salvation. These errors crept into the Church when the righteousness of faith was not clearly enough taught. Some dispute that the keeping of the Lord's Day is not indeed of divine light; but in a manner so. They prescribe concerning holydays, how far it is lawful to work. What else are such disputations but snares of consciences? For although they endeavor to modify the traditions, yet the equity can never be perceived as long as the opinion remains that they are necessary, which must needs remain where the righteousness of faith and Christian liberty are disregarded.

The Apostles commanded to abstain from blood. Who doth now observe it? And yet they that do it not, sin not; for not even the Apostles themselves wanted to burden consciences with such bondage; but they forbade it for a time, to avoid offense. For, in any decree, we must perpetually consider what is the aim of the Gospel. Scarcely any Canons are kept with exactness, and, from day to day, many go out of use even with those who are the most zealous advocates of traditions. Neither can due regard be paid to consciences unless this equity be observed, that we know that the Canons are kept without holding them to be necessary, and that no harm is done to consciences, even though traditions go out of use.

But the bishops might easily retain the lawful obedience of the people, if they would not insist upon the observance of such traditions as cannot be kept with a good conscience. Now they command celibacy; they admit none, unless they swear that they will not teach the pure doctrine of the Gospel. The churches do not ask that the bishops should restore concord at the expense of their honor; which, nevertheless, it would be proper for good pastors to do. They ask only that they would release unjust burdens

which are new and have been received contrary to the custom of the Church Catholic. It may be that there were plausible reasons for some of these ordinances; and yet they are not adapted to later times. It is also evident that some were adopted through erroneous conceptions. Therefore, it would be befitting the clemency of the Pontiffs to mitigate them now; because such a modification does not shake the unity of the Church. For many human traditions have been changed in process of time, as the Canons themselves show. But if it be impossible to obtain a mitigation of such observances as cannot be kept without sin, we are bound to follow the Apostolic rule [Acts 5:29], which commands us to obey God rather than men. Peter [1 Pet. 5:3] forbids bishops to be lords, and to rule over the churches. Now it is not our design to wrest the government from the bishops, but this one thing is asked, namely, that they allow the Gospel to be purely taught, and that they relax some few observances which cannot be kept without sin. But if they make no concession, it is for them to see how they shall give account to God for having, by their obstinacy, caused a schism.

CONCLUSION.

These are the Chief Articles which seem to be in controversy. For although we might have spoken of more Abuses, yet to avoid undue length, we have set forth the chief points, from which the rest may be readily judged. There have been great complaints concerning indulgences, pilgrimages, and the abuses of excommunications. The parishes have been vexed in many ways by the dealers in indulgences. There were endless contentions between the pastors and the monks concerning the parochial rites, confessions, burials, sermons on extraordinary occasions, and innumerable other things. Things of this sort we have passed over, so that the chief points in this matter, having been briefly set forth, might be the most readily understood. Nor has anything been here said or adduced to the reproach of any one. Only those things have been recounted, whereof we thought that it was necessary to speak, so that it might be understood that, in doctrine and ceremonies, nothing has been received on our part, against Scripture or the Church Catholic, since it is manifest that we have taken most diligent care that no new and ungodly doctrine should creep into our churches.

The above articles we desire to present in accordance with the edict of Your Imperial Majesty, so that our Confession should therein be exhibited, and a summary of the doctrine of our teachers might be discerned. If anything further be desired, we are ready, God willing, to present ampler information according to the Scriptures.

JOHN, Duke of Saxony, Elector.

GEORGE, Margrave of Brandenburg.

ERNEST, Duke of Lüneburg.

PHILIP, Landgrave of Hesse.

JOHN FREDERICK, Duke of Saxony.

FRANCIS, Duke of Lüneburg.

WOLFGANG, Prince of Anhalt.

SENATE and MAGISTRACY of Nuremburg.

SENATE of Reutlingen.

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