

Professor Georg Sverdrup

Biblical and Church-Historical

Sketches and Addresses

Edited by

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With an Introduction by Wilhelm Petersen

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The texts presented herein are historical documents. English translations and editorial materials are provided for educational and research purposes only. They do not claim doctrinal, ecclesiastical, or institutional authority. The original source texts remain definitive.

The English translations in this volume were generated primarily through artificial intelligence-based language tools operating under detailed scholarly instructions. These translations were subsequently reviewed, evaluated, and corrected through an independent secondary AI process for semantic, theological, and stylistic fidelity to the original Norwegian sources. Editorial responsibility in the present edition is limited to methodological design, critical oversight, and presentation; the original source texts remain authoritative.

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Editorial Sigla.—

Notes marked “—Ed.” originate with Andreas Helland, editor of the 1910 volume.

Notes marked “— Present Ed.” indicate editorial responsibility in the present edition.

Preface

It is now two years since Professor Georg Sverdrup entered into the joy of his Lord. His day of labor in this land extended over a period of thirty-three years. Throughout all this time he worked diligently and untiringly, with mouth and pen, for the quickening and liberation of mankind. During these years he took part in an exceedingly long series of contributions to the various ecclesiastical and churchly questions that stirred men's minds.

The feeling of the heavy loss and the bitter sense of deprivation gradually found expression among many in this wish: If only he had still had time to review and publish, in collected form, a selection of what he had made public in the course of the years, and likewise to revise and publish his theological lectures! — But for this he had no time. He was worn down by labor, felt himself one day more than ordinarily unwell, and the next morning the flag of mourning waved over the school to which, for a generation, he had devoted his best powers.

When the deceased's son, Professor George Sverdrup, Jr., requested me to take steps to collect and, if possible, publish a collection as complete as might be of the departed teacher's writings, I did not think it right to decline, although I already then felt something of the responsibility connected with it and foresaw the difficulties it would entail.

It already presented its difficulties to find the material. A large part of what Professor Sverdrup wrote appeared in the form of treatises and articles in our religious periodicals. But there are very few who have sufficient interest and forethought to preserve such papers from year to year. There are, however, one or two who have kept these old journals, and it is through them that I have succeeded in finding—so far as I am aware—all that has ever been published from Professor Sverdrup's hand. To all those who in this way have rendered this work such valuable service, I herewith express my heartfelt thanks.

The preliminary result of the material thus collected is presented here as the first volume of a work whose final extent has not yet been determined, but which is at any rate intended to comprise at least five volumes.

As regards the publication, it is proper to call attention to the fact that no changes have been made except those of a purely orthographic and linguistic nature. I have believed it right, as far as possible, to make use of the form of language that was common before the very latest radical changes in our spelling, and which the author himself employed in the last years before his death. Thus all plural verb forms have been removed, etc. As concerns citations from the Old Testament, I have followed the translation that has been in use for many years, the so-called "new translation," whereas the author is seen in his citations to

have used what was then the newest translation, namely the so-called “Ryve translation.”

On the other hand, I do not consider it advisable that, in a work such as this, principled changes should be undertaken—something for which, moreover, there has been no ground whatsoever in the present volume. There may arise a question as to whether a treatise should be included or not; but there can be no question of altering a man’s words when one no longer has any opportunity to ascertain how he himself, in such a case, would have altered them.

As to whether the introductory remarks that accompany each section, and the annotations added as notes beneath the text, are of any value, that will be for the kindly reader to judge. My concern has been, if possible, to make everything clear; and I have sought to avoid any danger of misleading. The notes beneath the text that are not marked “—Ed.” (the Editor) are by the author himself.

To the many—both my colleagues at Augsburg Seminary and others—who by counsel and suggestion, and by the interest they have shown in this work, have rendered me valuable help and encouragement, I herewith express my best thanks. In particular, Professor Wilhelm Petersen deserves thanks for the kindness he has shown in attempting an introduction to the work, as well as Professor J. S. Blegen for the many valuable suggestions he has given me again and again.

The portrait of Professor Sverdrup that accompanies this volume is his last, and was taken a few weeks before his death. His signature is a facsimile of his name as written on one of the diplomas he signed the day before his death.

I can only wish that this collection of Professor Georg Sverdrup’s writings may find so kindly a reception that our highly esteemed and deeply missed teacher, and our people’s and our church’s faithful friend, may through it continue to speak to us and to the generation that comes after us.

In a better way we could perhaps scarcely honor the memory of Professor Georg Sverdrup.

Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minnesota, May 3, 1909.

Andreas Helland.

Introduction

By Wilhelm Petersen.

My first attempt to portray Professor Georg Sverdrup's life¹ was written under the strong influence of the recent loss caused by his sudden death, and without any preparation other than the state of mind into which this naturally placed me, and without any other material to work with than the information I either myself possessed or could easily procure. It was a fluent and imperfect, yet nevertheless sincere and well-intentioned attempt to honor the man whom Augsburg and Kristiania without hesitation place in the foremost rank among the greater spirits and fine, well-formed personalities of the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

A worker of the Church—indeed, a man of the country who is deeply loved—whatever position he may occupy, provided he accomplishes something of real worth, has in his lifetime two difficulties to contend with. The first is that his person, his character, his gifts, his spiritual orientation, and his view of life are, and by the nature of the matter must be, misunderstood and misinterpreted, distorted and unjustly judged by those who happen to be his opponents. Certain traits in an opponent can of course always be acknowledged; but it is almost always the purely formal or phenomenal aspects, that which appears on the surface, such as courage and bravery, aggressiveness and fearlessness in the struggle itself, skill and perseverance in conducting it, strong will and energy, and whatever else belongs to all that which outwardly gives the struggle its purely phenomenal character. To the same category of one-sided and inadequate judgment belongs, naturally, also the overestimation by admirers, supporters, and devotees of the person and his distinctive gifts. There are always fundamental features in a struggle, and it often brings forth certain powerful traits in those who fight. There is always more or less spiritual agitation, which causes the conflict to be viewed from a distance and the judgment to become unjust.

The second difficulty is that what in reality is the significant, the essential, and the characteristic element in a person is concealed or pushed into the background by that which the person in question happens, at the moment, to need most. Professor Sverdrup stood, to a high degree, like many of the Lutheran Church's contending men, under both of these difficulties—despite a sober historical sense and a sound and just judgment of his person built upon it.

The remarkably brief introduction to Professor Sverdrup's Selected Collected Writings is an

¹Professor Georg Sverdrup. A biographical sketch

answer to a request that I write such an introduction, made to me by the publisher of the work, Professor Andreas Høiland, who himself, in his introductory remarks to the individual sections, has touched upon several points that properly belong to a biography, and whose clear and perceptive view of Professor Sverdrup's person and work will, to a considerable degree, help the untrained reader toward a more distant and comprehensive understanding of his life and the work to which he devoted it.

The publication of the work will moreover serve a twofold purpose: first, to refresh the memory of the man to whom the Lutheran Church in America owes so much; and second, to preserve for the congregation, in a more accessible and familiar form, the writings in which he set down the fundamental views upon which his entire ecclesiastical and popular work rested.

For the reasons mentioned in my first biographical attempt, it is still too early to write a biography of Professor Sverdrup that can place his life and his work in their proper historical context and apply the correct historical measure.

The purpose of this brief introduction is therefore only to emphasize what is essential in Professor Sverdrup's work, especially as it emerges over time in his posthumous writings, which in themselves form the most beautiful and enduring memorial of him.

A historical personality may be viewed from different sides. It may be seen in the light of the conditions and surroundings that outwardly condition its appearance in history. Or it may be seen in the light of the aptitude for a particular life calling, recognized through abilities and education. Finally, it may also be seen in the light of the efforts undertaken to attain a certain goal, to solve a particular task.

Taken together, these three elements constitute the complete and full presentation of the personality from a historical point of view, while at the same time casting light upon the complex of spiritual currents and labors upon which the life in question has exerted both transient and lasting influence.

If we then look—if only at the titles—at the written works that are here before us from Professor Sverdrup's hand and mind, we immediately gain the impression that we are standing face to face with a man who occupies himself exclusively with solid questions and tasks, both principled and practical. His spirit pressed downward and inward to that which acts as a driving force in the life of the Church and the congregation; or else to that which, as a historical result, revealed itself to his spiritual clarity of vision as a determining factor in the development of life, and from the recognition of which he never shrank back; or again to that which stood before his spirit as an ideal—radiant and full of promise, yet bearing within it the full content of prudence.

In this way I believe I have indicated what constituted the essential distinguishing mark of his rich intellect. He could never rest in the mere outward fact; rather, from that—which served as the given material for thought—he sought to return to the very essence, to the principle. And in this tireless search to find not only the true interconnection of things, but also their logical development from a principle firmly grounded in life, his entire scholarly orientation was revealed—one that was in all essential respects dialectical, that is, the method of Socrates as presented in Plato's writings. How he admired the sharp, incisive, ironic quality of Socratic thinking—the truth-content recognized by its own keen observation, built upon an uncompromising and prejudice-free gaze!

Richly endowed by nature and developed through the study of Greek philosophy—which he had assimilated in an entirely original way—he was thereby fitted, as few are, to untie historical knots and to cast light upon historical life, which his spirit sympathetically lived through and absorbed in the fullest measure. Thus his presentation gained life and color, in that he himself lived along with everything he depicted. It would be difficult to find a more intimate balance between subjective and objective understanding and presentation.

But although he was scientific in his pursuit of truth, and although he possessed a rare power of exposition, he was nevertheless far too much of a fighting nature to settle into a purely formal recognition of truth or into a barren, dogmatic comprehension of results already attained. He did not merely work with the truth; the truth worked within him. And thus, in accordance with his entire temperament, he ranged beyond forms and formulas until he stood freely above the whole spiritual battlefield, where, like a field commander, he brought his heaviest artillery forward at the point where he saw the position most urgently required it. People easily misunderstand such a man. And if he is placed within what are commonly called “small” circumstances—where one must struggle against ingrained prejudices, where people's narrower influences and self-interests render both friends and enemies, both supporters and opponents, cowardly, malicious, and wavering—then a rare strength of character is demanded, an almost unceasing vigilance, in order not to turn aside from the path once perceived as the one true way. Professor Sverdrup suffered under the difficulty of such a position to the same degree as many others who are endowed by nature with rare gifts and are called by God to wage the struggle of personality for truth and justice against complacency and class hatred, against indifference and self-interest.

And should one seek a clear, unmistakable testimony to the intensity with which he perceived this position of struggle, and at the same time to the clarity and sharpness of thought with which he was able to present his view, one could scarcely find anything better than the following brief piece, discovered among his papers and which was either a draft for a speech

or an outline for a longer article. Any commentary is entirely superfluous. It is, however, fairly likely that he wrote this at a relatively young age. Both style and handwriting bear witness to that.

All hands on deck; draw the sword from the scabbard; let the cannon flash in the sun; strike upon the souls, that the sound of arms may be heard far across the land. The time is come; the air is heavy with thunder; let the thunder roll in the cloud and the lightnings strike with flash upon flash in the murk of night. The powers of the world are stirred; let the powers of heaven be stirred within us. God's Church is in peril; let men girded with weapons guard her. Against the Lie we use sharp swords; against the Lie we bear shining helmets; against the Lie we take up bright shields. But the Lie is not outside God's Church, but within her walls. Therefore awake, thou Christian Church, wherever thou art found; therefore awake, thou watchman of Zion, and sound the trumpet, that it may give a clear sound.

The Lie is this, that Christ is dead; for behold, He lives. The Lie is this, that Christianity is pure doctrine and the understanding of intellects and the clarity of thought; for behold, it is the life of love and the foolishness of love. The Lie is this, that the Church is an institution to rule over men; for behold, it is the home of freedom and the fellowship of the freed. The Lie is this, that the Church must employ the world's falsehood and deceit in order to be cunning as the serpent; for behold, she is the holy witness of truth and simplicity. The Lie is this, that the world is the Church's most dangerous enemy; for behold, it is the object of God's love. The Lie is this, that the Church is pure; for behold, she is full of rottenness and stench. The Lie is this, that Christianity is the world's hatred; for behold, it is the world's love. The Lie is this, that the Church must fear the world; for behold, the world is overcome. The Lie is this, that the Church must go outward to find her life; for behold, her enemy is in her midst. Let us find him where his work is among us; let us know him for what he is. Let us meet him as Christ once did: I am He whom ye seek.

"The truth in love" was perhaps as much as anything an expression of the whole direction of Professor Sverdrup's spirit.²

²In this introduction, the editor's narrative voice has been rendered in contemporary English for clarity,

For such a man there was scarcely room in Norway in the seventies. But with the elasticity of spirit that was his own, he soon made himself at home with the thought of working among his people outside Norway. It is not the intention here to portray the profoundly world-embracing character of Sverdrup's understanding of Christianity and church work in contrast to that which prevailed in Norway at the time. He himself has portrayed this in masterly fashion in *Memories from Norway*, a work that must always form the point of departure for a fuller historical account of the reasons that brought Oftedal and Sverdrup to America. The justification of this understanding, and the correctness of these reasons, are testified to clearly enough by the subsequent ecclesiastical development in Norway.

All that remains is, in brief outline, to characterize the position into which Professor Sverdrup necessarily came when he thus tore himself away from the mother soil and "chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God" than to hold a comfortable position in a state church in which, according to his ecclesiastical convictions, he could not feel at home.

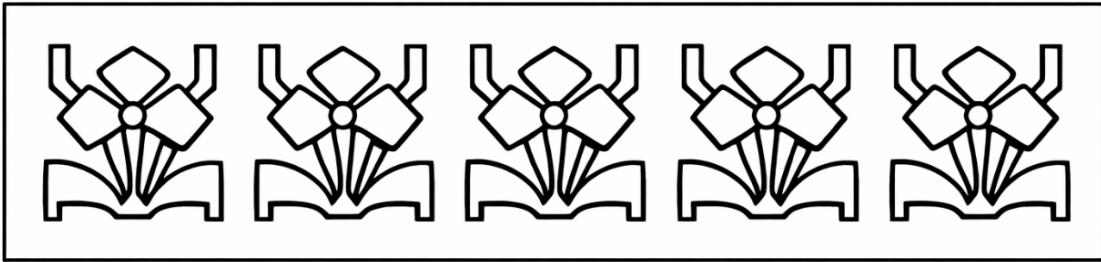
This position was essentially the same for the two men whose names in Norwegian-American church history are so closely bound together that it is possible to separate them only in a purely formal sense. Confronted with the emerging church life in the new land, these two men stood searching for a way to move beyond the old-fashioned, purely institutional conceptions. And both of them, with the burning zeal and driving force of youth, threw themselves into the work of building—indeed, we may just as well say founding—the Church upon the congregation.

This word, which together with freedom and spirit has been so terribly abused, casts light upon all the work that constitutes the key to understanding all the views that bear the name Augsburg Seminary. It was a struggle on all sides that these two men undertook and carried on. That they should be regarded as disturbers of the peace, as dangerous men, was something anyone familiar with similar historical phenomena must have expected. Nor did they in any way attempt to seek shelter from the attacks that were directed against them from so many and varied quarters. That, moreover, only served to focus attention upon them all the more sharply. But it is neither too early nor too hasty—nor yet too late—to say here that these two men, whatever else may be said of them, represented an ecclesiastical vision and an ecclesiastical work that history has sanctioned.

Here it suffices to point to the writings of Professor Sverdrup that lie before us, which as clearly as any human presentation can express it contain two things: dissatisfaction with, and

while quoted material originating with Professor Sverdrup has been translated in a more elevated register. This reflects the contrast of tone present in the Norwegian original between historical exposition and exhortative prose.

the inadequacy of, the old modes of thought and inherited forms; and the advocacy of a free and living congregation as the only foundation—both biblically and historically sound—for the building of a true kingdom of God on earth. For this Professor Sverdrup labored and fought; for this he suffered and died; and no one shall deprive him of the honor of having kindled a light in the Church upon which, even to this very day, many still look with joy and gratitude.



1 First Section

The three following biblical sketches will give, though doubtless only a faint impression, of why Professor Gederdrup's lectures on the Old Testament so powerfully captivated his hearers. The noble, poetic language, the thoroughly biblical tone, the holy reverence for the Lord's testimony as it came to His people through His preacher, were such prominent characteristics of this branch of his teaching that it seized the listeners in a peculiar manner and held them fast. When, with his clear gaze sharpened by the Spirit of God, he opened the Scriptures for his students and looked into the hidden depths of God's counsel, many a heart was made to burn. — Ed.

1.1 David and Jonathan

[Source: Svartal-Skrift for the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America. Edited by Prof. Gederdrup and Oftedal. Third Year. 1877. Pages 44–48. — Ed.]

This section appears on pages 1–5 of the original volume. — Present Ed.

And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold.

The time seems to have come in which this word is being fulfilled. At a deep and fundamental level there stirs the unrighteousness of self-love, and it appears as though petty vanity and rending envy have become dominant, not only in the politics of this world, but also among those who call themselves by His name, who went into death for His friends.³ Even in the Church of God it seems that the gentle south wind does not blow, that wind which causes the flowers to give forth their fragrance in God's garden, but rather a cold, cutting winter snow, which causes the fairest plants to wither and the noblest shoots to die.

³Sverdrup's prose is woven like fabric held under tension and is best understood when read aloud. — Present Ed.

Therefore we will bring forth the loveliest image of the love of friends that we can find, and by it we will warm our own hearts. For though thou shouldest take the coldest thing thou knowest—though thou shouldest take death's cold mist⁴, wherein human hearts grow stiff and the blood congeals—yet love is strong as death. And where the fire of love burns, there it is of no avail that the wind blows and the waters stream over it; for every cold gust shall only cause the flame to blaze the more freshly upon the hearth, and the many waters cannot quench love. In tribulation it grows, in darkness it shines, in cold it is the warmer; the greater the conflict, the greater the courage; the more hindrances, the more glorious the outcome.

A young man, ruddy of countenance, comely of form and fair to behold, was David, the son of Jesse, from Bethlehem. Scarcely more than a youth among bleating sheep upon the pastures of Judah; over its hills and through its valleys he led his flock; his playing and his song sounded over the green meadows and by the murmuring brooks. His harp he had learned to tune by the rushing of the rivers and in the stillness of the forests, and the praise of the Lord he had learned to sing while he walked alone upon the field where Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had pitched their tents with their flocks, in faith and expectation of the Lord's promise, that the land should be given unto them and to their children for ever.

The glorious inheritance of promise which had been given to the tribe of Judah had become the shepherd boy's inheritance, and by it he had been assured that Goliath of the Philistines was not to be feared by the people of God, but that the Lord would give His people victory over all their enemies, if they boldly trusted in Him.

Then came a day when the prophet Samuel went down, by the command of the Lord, to anoint one of the sons of Jesse to be king over His people; for Saul was rejected from before the face of the Lord. And Jesse brought forth his sons, one by one, before the prophet of the Lord. And the prophet said, when he saw Eliab: "Surely the Lord's anointed is before Him." But the Lord said: "Look not on his countenance, nor on the height of his stature; for I have rejected him: for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart."

And Jesse brought forth his seven sons, but none of them was chosen of God. Then David was lacking; he who kept the little flock had yet to come. And the Lord said unto Samuel: "Arise, anoint him; for this is he." And Samuel anointed him, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day.

⁴The original text uses "Dødens kolde Taarning" While Taarning resembles the word for "tower" in this 19th-century context it functions as an archaic variant of taage/taaning (mist/fog). "Mist" better captures the intended metaphor of a chilling, numbing atmosphere that stiffens the heart. — Present Ed

But over Saul there was an evil spirit; and David was brought to Saul, and his pleasant playing was a refreshment and a restoring of life for the sick and torn heart of the man, and the evil spirit departed from him at David's playing. But Saul was rejected of the Lord, and David was chosen in his stead.

At this time the Philistines went up against Israel, and Saul summoned the host against them. And Saul had a son whose name was Jonathan, and he was a hero in war, and victory followed him against the Philistines, for he also had set his heart upon the LORD, and in the name of Israel's God he smote the enemies of Israel. Among Israel's heroes Jonathan was the flower, an ornament unto Israel, a joy and delight to the people of God. He was the king's son, and the people rejoiced in hope of the day when he should sit upon his father's throne.

Then came the great champion of the Philistines, the mighty Goliath, and set himself forth to single combat. And he reviled the armies of Israel, and he mocked their God, and there was none who dared to meet him. Fear and dread lay upon the whole host of Israel; but David was not among them, for he went about upon the fields of Bethlehem and kept his father's flock. Yet he also would behold the Philistine champion, and he went to the camp; and the Spirit of the LORD came upon him. With a sling in his hand and smooth stones from the brook in his shepherd's pouch, he went against the champion in the name of God. And against the champion with sword and spear he set the LORD as his shield and defender, and the Philistine fell before the despised shepherd-boy of Israel.

Then there was jubilation in Israel, then the daughters of the people sang with gladness the praise of David. But a dark and hellish thought crept into the heart of Saul; envy seized him, and bitter hatred toward David, because the LORD had chosen him and given him the strength of faith, which was the true kingly adornment among the people of the LORD. But the heart of Jonathan opened itself toward the unknown shepherd-boy; his heroic spirit rejoiced in the heroic deed, his faith was strengthened by David's boldness of faith; he recognized the LORD's Chosen and loved him. And as brooks that meet in the valley, gently and silently glide together and cast themselves into one another's embrace, unable to do otherwise, so heart was bound to heart and soul to soul, when Jonathan and David found one another on the day of victory.

Saul's hatred and persecution brought, from that day onward, tribulation and distress upon David. It was the Lord's school of love, wherein the chosen king was to be prepared to become a true ruler of people and land. Thus, driven from the king's court, threatened with death, hunted from place to place like a wild beast, he no longer had any home, any resting place, save in the Lord's faithfulness and in Jonathan's friendship.

Jonathan sheltered him from danger; Jonathan warned him against his father's cruelty; Jonathan went to him in the forest and strengthened his hand in God. Jonathan defended him before his father, so that Saul, even in his fury, hurled his spear at his own son.

Was there anything for Jonathan to gain by such faithfulness to his persecuted friend? On the contrary, it seemed as though there was everything to lose. There were many bonds that surged against this love and would have quenched it, yes, even turned it into bondage to Saul. Temptation lay on every side for Jonathan to give way; yet in all things he was found faithful.

Saul, his father, was rejected by the Lord, and David was chosen in his stead. David was to receive Jonathan's inheritance; the son was to lose all because of the father's sin. Envy and wounded vanity might well have gathered bitterness in Jonathan's heart; yet his friendly mind remained at peace with this thought: David shall be the first in the kingdom, and I shall stand at his side.

Jonathan was the pride of Israel; now a shepherd boy was to go before him. He who had gone foremost in Israel's wars was to give way to one who had gone behind the bleating sheep. It seemed a bitter thought, but Jonathan found rest in the confidence that the Lord chooses whom He will to prepare His people.

Daily Saul's kingdom declined; daily Jonathan had to see faithfulness to Saul give way to the growing sympathy for David. David's nobility cast a heavy shadow over Saul's faithless course. Jonathan felt how it cut through the heart to see his father overwhelmed with shame; yet in all this he prevailed.

And David, who was hunted and persecuted, who was not deemed worthy to have even a cave in the land where Saul had his throne—his soul too was surely tempted to hate both father and son. He must have feared what Jonathan would do when Saul was dead. He might well have thought it better that the whole house of Saul were destroyed, if he were to have peace upon Israel's throne. There was temptation when he saw Jonathan alone and himself despised; there was temptation when he met him alone in the field, alone in the forest. Might he not think: "This is the heir; if he is gone, then the struggle is ended at Saul's death"? Yet in all this David prevailed.

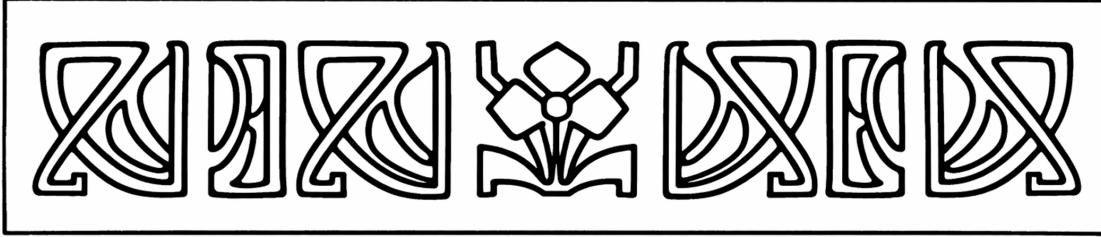
Then came the final battle. The Philistines attacked Israel; Saul and Jonathan went out against them. Alone the friend went with his blinded father. He fought for the rejected one; he himself had nothing to gain thereby. For David's land fought Saul's son; for Saul's victory fought David's friend. But David was not at his side. The tumult of slaughter increased, and the struggle grew fierce; Jonathan fell in the unequal fight. But David's lament has borne Jonathan's name unto this day:

I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan: very pleasant hast thou been unto me; thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women.

Why did Jonathan fight, why did David suffer?

For Israel's hope, which was greater to them than their own honor.

Thus the Lord bound hearts together in unbreakable friendship and rock-fast faith for His people and its hope.



1.2 The Prophet Samuel

Source: Quarterly Journal. 7th Year. 1881. Pages 142–174. Separate offprint. “Vinggaards-manden” Publishing House. 1903. — Ed.

This section appears on pages 6–35 of the original volume. — Present Ed.

God's people are, in one respect, distinguished above all other peoples upon the earth. They are an elect people, a people for God's own possession. In other respects there is no difference between Israel and the other nations. There is the same human nature, the same lust toward sin, the same needs, the same struggle for existence and for life among all peoples, Israel not excepted. “The LORD did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people” (Deut. 7:7), says Moses, through whom the LORD had also said: “Understand therefore, that the LORD thy God giveth thee not this good land to possess it for thy righteousness; for thou art a stiffnecked people” (Deut. 9:6).

By nature Israel is like the heathen; but by election it is lifted up out of the multitude of the nations, and it became true what Balaam said when he saw the camp of Israel spread out before him: “Lo, the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations” (Num. 23:9).

Election made Israel unique among the peoples, and its life and history are unique in the history of the world. For election gave Israel a particular calling in the world and a particular trust from God. Israel alone received the special calling to become a blessing to all nations, and Israel alone received the special calling that the Word of God should be entrusted to it.

While all the other peoples desired the world and its goods, and sought to tear them to themselves and to rob one another, Israel, by the election, was called to love the world; and so far from robbing anything from the world or snatching anything from the poor race of mankind, the people of Israel were rather, in love and compassion and sorrow, to bear within themselves a promised treasure, which they should always be willing to share with all: the

Word of God. With a rich gift for the world Israel went its heavy way and suffered for the peoples, while the peoples tumbled themselves in the lust of the world and reaped perdition from their sin.

But in the light of the Word of God Israel was, under its heavy pilgrimage, to see the goal clearly and shining before it; and while the heathen groped in the darkness, ever fearing the uncertain future, while they sought soothsayers and diviners and casters of lots and interpreters of dreams and oracles, in order to gain some clarity concerning the things to come, Israel was to have the light of prophecy burning and shining in a dark place. As Balaam had said: “— in thy time it shall be said of Jacob and of Israel, what God doeth.” (Num. 23:23).

It is the glory of the election that Israel may walk in the light of the Word. And herein the history of Israel, and of all God’s people, becomes different from all other history: that it not only has its goal—for all history has that—but that the goal is clearly and distinctly set before the people, so that the ancient people may lift up its gaze with certainty and courage toward the eternal kingdom which the Lord will prepare, and that by the light of prophecy the way to the goal is clearly marked out, so that it need not go astray.

But against the light of the Word rises the doubt and cleverness of the understanding, and against the heavy duty of the calling rises the lust of the flesh. And the whole history of Israel becomes filled with an unceasing struggle between flesh and Spirit, between prescription and faith, so that scarcely is there given on earth a more torn and storm-filled history than that of God’s people. God has set the calling and the destiny, and he continually raises up men and women in Israel who lift its glory and its responsibility high before a corrupt and perverse people; and again and again the great multitude in Israel spares itself and says: We will not walk in the way of the Lord! And thus there arise violent upheavals and heart-rending struggles between God’s glorious calling and the fleshly nature of the people.

There are great men in Israel, as in every other people; there are chieftains and standard-bearers; there are leaders of the people and speakers for the people. But in truth great in God’s people is only the man or the woman who follows the Spirit’s calling and gives himself wholly over to the goal which God has appointed for His people. “A man in whom is the Spirit” (Num. 27:18) is the only one who is fitted to be leader and shepherd in Israel; he alone is the man “who may go out before their face and go in before their face, and who may lead them out and bring them in” (Num. 27:17). It is the Lord’s man whose calling it is to behold the Lord’s goal and follow its summons; and only he who himself has walked in the way of the Spirit can go before the people on their way toward the goal set by God.

Great abilities and glorious gifts do indeed make a man eminent in Israel, as among all peoples, even when the gifts are taken into the service of the flesh and of the world; but great in truth is only he who laid the great and glorious gifts down before the Lord and said, “Here am I; send me,” and who thereafter went forth in the Spirit’s power and the Spirit’s light before God’s people, and showed them where the Lord’s way was.

Such a Spirit-borne leader in God’s people is Samuel. He is one of the few men in history who have been an instrument for the renewal of an entire people, and who, without bloodshed and deeds of violence, were able to gather what was scattered and unite what was divided. At his death Israel stood moved and established; for his own time he saw the people united and strong as never since the death of Joshua. Yea, though such great things had been accomplished and so much had been changed, Samuel could nonetheless step forward and receive from his people a full and complete testimony to righteousness and innocence in his entire public course.

It would be more than worthwhile to follow the struggle and labor of his life for his precious people. The Spirit of God has preserved the chief features of the great man’s life as a testimony for the latest generations.

1.2.1 Israel in the Time of the Judges

In a people that grows in a sound and vigorous manner, there are two powers which often seem to draw each its own way, yet which only when they are united become a true blessing for the people; these are freedom and unity. Israel had been driven together in need and oppression under the Egyptians’ harsh bondage. Moses had led the wretched people out into freedom, and his strong hand and superior might had preserved the people, corrupted by slavery and oppression, from again being split and scattered and thus perishing. Joshua had taken the governance over Israel with dauntless courage and had led it through struggle and distress, through victory and triumph, into the promised land.

But the two mighty leaders whom God had raised up for Israel were gone. There was none to take their place. Israel had to try to walk without the guidance which in its childhood had been so sorely needed, and which the Lord had given it in such abundant measure. Israel, which had been held together by the superior spirit of strong rulers and by the distress and peril amid which it was born, now entered a season of freedom and cohesion. It had been as a child under its mighty leaders, freely protected, yet in many ways still immature. After the death of the great men, Israel was to try to stand upon its own feet; and with the Law and the worship of God as constraining bonds, the people were to preserve in freedom what they

had received as an unmerited gift.

Israel had strength enough to preserve its independence, if only it had faith enough. Israel's strength lay in its election, and that election could become a living power only through faith. If faith failed, then election became merely a threatening responsibility instead of a saving force.

But Israel did not preserve faith; when distress was gone, when the pressure was over, when good days followed upon the heavy times of struggle, then Israel laid itself to rest; it grew fat and wanton, and in its soul, out of its freedom and advantage, it turned away from the Lord who had saved it, and from the God who had borne it upon eagles' wings.

Israel sought freedom, not in God, but in the world. Toward the more vile gods of the Canaanites, and toward their immoral and cruel idolatry, they were drawn with irresistible desire. And as Israel sank down into the vices and idolatry of the Canaanites, it lost the power by which it had been upheld and knit together. The result was bondage and dissolution. The strong, youthfully vigorous people who under Joshua had marched into Canaan were captured and ensnared by the Canaanites' licentiousness and worldliness. It renounced its election; it let its high goal slip out of sight; and thus it lost both its freedom and its unity. The foreign peoples found easy prey, and the individual tribes were severed from one another. The bonds of brotherhood, which were the one spirit, were gone, because the manifoldness of the world scattered the minds which could be united only in God.

But the Lord had not forsaken His people. Though it plunged itself like a prodigal son into the pleasures of the world, the Lord yet also let it taste the bitterness of the world's bondage; and in need and misery Israel was brought unto the Lord and gained new experience of His faithfulness and grace, when the Lord raised up deliverers for His people who, in the power of the Spirit, led the people to victory and freedom. The judges and their work bear witness that the Lord remained faithful where Israel was unfaithful. The election and the covenant with the fathers stood firm where Israel failed.

But despite the work of the judges and the working of the Spirit of the Lord, Israel declined ever further. And the last judge, Samson, stood entirely alone against the enemies of God's people. Yes, not only that. Seduced and swept away by Philistine heathendom, inflamed by Samson's own intemperance, the men of Judah would even bind their champion themselves and deliver him into the power of the enemies. So low had the people sunk through the lust of the world and its bondage. And Samson himself, so great and richly gifted, fell so deeply that sorrow and shame cleave to his name and to his history forever. Samson, ensnared, sleeping with his head in Delilah's lap while the hair of his head—the sign of his election—was shorn

away, so that powerless and helpless he was given into the hands of the Philistines—this is an image of the people of Israel in that time. As Samson renounced his election for the lust of the world and sank strengthless into the hand of his enemies.

But Samson had strength to die for his people; alone, cast off and despised, trampled underfoot and abused, he had not forgotten his people; in the hour of his death his thought and his soul were with the precious, chosen Israel. But there is hope for that people whose sons go into death for it. Thus Israel still had a future before it. Yet it could not attain it except by the hand of the Lord; therefore the Lord sent them the voice of awakening through the mouth of Samuel.

The life of the people in the time of the Judges was in many respects wild and crude. Clearly and solemnly had the Lord admonished His people through the mouth of Moses and of Joshua, that they should not bind themselves to the Canaanite nations. Scarcely is there any people in the world who hastened more swiftly toward destruction through the corruption of morals than precisely the Canaanite peoples. Sodom and Gomorrah fell as the first terrifying example of the Lord's judgment upon moral corruption and unnatural lust. Yet the punitive judgment did not put an end to the corruption of morals. The cruel and cunning Canaanites united the lust of the world with the wisdom of the world, and their cities, which distinguished themselves by wealth and prosperity, became also the homes of vice and excess, unto which ungodliness ascended unto heaven crying for vengeance. The divine mercy was therefore compelled to cry words of warning to young Israel, which entered into so corrupt a land, where even the temples of the idols had become dwellings of indecency.

But the solemn admonitions did not bear the desired fruit. It was not long before we find the sins of Sodom within the cities of Israel. The Israelite and the Canaanite youth took pleasure in one another's company. Although there had stood a separation between the older generations of the two peoples, keeping them apart from one another, this separation no longer had the same meaning or the same effect upon the rising generation. The young men of Israel took Canaanite wives, and Israel's daughters were given in marriage to the Canaanites. The wild, luxuriant life of the world seemed intent on swallowing all and everything.

Yet God had preserved His own. Though the corruption was great and widespread, the spark of faith was not extinguished, nor was the voice of testimony silenced, and the God-fearing life of Israel had not wholly ceased. There were still not only great and chosen instruments of the Lord, but also here and there small and inconspicuous souls who faithfully preserved Israel's faith and lived by the blessed hope of the promises. There was Naomi, whose faith even drew the heathen woman into God's people and the truth of His promises. Ruth left

Moab, her land and her people, her kindred and her gods; and there was also a man such as Elkanah and his household, who observed the Lord's commandments and ordinances and year by year went up to the sanctuary to appear before God at Shiloh, where the Tabernacle had stood since the days of Joshua.

Elkanah had two wives; and this unhappy violation of God's order, which was and is so common among the peoples of the East, brought also in Elkanah's house the usual restless consequences. Quarreling and bitterness, sorrow and tears have followed polygamy everywhere, and do so unto this very day. Women often have hard conditions and a burdensome life even among us, who boast that we have lifted them up out of subjection and bondage. When once the voice of the oppressed and tormented shall be heard in righteousness and truth, it will be made manifest that many a sorrowful and broken woman has borne more heart, even among us, than many have been able to imagine. Yet both the one and the other woman suffers among us wherever polygamy rules, and this becomes common and daily. Hannah, the mother of Samuel, was also made to prove this in full measure. She had no children, while the other wife rejoiced in sons and daughters.

Hannah's lot was heavy and painful; yet the Lord had made it thus for Hannah, because He would reveal His glory and highly exalt the humbled and bitterly afflicted woman. "The barren woman shall dwell in the house as a joyful mother of children" (Psalm 113:9). And there was to be more blessing in the one son who was given her in her sorrow and prayers than in many sons and daughters over whom there had been jubilation and delight. The heart learns first in distress and sorrow the great mystery of yielding itself wholly to God; and only that life which has been consecrated through sorrow is able to become a full fountain of joy both for itself and for the people of God.

Hannah had learned to find consolation in sorrow and help in distress. To God she went with her affliction, and before Him she poured out her heart in His sanctuary. Israel's high priest, Eli, was witness to her prayer in that hour of endurance. He was a respectable and agreeable man. Calm and without clamor was the stamp of his inner life. Appointed from childhood to be the Lord's high priest and the spiritual leader of God's people, he had doubtless also from childhood been accustomed to the Word of God and the temple of God. It was to Eli so familiar, so everyday, so commonplace. It seemed to follow of itself that he should be God-fearing, at least outwardly. And though he could not entirely avoid many serious thoughts and moving moments, yet earnestness and the struggle of life seemed not to have laid hold of his whole soul.

Thus it goes with many who have become priests and servants of God from outward con-

siderations: for the sake of the family, for the sake of honor and reputation, or even for the sake of livelihood. Their hearts do indeed feel a seriousness and gravity; yet it often passes away with a sigh and a small prick of conscience, and of any share in full surrender to God in repentance and faith there is often nothing at all. Such priests indeed know the Word of God, but not the Spirit of God; and the inward spiritual movements and the struggle, the death of the soul and the fear of sin, the joy of the Spirit and the gladness of the life of God are things unknown to them. They account it enthusiasm or madness, or at least a peculiarity.

So it went also with Eli. He saw Hanna sunk down in prayer; her bitter affliction pressed her low, and her pain was too great for her to find words for it. But Eli did not understand what was stirring within this neglected heart, and his blunted spiritual sense did not so much as divine the mystery of distress and prayer. Therefore it seemed to him incomprehensible what it was that truly moved the woman, whose bitterly sorrowing and sorely oppressed mind was mirrored in her countenance, and whose lips moved according to the inner longings of her heart, without any audible word passing over them. Eli supposed her to be drunken, much as those who were witnesses of the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Apostles supposed that they were "full of new wine." It is that spiritual sluggishness, that heartless indifference to the need or the joy of others, that materialistic incapacity to comprehend the nature of the Spirit, which here makes itself known. Eli's official piety was unacquainted with such soul-rending workings of the Spirit as those Hanna experienced in her soul.

But Hanna had prayed as one who struggles for life, and she had vowed to the Lord the son for whom she had pleaded. There was full earnestness in her soul; and when she prayed for a son, it was not with the selfish desire to have him for herself, but with the true love's willingness to offer him up to God and to His people. She had won peace in the struggle; she had conquered herself and the turmoil of her agitated mind; she had pressed through to the heart of the Lord and found mercy, and she was able calmly to answer Eli's harsh and almost mocking words.

She told Eli what had been hidden from him. It was not wine or strong drink that made her so strange and incomprehensible to men; but anguish of heart and soul, which had opened her whole being before God, had made her manner a mystery to men. She had prayed, not as one who prays in order to display an ability before God, but as one who cries out of the depths unto the Lord.

It struck Eli in an instant. For the old man knew well that such was the prayer which breaks through all hindrances and presses its way up to the living God, Israel's mighty Father. Thus had Jacob wrestled in the night by the Jabbok. Thus had Moses striven upon the mountain

for the faithless people and for those chosen from among them. Eli understood that he stood face to face with one of the Lord's elect, and his words were heart-comforting for Hannah: "Go in peace: and the God of Israel grant thee thy petition that thou hast asked of him" (1 Sam. 1:17).

Comforted and relieved, Hannah went to her home. The encounter with the Lord in the sanctuary had given her new courage to take hold of life's daily round of quiet struggles and the toil, burden, and weariness of household labor. In the great conflict and the bitter sorrow, her heart had been strengthened for the lesser sorrows and cares through which she yet must pass.

The Lord fulfilled Hannah's prayer. She received a son and called his name Samuel; it means, "Heard of God"; for, said she, of the Lord have I asked him.

This time the son's name is full truth. By prayer he was given; and in prayer the strength of his life was to abide. This is the secret of the life of God's people, that God hears prayers. It is the expression of God's fatherly heart toward His children. And it is faith's proper victory over all unbelief and materialism, that it prays to the living, personal God and is heard. Around this stood the great conflict in the days of Samuel, as it repeats itself also now, after three thousand years have passed away.

God's living personality and the conquering power of faith lie most simply and most clearly expressed in the word: God hears prayers. And around this all in Samuel's life was to turn—to bear witness for Israel to the living, almighty God, the merciful and gracious Father, whom Israel was in danger of exchanging for dead idols, and to that distinctive power of faith which was to be Israel's mark and the world-overcoming strength.

Samuel, therefore, is the name that designates the champion of God over against the seductive powers of idolatry and materialism. Samuel is the name that designates the giant of faith over against the coldness of unbelief and the darkness of superstition.

1.2.2 Hannah's Song

Samuel was to be consecrated unto the Lord, a Nazirite from the cradle unto the grave. Such was the meaning of the Nazirite calling: that, in a living image, they bore witness before Israel to its vocation and its standing. As Israel was the Lord's covenant possession, so were the Nazirites to be a testimony thereof before the people. — Samuel was also to abide in the Lord's sanctuary all the days of his life. Hannah was not to keep him at home; with the Lord was his home to be. He belonged to that God who had heard his mother's prayer. In the sanctuary he was to grow up, that his soul, from childhood onward, might live with God,

and that he might thus be strengthened and prepared for his work in Israel.

Hannah therefore kept him with her until he was weaned. Yet the vow unto God lay upon her and had to be fulfilled. Many a time must her eye have rested, with tear-mingled joy, upon the boy upon her lap, whom she was to give back unto the Lord. And many thoughts must have flowed through the soul of that godly woman as she looked with longing toward better times for God's people, and pondered whether the Lord would suffer the little one to grow up into a chosen instrument for the working of His Spirit in the nation. Her thoughts doubtless turned back to Sarah, the barren woman who became the mother of Israel; to Rebekah, who had cried unto the Lord as she herself had done, and had become the mother of Jacob. And within Hannah there arose a hope which the Spirit of the Lord fashioned into glad assurance in her heart, that her son would become a means in the Lord's hand to usher a new age upon God's people. That which was scattered was to be gathered, that which was disturbed was to be made firm, and the Lord's anointed was to grant the people the peace and freedom for which they sighed.

Thus time passed on, and the mother's heart was enlarged more and more by the thought that the sacrifice she was to bring would be richly repaid through the great work which the Lord would appoint her son to accomplish for His people. The mother who has first learned to behold the people's distress and the Lord's consecrated love, she offers with joy her dearest child, if his life and labor, far from home, might bear blessed fruit for the whole people. True, the hut would seem empty when little Samuel no longer leapt smiling about within it; yet the mother thought of how, through her pain, a light might be kindled whose blessed radiance could fall into so many hearts and dwellings in Israel. And thus she remained faithful to her God and to the vow she had made.

The day came when Samuel must go with her to Shiloh. The light and strength of the land followed Hannah, and she went with joy along that road which she had so often before imagined as painful and heavy. To Shiloh, to the sanctuary, to Eli went the little company; and the least in that company was to become the greatest in the people of God. With deep and inward emotion Hannah stepped forward before Eli, and now Eli learned what Hannah had prayed and vowed on the day when she had spoken so bitterly and poured out her soul before the Lord. There stood Samuel, granted by the Lord; now he was to be presented back to Him.

But Hannah prayed again—not a prayer of pain as on that former day of sorrow, but a prayer of praise and joy, such as only one woman after her has sung. A song of praise the Spirit of the Lord laid upon Hannah's lips, which was to resound again with unspeakable joy from the

mouth of the mother of Jesus:

Glad is my heart in the Lord; Exalted is my horn in the Lord; My mouth is opened wide against mine enemies, For I rejoice in thy salvation.

There is none holy as the Lord, For there is none beside thee; Neither is there any rock like our God.

Speak no more exceeding proud words; Let not insolence come out of your mouth; For the Lord is a God of knowledge, And by him actions are weighed.

The bows of the mighty are broken, And they that stumbled are girded with strength.

They that were full have hired themselves out for bread, And they that were hungry hunger no more; Yea, the barren hath borne seven, And she that had many children languisheth.

The Lord killeth, and maketh alive; He bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up.

The Lord maketh poor, and maketh rich; He bringeth low, and lifteth up also.

He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, He lifteth up the needy from the dunghill, To set them among princes, And to make them inherit the throne of glory. For the pillars of the earth are the LORD's, And He hath set the world upon them.

The steps of His faithful ones He preserveth, But the wicked shall be silent in darkness; For not by might shall a man prevail.

The LORD—His adversaries shall be broken to pieces; Over them shall He thunder in heaven. The LORD shall judge the ends of the earth; He shall give strength unto His king, And exalt the horn of His anointed.

It is no longer the plaintive cry of a wounded woman's heart; it is a mother's jubilation, a believing woman's thanksgiving for answered prayer, a daughter of Abraham's joy over the hope of Israel. God's holy longing for the time of refreshing has gathered itself within Hannah's soul, and in true prophetic spirit she has, in the birth of Samuel, beheld a token of a new season for Israel.

The advent of a new age—a reformation, a revolution if one so will—Hannah proclaims in her song. As the first green shoot in spring bears tidings of thousands that shall follow; as the first leaf gives witness to the mighty powers which soon shall clothe the whole forest in a new

raiment; so Hannah sees in Samuel's birth and childhood a sign that the Spirit of the LORD is mightily stirring within the people of the LORD, and will work a renewal of the entirety of its national life. There is spring in the land, and spring-life in the people. Samuel is the first message of what is to come. We have seen the snow melt in the spring; and whereas before it lay cold and hard upon the grass-shoots, it now sinks down and gives moisture and sap to the roots, so that it must help forth the grass which it once held down.

Thus is the work of the Lord's Spirit in Israel. That which hitherto has stood highest and lain heavy and oppressive upon Israel's life shall be cast down and removed; but that which hitherto has been crushed and held in bondage, this will the Lord lift up and set free, so that with its new, young, fresh life it shall become a blessing for the people. Hannah sees in the Spirit how the strong and the rich, the satisfied and the proud, the insolent and boastful—who until now have been the leaders and oppressors of God's people—shall receive their judgment and be thrust aside to make room for the lowly and poor people, who, renewed and born again by the Lord's Spirit, shall go before in the struggle and lead it to victorious end. And the mighty stirring which the Lord will bring into the dead bones shall not cease until it transforms Israel into a kingdom. God's people, who for a long time have dreamed of a king who might gather the people into unity and guard its independence, shall now soon receive him; and anointed with the Lord's Spirit, he shall understand Israel's high calling and lead the people forward upon its appointed path.

This is ever the Lord's way. When human striving after height and power ends in inward hollowness and lifelessness; when the Spirit has departed from those who stand at the top and only the outward show remains, while the people gasp in deathly anguish for a little refreshment for their tormented hearts—then it is the Lord's hour to send, in merciful love, the fresh breath of the Spirit over the young and hope-weary hearts. Then He sends awakening among the people; and while the spiritless great men turn away with cold contempt from the call of the Spirit, the Lord kindles light round about in the hearts of the people. It is deemed fanaticism and folly; it is hated and persecuted, mocked and derided; yet it carries on its quiet growth to the full. The Lord's hour is near; and it comes with crushing judgment upon the crafty faces and the jubilant feasts and the mighty oppressors; yet it comes also with quiet peace and eternal honor for those who have learned to wait upon the Lord.

Many times has the Lord, through great and small alike, revealed Himself in this manner; but never with clearer hand than when He sent His Son into the world. That the lowly man from Nazareth with His poor Galileans should stir the world from one end to the other, undermine the mighty Roman Empire, and build His Church upon its ruins—this is the greatest and most glorious revelation of that law of God: the Lord bringeth low and liftest up together. A

mightier empire has never been raised than the Roman; and greater misery and wretchedness than that of Galilee's poor, afflicted, leprous people has scarcely any seen. Yet from despised Galilee went forth the Word which overthrew the empire and built up the Church.

But Samuel was to be the instrument of a like work. Israel's people were to experience a spiritual awakening, which should transform both its inward and its outward condition. Base as Israel already was, it was to be brought yet lower. That which had become its pride and its vanity it should lose; yet in its uttermost need the Lord would prepare strength for it through Samuel's prayer. Then Israel, trampled down and crushed beneath its enemies, should rise up in the strength of its God and strike its foes back, blow after blow. As a lion should the Hero of Judah step forth against the enemies of God's people, and in confusion should they retreat before him.

Such was Hannah's bright hope and faith when she brought the heavy sacrifice of leaving Samuel behind at the sanctuary, while she herself departed quietly on her way. Were there more mothers like Hannah, there would also be more sons like Samuel.

For a mother's prayer availeth much; and Samuel, who was dedicated for his whole life with tears and with jubilation, should not put to shame the hope that was bound up with him. Of life he as yet understood only life's sorrow and life's joy; but there are dreams in the hearts of children which no one understands, and there are moments that make indelible impressions upon the young. Such a moment it must surely have been for the little boy, when his mother's holy enthusiasm shone upon him, and when he saw her so glad and so deeply moved. He may well have remained behind with childlike sorrow and fear; and yet he may also have forgotten his childish dread in the Lord's sanctuary, where he was left alone.

1.2.3 The Judgment upon the House of Eli

By Hannah's song of praise Samuel was consecrated to be a reformer in Israel. Yet a reformation has its preparation through long ages of abuse and spiritual deadness. When the commandment and the guilt in the existing order reach a certain boundary, and when corruption advances so far that it cries to heaven for vengeance, then the day of the Lord comes with crushing judgment upon the old. But reformation is not merely judgment upon the reigning corruption; it is also salvation and deliverance for that which has lain groaning and longing for the Lord's light and the life of the Spirit. Therefore a reformation has not only its negative preparation in ancient obstinacy and stiffening injustice; it has also its positive preparation in a people through the cry of oppressed and persecuted hearts for salvation, through longing for deliverance, through hope of brighter and better times. Judgment and

salvation, destruction and upbuilding, go hand in hand in the Lord's householding with His people; and it was not to be otherwise on this occasion.

Samuel had already in his home seen much of the good powers at work in the life of the people of Israel. There must have been peace and joy in his mother's quiet homestead; and the blessing she had experienced must surely have rested upon her whole life with thankfulness, and have laid piety's own imprint upon her entire being. A song of praise such as Hannah's does not well up from a false and impure heart, nor does it overflow from light-minded lips. The hidden man of the heart, in the incorruptible ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, must assuredly have been this woman's adornment. And Samuel, without knowing it, bore within himself the woman's inheritance from the mother who hoped in him to behold the Lord's instrument for the awakening of the people.

It is all the more grievous, with this thought of Samuel's home, to pass over to the consideration of the ungodliness with which Samuel was to become acquainted in the Lord's sanctuary. For from there the light of holiness and the life of love ought indeed to have streamed forth over the little people, who now by their spiritual strength were to raise their standing in relation to the mighty heathen nations that surrounded them on every side. From the sanctuary the Lord's truth and the Lord's Spirit should have gone out to all the scattered members of the congregation and bound them together into a living body. The bloody sacrifices were to be signs of atonement and reconciliation for the sinful people, while the priest's blessing was to follow them back into their daily labor and lay the Lord's power into their work. There, thought Hannah, the little Samuel must surely grow up amid pure and holy surroundings, where the child-heart's guilelessness and innocence would not be disturbed by the many temptations that a coarse popular life brought with it.

But it was not so in the Lord's sanctuary. Defiled and profaned was the house of God by those who were the Lord's priests and who by their calling ought to have been the light of the people. Old Eli himself had been a man of somewhat blameless conduct in his dealings. But stripped of the Spirit's power, and blind to the Lord's holiness and the people's need, he had not been able to stem the tide against the ever-growing corruption among the priests. His own sons became representatives of this spiritual decay in its most grievous embodiment.

It is sorrowful to say it; yet it is no less true, that the sons of Eli are not the only sons of priests, nor the only priests of their kind. It is dreadful for any house and for any man to be without the Spirit of God and without sincere fear of God; but it is, if possible, doubly dreadful for a priestly house and for a priest. For where the holy calling to be the Lord's servant is daily denied and daily violated by a profaning hand, there is gradually laid so thick

and close a shroud of corruption over heart and soul that at last it becomes an impossibility for the two-edged sword of the Word to pierce through and judge the thoughts and counsels of the heart. Where the holy calling is used merely as a means of gain, the spiritual power finally degenerates into an ungodly cowardice which stifles all spiritual influence. It is fairly well known also in the spiritual experience of our people, that the Lord's judgment has not spared ungodly and spiritless priestly houses; for Eli's fearful judgment, to behold his own weakness and slackness punished by the corruption and ungodliness of his sons, sounds a grave and piercing shout from the masthead⁵ to all who are the Lord's servants, that they be so in spirit and in truth, lest the judgment swiftly begin from the house of the Lord.

The sin of Eli's sons, their indulgence and sensual lust, was all the more detestable in that the Lord's sacrifices were thereby despised and the Lord's sanctuary profaned. Their father's reproof they treated with scorn, and the shame and pain which they inflicted upon the old man were to them a matter of indifference. All love and all right had to yield to their coarse and brazen craving for sensual pleasure. And Scripture adds a heavy, dreadful word: "They hearkened not unto the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them." It is one of the mysteries of divine justice, that where the Lord's hour has come for judgment, there He lets sin pass over into hardening. Sin begets sin; one sin, as it were, forces forth the other; one link in the chain shackles to the next, and draws the sinner—first slowly, then more swiftly, at last without restraint—down into the abyss of perdition.

But Samuel's childlike mind remained uncorrupted by the foulness that surrounded him. And he grew in stature and in favor both with the Lord and with men.

Over the house of Eli the judgment drew near. The Lord did not leave him without warning. A prophet announced to Eli that the wrath of the Lord would come upon him and upon his lineage. If the priesthood had dishonored the Lord, then He would cause shame and disgrace to come upon the priesthood. That which He had set highest in the people of Israel, and made the true bearers of the whole of Israel's spiritual life, He would cast down into the deepest contempt and misery. The house of Eli would not die out; yet a faithful priest would take his place, and the wretched descendants of Eli's house would beg and implore him for a priestly office, that they might obtain a piece of bread to eat. As the sons of Eli had transformed the Lord's holy priestly office into a means of self-indulgent luxury and sensual pleasure, so in return the descendants of Eli would be made to experience the full bitterness of having to beg for a priestly office for the sake of hired bread. Eli himself was to behold the

⁵For this section, the term Varsko is rendered as a "shout from the masthead" to reflect its maritime origins and the seafaring culture of 19th-century Denmark. The use of "shackled" preserves the "Chain of Sin" motif, maintaining the rhythmic, "sung" quality of the original vertical imagery—contrasting the high calling of the Spirit with the inescapable descent into the abyss. — Present Ed

sign of this wretched future: his two sons would die in one day.

As Samuel grew, the rising contrast between what the priests were and what they ought to have been must have presented itself in sharp and glaring light to his childlike mind. There is nothing for which a child has a keener eye than hypocrisy and falsehood. None is more authoritative than a faithful and God-fearing child; and as the clearest mirror bears witness to every glance and desire in a human soul, so a child's soul, the purer and nobler it is, becomes all the more offensive to every form of dishonesty in its surroundings. With ever-deepening dread Samuel beheld the profanation of the Lord's sanctuary. Thus he was being prepared for the Lord's first revelation to him; for that revelation was to be a new warning of judgment upon the house of Eli.

Three times the Lord called to Samuel before Samuel, at Eli's bidding, answered: "Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth!" Yet this was not only spoken from the depths of the young heart; it became as a constant and unceasing cry from Samuel's inmost soul throughout his entire subsequent life. Faithful, and even grave as he was, it became the earnest striving of his life to be open and receptive to the Lord's voice, to lay his ear to His mouth, to listen to His speech by day and by night, that he might become for his people a voice of the Lord, crying in the wilderness. As John the Baptist went before the Messiah, so Samuel went before the reign of David and Solomon with a clarion-cry of awakening. Samuel's first vision was a message of death over the house of Eli. Thus it was that the Lord would first reveal Himself in this time. With judging righteousness He would strike down that which was set in high station among His people; for His honor was violated by the ungodliness of the priests, and the people were led into dreadful labyrinths⁶ by those who should have been its leaders. Yet no one could well have foreseen in what strange manner the Lord would bring His counsel to fulfillment.

Samuel rose from day to day in the people's acknowledgment. His prophetic voice accomplished what no judge or hero had been able to accomplish since the death of Joshua. He gathered the whole people of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba, around his prophetic voice. This is his first great and significant work in Israel. Divided and torn as Israel was, Samuel's voice was nevertheless heard throughout the entire people. It was something altogether new in those days that all Israel should be gathered by a spiritual means and around a prophet of the Lord. Yet much was still lacking before Israel was wholly permeated by the Spirit of the Lord.

Yet it was an immediate reversal. It was not long since Samson had stood alone against the Philistines, yes, since even his own countrymen would have delivered him bound into the

⁶The term "labyrinth" for Afveie (literally "sideway" or "wrong paths") reflects the moral disorientation caused by corrupt leadership. — Present Ed.

hands of his mortal enemies. Now the whole of Israel gathered at Samuel's word for battle against the oppressors.

The encounter took place upon the ancient battlefield, where the Lord would later glorify Himself by hearing Samuel's prayer. But this time Samuel had gathered the people in order to let that let the hammer blow of judgment fall,⁷ forming the beginning of Israel's renewal. Israel was smitten with great loss, and now it was to be made manifest how far the priesthood of Eli and his sons had led the people away from a living knowledge of God.

For not in repentance and prayer, but in heathen superstition did Israel seek the help of its God. Not to the living God did they flee, but to the Ark of the Covenant, which they supposed would help by its outward presence. It had been given to Israel as a sign and as the nearness of the covenant. It bore within it the holy tables of the Law of old, hidden beneath the mercy seat, where the blood made atonement for Israel's sin. It was therefore a living witness that the glory of the Lord could dwell in the midst of a sinful people only through the mystery of atonement, and that broken and contrite hearts alone were sacrifices well-pleasing to the Lord. But this outward sign of the covenant did not bring a penitent and superstitious people into the Lord's good pleasure. Nowhere has Israel's spiritless reliance upon the outward signs of election revealed itself more clearly and more repulsively than in this holy matter, and it is impossible to conceive of a more dreadful judgment upon their heathen superstition than that which befell them.

The priesthood of Eli and his sons had, itself spiritless, hypocritical, and hollow, turned the people to regard the Lord's covenant sign with spiritless and profane hearts. They regarded the Lord as a God who, being dependent upon His people and His sanctuary, must help wherever His people with outward exactness observed the ordinances and ceremonies. And Israel had gone so far astray from the worship of God in spirit and in truth that it supposed that when the Ark of the Covenant was present, then the Lord was present. Much the same are those among the so-called Christians who imagine that outward ordinances and certain ceremonies and certain doctrines and similar outward forms will help them, while true spiritual fear of God and living devotion to Him are a matter of indifference to their hearts.

Israel fetched the Ark of the Covenant from Shiloh. With jubilation and joy it was received; with fear and terror the Philistines heard of its coming. Israel's God had so mightily revealed Himself in Israel's exodus from Egypt that the memory thereof still lived on among the heathen nations; and the Philistines feared that mysterious power which had once been so dreadful to mighty Egypt.

⁷The Danish 'Dom bryde ind' suggests a judgment breaking in or bursting through. I have rendered this as 'hammer-blow' to maintain the rhythmic force of the sermon. — Present Ed.

But the Lord would hold judgment. Heathen superstition, idolatrous reliance upon the outward sign of the covenant, the spiritually lifeless priesthood, and the profaned house of Eli were to receive their deserved recompense. The way was to be prepared for that spiritual knowledge of God which, through Samuel's awakening word, would fall as living seed into the hearts of the people and bring forth the noble fruits that lie before us in David's Psalms. From the coarsest outwardness to the deepest inwardness the way led only through a fearful judgment of the Lord.

The Ark of the Covenant was taken by the Philistines. It was a shattering blow to Israel's hollow worship of God. Their confidence and their strength were gone. The sons of Eli fell. Eli himself perished, unstrung⁸ by the horror of the calamity.

The mighty day of judgment ended with a heart-rending event which gathered into itself, as in a mirror image, all the features of Israel's misery. The wife of Phinehas was seized by terrible birth pangs at the tidings of disaster that came from the battlefield. She breathed out her life amid the agony and called her son's name Ichabod; for, said she, the glory has departed from Israel, for the Ark of God is taken.

The woman dying in childbirth, who seems to see all as lost, yet gives a son life in her hour of death. Thus sinks old Israel, the old time, into death, when the Ark of the Covenant and the priesthood are in one day trampled to dust; but a new Israel and a new time stand at the door; for the Lord lives, and Samuel is His Spirit-bearing instrument. As yet the new time is only as a newborn child, yes, as a child stirring in the womb⁹ in the eyes of men; but in its time it shall be seen that salvation and redemption sprout from the soil of judgment.

1.2.4 The Deliverance from the Philistines

The LORD judges His people; yet He does not bring shame upon His Name. The victory-proud Philistines returned home with the Ark of the Covenant: they believed that they had conquered both the people of Israel and its God. Meanwhile Israel sat in mourning and dejection, with tears in the eye and a heavy yoke upon its neck. It appeared as though all were lost—freedom, the land, the sanctuary, the worship of God, the Ark of the Covenant, the election itself. The great memories of the past were put to shame by the wretched present. Hope for the future had vanished. The glorious deliverance from the bondage of Egypt lay too far behind, and a humiliating diminution of the mighty past was Israel's allotted portion.

⁸The Danish 'gjennemrystet' means 'shaken through.' The term 'Unstrung' is used to reflect the total collapse of Eli's physical and spiritual frame at the news. — Present Ed.

⁹The Danish 'uroligt Foster' literally means a 'restless fetus.' In this homiletic context, 'stirring in the womb' captures the hidden, internal nature of God's new work before it is visible to the world. — Present Ed.

The holy tables of the Law, which were the pledge of God's covenant at Sinai and which so surely guaranteed Israel's future, were in the hands of the enemy. Had the word of the LORD become a lie, and the promises mere shadows, an empty sound upon the lips?

Such could not be. The truthfulness and faithfulness of the LORD, the honor of His Name and the earnestness of His love, could not perish; nor could the Philistines triumph over the Name of the LORD. While Israel, through Samuel's intercession, learned to serve the LORD in spirit and in truth, and gathered that inward strength which would soon cast off the outward yoke, the Philistines were to learn that it is perilous to lay violent hands upon the people of the LORD and upon that which is His.

Judgment had begun with Israel; it would soon strike down upon the Philistines. The Ark of the Covenant, which they had borne home in pride and triumph, quickly became their terror and dread. They set it within the temple of Dagon, and the idol fell down; they moved it from city to city, and sickness and misery followed in its wake. As the LORD in former times, through signs and wonders, made known to the Babylonian world-empire that He was not impotent, though His people had been carried away into exile, so also did the LORD work wonders in the cities of the Philistines, lest the heathen should exalt themselves and imagine that their gods were greater than the God of Israel. For the LORD willed not Israel's deliverance alone; He willed that Israel should be His servant unto the blessing of all peoples. Therefore it was as necessary that the nations should know His power as that Israel should know His mercy.

The Philistines knew of no other counsel than to send the Ark of the Covenant back again. Fear and terror had seized them, and they were compelled to seek to avert the wrath of Israel's God from their land. The conquered Israel was, by the power of its God, mightier than the victorious Philistines. Thus the Ark of the Covenant was sent home again in a wondrous manner; yet to the childless tabernacle at Shiloh it never returned. The Ark found no dwelling until David brought it into the new tabernacle which he raised on Zion, and from there it was at last carried into the temple which Solomon built.

Meanwhile Samuel labored in the backslidden and oppressed Israel. With hope against hope he must surely have struggled through the long twenty years that passed before he could once more gather Israel for battle against the oppressors. Yet the hand of the LORD was with him, and his prayers and cries did not meet deaf ears. Wretched Israel, the poor and misguided people, was nevertheless still the LORD's chosen, and the light of the promises was not extinguished.

Scripture is silent concerning this activity of Samuel; yet from its results we dare judge it, for

a people does not rise from bonds and chains of slavery unless strong spiritual powers renew its heart and mind. And Scripture bears witness that after the course of twenty years all Israel went sighing after the LORD. Truly, Samuel cannot have been inactive, nor can his labor have been unfruitful. And what had been accomplished in secret and in stillness was soon to be gloriously revealed.

There was a mighty contrast between that day when Israel, defiant and proud, took the Ark of the Covenant with them into battle and treated the LORD as an idol, and this day, twenty years later, when Israel, broken and penitent, cast away its idols at Samuel's word. And surely Samuel must have rejoiced in the Spirit on this great day of his life, when he summoned Israel to Mizpah, there to meet its God. With repentance in their hearts and confession of sin upon their lips, the diminished people gathered around their intercessor Samuel. Such a day a people does not experience many times. The people of God experienced once more a manly awakening, and unity and freedom were the fruits of that man for the people.

They experienced a salvation that recalled that glorious season of youth, when the Lord brought them forth out of the house of bondage. The Philistines, alarmed and embittered that the oppressed Israel dared once more to gather itself together, went up to smite the reconciled people and to crush its newly budding hope. They fought indeed against powers, though they perceived not the deep and hidden spiritual forces which now bound Israel to the Lord and united them into an unconquerable brotherhood.

Israel saw its ancient enemies draw near. Pride and haughtiness were gone; for they knew now better than ever how unworthy they were of the Lord's salvation. But Israel knew its true weapons, and from a thousand mouths it sounded forth to Samuel: "Cease not for us, and do not refrain from crying unto the Lord our God, that He may save us from the hand of the Philistines!" A people in distress, a people in repentance and faith, Samuel beheld around him; and his heart was lifted up in fervent prayer for the beloved Israel, and the Lord heard him.

Victory and triumph were the Lord's answer. The Lord fought for His people, and Israel shook the foreign yoke from its neck. Samuel was permitted to see how the spiritually awakened people, which had cast away its idols, now received freedom as a glorious gift upon the day of battle. Samuel's prayer had been Israel's weapon; and once again we perceive that above all else it was of consequence that the Lord should be known as He who hears prayers. The dead idols and the dead trust in the ark of the covenant were gone; the living, personal God, who suffers Himself to be found by penitent and broken hearts, revealed Himself gloriously upon the day of salvation. Samuel had been a witness to the awakening of the living knowledge of

God and the living fear of God, in opposition to idolatry and dead superstition; he had seen living faith bear the fair fruit of freedom for the people; well might he set up the memorial stone Eben-Ezer and say: “Hitherto hath the Lord helped!” A happier day no prophet has beheld in his people.

1.2.5 The Kingdom in Israel

Samuel had gathered Israel into a living unity through his prophetic word, by the awakening voice that recalled their calling and election. Samuel’s prayer had given Israel freedom and victory. Samuel administered justice for Israel and judged with incorruptible integrity. All went well, and Israel experienced a season—indeed a continuing season—such as it had perhaps never known since the day they entered the promised land.

But Samuel grew old. He appointed his sons as judges over Israel; yet his sons did not walk in his ways. When the sons came to stand on their own, they succumbed to the customary temptation of judges: they bent justice for gain and gift. It must have been hard for the aged Samuel thus to behold his sons turning aside from the path of righteousness and integrity.

The people looked toward the future with anxiety. So near had they come out of the rent and troubled time of the judges, so fresh was the memory of their distress and misery, that they shuddered at the thought that, at Samuel’s death, it should all begin anew. This could not be allowed; something had to be done to avert a repetition of the calamities and sorrows of the time of the judges. And Samuel’s labor had borne so much and such fair fruit that it could not be permitted to be lost. The solidarity and concord which Samuel’s life had called forth had to be preserved. A popular ripening had begun, the goal of which Samuel himself had already seen, and it could not be arrested.

The people came to Samuel and asked for a king. They regarded him as a father; they would not and could not pass him by. Yet their desire was not according to Samuel’s spirit. Their words, “Give us a king to judge us, like all the heathen nations,” did not please God’s prophet. There lay within them a worldly spirit and a misunderstanding of the glory of God’s people. The old prophet would so gladly have spared God’s people the bitter experiences which the monarchy would bring upon it; he had so earnestly wished that God’s people might answer to its calling and, in the freedom of the land, preserve its unity without being bound together by the coercion of kingship.¹⁰ The Lord was to be its King, the sanctuary its center, the word of the Lord its guide and rule, and the land itself its inner, binding power. He understood that the people desired a visible and tangible head to which they could look, and he understood

¹⁰In this context, “freedom of the land” refers to the theological ideal of the Covenant: a state where Israel is free from human tyranny because it is governed directly by God and His Law. — Present Ed.

that this was a step down from the height upon which the Law of Moses had sought to place the people. It lay heavy upon him that his labor should bear such fruit—that the people should long for a sensory, earthly kingship, when he had done all that stood in his power to teach them that the Lord was their King.

But Samuel did not act hastily or unreflectively in this matter; for he saw that a turning point had been reached in Israel's history, and that the decision on this occasion would become of far-reaching significance for the whole future. "And Samuel prayed unto the LORD." It was the LORD who must here give the answer, upon whose will everything depended. If He would allow that the people's fleshly craving for an earthly king and a visible head should be satisfied, then Samuel must needs submit himself thereto. And if the LORD had time to tarry yet a thousand years before the kingdom of the land with the infinite King should be established upon the earth, then Samuel must also be content to behold the hope of the promise lying far off, and greet it with trustful expectation.

And so it came to pass. The LORD had greater compassion for Israel's frailty than Samuel. All human impatience to behold at once the kingdoms of the Earthly Realm established was far from Him who knew so well that the time had not yet come; yet surely and calmly the fulness of time would dawn, when the kingdom of heaven with its divine Lord should be set up upon the earth. While the LORD waited, the people should have their will, and learn that though the earthly kingship might indeed accomplish much that was good, it was nevertheless not the true form of life for the people of God. And this new disappointment should prepare Israel for the kingdom of the Man, which the LORD in His own time would establish.

Therefore Samuel received the answer that the will of the people should be done. For although their desire was a misunderstanding of their spiritual calling and a rejection of the LORD, who was their rightful King, yet the people had not advanced in spiritual understanding, and they must learn by painful experience, since they would not suffer themselves to be instructed by the Word. And the LORD would take even this folly into His service, and cause rich spiritual instruction to flow to the people both through the glorious beginning of the kingship under David and Solomon, and through its lofty fall and humiliation under their successors.

But the people were not to remain merely in ignorance of what calamity they were bringing upon themselves. The people thought only of the firmness and unity, the peace and order, which the kingdom was to give. They knew well the firm and, as it seemed, immovable calm of which Egypt boasted in its famed constitution; they believed that through their kingship they would attain the same order. Samuel was to enlighten the people concerning

the shadow-sides of the kingdom, concerning what the outward unity would entail in the loss of popular freedom. Israel had hitherto possessed a half-patriarchal constitution with the most unchecked freedom; they would come to feel something very different when royal power should bind and constrain them together.

Samuel portrayed for the people “the manner of the king.” With sharp and striking strokes he showed how the people’s right and freedom and exalted independence would be violated and distorted by the kingdom. It was a voice that sought to guard the people’s freedom against the people themselves. But it availed nothing. The people had no ear for the dark shadow-sides of royal power; they looked only back upon the turmoil they had experienced in the time of the Judges, and they looked toward this new plan as toward a deliverance from all evil. They would and must have an earthly king, and they received him. The Lord let the people’s will come to pass; for only thus could they enter the heavy school which they needed, in order to understand that the Kingdom of God is not of this world, and that its King is not the ruler of power and bondage, but the mediator of peace and freedom.

Thus the kingdom in Israel arises by the will of the people; but the people’s earthly desire carries with it its own punishment in the diminution of freedom and the bondage of the world over God’s freeborn people. Therefore the Lord lets the people’s will come to pass; for what the people desire as their true end, that the Lord would make into a means of chastisement and preparation for the Kingdom of Man.

1.2.6 Saul and David

Valiantly had Samuel sought to stay the people’s desire to obtain a king. For he had seen that it was an attempt to render God’s people carnal, which must rob it of the freedom to which its high spiritual calling entitled it. And it seemed to him grievous that the people who had but now been led out from the bonds of superstition and the tyranny of a depraved priesthood should now be led into a new bondage through their own folly. He had hoped that the day of spiritual freedom would dawn through the prophetic word. But the people were not yet ready to carry through this spiritual conception of society, and the Lord’s hour had not yet come.

And even as manfully as Samuel had set himself against the desire of the people when he first heard it, so firmly and earnestly did he now set about the carrying out of the people’s resolve, when he understood that in this manner the LORD would lead His people into a new period of their development, in order thereby to prepare them for that fulness of time which Samuel believed already to be at hand. The aged prophet did not withdraw himself

dissatisfied and murmuring; but freely and vigorously he laid hold of the events which he would rather had never come to pass.

Saul was anointed king. From the lowly tribe of Benjamin, from the smallest tribe in Benjamin, himself an unknown and insignificant man, he was by Samuel known and acknowledged as the one whom the LORD had chosen to be prince over His people. It was in accordance with the LORD's wondrous rule, that what is lowly and of no account in the eyes of men, the LORD has chosen. Samuel spoke long and earnestly with the young man, who until then seems not to have harbored any serious thought in his soul. The solemn hour of the anointing became a decisive turning point in Saul's life; God changed his heart, and the Spirit of the LORD came upon him at the meeting with the prophets. Saul seemed destined truly to become a king after God's own heart.

Samuel assembled Israel; he once again set before them that they had rejected the invisible King, who had so mightily saved and helped them before. Yet this brought about no change in the people's decision, and the casting of lots decided who was to be king over God's people. Saul was taken.

As yet there was no one who truly knew what dwelt within him. He was soon to have opportunity to show it. And Samuel waited, until Saul was thus revealed and made known to the people, before relinquishing his office as judge. The Ammonite king Nahash mocked one of Israel's cities, and Saul gathered with haste, wisdom, and courage of Israel's men of valor, and within seven days he had an army in the field of three hundred and thirty thousand men, more than enough to bring to naught Nahash's barbarous threat.

Saul had manifested his royal gifts and his noble nature; all Israel paid him homage. Samuel could therefore with confidence lay down his office as judge and take leave of the people in that capacity. Such are they who, like Samuel, have held power and yet voluntarily made way for later times and younger men. Rare indeed is such moderation among men; for the usual course is that even capable and broad-minded men, in their old age, lose the ability to keep pace with the times and, with a withered spirit, remain fixed upon what they learned in a long-vanished youth, having nothing left but reproaches for the generation that grows away from them. Not so with Samuel. Though it pained him to see the kingship established in Israel, yet justice and truth commanded him to withdraw from a position in which he could only become an obstacle to the authority and influence of the new government.

Samuel desired to speak to the people one final time. Two things he sought to accomplish by his speech on this occasion. He would settle accounts with his people, take leave of them as a faithful servant from his lord; no misunderstanding should remain between them,

and no hidden injustice be left in any heart to embitter the old leader's declining years. In righteousness he would part in peace from the place he had filled with such great honor.

The second aim he set before himself was to bring the people to the recognition that it was sin that they had demanded a king, that it was a fall from the Lord's free grace, and that death and contrition before the Lord were the condition upon which the kingship could become a blessing to them. He would bow the heart and mind of his people, so that the kingship, which had been desired in sinful worldliness, might become a blessing to them by their receiving it in a godly spirit and with broken and penitent hearts. For it was not the kingship itself that was sinful; it was Israel that sinned by demanding an earthly kingdom when it had the Lord Himself as King and Savior. And if Israel could see its fall and begin anew to serve its way up again along the steep paths of Scripture toward spiritual communion with God, then all was gained that, for the present time, could be gained.

This was Samuel's greatest struggle and his greatest victory. His mighty words and his dreadful sign smote the people with fear and terror, with weeping and anguish. Samuel humbled their proud minds by showing that Israel's strife hitherto had been their idolatry toward the living God. In Egypt's bondage, in the again and again recurring apostasies and subjugations of the time of the judges, it had been distress and prayer that taught Israel to find salvation in the Lord, and so it would continue to be. The kingship would not alter the matter. And that ruinous thought of pride—that now they should be able to help themselves without God—that they had to relinquish, else it would become a new callousness upon them that they had a king in their midst.

Then as thunder upon thunder and rain in the time of wheat harvest unexpectedly accompanied Samuel's profound address, it became too much for the people. Had they truly forfeited their whole future? That thought struck their soul like lightning. And in distress and supplication they turned to Samuel: "Pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God, that we die not; for we have added unto all our sins this evil, to ask us a king."

And Samuel could then speak words of consolation—"Fear not!"—to the anxious people. Despite all disobedience, there should yet be a way of salvation for Israel; for the Lord forsaketh not His people.

Thus Samuel's immediate aim was attained. The people went forward into the new age, which with the kingdom was to dawn upon them, with a God-fearing mind and a bowed heart.

But Samuel's labor was not ended. Israel had received a king, and Israel had bowed itself under the word of the Lord and accepted the king in sincere fear of God; yet the king himself

did not long remain obedient to the Lord. Saul's exaltation had come too swiftly; there was no corresponding humility in his soul. His first victories emboldened him, and instead of simple humility beneath the word of the Lord, he began to act willfully and in defiance. This could not be. That vigorous natural disposition, which through the Spirit of grace might have become so great a blessing to the people, became ungovernable and reckless in its frenzy. Samuel was compelled to make the grievous journey to Saul and proclaim to him that the Lord had rejected him:

Hath the Lord as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams. For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry; because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, He hath also rejected thee from being king.

It was the final and unshakable decision, and despite all Saul's pleadings, the matter stood by this word. Samuel went home, heavy of heart and sorrowful, and he did not see Saul again until the day of his death. It had been a hard blow for the prophet, who so gladly would have seen the people spared the new trials and afflictions which were now unavoidable. But the Lord would not have it go so easily. There was a great and glorious future awaiting Israel; yet no great age is ever born save through great tribulations. The first attempt at kingship failed, and however grievous it is to behold a people's joyful expectations so swiftly shattered, there lay nonetheless in this chastisement a spiritual lesson for the nation: it was to gain a deeper insight into the mystery that the way of God's people to glory is a way of the cross and of thorns. Both Israel and Saul had striven too lightly and too hastily up to the heights, and they had lost a serious apprehension of the Lord's cause, in that they thought only of their own honour.

The Lord therefore had to choose a new man to be king, a man who in the hard school of suffering could learn to know his own heart and his God better than Saul; a man who, bowed beneath the cross, could grasp Israel's high calling without being exalted and puffed up with pride; a man who by the Spirit of the Lord could go before Israel's people and lead it forward on its way toward the promised goal of becoming a blessing to all nations. Samuel was to anoint David to be king after Saul. And once more it was the lowly who was exalted, and the despised who was taken into honour. And never has there been any earthly king who, like David, became a comforter of the wretched, a refuge time and again for the persecuted, a blessing to peoples in the most distant lands. Truly, a king for the people of the promise and in the spirit of the promise was the little David of the house of Jesse from Bethlehem. And had Samuel done only this one thing—in the clarity of the Spirit to go to Bethlehem and

anoint the great Psalmist-king, whose songs were to resound in the hearts of hundreds and millions—Samuel would be reckoned among the greatest in the history of God's people. And it has surely been, despite all the sorrow Samuel endured in his latter days over the fate of the poor, demented, and hardened Saul, an unspeakable consolation to him that David was the Lord's chosen, and that great promises followed him of brighter and better days for Israel.

It was Samuel's final act. He was to leave this great promise of the future to the people and to point forward toward happier times. He himself was not to experience them. He died before the struggle and the strife in Israel had yet come to an end. He was not to behold with his earthly eye the fair fruits of his labor and his sowing, as they so gloriously unfolded under David and Solomon. Yet so much will history with fairness say at his grave: What Samuel sowed in tears, Israel reaped with shouts of joy under the two great and glorious kings. The spiritually powerful element in Samuel's work was the foundation upon which David's kingdom was built, and the wellspring from which his psalmody drew its true life. Spiritual life, in opposition to dead worship of God and superstitious reliance upon the sanctuary and a crippled priesthood, was the standpoint of Samuel's life; it was the standpoint of all prophets, for it is the work of the Spirit of the Lord at every time. And Samuel is, after Moses, the first and greatest prophet in Israel.

Once more Samuel's voice is heard in night and darkness from the realm of death and the land of the grave, speaking to the hardened Saul. Or was it not Samuel's voice that sounded on that dreadful night at Endor, when Saul's embitterment turned into despair and hopeless terror? No one knows; for the secret of death no mortal has fathomed. Better to listen to the living prophetic voices than to brood over the sinister enigmas which the realm of death presents to us. Better to follow the call that awakens us to living faith and vigorous labor for the Lord's cause and His people. Better to follow Samuel's example in struggle and in prayer for the life of the land and the freedom of the land.



1.3 The Prophet Jeremiah

Source: Quarterly Writings. Third Year. 1877. Pages 113–137. — Ed. 1.

This section appears on pages 36–57 of the original volume. — Present Ed.

The prophets of the Old Covenant are the great and glorious privilege of the people of Israel, grounded in this, that Israel was the people of God. For it is the privilege of God's people that the Word of God is entrusted to them; but the distinctive mark of the prophets, that which makes them to be called prophets, is precisely this, that the Word of the Lord came unto them, and that they proclaimed it to the people. A concept may indeed be formed of what a prophet is, yet none is simpler than this: "A Prophet will I raise up unto them from among their brethren, like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him" (Deut. 18:18).

God's wondrous counsel of salvation with His people and with the world—that is God's thought; and because the thought of the Lord is higher than the thought of men, therefore it must be revealed in the Word of the Lord. There may be many deep thoughts of men and many lofty human plans, but that which the natural man does not comprehend is this, that the way of life passes through death, both for the individual and for the people. It is the Lord alone who has conceived it, it is the Lord alone who has understood it, and it is the Lord alone who has wrought the salvation of His people by smiting sin and scattering the sheep, by crushing unto death the Prince of Life.

—It is this way of salvation which the prophets are to proclaim to the people. The people believe it not, and their hardening becomes one of the means in the hand of the Lord whereby His plan is fulfilled. —The people believe it, and the faith of the people becomes another means for the advancement of the Lord's will; for

What counsel He chooses to perform,
It stands as firm as mountains stand,
And this He surely shall perform,

Though earth and heaven shuuld burst.

God's counsel of salvation is accomplished in Israel, whose entire veiling points toward one single goal, Jesus Christ, in whom the counsel of salvation is brought to completion in the fullness of time. Yet as the people of Israel drew nearer to the fullness of time, it was prepared through the Lord's manifold acts of deliverance, so that it might rightly receive the Savior—or reject Him and give Him the death of a criminal—just as love had resolved, and as love alone could bring to pass. He is the true Israel; He is the Seed, Abraham's Seed—not many, but one: Christ.

And as the people advanced ever nearer to the fullness of time, so the word of the Lord followed them by the mouth of the prophets, explaining to the people how far they had come, and what the next step would be in the preparation, so that those who did not believe might fill up the measure of their hardening, and those who believed might abide in patience and attain the goal of their faith. Thus the prophetic word is the light and the truth upon the people's path, pointing toward the goal, while at the same time powerfully and effectually leading the people forward toward that goal.

Every people has its calling in God's economy. A people may despise its calling, and it perishes; yet even through its perdition it must serve the counsel of the Lord. A people may honor its calling and walk worthy of it; then it is saved, and in being saved it serves the counsel of the Lord willingly. But since both the one who perishes and the one who is saved must serve the Lord, it is no merit for you that you fulfill the counsel of the Lord with all your strength. You have nothing of which to boast; rather you must thank the Lord for everything, for you are only an unprofitable servant, because you did what you were bound to do.

The people of Israel also had its calling. It was to be a holy people, a chosen people, a people for possession, in whose midst the Lord would dwell, that He might be their God, and they His people. But in this Israel stood under the same two dangers that confront everyone whom God has called. The one is to be unfaithful in one's calling, not to esteem it high and holy as coming from the Holy One; the other is to boast of one's calling, or to misunderstand it, and from it seek to make oneself a merit. Against these two dangers the prophets must testify and contend.

On high the prophet lifts the people's calling and its goal. In sharp, mighty words he speaks to the aimless, wavering, halting people of the Lord's great calling which He gave them, of the great and glorious future which He prepared for them. And with flashing words, full of

divine wrath, he strikes down the people's proud delusion that it already is the Lord's people merely by right of birth. With burning zeal for the truth he repeats again and again the warning that the people must not forfeit its glorious future through the miserable delusion that it has already reached the goal and may now begin to enjoy its peace. And because it is always so that many are called but few are chosen, and yet the zealous priests would draw all to themselves, therefore the prophets are full of the hidden ways of God and of afflictions, and of sharp threats and judgments; for as high as the Lord's mercy is, so high is His righteousness, and if sinners will not immerse themselves in the one, they shall surely be overthrown and crushed by the other.

There are, then, three things in which the work of the prophets is gathered together. It is the revelation of God's counsel of salvation, the final, eternal deliverance from the bondage of sin. Next, it is the preparation of the people to receive the coming Savior. Finally, it is the early and unceasing task of reminding the people of their calling, and again and again to warn: "Take heed, return!"—to all apostate and stubborn children.

"And we have the prophetic word made more sure, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the Day-star arise in your hearts" (2 Peter 1:19). Thus the Apostle Peter exhorts us. And the Christian congregation ought indeed far more diligently to follow this exhortation, and to use the prophetic word for its edification. For it is the promise of Abraham which has now come, and daily comes, to all peoples; it is the hope of Israel which is now being fulfilled from day to day. There is still a coming of Christ in the hearts, for which they are prepared by the Word of the Lord; it is still necessary to cry out: "Turn ye, my fallow ground, and go down no longer into the thorns"; and there is still a holy calling which goes forth to all lost sons and daughters in the whole of humanity: "Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you!"

But the prophetic word is greatly neglected among us, and thereby we have lost much power and boldness; thereby we have forgotten the great and holy goal which God's Word has set before us: "Ye shall be my people, and I will be your God." We have become apathetic and sluggish to spread God's Word, because we have forgotten the calling—that the Lord wills that through us the Gospel of the Kingdom should be proclaimed in all lands and in all tongues. We have forgotten that "in the last days the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it."

If it might be possible to spur one or another to more diligent use of this blessed Word, and thereby to gain comfort and boldness in these evil days, when the congregation seems destined

to perish, because the chief priests and Herod and Pilate have again joined together against it; if it might be possible to strengthen the congregation in its despair unto a final victory over all its enemies; if it might be possible to cry “Repent!” into a rotting Christendom—then we will attempt to give a small glimpse into the life of the prophet Jeremiah and his book. And we believe that if anyone should allow himself to be moved to read and ponder this prophet of sorrow and affliction, he would experience that where the Word of the Lord crushes and smites, there it also raises up and heals.

1.3.1 Israel’s People in the Time of Jeremiah

The fair vine which the Lord had planted in the land that flowed with milk and honey was at this time already grievously laid waste. In the victorious and peaceful days of David and Solomon it had struck its roots deep and spread itself wide; it had sent forth its branches unto the sea and its shoots unto the river. But now its walls were broken down; all that passed by plucked at it. Its crown and trunk were felled to the dust, and one part was hewn off and cast far away beyond the Euphrates. The kingdom of Israel was no more; and the kingdom of Judah, which still remained, was like the vine that beareth no grapes: there is no joy in it and there is no profit in it; it yieldeth no wine, and its wood is good for nothing. The kingdom of Judah stood straining and waiting for the axe which had cut down the kingdom of Israel to be lifted a second time and to fall dripping upon the golden tendril.

The kingdom of Israel had never had any better future in store for it from the day when it said, “What portion have we in David? we have no inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents, O Israel! now see to thine own house, David.” By this it had entered upon the path of decay; it had reckoned itself among the heathen nations and had thus voluntarily chosen the portion of the heathen, which is death by the power of the kingdoms of this world. The kingdom of Judah, on the other hand, had better ordinances and better hope; for the house of David had the promise of abiding for ever, and the temple of the Lord had the promise that it should become a house of prayer for all peoples. And the word of the Lord dwelt in Judah, and was God’s power and cleaving-wedge for the little afflicted people who from the valleys of Judah went up to Jerusalem, the lofty-built city upon the mountains, round about which the Lord was wall and rampart, the wondrous city in which the nations should be born anew.

But in Judah everything depended upon this one thing—upon faith. “If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established.” Human malice could not make void the faithfulness of God; but if Judah would not believe, would not drink of the fountain that giveth strength unto everlasting life, then must the crushing judgment pass over the people of hardening.

And thus it came to pass. The kingdom of Judah set its neck and a hardened heart against the word of the Lord; therefore the word of the Lord became a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces. Hardening and destruction follow one another as death and corruption.

There is a place in the word of God which sets before us this inevitable connection between hardening and corruption; it is the sixth chapter of the prophet Isaiah. In the year of King Uzziah's death the prophet receiveth this command: "Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed." Then said the prophet, "Lord, how long?" And he answered, "Until the cities be wasted without inhabitant, and the houses without man, and the land be utterly desolate; and the Lord have removed men far away, and there be a great forsaking in the midst of the land." From this hour onward, the growing hardening and the judgment that draweth ever nearer and nearer are the history of Israel. The growing hardening is this, that the word of the Lord soundeth early and earnestly and is not heeded; the advancing judgment is this, that the birds of prey of the world-kingdoms gather more and more closely over the stiffened carcass of the kingdom of Judah. The Lord suffered both to come to pass. He sent His prophets early and earnestly unto a rebellious people; and as ungodliness increased, He raised up the mighty kingdoms of the world, the rod of His wrath over the nations, and above all over the chosen people.

The prophet Isaiah lived after the death of Uzziah, under three kings—Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah—and in this period two wondrous events occurred which, by righteous steps, led the people of Israel toward their appointed end.

The first is this: that Ahaz would not believe the word of the Lord nor the help of the Lord against the kingdom of Israel and Syria, who had attacked him (Isa. 7); but instead he entered into alliance with the Assyrian world-empire, which came and destroyed the kingdom of Israel and overflowed Judah, until it reached even unto the neck. The second is this: that Hezekiah believed the help and the word of the Lord against the Assyrians and was delivered from death; yet soon thereafter he drew so near to Babylon in friendship that the Lord proclaimed that Babylon should become the rod of chastisement over Judah.

After Hezekiah followed his son Manasseh, who reigned over Judah for fifty-five years and, during this long reign, brought Judah's sin to its full measure, so that the people, thoroughly permeated by idolatry favored from above, became utterly corrupted and could no longer be cleansed except through judgment. Yet the mercy of the Lord was not exhausted; for though the people of Judah could not be saved, the remnant of Judah could yet be plucked as a

burning brand out of the fire.

Therefore, even after the death of Manasseh, counseling prophets still went forth to the people; and after the ungodly reign of Amon there came yet a revival under King Josiah.

He was eight years old when he became king, and when he was sixteen years old he began to seek the Lord. He turned himself to God, and since his heart had been made steadfast in the fear of God, he began, at twenty years of age, a reformation in his kingdom—a cleansing from idolatry. He tore down all the images of idols, overthrew their altars, and forbade their sacrifices throughout the realm.

The following year Jeremiah was called to be a prophet, and his mighty revival preaching supported the king's reformation. Six years passed, and then another remarkable event strengthened still further the cry, "Awake!" to the sleeping people: the Book of the Law was found by the priest Hilkiah. It was brought to the king and read before him, and it filled him with the deepest sorrow, because the people were so far from the goal of the Law. Then he assembled all the people and made a covenant with them, that from that time forth they should keep the Law of the Lord.

And Jeremiah went about in Jerusalem and in all the cities of Judah and proclaimed, by the command of the Lord: "Hear the words of this covenant, and do them" (Jer. 11:6). And thereafter Josiah kept the Passover with the whole people—a Passover such as had never been kept since the days of the Judges.

It was a wondrous season of stirring in the kingdom of Judah in the days of Josiah, and the Lord called to His people with a entreating voice: "Turn ye, turn ye from your evil way!" But the people would not. They said, "It is in vain; for we will walk after our own devices, and we will every one do the stubbornness of his evil heart."

And whereas in the days of Josiah all things seemed to call the people to repentance and to lift them up unto the LORD, so after his death it was as though everything joined together to drive the people inexorably forward toward the goal of their hardening and their corruption. There arose ungodly kings, self-righteous priests, and false prophets. And while the kings turned themselves away from the LORD and sought help from the powers of the world, the priests cried out, "The temple of the LORD," and the prophets cried, "Peace, peace, and no danger," until the poor people, who had been sold over to destruction, slept and slumbered sweetly upon the heavy quilts of security and carelessness, so that they slept away their right and their calling. They shut their eyes to the danger, until suddenly destruction stood over them, as travail upon the woman with child.

Thus matters stood inwardly. Priests, prophets, and kings hollowed out the marrow of the people, until it was like dead flesh without heart, without courage, without faith—a helpless mass, whose secret allegiance most often inclined toward its enemies. And those—yes, those—to whom Judah in haste and in helplessness had bound itself, it had fastened itself to them all. Judah had sought Egypt for help against Assyria, Assyria for help against Egypt, Babylon for support against them both. Now they came upon Judah, whom they all despised. Assyria had already, under Hezekiah and Manasseh, flooded the land of Judah, because it despised the softly flowing waters of Hezekiah (Isa. 8:6–8). Egypt became the instrument that brought death upon the last king of David’s faith, Josiah, in the crushing battle at Megiddo; and Babylon brought the judgment of destruction and of exile to its deepest depth: the holy city became a heap of rubble, while the temple went up in flames.

Meanwhile, in the far East, the foundation was being laid for the kingdom that was to break Israel’s bonds and cast down proud Babylon. The sword-bearing, warlike Persians prepared themselves for conquest against the southern builders of Babylon, enfeebled by debauchery and luxury.

1.3.2 The Prophet’s Life

Jeremiah was born in the small village of Anathoth, which lies about four English miles northeast of Jerusalem, in the tribe of Benjamin. Being of priestly birth, he had from his youth onward abundant opportunity to hear the Word of God and, at least according to the letter, to learn to know God and His deeds in Israel, and to become familiar with the service of the Temple. He likewise had the best opportunity to observe both how the Temple of the LORD and His priests were despised and mocked under Manasseh, and how the priests, when Josiah began his reformation, sought to draw to themselves power and advantage from Josiah’s work, as a kind of compensation for what the idolatry of Manasseh had taken from them. Otherwise we know nothing of his life before he was called to be a prophet. This altogether decisive event in his life, which made him a man of affliction and suffering from the time when his countrymen in Anathoth sought to slay him (Jer. 11:21) until he sat weeping among the ruins of Jerusalem—this heavy calling of the LORD came to him in the thirteenth year of Josiah. The reformation which had begun in the twelfth year of Josiah, when the king himself had been awakened, had indeed also been a preparation for Jeremiah for his calling. From this time forth he was to become the true awakening prophet in Judah. For hymns and laws might well be able to foster outward conformity with the Law; but the Word of God alone could pierce the hearts.

And while the king had the comparatively easy task of breaking down idols and restoring the

Temple service in its purity, Jeremiah received the arduous and painful task of bearing witness before the people, the priests, and the princes that, unless their hearts were broken in pieces by the Word of God, the Temple was to them nothing but an idol, and self-righteousness nothing but a worse apostasy than any other. And all the heavier did the prophet's labor become, because he spoke to deaf ears and daily saw a beloved people draw near to their destruction by trusting, in the midst of their ungodliness, in the great outward change which had taken place through Josiah's reformation.

There are two things in the calling of the prophet Jeremiah to which we draw attention. The first is that he is appointed as a prophet to the nations (Jer. 1:5). Nothing is more surprising than this. For to the Jews the Word of God had indeed been given; to them, according to God's promise, the prophets were to be sent; and yet here Jeremiah is set as a prophet to the nations, a designation which includes both Jews and Gentiles without distinction.

There is only one other Prophet in the Old Testament who was not sent to the Jews, and his sending also is exceedingly wondrous; yet it serves to cast light upon the calling of Jeremiah. This is the Prophet Jonah, who is sent to Nineveh, and who, however unwillingly he goes, must nevertheless at last come thither.

Jonah was sent to the great city, which was the Lord's instrument of punishment over the kingdom of Israel, with this brief preaching: "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown" (Jonah 3:4). But Nineveh repented in sackcloth and ashes, and God had compassion upon the world-city and allowed it to endure yet a little time. This was the first great sign which the Lord set before His people, whereby He bore witness to them that there is no difference between Jew and Gentile; for all have sinned. Therefore the one stands just as much under God's judgment as the other. But when the Ninevites repented, then God set His sign of mercy and pointed toward the mystery which is revealed in Christ: that God hath shut up all under sin, that He might have mercy upon all. And there is no difference between Jew and Greek; but apart from the Law the righteousness of God is revealed through faith in Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all that believe.

But the more the Jewish people, by their sin and stubbornness, placed themselves on a level with the Gentiles, the more decisively did the Lord testify to them that they who were equal in sin should become equal in punishment. And all the more clearly did He also make it known among men that they who had become equal in brokenness under God's judgment, they should become equal in restoration by God's grace, if they called upon the Lord in their day of distress. Therefore Jeremiah, who in this manner must walk sorrowing behind the funeral-bier of his people, is already in his very calling appointed as prophet over the nations

and over the kingdoms (Jer. 1:10).

In the closest connection with the fact that Jeremiah is thus made the prophet of the nations and of the kingdoms stands the other remarkable feature of Jeremiah's calling. For he is set over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out and to pull down and to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant. It is first and foremost four strong and mighty words of demolition that designate the prophet's work, and thereafter two words directed toward healing, which express his labor of edification. For the reason that the nations and the kingdoms (among which the people of Israel are also included) are placed under Jeremiah's prophetic hand lies herein, that they have now filled up the measure of their sins, and therefore must all drink the cup of wrath which the prophet hands them from God. But then it is indeed destruction that stands nearest at the door. God cannot come with His kingdom and His people except where the other kingdoms and peoples are crushed and brought low; and God cannot come with healing and life where there is not sickness and death. He kills in order to make alive. Yet since God wills not the death of any sinner, but that he should turn and live, therefore no prophet is appointed solely to tear down; but even for Jeremiah, who received the heaviest task of all the prophets, even for him it was added that he should build and plant. And as he had to proclaim judgment and ruin both upon Jerusalem and upon Babylon, so he was also granted to bear witness to grace and restoration both for Israel and for its enemies, when the Lord had broken their hearts.

Hereby the prophet Jeremiah was consecrated to be a preacher of repentance, a prophet of peace. But he was also consecrated to be a man of sufferings, a man of contradictions. For he who was to strike down all that upon which Israel relied, and to deprive it of all repose, so that it became poor as a heathen people, he had to endure all the hatred and persecution of those who imagined themselves to be something. Yet in all his suffering and in all persecution he was to have a firm refuge, a citadel of deliverance in distress: the Lord, the God of Israel. Therefore, on the day of his calling, he was given with him that rock-firm word which could not fail: "And I, behold, I make thee this day a fortified city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land, against the kings of Judah, against its princes, against its priests, and against the people of the land. And they shall fight against thee, but they shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee." (Jer. 1:18–19).

Thus the Prophet went forth in his calling, frail, gentle, and fearful according to the flesh, yet strong in the power of the Lord. He was appointed to tear down peoples and kingdoms by his word. He was to proclaim unto them the crushing judgments of God and to be a witness to their fulfillment; but above all he was to overthrow the mighty fortresses which his own

people had set between themselves and their God through the stubbornness of their own hearts and their trust in false and insidious words.

We have already said that Israel, under the reign of Josiah, passed through a remarkable season of agitation, and the Prophet labored with burning zeal in that time. The first false ground of consolation against which he lifted the hammer of the Word was Judah's confidence that it had survived the kingdom of Israel, which had fallen before the power of Assyria. Judah believed itself more secure than her sister Israel; but the Prophet tore away this deceitful comfort and declared that the kingdom of Judah had doubled her sin, for Judah beheld her sister's fate, and yet did not repent. This was to wound Judah's pride at its most tender point; for Judah had imagined that Israel had fallen because she had attacked Judah, and it was commonly believed in Judah that her own sin was still less than that of her sister. Therefore the people were embittered against the Prophet, who spoke so freely the word of God, and they would not listen to the man who called them to repentance.

The priests had gained much outwardly through Josiah's reformation. Their position was strengthened and honored, and the service of the temple was restored; but their hearts were little bowed. For thus Jeremiah bears witness concerning them: "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests rule at their direction; and my people love to have it so" (Jer. 5:31). This brief saying opens for us a deep insight into the true condition of things. The prophets proclaimed, Peace! Peace! and healed the hurt of the daughters of Israel lightly; for there was no peace, but the judgment of God's wrath. And the priests took advantage of the prophets' reckless doctrine of consolation. They confirmed the false prophecy with the lying word: "The temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD are these" (Jer. 7:4). As though they would say to the people: So long as the temple is in our midst, we cannot perish; make your gifts great and your sacrifices many, and it shall go well with you.

Then the Prophet arose in burning zeal, and, according to the word of the LORD, stood in the gate of His house and cried out to all Judah: "Trust ye not in lying words. This house have ye made a den of robbers; and behold, as Shiloh, where I dwelt, which is now desolate and forsaken, so shall my house become." From that day the priests, whose heart's pride was the temple, became Jeremiah's enemies; for he had torn down their stronghold. And they would not hear the call of the LORD: Repent ye.

Nor did it go any better with the false prophets. The tangled snare of their pride was their reckless cry: Peace! Peace! They gave themselves out to proclaim the truth of God; then came the Prophet of truth, sent by God, and without mercy he tore the mask from their hypocritical face and bore witness to them with the word of the LORD: "Hearken not unto

the prophets that prophesy unto you, and make you vain; they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the LORD” (Jer. 23:16). “Behold, I am against them that prophesy false dreams, saith the LORD, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies, and by their light-mindedness; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them: therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the LORD” (Jer. 23:32).

Then there arose a bitter hatred against Jeremiah in the hearts of the prophets, because their pride had been broken. And they would not hear the grace of God: Repent ye!

So long, however, as King Josiah lived, Jeremiah was relatively secured against the malice of his enemies. But Josiah fell in the battle at Megiddo; and after Joahaz had reigned three months and, according to Jeremiah’s prophecy, had been carried away to Egypt to die there, then came the wretched reign of Jehoiakim, in whose time the king himself also became the prophet’s enemy. For in his fourth year the prophet delivered that mighty discourse which is written in the twenty-fifth chapter of his book. In that same year Nebuchadnezzar became king in Babylon, and the prophet declared plainly that because Israel for three-and-twenty years had heard the counsel of the LORD through him, early and unceasingly, yet would not turn again, therefore Nebuchadnezzar should come, and Judah and all the surrounding nations should serve the king of Babylon for seventy years.

Then should the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones and the light of the lamp vanish from Judah, and the land become a desolation and its cities ruins. Then neither should the temple of the LORD avail them who trusted that they were the chosen people of the LORD; nor should alliances with foreign princes avail them who held flesh for their arm; but all supports should break, for the hour of the LORD was come. His cup filled with the wine of wrath was full, and the prophet must now take it and bring it to all the nations upon whom the judgment came. But Jerusalem must drink first; for with His own city would the LORD begin.

Thus Judah was made equal with the heathen. Thirty years of hardening had filled the measure. And then also the embitterment against Jeremiah arose. The priests and the prophets and the people laid hold on him and said: This man is worthy to die, for he hath prophesied against this city (Jer. 26:11). But this time the princes delivered him. And yet in that same year Jeremiah wrote all his prophecies in a book, and it was brought to King Jehoiakim; and he read it, and when three or four leaves had been read, the king took the scribe’s knife and cut them asunder and cast them into the fire and burned them. And he commanded that Jeremiah and his faithful scribe Baruch should be seized; but the LORD hid them.

And Jeremiah, who had overthrown both the king's fleshly policy and his fleshly reliance upon the promise of David's eternal kingdom, Jeremiah could now number the kings also among his enemies.

What had not his faithful heart suffered under this! Day by day he saw his people draw nearer to their destruction; he saw the love of his God, which without ceasing called and allured them unto repentance and salvation, mocked and despised; he himself was persecuted, and saw his life threatened daily by people and priests, by prophets and princes. — And his soul was beaten down in the trial, so that he cursed the day on which he was born. Yet still he was constrained to go with the message of the Lord's wrath; for if Israel would not be broken by the word of the Lord, then it must be broken by the judgment of the Lord. That judgment was near; Jeremiah was to live to behold it.

The last king before the captivity to Babylon was the weak and faithless Zedekiah. It was Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who, after having carried away Jehoiakim and the best of the people with him, set Zedekiah as king over those who remained in Jerusalem. Zedekiah had sworn loyalty and faithfulness to the king of Babylon, and the kingdom of Judah was tributary to the world-empire. Jeremiah bore witness to the people to the same truth which the Savior later set before Israel, when it was subject to the Roman emperor: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." But to no avail. Zedekiah trusted in political cunning and made flesh his arm. He entered into alliance with several other petty princes, who like himself were subject to Babylon; and in reliance upon the help of Egypt, he and his confederates broke their oath of loyalty to Nebuchadnezzar, refused to pay their tribute, and set themselves in a posture of defense against the advancing army of Babylon.

Then Jeremiah lifted up his voice in rebuke. As a prophet of the Lord he had borne witness to the people before the uprising and had said: Serve the king of Babylon, and ye shall live (Jer. 27:17). And after the uprising, when the king of Babylon and all his army came to fight against Jerusalem, then his word sounded thus: "Thus saith the Lord: Behold, I give this city into the hand of the king of Babylon, and he shall burn it with fire" (Jer. 34:2). But Israel would not hear. The people were seized with fear for a little while when the mighty army appeared before the walls of Jerusalem, and in their terror they resolved to release their Hebrew menservants and maidservants, in order thereby to appease the Lord's wrath and to increase the number of their fighting men. But this was only a work of fear, not of faith; and therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar for a little while withdrew from Jerusalem to meet the Egyptian army, which had indeed gone out against him, then the Jewish masters took back their word and once again deprived their servants of their freedom.

Then the wrath of the Lord was kindled against them, and he sent Jeremiah to say: Ye have proclaimed liberty to your servants, and have taken back that liberty; therefore will I proclaim liberty for the sword, and for the famine, and for the pestilence, to rage among you. And I will bring the army of the Babylonians back unto this city, and they shall fight against it, and they shall take it and burn it with fire; and the cities of Judah will I make a desolation, without inhabitant (Jer. 34).

And the army of Nebuchadnezzar came, never again to depart from Jerusalem until it had been made a heap of ruins. But if the bitterness against Jeremiah had been great while he proclaimed the sentence of punishment, it became doubly violent when the judgment came. It is the dreadful mystery of hardening, that the more clearly the truth shines before the eyes, the more firmly the eye closes itself against it; the heavier the hand of the Lord lies upon it, the more stiffly it raises its neck against the hand that strikes it. And when Jeremiah spoke to the besieged people of the salvation that lay in the humiliating way of surrendering themselves to the king of Babylon, then he could no longer be endured; he had to be bound and cast into prison. And as though it were not enough that he was shut up, the princes would yet take his life by casting him into an empty cistern, where, sinking down into the mire, he was to find death by hunger.

But the Lord had promised to deliver him out of the hand of his enemies; and Ebed-melech obtained from the king permission to rescue him from the pit. And in prison he was forced to remain until the day when Jerusalem was taken.

Wondrous are the ways of the Lord. There in the prison, where Jeremiah seemed to human eyes truly laid away in darkness, there the Lord caused His light to arise for him and showed him Israel's glorious future. From prisons there commonly go forth the wildest threats against the people, curses against God and men; but from this prison there go forth the most life-blessed promises in lovely words, which still gladden the city of God.

Jeremiah, who in the prison waited for the fulfillment of the destruction he had proclaimed, received precisely there also the charge to build and to plant. In the prison Jeremiah was commanded to buy a field which lay trampled beneath the feet of the Chaldeans, a piece of land near Jerusalem, as a sign that when the Chaldeans had destroyed everything, then the Lord would restore everything; that out of death itself the Lord would bring forth life. After this bitter winter there was to break forth a glorious spring.

In the prison Jeremiah received the word of the Lord, that the Lord would gather His people from all the lands to which He had scattered them, and bring them back to this place and cause them to dwell securely. And they should be the Lord's people, and He their God. And

they should be given one heart and one way.

In the prison Jeremiah received that glorious message: “Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will perform that good word which I have spoken concerning the house of Israel and concerning the house of Judah. In those days, and at that time, will I cause the righteous Branch to spring forth unto David; and He shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Jerusalem shall dwell safely; and this is the name whereby it shall be called: The Lord our Righteousness.”

Thus Jeremiah built and planted a people and a kingdom which should endure forever, in the midst of the ruins of fallen kingdoms and shattered peoples. And in the prison, where the narrow walls shut him in on every side, the prophet’s eye was opened to see unto the last days and unto the farthest ends of the earth, unto the kingdom which by the Gospel comes to all nations.

Thus the prison had, in a spiritual sense, been a season of rest for the Prophet from his struggle with the hard and rebellious people. Yet he was not finished. His imprisonment was indeed broken open by the Chaldeans, and life and freedom were offered him with those who were carried away to Babylon. But Jeremiah chose to remain behind in the devastated Judah and to labor among the wretched remnants of the people, if perchance a soul might be saved. The Lord had sent to the captives another mighty Prophet for awakening and consolation, the Prophet Ezekiel. Jeremiah remained with the scattered people in Judah, over whom the king of Babylon set Gedaliah as governor. But even now he was not permitted to live in peace. Certain robbers, led by Ishmael, slew Gedaliah, and the people fled in terror to Egypt and forced Jeremiah to go with them. There also he continued to bear witness to them that the Lord’s punishment would come upon them for their unfaithfulness and idolatry. His death is unknown, but an ancient tradition says that he was stoned by his own countrymen.

Such is the life of the man who received the heaviest prophetic calling, and who saw Jerusalem’s last days before the exile. No prophet is so much as he a pattern of the suffering servant, who was required to proclaim to the Israel hardened a second time that Jerusalem and the Temple should be laid waste, until there was not one stone left upon another, because it knew not the time of its visitation. But from the life of this man of God there goes forth a crying voice to all who are set as watchmen upon Zion’s walls: Be faithful in the Lord’s work and stand manfully upon your watch; for the Lord will require the blood of His people at the hand of the unfaithful watchmen. And there is a cry of awakening to all dead Christians: Trust not in lying words! Hearken not to priests who cry, “The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these,” nor to prophets who cry, “Peace! Peace! and no danger.” Turn ye, turn ye!

Stand in the Ways and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls. Behold, the Way, Jesus Christ, is revealed unto us; God grant that none may harden themselves and say, We will not walk therein. For the Lord's judgment is near to be revealed, and from the house of God it shall begin.

1.3.3 Jeremiah's Book

In the Old Testament there is told of many Prophets who lived and labored in Israel, yet who have left behind no written record of the spoken word which the Lord sent them forth to bear unto Israel. There is the great prophet of repentance, Elijah—he who contended against the ungodly king, the idolatrous queen, against the priests and prophets of Baal; he who prayed that it might not rain, and it rained not for three years and six months, and he prayed again, and heaven gave rain and the earth yielded her fruit; he who together with Moses met the Savior upon the Mount of Transfiguration—how gladly would we not have had his penitential sermons written down as a testimony for us! There is Elisha, the man of faith, with his unwearied labor for his people; there is John the Baptist, the greatest of those born of women, his voice crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord! What joy would it not have been to possess a book from their own hand, wherein they themselves had set down what the Spirit had given them to testify unto Israel! But the Lord has willed it otherwise.

There are other Prophets, to whom He granted both to speak and to contend—men to whom He Himself revealed what should come to pass in the latter times, and whom He commanded to write down what was revealed to them, as a hope for the future for God's children under the old Covenant, as admonition and consolation in the faith for us who live in the last days, in the blessed times of fulfillment.

The writing Prophets are all found within a definite period of the history of the people of Israel. And this period is especially that in which Israel more and more hardened its heart against the Word of God, and thus the proclamation of the Prophets did not immediately bear the blessed fruit of repentance in the stiffened people. **Therefore the Prophets were given command to write down the sermon, that the Word which in the days of the Prophets seemed only to bear the fruit of hardening might, in the Lord's good pleasure and appointed hour, also bear a rich fruit of awakening and contrition when it was read anew.** At the same time God also caused, in the Gentile world, the mighty kingdoms of the world to arise as instruments of punishment over the obdurate Israel; and the Prophets foretold both their victories and their fall, as a testimony for the Gentiles in the fullness of time, that it was the Lord who gave His people into their hand, and that it

was not their great strength and proud power which overcame Israel and Israel's God. The omnipotence and mercy of God were to shine forth toward the Gentiles in the prophetic Scriptures, when the Lord, through the Gospel of His Son, caused the rays of grace to shine into the darkness of the Gentile world.

Thus it is that precisely in Israel's darkest hour and in the proudest days of the world-kingdoms the Lord caused His good Word to be richly written down by the holy Prophets, that His faithfulness and truth might appear all the more gloriously—unto the Jew first and also unto the Greek—when the Sun of Righteousness arose for both upon the morning of Christ's resurrection. Then were the Scriptures to burn within the disciples, when Christ and His Holy Spirit opened the Scriptures unto them.

Also the prophet Jeremiah was to write in a book what the LORD caused him to see. Why he was to do this, the LORD himself has explained in Jeremiah 30:1–3; 30:24; and 36:2–3. It is because the LORD still wills to gather all his judgments and his promises to his people into a book, if so be that they might be willing to hearken unto them. It is because in the latter days he will turn again the captivity of his people Israel and bring them back to the land which he gave unto their fathers; then shall they acknowledge his faithfulness. It is because Israel is now hardened and understands not the good counsel of the LORD and his thoughts of peace toward them; but in the last times, when the LORD has poured out his burning wrath upon his people and upon the proud heathen, when he has fulfilled the thoughts of his heart, then shall they understand it.

We have already seen that the two great matters in Jeremiah's calling are these: that he is set over nations and kingdoms, and that he is appointed first as a prophet of destruction and thereafter as a prophet of restoration. We must therefore expect in his book to find prophecies against Israel and prophecies against the heathen, and that these prophecies must contain, first and foremost, proclamation of judgment and thereafter promise of salvation.

And so it is indeed the case that, just as the prophet's life was governed by the divine calling, so also his book is determined thereby and ordered according to its content. Over Jews and heathen he is set, and his book of prophecy sets forth truer words for them both. Crushing and raising up were to mark his labor, and his book is a mighty juxtaposition of smiting and healing oil and wine poured into deep wounds.

The prophet's book is divided into two principal parts, according to the order: the Jew first and then the heathen. The first principal part consists of the first forty-five chapters and is directed chiefly to Israel. The second principal part is chapters 46–51, where the prophet turns to the heathen; to this chapter 52 is added as an appendix, which once more recounts

the destruction of Jerusalem, a matter so dreadful and so grave in Jeremiah's entire prophecy and life.

The portion of the Book that concerns Israel, chapters 1–45, is, however, so extensive that in this Guide for believing and zealous readers of the Bible we shall yet append a few additional remarks concerning it, which we hope may assist one or another in his labour with the precious Word of God. Alas, only far too few are truly inwardly familiar with their Bible; and even those who by the grace of God have found life and salvation in the Word are only too often accustomed to read the Scriptures as though they were nothing more than a collection of detached verses, having little true connection one with another. All the more important, therefore, is it—by the help of the Spirit of God—to attempt to open up the Scriptures, if perhaps someone might be led ever further in upon the green pastures, and find refreshment by the waters of rest, even from the streams of the river that make glad the city of God.

There are three sections in the portion of the Book that concerns Israel: chapters 1–29, 30–33, and 34–45. The prophet's first calling was to pluck up and to tear down, to destroy and to overthrow by his mighty prophetic word. He was to strike down all the false supports upon which Israel relied; he was to tear away from them everything upon which they built their fleshly security—both their confident trust in election and their priests' vain cry of the temple of the Lord; both the prophets' shouting, "Peace! Peace! and no danger!" and the kings' fleshly confidence in the promise made to David. By the Word he was to seek to bend the heart of the people into brokenness before the Lord, if only they might repent. But if this should not succeed, then he was in his word to declare to them that the people would be uprooted from their land and carried away to their enemies in bondage; that the land would be laid waste until it became a wilderness; that the temple would be torn down and burned with fire; that the king would be cast down from David's throne and have no son to inherit the power. This prophetic demolition by the Word Jeremiah sets before us in the first section of the Book concerning Israel, chapters 1–29, which we may call the Book of Demolition.

In these first twenty-nine chapters there is first related the calling of the Prophet in chapter 1. Thereupon begins the great series of crushing penitential sermons, in which here and there flashes a glimpse of hardening forth between the heavy, dark storm-clouds. Judah is punished in chapter 2, because it has exchanged the LORD for idols, because it has forsaken the fountain of living waters and hewn out for itself broken cisterns that can hold no water. Chapters 3–6 are a mighty sermon against the pride of Judah, which exalted itself above its sister, the kingdom of Israel. Judah has seen Israel's fate and punishment, yet has not repented; therefore its punishment shall be the heavier. Priests and prophets and princes, who have strengthened the people in its sin upon the brink of the abyss, shall be utterly

helpless in the day of visitation, and the whole people shall be called rejected silver; for the LORD has rejected them (6:30).

Then follows in chapters 7–10 the great Temple Sermon, so called from 7:2 and 4. The self-righteous reliance upon the Temple is altogether in vain; and because it only hardens the heart of the people, therefore such judgment shall come upon them that death shall be preferred to life by all the remnant that remains of this evil generation (8:3). Thereupon follows discourse upon discourse, in which Israel is exhorted to repentance and threatened with destruction, now by words, now by symbolic actions. Israel is set on a level with the heathen in punishment, and the Prophet is not permitted to pray for them; and ever harder sounds the judgment, until the Prophet in chapter 19 receives command to go, buy a potter's earthen flask, take it with him down into the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, defiled with idolatry, and there break it in the sight of the people as a sign that thus shall Israel's people also be broken and become utterly useless, like a warped vessel of the potter, because it has hardened its neck.

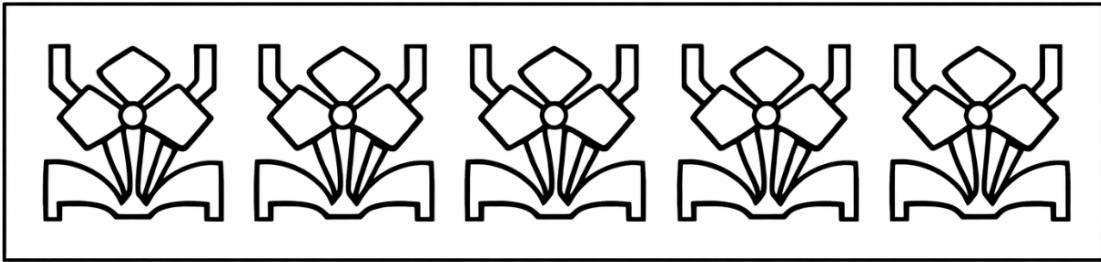
In chapters 20–24 the overthrow turns itself more toward individual prominent persons. In chapter 20 judgment is pronounced upon Pashhur, who mistreated the Prophet; in chapters 21 and 22 upon the wicked kings; in chapter 23 upon the evil shepherds, and especially the false prophets; yet here also a glorious light breaks forth in the midst of the darkness in the promise of the good Shepherd, David's righteous Branch. In chapter 24 the judgment is directed against those left behind in Jerusalem after the removal of Jehoiakim, the bad figs that cannot be eaten. In chapter 25 the measure of hardening is full; there the seventy-year exile is proclaimed. And in chapter 26 the Prophet shows that the LORD's Temple will not shield Israel from judgment; for it too shall be broken down. Nor can Zedekiah's alliance with the heathen princes stay the judgment (chapters 27 and 28). Finally, those already carried away shall not expect any speedy return from Babylon; therefore the Prophet sends them a letter, that they should with patience be content in the foreign land until the LORD's time comes to bring them back (chapter 29).

This Book of divine judgment is, in chapters 1–24, chiefly a book of penitential preaching, whereas chapters 25–29 are a definite proclamation of a judgment that is unavoidable, and whose time and hour are already revealed, in that at the same time the last grounds of comfort, to which the hardened people clung, are torn away without any sparing.

The prophet's calling had also set him to build and to plant, and in his book there follows upon the heavy discourses of demolition and crushing a most beautiful Book of Consolation. This is the second section of Israel's portion, chapters 30–33. The prophet proclaims a great

time of tribulation over Jacob; yet he shall be saved out of it. It is so painful, that little while, for it is an hour of birth, and the Lord brings forth for himself a people (chap. 30). The people that are born are the tribes of Israel and Judah, whom the Lord gathers; and when he has gathered them, he establishes with them a new covenant, a covenant of forgiveness of sins and of regeneration, so that the old people has passed away, and behold, there is a new people, born of God (chap. 31). A sure sign of this superabounding grace of the Lord the prophet receives in the prison. In the midst of this siege, which ends with the fall of Jerusalem and the devastation of the land, he is commanded to buy a field, as though there were the deepest peace in the land; thereby the Lord will point forward to the great peace that shall be in the land when he gathers the scattered into one people and gives them one heart and one way (chap. 32). The people that are gathered and born shall be a people in joy and blessedness, an innumerable host of singers and priests unto God (chap. 33).

Finally, chapters 34–45 form the third section of Israel's portion. Its purpose and content are to show how the Lord fulfills the words of his servant Jeremiah. Jerusalem fell, the temple was burned, the people were carried away, the land became a wilderness. This section is therefore chiefly narrative, with brief prophetic utterances interwoven into the account. Yet not only is this section the Book of Judgment over the hardened people; it is also the Book of Jeremiah's sufferings. Here we are told in great detail how the people, upon whom the Lord's punishment fell, in their bitterness turned against the Lord's messenger and mistreated him in many ways, so that he truly became a foreshadowing of the suffering Savior, who suffered, the righteous for the unrighteous. Thus these chapters are placed here to show that God is not mocked. His threatenings he fulfills, and even over those who are his prophets and messengers he brings the purifying fire of tribulation, that they may come forth as gold tried in the fire and be unto praise and glory and honor at the coming of Jesus Christ. The faithful prophet had to suffer with his people; but God gathered his tears and his pain and caused them to become a harvest of joy, when his time came to comfort his people, to give it double from his hand for all its sins, to gather all its scattered ones and to make the children of the desolate more than hers who had a husband. Jeremiah was the one who more than any other prophet in the old covenant went forth with weeping; now the time has come when another crop of the gray-haired fathers is gathered into the barn. May the Lord grant of his grace that we all might be of this new people of God, with one heart and one way! For us all this is written, for us all this struggle is waged; let us therefore diligently consider also this man of sorrows and his day's work in the Lord's vineyard, that we might thereby be strengthened to remain faithful in the suffering that is entrusted to us.



2 Second Section

The pieces and essays included in this section may be regarded as segments of one facet of Professor Ederdrup's great work within our Church, in that they provide an insight into his clear and strongly pronounced historical mind. He had learned from the past to judge the present, and from them both to read the signs of the future.

In the first piece, "Christendom in History," he points out that it is far from being a matter of consolation that we here in America have "Christendom and not a State Church"; rather, history teaches that neither can Christendom escape the judgment of God nor avoid being corrupted at its root, unless it is willing to allow itself to be governed and led by the Spirit of God.

The second piece, "The Church and the Ecclesiastical Bodies," is a masterly treatment of its subject. It points out both what "the Church" is, why a plurality of "ecclesiastical bodies" must necessarily arise, and wherein their right to exist consists. The strong tendency of the Norwegian Synod to regard itself as "the Church," and the other Norwegian Lutheran church bodies in this country as sects or parties, forms a background against which this essay will naturally have to be viewed.

The third piece, "The Congregation within State Structures," presents a beautiful picture of the Christian congregation and its standing under persecutions. It bears witness to the invincible power which the congregation possessed so long as it preserved the Spirit and fidelity to its calling and to its Savior. The piece further contains many particularly interesting and valuable details concerning the legal position of the Christian congregation within the pagan Roman state.

The fourth piece, "Reminiscences from Norway," has not previously been published. It is a fragment of a book and was written by the author during a stay in Norway in the summer of 1886. A table of contents found together with the manuscript shows that it had been the author's intention also to discuss the Bible translation, the hymnbook question, the deaconess

cause, Inner Mission, and the Seamen's Mission, in addition to the subjects which he has treated. It is known to me that at least on one later occasion (1889) he also gathered material and made preparations to complete this work; but other matters always made such heavy demands on his time and strength that this final undertaking had to be deferred.

There have naturally occurred several changes in ecclesiastical matters in Norway since 1886, both with respect to the people as a whole and to individual men. This must necessarily be borne in mind when reading this otherwise exceedingly interesting sketch. Thus the author's characterization of Bishop Heuch is entirely correct and very apt for the period with which it is here concerned. But in his later years Heuch became quite another man. The extremely high-church parish pastor of Kristiania and editor of the "Lutheran Weekly" later became one of the most low-church bishops Norway has ever had. Yet viewed from the point in time at which these "Reminiscences from Norway" were written, they present a particularly apt picture of the ecclesiastical situation in our old country in the middle of the eighties, as well as an understanding portrayal of the development during the period under consideration.

"Reminiscences from Norway" also form an important contribution to the understanding of Professor Sverdrup's own spiritual development. When we have read through these pages, we gain some sense of the significance of the struggles through which he himself must have passed in his youth, and of how he also came to establish with spiritual clarity his resolve to choose the way of the Congregation and faithfully to follow it unto his dying day.

As a — though certainly very condensed — parallel to "Reminiscences from Norway," the fifth piece is then added, "The Norwegian Lutheran Church in America." In the briefest possible form, and with particular regard to the work of the Seamen's Mission, the author has here given the French Lutherans a portrait of our people's ecclesiastical position in this country. The piece was written for the French Lutheran church paper "Le Témoignage" and was thereafter published in translation in the Norwegian paper "Vestlandsporten," which accompanied it with the following editorial note: "This interesting portrayal has been written by Professor Sverdrup at the request of the French Lutherans' paper 'Témoignage,' from which the article has been translated for 'Vestlandsporten.' As readers will observe, it is the history of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America which he here unfolds for us in brief outline, and it is not a contribution to the controversy being waged on that subject; this is merely mentioned, and that in a manner which will hopefully give offense to no side. — Ed."

The final piece in this section, "The Lutheran Church," was written by the author shortly before his death. Concerning this, the then chairman of "Kristen," Pastor C. C. Smith, has given me permission to relate the following: Early in the spring of 1907, Pastor Smith

was requested by the Census Bureau in Washington, D.C., in his capacity as chairman, to submit a report concerning “The Lutheran Church.” At that time he was suffering from a prolonged illness which for months rendered him almost entirely unfit for work, and he therefore requested Professor Sverdrup to write the portion of the said report which was to deal with the principal aspect of the “Free Church” and its work. This request he met with his customary readiness, and it is this report which is here presented in Norwegian—not, however, in translation, but from the author’s own hand, since he had written it both in English and in Norwegian. It gains increased interest from the fact that it is Professor Sverdrup’s final word on what, in his view, the “Free Church” is and ought to be. In this respect, this little sketch may be said to constitute his testament. — Publisher.

2.1 The Free Church in History

A manuscript which, judging from the handwriting, belongs to the very earliest years after the author’s arrival in America. It is presumably the manuscript of a speech; at any rate, I have found no trace that it was ever published before. See moreover the note on page 58. — Ed.

This section appears on pages 60–69 of the original volume. — Present Ed.

Throughout Christendom, in these days when the development of the world’s freedom has shown the way to self-government, there is a living question concerning the free Church. When there is clamor on all sides, without distinction—by conservatives as well as by liberals, by monarchists as well as by republicans, by those who fervently confess the Christian faith as well as by those who fervently deny Christianity—this leads of necessity to the thought that this name, “the free Church,” carries with it many different conceptions. At once we must suppose that some who desire a free Church would therein have a substitute for absolutism, which is a lost cause in the political sphere, while others would therein seek the same freedom as in the state, and others again perhaps seek the Church’s true good, regardless of whither this might lead them.

If, then, the free Church has as yet no definite meaning, but merely designates the Church which is independent of the state, and which otherwise each person imagines for himself as he will, it is evident that here in America—where no other kind of Church exists than the free Church—it will be most timely to attempt to make clear to ourselves what this is to mean.

Meanwhile, the Church is not of yesterday, nor is America the only place where there has been a free Church; and it is therefore fitting for us first to cast a very brief glance backward,

to see how the free Church has been before our own days, and to what it has developed, in order that we may, if possible, learn to take heed of the dangers and to make use of the advantages in that condition of affairs in which we are set.

It is an incontestable fact that if by a Free Church one understands a church that is independent of the State, then there has been and still is a great and powerful Christian Church that deserves this name; it is the Catholic. That this Church at various times has deeply entangled itself in affairs of state is here of no consequence, since this did not rest upon dependence upon the State, but upon a supremacy over the State, which it precisely possessed as a Free Church. In later times, however, this supremacy over the State has in many ways been compelled to be relinquished.

It can therefore not be subject to any doubt that a serious investigation of the historical development of the Free Church, of its dangers and its advantages, must begin with the Catholic Church, because there we possess the longest experience and the most legible records. There it is written in strokes of stone how a Free Church labors under the influence of the world, and what we are liable to inherit from it if it begins in the same manner. For however much one in our own day, in fanatical Protestantism, may wish to exclude it from the number of Free Churches, we must never forget that it has been Church in a sense such as no other has been. And we add that the strong zeal to deny the Catholic Church its right is to a great extent grounded in a fear lest any instruction or warning should be drawn from its sorrowful history. [Sverdrup does not enjoy condemning Rome; he fears becoming her. — Present Ed.] The Pope is called Antichrist, and all Catholic endeavors unchristian, in order that no one may be led to examine whether the spirit of the Antichrist and hierarchical tendencies might also be found among ourselves. We stand in America in a manner similar to that in which the Catholic Church once stood in the Roman Empire, and no one ought to marvel if there is danger of going the same way now as then, since the way is always broad toward Catholicism, but exceedingly narrow toward a truly free Christian Church.

The Catholic Church has not always been what it is today. It has suffered and struggled; it has labored and prayed; it has had blood-witnesses and fire-witnesses, before it came so far that it itself gave the “heretics” their blood-witnesses and their belts upon the stake. From the days of the Apostles down to our own time it has one single continuous history, which never seems broken or interrupted, so that we ask ourselves with dread whether it is indeed the case that the Free Church has no other path to tread; and we are driven to the most careful examination of whether this in full earnestness is the way of the Church, or whether it might perhaps be a byway.

It is impossible here, within a few words, to pass through this entire long development. We have here only briefly to point out the dangers under which the catholic Free Church succumbed, so that everyone may judge how near these same dangers lie to every Free Church.

There is a goal set before every Free Church that has even a spark of Christianity within it: it is the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of Heaven upon earth, with its eternal consummation in heaven, this is the aim of Christ's work; and this Kingdom He Himself is—just as He is the second Adam, or the firstborn of the new race of mankind—the living foundation of the eternal Zion. Never has this goal shone more clearly for any communion than for the first poor Christians in the midst of the heathen. Nowhere has this goal been drawn in such pure and radiant colors as for the Christians in the catacombs of Rome. Here, in these burial vaults beneath the great city of the world, where the splendor and corruption of a world-empire roared above them in all its greatness and abomination, the darkness became a light round about them, when their hearts were lifted up in faith toward the eternal glory in which their sufferings and tribulations were to be forgotten for evermore. There they felt the powers of the new world stirring within them, and in hope they saw the empire crumble into dust before the Lord, who is at hand. It was the free Church which, clothed in the full armor of the Lord, cast itself into the battle, while the bodies of martyrs were laid to rest with songs of victory, and their graves were marked with the crown of honor and the palm of triumph by those who hoped to follow after both their faith and their death. That Church which is not permeated by this unshakable conviction, that the Kingdom of God in eternal glory is its goal, has never deserved the name of the Bride of Christ.

It is this strong life of the Spirit and this world-overcoming faith in the Saviour and His work which constitute the Christian foundation upon which the Roman Church rests—and no Free Church can rest upon anything else. It must have firm ground upon the Rock, the eternal Rock, if it is to dare to believe in its eternal calling and its eternal life. But if the beginning was so good, how then has the outcome become what we see before our eyes?

The imperial realm of Rome was heathen. It was so thoroughly interwoven with heathendom that when the Emperor Constantine, in the fourth century after Christ, deemed it necessary to impart to his empire a new spiritual vitality by taking Christianity under his protection and seeking to make it the religion of the state, he at the same time found it politically prudent to provide his realm with a new capital in Constantinople. The new spiritual central power which Christianity was to become required a new temporal center. From Constantinople the Roman Empire was to be reshaped in Christian form, and Christianity was to assume the same state-serving position which heathendom had formerly held.

It was not without joy that all Christians heard of the Emperor who had become a Christian. All alike saw in this a new victory for Christianity, and many Christians even looked with gladness upon the new power which Christianity now received, since it had the strong arm of despotism upon which to lean; and in faithfulness to the truth we must add that some Christians zealously gave their approval to Constantine's efforts to transform the free Church into a state Church. The many and powerful heresies which were just then breaking forth were to be warded off by the state Church. Thus arose that peculiar form of church polity which, after the ancient name of Constantinople, is called Byzantinism. This is the name for that system of church government in which the Emperor is the possessor of all power in the Church because he is so in the State, and in which the faith and doctrine of the Church are determined according to the Emperor's or the court's whim, or, at best, according to political prudence.

This system had its attraction, in that the Church thereby at once became a kingdom, which indeed was the same as the imperial realm, yet nevertheless bore the name of the Kingdom of God. It had its attraction for the flesh, in that the Church at once obtained power over her enemies and could persecute the persecutors and punish the heretics. But it had this corruption within itself, that the kingdom was no longer in truth the Kingdom of God; that the Church had acquired worldly power and worldly interests; that the Church was no longer herself nor her own ruler. And it brought with it this corruption for the people, that consciences were no longer free, but that the Emperor's faith was law and rule for the people. From this followed the fullness and the hypocrisy which increased within the Greek Empire and made it what it now is: a home of barbarity and bloodshed, of bondage and brutality.

And these dangers and this devastation followed whenever the Emperor was orthodox, right-believing; and it shall be the curse of Byzantinism everywhere, that it destroys both Church and people, both land and realm, be it as orthodox as it will. But for the Church there came in Byzantinism yet another danger besides. For if the Emperor was heretical—what then? Then the whole Church, or the whole people (for Byzantinism makes no distinction between the two), must change its faith and be converted to the Emperor. This was a danger which one may perhaps have forgotten in the first enthusiasm, but which the Byzantine emperors were soon to make sufficiently evident to all who had earnest concern for the Church.

It was beyond doubt Constantine's intention that Byzantinism, or the most fully developed form of the state church, should now replace ecclesiastical freedom throughout his entire empire. He had not the remotest idea that this could be contrary to Christianity; on the contrary, it was his conviction that it was a divine calling laid upon him to act thus. Yet he did not succeed, and the favor shown by his sons to the heretics called forth a lively

opposition. Nor can it surprise us that Rome and its bishop stood with zeal upon the side of this opposition. The division of Constantine's empire led to divergent developments. Rome continued to possess a free Church, interrupted only for a brief period.

Rome felt itself involuntarily set aside from the day when Constantine transferred the capital to Constantinople, and the Roman Christians for many reasons shared the dissatisfaction that ran through the world-city. But as it gradually became clear to them that it was not the Emperor who would serve the Church, but that the Church was to serve him, new thoughts seem also to have awakened—at least in the Roman bishop. For it was evident that the Church had become a kingdom, and yet at the same time a political ruler had become lord within that kingdom. The free Church understood that this was bondage. It envied the despotic power of the Greek Church, yet counted itself happy that it had no despot over it. The Christian Byzantine empire became the seduction of the free Church, in that it began to shape its conceptions of the Kingdom of God after this pattern, with only this difference, that not an emperor, but a bishop, ought to be the head of God's kingdom.

If, then, the free Church was to assume such a position—that, like the Greek Church, it should become an ecclesiastical despotism, an absolute ecclesiastical sovereignty, in which the decisive aim was to hold the world and the nations beneath itself—then it was at the same time a settled matter that the Roman bishop must be the ecclesiastical emperor in the realm. And there was no lack of compelling reasons for the free Church to strive after power over the people, and for the Roman bishop to assert his supremacy over the Church.

It was the Age of Heresies, and it was evident that the imperial power was wholly unfit to preserve the pure doctrine; for the Emperor himself might become a heretic. Amid the many upheavals of the world, the Church was compelled to lay the greatest weight upon the purity of doctrine; but how was it to be preserved? The pagan ideas of the ancient world had followed the pagan population into the Church, and these pagan ideas exercised a great spiritual power over men's minds, so long as the study of the pagan writings remained open to all. The free Church was manifestly threatened not only with being defiled by false doctrine, but with being dissolved outright into a new paganism. When the Greek Church was so fortunate as to possess an orthodox Emperor, his power could maintain an purely external right-belief. But in the West, where there soon was no Emperor, and where one had learned that it was dangerous to have an Emperor who might become a heretic, where one consciously set oneself against the imperial power within the Church—how was the threatening danger there to be averted? How was the people to be preserved from the peril? How was the Kingdom of God, or the Church, to preserve itself in purity, and how was the Church to be preserved in unity?

Unhappily, one had fallen into such disdain for men and such trust in power that even in the West one could not conceive that there existed any other means of preserving the purity and unity of doctrine than power. Yet it was far from the case that this was clearly recognized or that one thought primarily of outward violence. On the contrary, the free Church felt that its danger lay in the spiritual anarchy of paganism, and it sought to set spiritual power against it. It is a spiritual Kingdom of God that is the goal of Catholicism, wherein all the peoples of the world are compelled to bow beneath the Church's spiritual authority. The establishment of a doctrinal aristocracy was the first step upon the slippery path.

Directly over against the heathen world of culture and its natural quest for truth through the strained labor of the understanding, the Church set, with the might of authority, God's revealed truth. Every free church must do this; for it knoweth whom it hath believed. Yet it did not stop there. In the course of time it fashioned the pure doctrine, which was not God's revealed truth itself, but the Church's recognition of the revealed truth. It was this pure doctrine of the Church which the free Church had the most natural temptation to endow, against the heretics, with the authority of God's Word. It succumbed to the temptation. And when the Church surrounded its pure doctrine with sufficient condemnations, and when, with its bishops, it gathered itself together in unanimous agreement thereon, and when it did not refrain from taking to its aid the whole of antiquity's human learning and subtlety in order to defend the pure doctrine, which still contained enough of the divine truth to be contrary to reason, then thereby the power of doctrine over the old cultural world was established. But the doctrine itself was thereby exposed to the same danger which is orthodoxy's abiding fundamental defect. Human reason is taken as a helper in order to defend the doctrine, in order to render the doctrine clear and explicable, at last even in order to prove the doctrine. A foreign aid is taken, and it works itself little by little into the doctrine itself, which must undergo small and slow changes in order to fit the concepts of reason. Thus it was that the Catholic free Church for a time maintained itself, in order to preserve God's truth, in order to hinder the influence of heathendom, but diverged from the simple way of truth to the way which leads — — — —¹¹

And this prepared the way for that which one necessarily had to possess in the free church that desired a great multitude of people and great power over them, namely, a head of the Church who in every respect was ruler and leader.

From ancient times the Bishop of Rome had enjoyed a good reputation for pure doctrine. It

¹¹Here unfortunately a leaf is missing from the manuscript. For that reason, however, I have not thought it right to leave the piece unused. The readers will with some ease be able to infer the content of the missing lines, which do not in any essential degree disturb the course of thought in what follows. — Ed.

was said of the Roman congregation and its bishop that it possessed an apostolic tradition or transmission, so pure and uncorrupted as that of no other. Thither one could go and learn the truth; from thence one could hear the apostolic testimony; from thence the illuminating word was spoken into the many intricate questions of the age. Little wonder, then, if the dignity which the Bishop of Rome possessed, the unshakable firmness with which he held forth the pure doctrine, was compared with the unworthy courtly snobbery of the Greek patriarch and his vacillation in doctrine, as the emperor set the tone. The Bishop of Rome gained by the comparison. He was regarded as the rock against which the restless waters of the world dashed themselves in vain, and as the spiritual successor of the rock-apostle Peter. To him men looked up, and the voice of Rome received decisive weight in the development of doctrine.

The free church had taken a great step forward toward its corruption when pure doctrine had become power, and Rome had become the dogmatic center. It was at once the tradition of the Roman Empire and the struggle against the paganism of the Roman Empire that had brought about this position. But the free church, which had lost its pure ecclesiastical character by becoming a mass church within the Roman Empire, was soon to be enticed still farther from the narrow way by admitting in great numbers the new barbarian peoples who at this time were streaming in over the Empire.

“Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together,” rang over the old Empire. New, fresh, and vigorous peoples hewed for themselves bloody paths toward the lands where the old world had unfolded its strength and squandered its life. They seized the strong man’s fortress and divided his spoil. In them the Church received a new mission field. The free church wills the conversion of the world; once it has become half Catholic, it wills the subjugation of the world. All peoples shall bow the knee to Christ—this is the free church’s involuntary lofty goal; all peoples shall bow to the power of the Church—this is Catholicism’s never-abandoned striving, after which it pursues with the restless craving of desire. When the migration of the barbarians began, Rome was still far from having become Catholic; before the new peoples had passed over to Christianity, it had become fully conscious of itself in its pursuit of universality (catholicity).

It was evident that just as the whole old world had been Christianized, so too the elements of the new world must be Christianized. The Church had learned that this was most quickly accomplished by imperial power. And however many glorious and uplifting images of true Christian mission the Church’s activity among the barbarians may present, it is nevertheless essentially by power and coercion of a new emperor, Charlemagne, that these peoples’ transition to Christianity was effected. Their political subjugation and their baptism

en masse were one and the same thing. And the Church once again stood, as at Constantine's transition to Christianity, face to face with great pagan masses who bore a Christian name. They belonged to the Church outwardly; they did not belong to it with the heart.

But the situation here was nevertheless very different. The heathen masses who followed Constantine bore within themselves the whole of the old pagan culture, and they were mighty to wage a struggle within the Church, which had as its consequence a powerful unfolding of ecclesiastical energies in defense of the pure doctrine. By contrast, the heathen peoples who, with the sword over their heads, had been compelled to receive baptism, who had lost their freedom and their religion at one and the same time, lay far more will-less in the hand of the Church. They offered, indeed, a natural resistance, such as the flesh always offers; yet it was essentially a resistance of lust and ungodliness, which, because it wounded the conscience, made the souls all the more easily predisposed, in other respects, to suffer under the Church's power.

Here there arose a new danger that threatened the free Church. What was it to do with all these new members? They themselves could do nothing; they were just as helpless as they were ignorant. The Church could either labor to let the light of the Word shine upon them, so that they might be awakened to become independent and self-acting members of the Church; or it could let them lie helpless, and make use of their lack of independence in order to lay them under itself, always pretending that it was mighty to save them. The Church did indeed strive, as befitted the free Church, in its best moments and through its best powers, to raise these peoples to the maturity of manhood; but alas, it grew weary before the time, and the evil beginning—conversion by the sword—received an even more corrupt continuation.

For the free Church is in a peculiar manner tempted, precisely because it is Church, to forget that the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into the outer darkness. And the delusion of the saving Church allured with double force there, where a multitude of ignorant heathen—whom one took pleasure in comparing to children—lay subdued and bowed at the foot of the Church. To take them all into its bosom, to lift them into heaven, to pray them in unto God, and from God to dispense grace to them—that was the Church's joyful thought of victory. There was no other way: the doctrine of grace-dispensing, saving Church had almost by force to press itself upon the Roman Church.

And if we will truly go to the bottom of the entire Roman free-church system, wherein the kingdom of God was betrayed for power, we find that there are two gigantic seeds of injustice which were laid down in it at the very beginning, and which thereafter—constantly kept alive by the evil spirit of heartlessness and

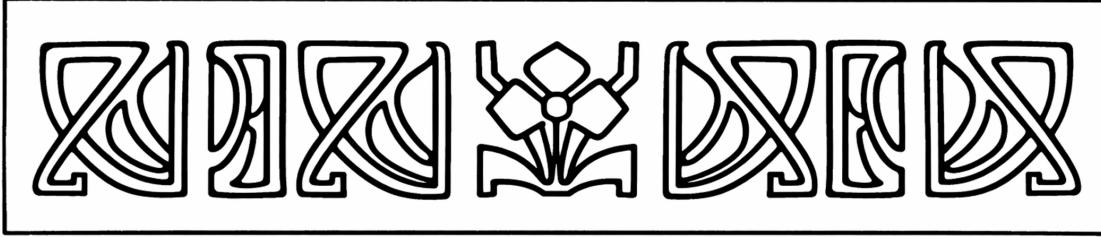
world-covetousness—have grown throughout the whole of its development and given it the character we know so well. The one is the authority of the pure doctrine,¹² over against which no criticism is permitted—not even the judgment of God the Holy Spirit in God's own Word—once the bishop of Rome has given the doctrine his sanction. The other is the Church's power to grant salvation, so that all who receive grace only from the Church and in obedience to the Church are saved, whether they live in God or not.

In the whole course of the Catholic Church it is these fundamental ideas that have asserted themselves. And are they far removed from any Free Church? Or is it not so, that the Free Church strives for the Kingdom of God, and does it not follow therefrom that it must strive to embrace all men? Is it not so, that the Free Church possesses the truth, and must it not then with authority maintain the truth? Is it not so, that men cannot be saved except through the means of grace which the Church has, and must not the Church therefore seek to direct the means of grace wherever it can, and thereby serve the salvation of men? No Christian dares to answer these questions with anything other than an affirmative Yes.

But let there now enter into this one of the world's foremost, enkindled loves for power and for dominion over the world, and all these things will, by the force of that seductive spirit, be transformed into their very opposite, while they yet retain their fair appearance.

We know this one Free Church which has sought to develop itself as independently as is at all possible in the world. In reality we know no other. But this example is little cheering; for it seems to show with certainty that the Free Church must end in a complete annihilation of Christianity, just as is the case with Catholicism. For no one knows the frailty of his own heart, and if the desire to become great can lead to such results, where then is the Free Church which, according to all that we can see, does not have and must not have this desire? But the truth of the matter is that there lies an abyssal chasm between desire and love, and only the latter may guide the Church, not the former, if it is to walk on the way toward the Christian community.

¹²Paper pope. — Present Ed



2.2 The Church and the Ecclesiastical Communions

Source: Quarterly Journal. First Year, 1875. Pages 20–42; 70–82; 145–153; Second Year, 1876. Pages 6–21; 51–65; 110–128. See the note, page 58. — Ed.

This section appears on pages 70–87 of the original volume. — Present Ed.

But now are they many members, yet but one body. 1 Cor. 12:20

It is a truth of God revealed in Christ, that the congregation is not Christ's congregation unless Christ is its Head, and the congregation is not Christ's congregation unless it is Christ's Body. And however little this truth is acknowledged, and however scant a trace we see of the Church, with the full earnestness of life, seeking to present the Body of Christ in the world, it nevertheless belongs to those things of which all have knowledge, that the Church is Christ's Body, and that each single congregation, with Christ's Word and Christ's Baptism, with His Supper, is a manifestation of Christ's Body. And no one whom the Spirit has taught to call Christ Lord is ignorant that he is a member of Christ's Body; for he has perceived and experienced how Christ's life is his, how it flows through him, ennobling him by the one Spirit, by whom we are all baptized to be one Body.

But just as little as any Christian is ignorant that we are thus all members of Christ's Body, just so little is it to him a strange or new thing that not all members have the same work. No one is surely so devoid of understanding of the form of Christ's Body and of the Spirit's diverse gifts of grace in the congregation that he should think all the members of the congregation must necessarily have the same work in the congregation. No one is surely so simple-minded that he says: because you are not a pastor in the congregation, therefore you do not belong to Christ's Body; because you are not a teacher, therefore you are no Christian; because you are not an elder of the congregation, therefore you have no part in Christ. Indeed, we are almost all agreed that such speech is madness.

But there is another speech, which indeed does not come to us with the simplicity and lowliness of God's Word, but with much cleverness and human authority, and which for that

very reason ought to be suspicious to us; there is another speech which is just as perverse, but not as plain-spoken. It too is a speech about Christ's Body, about Christ's Church, which has fallen into distress, and which therefore has borne the bitterest fruits in the history of the Church and bears them to this very day. And now it sounds round about us, and it confuses consciences and stirs up strife and discord where there ought to be forbearance and love. Therefore we must consider it well and closely; therefore we must view it in the light of the Word and of history and judge it accordingly.

It is this old speech we have in mind: that just as Christ's Body is one, so the Church also is one; of all the many ecclesiastical communions there is only one which is in truth Christ's Body, His one true Bride. Therefore the one church body asserts against the other: Because you are not as I am, therefore you are not Christ's Body; because you do not belong to me, therefore you do not belong to Christ. Therefore it is heard here in America so often among us: Because you are another communion than we, therefore you cannot be Christ's Church.

And if this question did not stand so near to us, and with such necessity press demand an answer, we should not treat it here; for time is as precious as it is serious, and no Christian in these days can have time for useless and contentious questions, such as it is the duty of Christians at all times to flee and avoid.

There is something which seems so immediately clear—this, namely—that among the many ecclesiastical communions which call themselves by the name of Christ, there must yet be one which alone is the true one; one communion, surely, must be Christ's real Church and His real Body. And yet that which seems so superficially clear is very far from being true. For it has been forgotten that the Body is not one member, but many. Or could one really say: one member must surely be the real, the true Body? Or would one not at once perceive that this is altogether inverted talk? Or should God—who within the single congregation is mighty to give to each his own gift, and thereby to set each one in his proper place—not have, for the whole Christian Church, many and rich gifts to distribute, which of necessity require that different communions take up each its own task, each its own labor in the world?

Therefore we must not allow ourselves to be dazzled by the seductive clarity of such talk, but with a steady eye fix our gaze upon it and examine—not its appearance, but its power.

There is a fundamental truth which must stand fast as the point of departure for all contemplation of the Church that would be Christian; it is that which we set forth at the beginning of this treatise: that the Church is Christ's Body, and Christ is the Head of the Body. Every discourse concerning the Church which does not point back to this must necessarily become false, because it rests upon false presuppositions. And it is in the forgetting and the

setting aside of this truth that we seek the root of all the confusion and all the obscurity which in our days prevail in this question. Therefore we believe that it is timely now to attempt to hold forth what lies within that fundamental truth, within that comprehensive principle, for consideration by those who, despite the self-love of party strife and its blindness, have yet preserved a small remnant of that humble simplicity which is necessary to recognize the truth in its purity.

It has been the confession of the Church through all ages and in all its divisions, and in every place where it has come under the governance of the Lord, that the Church is one. And it is indeed self-evident that, if it is the body of Christ, then there can be no doubt that it is a unity. Nor is it here that the dispute hinges; for all parties confess with one mouth that Christ is not divided, and His body just as little. But when we go a step further, we immediately encounter a swarm of contradictions to the simple truth. For if we ask wherein this unity consists, we receive a multiplicity of answers which, by their mutual disagreement, show only that here each of the ecclesiastical communities appears with its own party interest and seeks to usurp what belongs to the whole Church—namely, to be the Body, to be the Bride.

We find a multitude of visible things set forth as that in which the unity properly consists; and each of these visible things is recognized by a particular church body and brought forward in order that it may be made evident that precisely this particular community possesses the true unity, is in truth the body of Christ. And closely bound up with this is the conclusion that all other communities have no right to exist alongside the Body, but must hasten to relinquish their independence and become parts of the one community which, because it is the Body, has the sole right to exist.

Here we first encounter the Roman Catholic Church, whose claim to be the true body of Christ and to possess the right unity seems to many so crude and palpably false that it appears scarcely worth the trouble to examine it. And yet in reality it is the only one that has some semblance of truth with which it may adorn itself. And if we succeed in showing its falsity, then the labor of dealing with other claims concerning the unity of Christ's Church will be easy.

The Roman Catholic Church maintains with unshakable definiteness that the unity of the Church is precisely its unity with the Head, Christ, and in this claim it has the clearest possible right. But this unity with the Church's invisible Head is mediated through Christ's visible vicar upon earth, whom He Himself has appointed and upon whom He has built His Church. And therefore the unity has become a visible unity. It is the infallible Pope who in

reality is the Church's unity, and the entire visible community which acknowledges him and receives all truth and all the gifts of God's grace from him is precisely the body of Christ. And every other community is outside the Body because it stands outside connection with the earthly head of the Body, infallibility in Rome.

This entire collection of claims would be utterly impossible if there had not been committed a breach with the presupposition that was indeed correct. The Church's unity as its unity with the Pope is substituted for the real bodily unity with the invisible Christ. The error here lies in this, that one makes into an outward thing what in itself must be invisible and inward. Even if the Pope were ever so much Christ's vicar upon earth, he could nevertheless never be the unity of the Body; for then it would at least have to be absolutely certain that he himself belonged to the Body. But now we all know that neither papal throne nor papal crown can secure to anyone that he is a member of Christ's Body, still less that he should be a nexus of unity.

Thus it avails nothing that the Pope be ever so infallible; for no infallibility can secure him that he has any share in Christ. But if it is not even with absolute certainty infallibly sure concerning the Pope himself that he has a share in Christ, then it is still less certain that those who have a share in the Pope have a share in Christ. And thus it becomes altogether impossible that the community which stands in dependence upon the Pope can be Christ's true Body and His rightful Bride; for no one can assert that this community, through the Pope, has any life-union with Christ.

We see, therefore, that the claim that a single man is the Church's unity is a manifest error, a breach with the correct premise upon which all knowledge of the Church's unity stands or falls. But no less false is it to make an estate, or rather the unity of an estate—for example, the episcopate—the Church's unity; for even if one were to take together all the bishops of the world, nothing would thereby be demonstrated, that their office were Christ's office, or that there were any sort of connection whatsoever between them and the Head, Christ. It is once again the same error as before; for once more one seeks to make the invisible, to some degree, visible.

No human being is thus the unity of the Church, nor is any human estate—be it anointed bishops or ordained pastors. No such person binds together the Body of Christ, and no one is excluded from the Body of Christ because he stands outside communion with the Pope or outside connection with the highly-placed bishops and priests. Yet we encounter other assertions concerning the unity of the Church, which would vindicate the right of particular church-communions to be the Body of Christ. It is said that it is the grossest of all errors

to claim that the Pope is the unity and head of the Church; it is the greatest of all lies to say that the Body of Christ is there, and only there, where he alone rules. But, it is added, the Body of Christ is therefore not invisible, such that one should not know where it is and where it is not. The assembly—the right and sound church order with the vigorous exercise of church discipline—that, in truth, is the mark of the Body of Christ. Bring all Christians to acknowledge this, and the unity of the Body of Christ will be present and will consist in the unity of the assemblies. Let each congregation teach as it will, and administer the sacraments as it will; the unity will still be there, and we shall have the Body of Christ in its proper form. But we again hold fast to our proposition, well grounded in the Word of God, by which we judge all things; and we say again: the assembly is not the unity of the Body of Christ; for there is no assembly in the world—however much church discipline may be bound up with it—that secures for the congregation which possesses it, acknowledges it, and employs it, any place in the Body of Christ as a member thereof.

With these attempts to find the unity of Christ's Body and thus to form a single church fellowship, to which all others must attach themselves if there is to be one flock and one Shepherd, men have therefore come utterly to grief. And since men never grow weary of building their own fabrications of the heart alongside the simple truth of God's Word, and never finish devising means whereby they may lay hold of Christ's honor for themselves, it should not surprise us if ever new attempts arise within the Church to present a single church fellowship as the only true one, which alone bears upon itself the true marks of Christ's Church, and which alone possesses the true unity of the Church, to which all others must come if they are to have part in Christ.

Pure doctrine seems in these latter times to be made the true unity of the Church; and indeed it has a very pleasing sound in many ears when it is declared to them that a church fellowship which does not possess the pure doctrine cannot possibly have any connection with the Head, Christ. For when pure doctrine is in the world, given by God, then it is, so it seems, plain enough that all who do not acknowledge it deny God's truth and give themselves over to the lie. But how should such men of the lie have part in the eternal Truth, Christ?

This sounds like sweet and pleasant music in the ears of those who suppose themselves to have the pure doctrine; and it rises like smoke into their nostrils when it is said: We who have the pure doctrine, we are Christ's Bride, we are His Body. To us, who have the light, must everyone come who does not wish to perish in the darkness. Yet however well-sounding this speech may be, it is hollow as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

And there is in that speech a power of deceivers, which is thus prepared for the congregations.

For where this talk of pure doctrine is heard, and where it is said that pure doctrine is the true mark of Christ's Bride, there men are robbed by pride, and there they are lulled to sleep by false security, and they sleep upon the pillow that is thus laid beneath their head. And if it were indeed the truth that Christ's Church is there, and there only, where pure doctrine is found, then this would have to be preached, and the danger would have to be borne, and souls would have to perish because they took the truth in vain. But now it is a great error and a dreadful lie that the unity of Christ's Body and the sole true mark of Christ's Church is pure doctrine.

For even if a church fellowship possessed a doctrine as pure as that of the Pharisees upon Moses' seat, as pure as all the subtle systems of the dogmaticians, this would yet give no assurance whatsoever that there was any connection at all between such a church fellowship and the Church's only Head, Christ. Pure doctrine is not better able than pure polity, or pure church discipline, or the infallible Pope, how to be the unity of Christ's Body and to present a church fellowship as the only true one. Everywhere the same thing is lacking: there is no assurance that what is put forth as the bond of union between the Church and the ascended Christ can truly bring such a union to pass.

The visible church fellowship and the invisible Christ always remain disconnected as soon as the bond is to be something visible. For a visible bond of union may indeed unite the visible church fellowship into an outward unity; but it can never unite the visible with the invisible. And every such visible means is indeed well suited to give a church fellowship lofty thoughts of itself and to lead it to delight in its own greatness; but it is wholly unsuited to bring Christ the honor that is His due.

Thus we are directed back to the Word of God when we would seek the true unity of the Church, the unity of the Body of Christ. And we have this confidence, that we shall not seek in vain; for just as the Word of God has shown itself mighty to overthrow imaginations and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, so is it also mighty to guide us into all truth. The Word of God is not appointed only to uproot and to tear down, to destroy and to overthrow, but also to build and to plant. It has been necessary to reject the misleading paths by which human contrivance has sought to lead the Church of God, in order that there might be room for a serious examination of the uncorrupted truth of God's Word.

The Body of Christ is one, and it has but one Head, Christ. Yet then the unity of the Church is a unity of a body, and therefore can only be unity in life. This is that which is the binding bond of the Body of Christ and its unifying principle: that the life of Christ flows through it and permeates all the individual members. Where the life of Christ is found—be it among

Jews or Greeks, within this church body or that—there the Body of Christ is found. In this way every body is a precisely coherent unity, and in precisely the same way the Body of Christ also forms a perfect unity; and in this way, and in this way alone, the Church is one. Everywhere that it is found, there is the same life; and when it is asked what distinguishes this Body from all other bodies, then it is not that there is some other bond of unity than that of life, but this: that the life which here pulses in every single member is the life of Christ.

And if we would go further in the investigation of the unity of the Church, this can only take place through a deeper penetration into its peculiar life and into the necessary elements of that life. And we can immediately recognize that if it is one and the same life which thus unites the Church of Christ with itself, then it is certain that this life, like every other, takes its beginning with a birth; for only birth brings forth life, and if the life is to be the same, then the birth must also be the same. And this is something concerning which indeed all Christians are agreed: that there is but one birth whereby human beings, born of flesh, can become partakers of the life of Christ, namely the birth of water and Spirit, Baptism, with its one Spirit unto one Body.

Thus it becomes for us, who have recognized that the unity of the Body of Christ is unity in life, an indisputable truth that the unity of the Church is first and foremost a unity in Baptism with one Spirit. Here stands the first mark of the Church of Christ, and nothing else can be placed before this; for the unity of life cannot be prior to life itself, and life cannot be prior to birth.

But we can proceed further in the determination of the unity of the Church; for the life which is thus born has its own peculiar essence, which is found again everywhere. Just as the same blood flows through every vein and is found in every member of the human body, so also the life of Christ in sinful human beings everywhere has the same fundamental nature: it is faith, which is the peculiar essence of this life—the liberating knowledge of the truth and the life-giving power of love. This is that which constitutes the second element in the unity of the Church's life: unity in one faith.

Thus we have gained a new determination of wherein the unity of the Church consists. We see that it is the one birth of the life of Christ and its one essence which become the true unity of life, that which forms fellowship in the Church. But just as the life of Christ has one source, just as the entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven is one—the birth of water and Spirit in Baptism—and just as the life of Christ has a common essence and the children of the Kingdom have a common citizenship, faith; so also the life of Christ everywhere awaits

one consummation where it is found, and the Kingdom of Heaven advances toward the goal of glory, in which all its children, whether from East or West, from near or far, shall become partakers.

The Church has one future, and the Body of Christ awaits one full and eternal union with its Head; and therefore all who have the life of Christ in this world are united by one and the same hope. Thus we come to understand why the Word of God speaks of the unity of the Church not as a common subjection under a pope, not as a common association around a constitution, not as a common agreement concerning pure doctrine, but as unity in Baptism with one Spirit, unity in faith in one Savior, in hope of one glory—and we gather it all together when we say: unity in the life of Christ.

Where the life of Christ is found, there is His Body, and nowhere else. The Head is not Head for any other body than that which is permeated by its own life. Thus it will no longer surprise us that we have denied—and must deny—that any single, definite, outward church body alone can lay claim to being the true Body of Christ and His rightful Bride; for no one can prove, or even assert, that only within a single church body are there such as partake of the life of Christ. And still less can anyone point to a single church body in which all members without exception are filled with the Spirit of Christ and partake of His life.

It has indeed been claimed by the Roman Catholic Church to bear witness concerning itself that it is the one saving Church, and even more, that he who is a member of this Church is assured of having part in Christ; but this claim has already been judged, and it would scarcely be necessary once again to repeat the testimony of history. And every Lutheran Christian knows what he ought to think of anyone who dares to give himself a similar testimony.

We have recognized that the only true mark of the Body of Christ is the life of Christ; and if anyone is so endowed that he can discern where the life of Christ is found, he will also be able to point out the Body of Christ. But everyone will surely be compelled to acknowledge that the life of Christ can be found everywhere—in any church body, or apart from all ordered church bodies—where the Gospel of Christ in Word and Sacrament performs its work.

Accordingly, despite all division, there is one Church, one Body, because there is the unity of the Spirit among all those who are partakers of the one Life. But because the unity of the Church is that of Life and of the Spirit, therefore it is not bound to any single society of those who may be called by the name of Christ. For the Spirit bloweth where it listeth, and Life springeth forth wherever the good Seed is received in believing hearts. And precisely for this reason the unity of the Church is not a visible thing like an outward ecclesiastical society, which anyone may lay hold of and feel; but it is an invisible glory, which only the eye

of faith beholdeth. Therefore we also confess that we believe that the Church is one; but faith is a sure confidence of that which is not seen and not understood.

They who believe know the Christ is not divided, and that His Body is not divided; and by virtue of the Life that is in them, they are able to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, despite all strife between society and society. Whithersoever they perceive the Life of Christ in Spirit and in truth, there they recognize a brother or a sister; and in their unanimous confession of the great works of God toward them—how He saved their soul from darkness and their life from death—all else is forgotten, and all discord is overcome in a blessed assurance of a unity mightier than all division: unity with the Lord, who is Head over all things.

But while in this manner the unity of the Church, which is Christ's own life, is invisible, and while with all the Fathers we confess our faith that the Church is one, our daily experience nevertheless shows that there are many churches; and thus it might seem as though our faith were only a comforting imagination, a fabric of dreams which all reality demands that we abandon. But this is a far too hasty conclusion. The differences among the many ecclesial communions, the motley throng of churches that lies before our eyes, can in no way make void the unity of the Church or of the Body of Christ. Just as little as it is given into the power of men to divide Christ, just so little does it stand in the power of men to abolish the unity of His Body. Men may form many churches, but the Body remains one.

And in truth it is so far from being the case that the many churchly communions, if they understand their position in earnestness, dissolve the unity of the Body and assert the falsity of the Body, that they much rather, in the Lord's governance of His redeemed people, serve only to make the Body stronger. Where it stands unshakably firm that the Body is one only, and in spirit and in truth one, permeated by the one and the same life, there cleaves to it no fear and no doubt if this Body unfolds itself in many members, and each member is governed by the same life and unfolds itself unto greater and greater strength. The strength which the individual communion unfolds is not to the Body's harm; rather, the growth of the Body will then only become vigorous when each communion is permitted freely to unfold its indwelling power.

The division of the Church into diverse ecclesial communions is grounded in a diversity of task, a diversity of calling, which is given by the Lord. And the Lord has set the many diverse tasks in place, in order that the Body may grow unto ever greater maturity. It is indeed so that the Body of Christ in its totality has a common task, namely this: always to press deeper and deeper into the knowledge of Christ, and thereby to be made fit more

and more to become like Him; but because the knowledge of Christ is infinitely rich and an inexhaustible fullness, which only eternity can give fully and completely, therefore it is given to us on earth to know in part, and no one can boast himself as one who has known all.

Therefore it can never be otherwise than that the one grasps one part of the knowledge of Christ, the other another part; and when each, with all strength and all earnestness, immerses himself to that which has been given him, the growth of the Body by no means suffers thereby, but rather prospers all the more. For the sum of this is that the knowledge of Christ increases and is enlarged, and the life of Christ is bound together in power. Thus it is no harm to the Body of Christ that the riches of the knowledge of Christ through the labor of the many communions come ever more clearly to light, but it is a gain when this great labor is divided, because thereby more labor is accomplished.

But that which harms the Body of Christ and breaks down the Church of God on earth is this: that the one communion will not acknowledge the legitimacy of the other communion's labor. Then God's work is disturbed, insofar as it is given into the power of men to disturb it; for when the one says to the other, Thou hast no right to exist, then strife and discord begin, then the unity of the Spirit is disrupted, because the bond of peace is broken.

But if it may be regarded as acknowledged, that we all know in part, and that for the one a branch of the knowledge of Christ must appear as the primary concern, while the other sees nothing else than that what he has known is the chief matter, then it is surely just as certain that the one receives his share of the work, and the other his, because it is a divine order that the one is most fitted for this work, the other for that. The work is divided because it is infinitely great; but each receives his share of the work because he is the one who is most apt for this task. Just as upon the craftsman's workbench each worker has his particular assignment, because each is proficient in a peculiar direction, so also will it be within the Church, that every community has its specially appointed task, because it possesses a particular disposition in an individual direction. And we therefore arrive at the result, that the division of the Church into various church-communities has a twofold justification, which for us may be presented as on the one side a divine, on the other side a human, whereby in another sense we may indeed acknowledge that all here is divine. The one side is this, that the Church is the body of Christ and can grow only through the development of each member's own peculiar power. It is necessary for a body that it be not exclusively eye, but likewise ear; it is necessary not only to have a sure hand, but also a firm foot, and thus there lies in the very nature of the body a necessity that it have many members. And this is the side which we call the divine; for it is an order set by God, that the body is only then in its right growth when each member develops freely. But on the other side the Church is in the

world; it consists of a multitude of men with different dispositions and different gifts, and each of these shall confess and bring it back with increase; and therefore there is a human justification for the division of the Church into several communities, each with its own task, in order that the gifts of the one may come to their richest application no less than those of the other.

One will naturally object here that this line of thought either does not go far enough, or that it goes far too far. On the one hand, it will be said that the various tasks which correspond to the peculiar dispositions can very well find room within the same church community, and indeed must find room there, since every church community consists of a multitude of individuals, each with his different dispositions; and thus the different tasks do not require different communities. On the other hand, it will be said that if it is true that every task and every new disposition requires a new church community, then one cannot stop until one has arrived at the conclusion that every human being stands alone by himself. Only then would the demand of the proposition cease, that the division of the Church is grounded in difference of task and disposition.

But neither of these assertions is a necessary consequence of our principle; or rather, both of these inferences will of necessity be refuted by the Church's own development. For as regards the first, that a single church community can contain within itself all different tasks and satisfy all dispositions, this is true to a certain degree, and precisely so much nearer to the truth as this single church community approaches the true essence of Christ's Church. Yet in reality, every church community, however all-embracing it may appear in its beginning, will unavoidably, in the course of its further development, be drawn more and more into one-sidedness. And the longer this endures, the more intolerable the narrowing of the task will become, and the less room there will be for labor on behalf of the other tasks. And development will, according to all that history has yet disclosed, end in a breach within the church community, and one has precisely that division which one thought might be avoided.

Our principle, which requires that the different tasks may ground different communities, is at once grounded in the necessity that all sides of the Christian life be developed to the greatest possible clarity, and in the impossibility that this can take place within a single community—an impossibility which history has demonstrated not once, but many times—an impossibility which indeed would not exist, were it not that sin also plays a role in the Church's development toward one-sidedness.

And as to the other side of the assertion, that our principle carries too far, until it dissolves the Church into individuals, inasmuch as each human being must be a church community for

himself, since he has his own peculiar task and his own peculiar dispositions, it is quite true that every Christian individually is a member of Christ's body, and according to his peculiar dispositions has his peculiar task. But if one wishes to draw the conclusion: therefore each is a church community for himself, one has leapt over the fact that the essence of the Church is, of necessity, community, and that it is therefore a false inference that because the Church divides itself into communities according to task and disposition, it must therefore divide itself into individuals. One then forgets that an ecclesial task, in order to be carried out, precisely requires a community; and if a task shows itself not to be community-forming, then it thereby shows itself not to be any ecclesial task at all.

Our principle leads with necessity to the division of the Church into ecclesial communities, but it cannot lead further; for the work that is to be done is communal work and can in no wise be performed by individuals alone.

We have seen wherein the unity of the Church consists, and we have seen what it is that calls forth the many ecclesiastical communions; yet our task is not thereby concluded. For here there arises yet another question of the greatest importance, which in truth is the most burning one of our own time. If the very growth of the Church and its development require a division into several church communions, then it is of the utmost importance to know whether every division of the Church is thus for the Church's good, and whether every church communion, without further consideration, has the right to exist.

We shall begin with the latter question, and upon the foundation which we have now sought to lay, attempt an answer to that question upon which a church communion's right to exist depends. From ancient times it has been an assertion of the Catholic Church against the Protestant communions, that they had no right to exist, because they were founded upon a breach with the Catholic Church; and it is again a very common assertion in our own days, from one communion against another, that it has no right to exist. There is renewed and earnest talk of breaches of one communion from another, and there is an outcry over legalistic rights, because development brings it with it that new church communions arise.

For this reason we believe that a calm discussion of this question, independent of party inclinations, is in its proper place and comes at its proper time. And if we have not altogether erred in our preceding exposition, it will be seen that we must arrive at the conclusion that a church communion's right to exist independently rests upon its own vital power. "If this work be of God," says Gamaliel, "ye cannot overthrow it."

But we have seen that a church communion only then bears this name with justice, and only then can possess vital power, when it is a member of the Body of Christ. Participation in

Christ, unity with Him, is the first condition and the fundamental condition for the existence of every church communion. Yet if a communion is to have the right to exist alongside others, if it is to have the right to be an independent member of the Body, then it must have its own peculiar task, its distinctive ministry. It is precisely this that will come into question; and every communion which is unable to demonstrate its particular task within ecclesiastical development lacks the fundamental condition for being independent.

But where a church communion can show that it has a work to do which hitherto was neglected, where it can show that it has an aspect of the knowledge of Christ to set forth and a branch of the life of Christ to unfold which finds no place within the already existing communions, there it has its right to exist; and there the already existing communions have the duty to acknowledge that right, if they would not be found among those who strive against God.

Only in this way can the Protestant communions defend their right to exist alongside the Catholic Church, and only in this way can, in our own time, every church communion assert its right as independent. And only under this presupposition can it be made a duty for one communion to acknowledge another alongside itself. And only when the many communions respect one another's work and mutually acknowledge one another as those who are set by God to labor in one Spirit forward toward one goal, which stands above them all and is greater than them all—only then will the Church in its totality, the Body of Christ, go forward with power and accomplish its work with life.

But where a single church communion seats itself upon the judgment seat, and where it claims for itself an exclusive right to be Christ's Church and an exclusive right to exist; where, in mad arrogance, it seizes to itself the honor of alone being the Body of Christ, and with blasphemy against God's saving power calls itself alone saving and delivers the remaining communions over to eternal perdition, and hurls the ban against those whom God has marked with the mark of Christ and made partakers of His own life—there such a church communion has stamped itself with the sign of Antichrist, he who is God's enemy and yet sits upon the throne in God's congregation.

It is not the division of the Church into many communions that undermines God's work among us, but factionalism and the striving after one's own honor and one's own power; these are what bring the Church to humiliation, God's honor to diminishment, and stagnate God's work.

But now new questions arise, which seem altogether to demand the completion of all that we have previously recognized. If it be so that no single church body alone has the right to

call itself the Body of Christ; if there are many church bodies that may lay claim to being Christian—are we then to understand this in such a way that all communions are equally good, that it becomes wholly a matter of indifference to which communion I belong, and that all the strife which is carried on between church and church is sheer absurdity?

Is it sheer folly when the Lutheran Church contends against the Catholic, and the Reformed Church contends against the Lutheran? Are we henceforth to be entirely at ease, to let each church body labor for itself, and to make no effort to uphold our confession and to set forth what advantages we possess over other communions?

We answer with a definite No to all these questions. There is nothing in our earlier development that affords them any support; and we shall show that indifference has no right within God's Church, and that the struggle between the contending communions is just as necessary for the Church of God's flourishing and for its future course along the path of the knowledge of truth, as it is necessary that one communion, so far as the truth allows it, acknowledge the other's right to exist.

For if it is indeed the case that the division of the Church rests upon a diversity of tasks; if each communion lays hold of a side of the knowledge of Christ, which is nothing other than a distinctive side of that fullness of the knowledge of Christ which is laid up in Holy Scripture; and if each communion has the work of setting forth a branch of the life of Christ—then it is already certain in advance that among the various communions there will be a high degree of difference, according as it is given them to draw near to what is central in the knowledge of Christ.

History will also in the clearest manner establish this for us; and later we shall let it speak. There will be a clear and definite difference between the communions, according as, in the exceeding riches of Holy Scripture, they are able to appropriate that which is the all-governing and all-penetrating fundamental truth of the Word of God, or whether they lay hold only of a side of this fundamental truth, which stands in nearer or more distant connection with it. One communion may penetrate more deeply into the truth than another; and it is precisely this which makes it a contempt for all seriousness and a mockery of the truth to suppose that all communions are equally good, and that it is a matter of indifference whether I belong to the one or to the other.

It is true that every communion with the Word of Christ and the Sacraments, and with its distinctive task to contend for, has the right to exist; but it is a manifest error if one would from this conclude: therefore the one is just as good as the other. And there are cases in which it becomes an open denial of the truth to leave a communion that has a deeper

knowledge of Christ's saving truth, in order to give oneself over to another that in this respect is less advanced.

Yet so long as a Christian, in the sincerity of his heart and fully persuaded in his own mind, stands within a church communion—be it a much or a little erring communion—so long has no one the right to deny him participation in Christ's salvation and in eternal blessedness, however severe the judgment may sound upon the communion to which he belongs. By this we have not leveled the difference that exists between the communions; we have only made it possible for that difference to be acknowledged in its proper worth. For the difference is not this, that one church communion alone is Christ's Church and the other is wholly outside the Body of Christ; but the difference is this, that the one may have laid hold more deeply of the knowledge of Christ than the other.

And it is this understanding of the relation that alone makes the struggle possible, and makes it not only justified, but altogether necessary. It is not a war of extermination that is to be waged between community and community within the Church, but a struggle to uphold, each on its own side, a portion of the Truth.

And here we take up a new moment, which earlier we could to a certain degree leave out of consideration: sin within the Church. When an ecclesial community has grasped a single side of the truth of Christ, it soon becomes an impossibility for it to acknowledge that it has not grasped the whole. The opposition to the other communities and the zeal for its own cause drive it to an overvaluation of its own task; and, driven ever further and further from a good beginning out into the one-sidedness that already lay there from the point of departure, it is narrowed more and more, and it cannot be otherwise than that the one-sidedness reveals itself ever more clearly, until the distortion that lay in the beginning becomes more prominent than the truth that lay therein. And if no particular development leads the individual community onto a new path, then there is a high degree of danger that the course which began well will end in grievous delusions and in the manifestation of an antichristian direction.

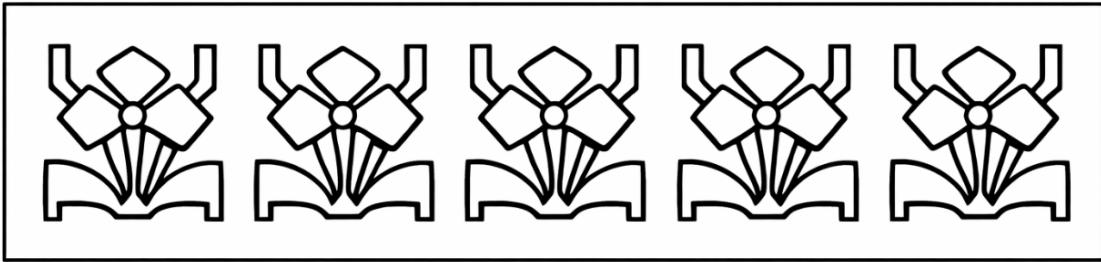
But it is under this development, to which any community whatsoever is exposed, that the struggle comes into its fullest right. It is in this course that the one community asserts its apprehension of the truth over against the other. The one-sidedness with which each holds fast to its own—and must hold fast to its own—brings each side of the truth forth in its sharpest light, and the keenest weapons are wielded by practiced hands; and the Truth suffers not, for its light shines only so much the more clearly, the more boldly its various moments are set forth; and Love suffers not, for the struggle is, in the all-guiding hand of the Lord, the means by which the work of Antichrist is checked and hindered wherever love for the

Truth is still greater than party-spirit and the desire for one's own honor, and it is the means by which the work of Antichrist is made manifest even to the simplest, there where love for the Truth has already become weaker than the craving for power.

Thus it is no ungodliness when a struggle is waged upon the ground of the Truth; it is a necessary means for the Church's growth in the knowledge of the Truth, and we should neither wish nor even pray that the struggle, so long as it is waged in this manner, might cease, while the Church is still upon the earth and knowledge is in part. If the struggle ceases, it is a sign that the seriousness of truth-knowledge is diminishing; but if the struggle degenerates into bitterness and suffocation, into a war of extermination of community against community, then it is a sign that seriousness has ebbed away into party inclination and carnal desire. But midway between these two extremes lies love's narrow way, which so few find: on the one hand, to esteem the Truth higher than all and not to surrender even a hair's breadth of the truth that has been recognized, even if, in appearance, the whole world might thereby be gained; and on the other hand, not to hold fast even a hair's breadth of a recognized error, though all one's own honor should be lost by letting the error go.

Just as the division of the Church into many communities does not abolish its unity, which is the unity of life with the Lord, so the recognition of the right of the individual communities to exist does not abolish the superiority of the one community over the other, and the common ground of truth does not abolish the mutual struggle.¹³

¹³What follows the author himself designated as "historical illumination." — Ed.



2.3 Memories From Norway

Source: Fragment of a manuscript written during a stay in Norway in the summer of 1886.
See the note on pp. 58–59. — Ed.

This section appears on pages 167–218 of the original volume. — Present Ed.

The year 1848, which throughout the whole of Europe was so remarkable a moment in time, may with some justice also be designated as a turning point in the development of the Norwegian people. True it is that Norway at that time was to no small degree a country lying apart unto itself, and that the surging waves from the great European currents of culture only slowly forced their way up into the poor land of cliffs and rock. Two circumstances contributed powerfully to hinder the penetration of foreign influences into the country: first, the land's isolated situation, which had not yet been overcome by modern means of communication; and secondly, the general lack of popular education. As yet no popular newspapers were published, simply for the reason that there were too few who could read.

And yet there exists a mysterious interconnection in the development of nations; and even in Norway there were many among the country's student youth who with ardor followed the struggle for freedom fermenting in Europe, and who with their whole heart drank in those thoughts of the people's freedom and right to self-government which at that time were striving to find their way into practical realization.

If one reflects more closely upon the matter, one will readily perceive that it was altogether natural that around the year 1850 there must needs arise a different age in Norway. For precisely at the midpoint of the century those men came to maturity and to participation in the public life of the land who had been born in the time when Norway won her political freedom. These young men were wholly and entirely reared and developed under the conditions which emerged after 1814. They had — to use an expression which has now been much mocked — with their mother's milk absorbed a love of freedom and a popular consciousness. And if there should have been lacking something in the enthusiasm for Norway's popular freedom in

one or another narrow and impoverished home in the land, this lack had been powerfully remedied for these young men by the poets who in that time sang so beautifully of Norway's mountains and fjords, of Norway's freedom and people. Foremost among them was Henrik Wergeland, who kindled in the hearts of many young men an enthusiasm that was never again extinguished.

Every one will understand that a new age must needs begin when this new generation first gained influence in state, church, school, commerce, and all the various branches of national life.

We cannot therefore marvel if we find that a distinct division may be set in the history of Norway around the year 1850. And it is altogether reasonable that the ecclesiastical and spiritual development of Norway likewise took a clearly discernible turn about this time.

2.3.1 The Revival through Hauge

God, who governs the nations according to His wise counsel, granted the Norwegian people a singular providence. At the same time as the afflictions which preceded the birth of national liberty in Norway, there fell the blessed labor of Hans Nielsen Hauge. In the heavy years through which Norway passed at the beginning of this century, this chosen instrument wandered about the land and, amid much opposition and persecution, scattered the seed of life in the hearts of the people. And, praised be the Lord, manifoldly did the seed fall into good soil, and it sprang up and bore blessed fruit.

It is indeed easy to build the prophets' tombs, while it is exceedingly hard to bow oneself wholly and sincerely beneath their earnest words. And therefore it is not always easy to understand the praise which now from many quarters is poured out also upon Hauge and the friends of Hauge; yet the fear of falling under this judgment must not deter us from praising the Lord, who looked upon our people in their distress and made Himself known to them, and who raised up in their midst a man of whom it may in truth be said, as of Peter and John: "Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and common men, they marvelled; and they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus" (Acts 4:13).

Hauge took with full earnestness the Word of God, that one must obey God rather than men; and in defiance of human laws, and in defiance of the civil and ecclesiastical officials who sought to use these laws to hinder the testimony of Christ among the people, Hauge went his afflicted way through our nation, to blessing for thousands—yes, to living joy for many generations.

The cause which was thus expressed at the beginning of the century awakened ever a strong spiritual movement among the people. This is not the place to recount how Hauge's practical application of the freedom of conscience over against all human commandments, and his patient sufferings for the right of conscience and of religion, became a seed of freedom in the whole course of our national development. Yet it ought nevertheless to be mentioned, especially now when in our own days one would deny Christianity all significance for popular freedom and assert it to be a yoke of bondage that ought to be shaken off as soon as possible. History bears witness just as surely that the Gospel of Christ, which gave the conscience its freedom over against all human commandments, is in truth the primal fountain from which the entire development of freedom in the human race has taken its origin. Thus it is also the case in the Norwegian people. Hauge's awakening became, like every genuine ecclesial awakening, a mighty power to "put down the mighty from their thrones and exalt them of low degree," to "raise up the poor out of the dust and lift the needy from the dunghill." Not only did Hauge's personal sufferings awaken a powerful sense of the injustice of persecution; but many of Hauge's friends have in truth been brought forward by the power of the awakening and by the might of the Spirit to stand among the foremost of the land in the most diverse callings.

The movement which had been awakened through Hauge shared this with all true Christianity, that it was not so bound to his person that it ceased—or even declined in strength—at his death. It had life-power in itself through the Word and Spirit of God, so that it propagated itself and grew after this witness of the Lord himself had long since been laid in the grave.

Nor were witnesses lacking who were awakened through Hauge's activity; they took up the work where Hauge left off, and there may be named a whole series of men who labored as revival preachers and as leaders among the awakened after Hauge. Most widely known are Jens Tønsgård from Tøier, Anders Haabe from Sognfjord, John Haugvaldstad, and several others. And that it might also this time be fulfilled what the Lord says: "Ye shall be my witnesses unto the ends of the earth," He so ordered it that from this circle of witnesses there arose the thought of forming a Norwegian heathen mission society, so that the seed which was sown in the valleys of Norway now bears fruit far away among the blinded heathen peoples of Africa. Wondrous is the power of the Gospel of Christ—the power of God unto salvation for every one that believeth.

This strong spiritual movement within the Norwegian people was thus, through and through, a lay movement. Only few priests granted it their approval or encouragement; the great majority of the Norwegian clergy saw in the movement a more or less dangerous religious enthusiasm.

Even if these awakened ones were not, in the strictest sense, persecuted as Hauge himself had been, they were nevertheless all too often mocked and despised and deeply wounded by those who ought to have been their spiritual guides. Such treatment always gives pain, and especially among the Norwegian people. Our people have a warm heart and a strong sense of honor, and there was often laid deep bitterness in the depths of the heart when spiritual distress and the soul's most sacred stirrings were met with cold contempt and condescending superiority.

Many examples are told of such heedless and unchristian conduct. A man in one of our deepest fjords, where nature itself already made the people somber and cautious, had been awakened to anxiety for his soul's salvation. In his distress he gathered courage and went to the pastor. He found him standing and polishing his rifle after a hunting trip. The man explained his condition to the pastor, who listened from the door to the sitting room and called out to his wife: "Mother, give this man some medicine for his stomach; he is not well today." Such a word is enough to plant hurt in a Norwegian man for his entire lifetime, and many a time enough to sow evil suspicion in a whole congregation against everything that bears the name of priest. If many such sufferings were cast into the hearts of the Norwegian common people, it cannot surprise us that in the period from 1814 to 1850 no strong trust grew up between the Norwegian congregation and the Norwegian clergy.

Therefore, however, no one should suppose that no change at all took place within the Norwegian clergy during this time. The point is only this: that there remained, on the side of Rationalism, a good measure of condescending superiority seated in the offices, and that this wrought immeasurable harm through the manner in which it confronted the awakened people. There prevailed a mutual suspicion and a mutual estrangement that could not be overcome in a short time. Shy and fearful, the awakened laity drew together by themselves; they feared nothing more than the deathly chill which so often struck them from the men of the Church.

Therefore it lasted a long time before any understanding arose between the awakened people and the more serious, Spirit-driven pastors who now began to go forth from Norway's new University. The sins of the fathers were visited upon the children, and the ugly memories from the past still stood, like sharp thorns, in many places between pastor and congregation. And if it is therefore the case, in general, that in this period one finds a strong suspicion and great distance between the common people and the holders of office, then this is not least the case within the sphere of the Church.

But, as already indicated, there came forth from the new Norwegian University a new kind of pastors. And in order to understand the development after 1850, it is necessary to say a

few words about this change within the Norwegian clergy.

2.3.2 Hersleb and Stenersen

This change stands in connection with the establishment of Norway's University in 1811. Hersleb and Stenersen, the two first theological professors at the young institution of higher learning, were men who had completely broken with the lifelessness of Rationalism, and who sought—though often groping their way—to return to a biblical and Lutheran theology. Both of these men had received their theological education at the University of Copenhagen. Both had also received strong impressions from N. F. S. Grundtvig, who was approximately of the same age as they.

Those who have only heard Grundtvig's name in connection with the childish notion of "the living Word," which later came to be called "Grundtvigianism," will have difficulty forming any true conception of the significance of Grundtvig's first appearance for the Danish Church. After Rationalism had for a long time been practically and almost exclusively dominant in school and in church, Grundtvig stepped forward with a glowing enthusiasm for ancient Christianity and the Lutheran Reformation. Warm and fresh, he set upon the hollow and dry conception of Christianity and of human life held by the Rationalists; and like an wrathful prophet he ascended the pulpit and asked with the earnestness of a land in distress: "Wherefore has the Word of the Lord vanished from the house of the Lord?"

That question fell like a thunderclap through the whole Danish clergy when it rang out across the land; and in many young hearts this boldness and power awakened a strange enthusiasm and a mighty sympathy.

Among Grundtvig's friends were also the two newly appointed Norwegian professors, C. B. Hersleb and S. S. Stenersen. Grundtvig held Hersleb in deep affection and even lingered with his next-to-last vision upon this youth. When Hersleb departed for Norway in order to become a teacher at the University, Grundtvig sent with him this wish to Norway's University: "May God fill it with His glory, and cause it to become a house unto His Name!"

Hersleb's friendship with Grundtvig brought him a measure of unpleasantness in Norway. For the provost Nikolai Wergeland, father of the poet Henrik Wergeland, wrote a book concerning "Denmark's political crimes against Norway from 995 to 1814." In this writing the provost declared that in Denmark one "hatched scornful barbs over humbled Norway," and cited as an example "the doggerel which that dreamer Grundtvig permitted himself in his lay to the Dannering in 1812." When, therefore, Hersleb came forward with a defense of Grundtvig, Wergeland returned the charge upon him, saying that "Hersleb and Stenersen are friends and

defenders, and perhaps disciples, of Grundtvig and others whom ye seem to love more than your fatherland."

To this Hersleb replied that he had no need to defend Grundtvig; "but it is a dear duty to me, upon this occasion, publicly to say that for several years, and in the most intimate manner, I have known Grundtvig, and that I love him deeply and sincerely esteem him for his eminent fear of God, his warm and loving heart, his strict righteousness, and his glorious spirit; that I owe him infinitely much, and that, so long as my heart beats, I shall hold him dear as a brother."

From this one may see that Hersleb stood in a close relation to Grundtvig; yet this must not be understood in such a way as that Hersleb in any sense was what one now understands by a "Grundtvigian." The distinctive views concerning "the living Word," which Grundtvig later advanced, and in which a number of immature theologians and schoolteachers followed him, never won Hersleb's approval. But in the struggle against Rationalism, and in the enthusiasm for the divine Word and for the history of the Church—above all for the Lutheran Reformation—Hersleb stood with his whole heart upon Grundtvig's side.

Stenersen also, who was somewhat younger than Hersleb and Grundtvig, was influenced by Grundtvig and was particularly drawn to his view of history. He likewise declared himself publicly to be his friend and follower, and Bishop Pavels complained of his "excessive Grundtvigianism, intolerance, one-sidedness, and peculiar opinions."

Hersleb was, when in 1813 he became a teacher of theology at the University in Christiania, not yet thirty years of age (born in 1784 in Alstahaug parish in Helgeland). Stenersen was, when in 1814 he became a university lecturer, about twenty-five years old (born 1789 at Mo in Søndre). For approximately twenty-one years these men labored together as teachers of pastors, until death called them both away. The younger, Stenersen, died first, namely on the 17th of April 1835, at an age of a little over forty-five years. Hersleb died on the 12th of September 1836.

In order to be in some measure just toward these men, one must remember that they received their entire theological education from Denmark, and that their upbringing falls within the darkest period which the Lutheran Church has experienced since the Reformation. When this is taken into consideration, one must rather marvel at the light and clarity that are to be found in these men's work, in speech and in writing, than complain of the shortcomings that cling to them.

One of their very earliest and most gifted disciples was the well-known pastor W. A. Wexels. He writes of them: "Their legacy will be kindly; with a truthful voice it will proclaim that in

the first decades after the establishment of Norway's university there stood, in the midst of a faithless and violently agitated age, two friends side by side as teachers of pastors from the chair, and bore faithful witness to the old, guileless Christianity, despised by the world, as the divine source of light and life, of wisdom and righteousness, of power and freedom; and the Lord was with them, and their labor was blessed by Him and powerfully contributed to forming for Him instruments for the proclamation of His name among Norway's mountains."

From this one will understand that with the activity of these two men there necessarily followed a considerable change within the clergy. It was no longer rationalists who came forth from the university among the people. But on the other hand, one can by no means be surprised that the disciples of Hersleb and Stenersen did not at once find full confidence among the awakened people.

For in the first place one must observe that a whole number of the earliest theological graduates from Norway's University were far from having borne witness to any personal Christianity. Whatever one may think of Hersleb's and Stenersen's own personal life in God, the influence that proceeded from them upon the studying youth was not, in the proper sense, of such a kind as aimed at a personal conversion unto God. They awakened reverence for the Word of God and for the history and doctrine of the Lutheran Church; they awakened interest in a scholarly pursuit of theology; they awakened enthusiasm for the truth and holiness of Christianity. But the entire conception of the relationship between theological professors and students was at that time not such that one could expect any real personal influence in a Christian sense.

Student life in this period was, on the whole, rather frivolous, and in part even wild and noisy. And the theological students did not always form an exception to the rule. According to old German and Danish custom, the students in Christiania at this time enjoyed an "academic freedom" which often degenerated into a perilous levity. When, then, the reports from the student world spread out over the countryside, and the strict Haugian believers heard that the students were often complete masters of drink, dance, and gaming, one cannot be surprised that their suspicion toward the clergy rather increased than diminished; and it was by no means easy even for the earnest, Christian pastors of Hersleb's and Stenersen's school to overcome this mistrust and to win for themselves a full, heartfelt confidence among the awakened laity.

Finally, there was a considerable difference between the conception of Christianity that accompanied the Grundtvigian movement and that which accompanied Hauge's revival. These two kinds of views of the Christian life are about as different as the plains of Denmark

and the mountains of Norway. Yet just as no one denies that the same Creator's hand brought forth such great contrasts in nature, so it would be unjust to judge that true Christianity of the heart was to be found only among the awakened laity and not also among men such as Hersleb, Stenersen, and Wexels. Indeed, so great was the likeness in what was essential between these two Christian tendencies that, from the old rationalistic side, Hersleb, Stenersen, Wexels, and their like-minded companions were regarded as "mystical enthusiasts and Haugianists."

Although, therefore, both tendencies must be described as serious and Christian, the difference was nevertheless so great that they had exceedingly great difficulty in attaining any genuine intimacy with one another. In particular, the two movements' understanding of the so-called "innocent amusements" was so different and so contradictory that offense was continually given and taken in daily life. And even if one must acknowledge Wexels as a devout and sincere Christian, everyone nevertheless knows that throughout his long service in the Norwegian Church from 1819 to 1866 he never attained any general trust among the awakened laity. At times it seemed as though a reconciliation might come about; but then there always occurred one event or another that caused new suspicion to arise, and the distance became rather greater than less.

If now, as stated above, Wexels must be regarded as one of the foremost representatives of godliness and piety as these were found in the Hersleb-Stenersen school, and if he could not reach the confidence of the laity, then it is self-evident that the less warm-hearted disciples of the same tendency never won their way into the heart of the Norwegian church people.

To this there must be added yet another consideration which must not be lost from sight. The Norwegian Constitution of 1814 had promised the Norwegian peasantry so much; but in reality they received, at first, very little. This is not the place to develop this matter more fully; yet one hardly errs in saying that when the farmers reflected upon their situation, they felt themselves disappointed. The civil officials continued in many places to govern in the old absolutist manner, and fairly soon there arose a considerable tension between officials and farmers. From this disappointment and tension there was born, in many places, even great bitterness; and since the clergy were officials of the Crown, it often came to pass that the pastors had to share in the disfavor that prevailed toward the whole bureaucracy.

One may therefore say, as the general result of these considerations, that although through the labors of Hersleb and Stenersen a new direction was indeed called forth within the clergy, a great and joyful change for the better, yet no reconciliation between the clergy and the believing laity came into being. Such reconciliation was sorely needed soon after the injustices

committed against Hans Nielsen Hauge and his friends; but it did not come so soon or so easily as might have been desired. The chasm was too deep, the mistrust too pervasive. It was the clergy who had committed the wrong, and it was not willing to make toward the believing laity such an approach as was both right and necessary.

When Hersleb and Stenersen died (1835 and 1836), there came in their place as theological teachers at the University men who indeed belonged to the same general tendency, but who did not attain to the same height as the two earlier professors. Professors Dietrichson, Keyser, and Kaurin were not able to exercise any particularly strong influence upon the theological students. The theologians, as a rule, read for their examinations much as jurists and physicians did. Of any inner calling from God to be witnesses of Jesus Christ and shepherds of souls for His dearly bought congregation there was little talk.

Moreover, the minds of the student world in this period were greatly distracted by other interests. It was the time which the poet Welhaven called "Norway's Dusk," but which perhaps might more rightly be called Norway's Awakening. The struggle between the Danish and the Norwegian tendencies in literature, art, and politics was so stormy and clamorous, and the studying youth were so powerfully shaken and stirred by it, that the theological students did not obtain sufficient quiet for deeper theological study and for an inward devotion to their divine calling. Henrik Wergeland and Johan Sebastian Welhaven were leaders of the two literary and aesthetic parties, and the influence which these two men exercised upon the youth far outweighed the influence exerted by the quiet and modest theological professors upon their theological students. If the studying youth possessed any higher interest than that of obtaining an examination and a comfortable home on a Norwegian parsonage, it was rather popular, national, and literary interests that animated them than Christian and theological ones.

The theologians of this period who possessed some deeper Christian view of life were still influenced by Grundtvig and Wexels; and among the people they were therefore still regarded with suspicious eyes. In America this opposition therefore at once comes to light in the struggle between Elling Eielsen and his friends on the one side and the "state pastors" on the other.

How deeply popular interests laid hold of the theologians of this time may be seen when one recalls how Jørgen Moe labored to collect folk tales and M. B. Landstad to collect Norwegian folk ballads. However meritorious these labors were in their own kind, they were nevertheless far from suited to inspire the awakened laity with any confidence in the seriousness of the Christianity in question.

2.3.3 The Awakening Missionary Spirit

There was thus as yet no significant alignment in national direction between the clergy and the laity. Things continued to move along in their quiet course. Yet in silence, during this period, the conditions for great changes for the better were nevertheless being prepared. Among the theologians, even the interests of the common people which had been awakened became a bridge toward greater familiarity with the modes of thought of the laity in the religious and ecclesiastical sphere. And the Lord prepared for Himself instruments from among the theologians who, in a wholly different manner than the earlier theologians, were laid hold of by the seriousness and simplicity of Christianity, and whose labors were therefore to come into far greater harmony with the old revival. At the same time, the old revival advanced in the cause of missions in such a way that among many of the earnest theologians and pastors there was awakened an attention to, and respect for, its power and truth such as had never existed before.

It is around the year 1840 that these movements, which until then had unconsciously been striving toward a measure and a union, begin to be discerned. We reckon among these chiefly the founding of the Missionary Society in 1842, Schreuder's commissioning in 1843, the efforts toward the repeal of the Conventicle Act, the Dissenter Law, and several other lesser matters. We must therefore here briefly touch upon these things, because they are necessary for understanding the ecclesiastical and Christian movement in Norway after 1850, which will properly be the subject of the present little treatise.

In the region around Stavanger, the Haugean revival, chiefly led by John Haugvaldstad, had maintained itself in a sounder and fresher condition than in several other places. It was this movement which, in part spurred on by other forces (Pastor Kielland and Mrs. Kielland), brought forth the Norwegian Missionary Society. At first it was a missionary association in Stavanger which, after having existed for a longer period, invited to a common meeting of friends of missions; and from this followed the establishment of "The Norwegian Missionary Society," whose founding day is the 8th of August, 1842.

At the same time that the Norwegian Awakening thus began to recognize its world-embracing calling, the Spirit of the Lord drove Hans Schreuder (born 1817 in Sogndal in Sogn¹⁴) to offer himself for mission work. Long and quietly was Schreuder prepared for this work; and when, in 1841, he became a theological candidate, he was also ready to say: Here am I; send me.

From the beginning there was no connection between Schreuder and the friends of mission in

¹⁴Theological Candidate 1841. Authorized for ordination as a missionary pastor in 1842. Consecrated as Bishop of the Norwegian Mission in Zululand in 1866. Died 1882. — Ed.

Stavanger, nor with the newly founded Missionary Society. In order to support Schreuder, a committee was first formed in Christiania, consisting of Pastor Wærle and the theological professors; and this committee collected more than 2,450 specie-dollars for Schreuder's mission. But after prolonged hesitations and negotiations it was arranged that Schreuder should be the missionary of the Norwegian Missionary Society. Yet this first step toward cooperation between the awakened laity and the earnest theologians was still so unclear, and the relationship so little marked by mutual confidence, that Schreuder in reality never understood the matter as though he were to stand in the service of the Norwegian Missionary Society, but rather held the conception that the Norwegian Missionary Society was essentially to serve him by gathering the necessary means for the furtherance of his work. It was therefore not so strange if there later came about a breach between these two, who in so little an organic manner had been brought into cooperation.¹⁵

One must therefore take great care not to imagine that already at this event, as significant as it is, there had occurred a full reconciliation and union between the awakened laity and the Christian theologians in Norway. There remained still a deep gulf, and soon there appear traces of the opposition.

It was on the 1st of July 1843 that Schreuder, together with a helper, Thomassen, went aboard the ship which was to carry him away from his fatherland to England, from whence he intended to proceed to Cape Town.

2.3.4 The Struggle for Religious Freedom

Meanwhile, another struggle was also being fought, one which stirred no small agitation in the more serious minds in Norway.

This was the struggle concerning religious freedom in the general sense, and the particular freedom, within the Lutheran State Church, to hold what were called "godly assemblies."

The one question was resolved by the Dissenter Act of the 16th of July 1845, and by the Act concerning the admission of Jews to the Realm of the 24th of September 1848. The other question was resolved by the Act of the 27th of July 1842, which repealed the so-called Conventicle Ordinance of the 13th of January 1741.

Both of these matters were in part treated and considered simultaneously, as there is indeed a close kinship between them. For in reality the question concerns the freedom to labor for

¹⁵This refers to the breach between Schreuder and "The Norwegian Missionary Society" which occurred in 1873, and which led to the missionary work in Zululand being divided between this Missionary Society and "The Church of Norway Mission by Schreuder." — Ed.

the cause of God's Kingdom according to one's best conviction, whether within or outside the State Church. This freedom, namely, was not present in Norway, despite its liberal Constitution.

In this connection, however, an item of information must be communicated which is far from being as generally known as it ought to be. Paragraph 2 of the Constitution, which deals with "the State's public religion," did not originally read as it is now to be found in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Norway. The original form of Paragraph 2, as it was originally adopted by the Constituent Assembly at Eidsvold, read as follows:

"The Evangelical-Lutheran Religion shall remain the State's public Religion. All Christian religious sects shall be granted free exercise of religion; yet Jews and Jesuits are still excluded from the Realm. Monastic orders shall not be tolerated. The inhabitants of the country who confess themselves to the State's public Religion are obliged to raise their children in the same."

This paragraph, which was drafted by the County Governor B. F. R. Christie, was adopted by 94 votes out of 111. But when the Constitution as a whole was read aloud and finally adopted, Paragraph 2 had in an incomprehensible manner been altered, so that the entire sentence concerning free exercise of religion for all Christian sects had been completely omitted. And none of the men of Eidsvold took notice of this, for it was too late. And Paragraph 2 of the Constitution read in this new form as follows:

"The Evangelical-Lutheran Religion shall remain the State's public Religion. The inhabitants who confess themselves to it are obliged to raise their children in the same. Jesuits and monastic orders shall not be tolerated. Jews are still excluded from admission to the Realm."

Since, then, in this paragraph of the Constitution there stood nothing concerning the right of the sects to the free exercise of religion, and no new law had been given concerning them, the old Danish laws on these matters therefore remained in force, and according to these laws proceedings were carried out against them. Someone had to suffer for the cause of religious liberty in free Norway. And, strangely enough, it was the quiet, peaceable Quakers who were required to bear the sufferings that were deemed necessary in order that the cause of liberty might be advanced.

In Christiania and Stavanger, Quakers were fined for the benefit of the poor fund because they had buried their dead in the open field. And when the church authorities were considering granting royal permission to the Quakers in Stavanger to order themselves according to their religious conviction, Bishop Sørensen in Christiansand advised against granting such permission, on the ground that "irreligion would thereby receive nourishment, since many

would presumably, by going over to the Quakers, seek to evade confirmation.” And yet these dreadful Quakers, against whom legal proceedings were raised, were but a handful; in Stavanger, six men and five women.

As already intimated, this stain upon Norway’s freedom was wiped away by the Dissenter Law of 1845, whereby Christian sects were, in all essentials, granted free exercise of religion in Norway.

This Dissenter Law was scarcely well received by the awakened laity. It was rather liberal-minded theologians and jurists who labored for it and carried it through. Chiefly there belongs much honor in this matter to Parish Priest Arup, later Bishop in Christiania, for the law’s passage. As chairman of the Storting’s Church Committee, he labored valiantly for the adoption of the law against several of the committee’s own members.

Different was the case with the repeal of the Conventicle Ordinance. It was the lay people who forced this matter through.

This Conventicle Ordinance of the 13th of January 1741 has become so significant in the history of the Norwegian Church, because it was by virtue of it that Hans Nielsen Hauge was arrested, held in prison for ten years, and finally sentenced to pay 1,000 riksdaler in fines and legal costs, after the lower court had first sentenced him to two years of penal labor (slavery) together with the costs of the case.

This same law, under which Hauge had been convicted in 1813, thus continued to threaten all lay preachers in Norway after his time. Yet so much had Hauge’s sufferings for God’s cause accomplished, that after his time there was great reluctance to bring the law into application against his successors. The law was also somewhat ambiguous; for it did not outright forbid “godly assemblies,” but restricted them to consist of “a few” only, and made them entirely dependent upon the clergy’s arbitrary consent.

Against this ungodly law the Norwegian church people rose with power and demanded its unconditional repeal. But the government, and a considerable number of the clergy, indeed wished the old law repealed, yet only on condition that a new law concerning godly assemblies should be put in its place.

Twice, in 1836 and in 1839, the Norwegian Storting resolved that the Conventicle Ordinance should be unconditionally repealed. Both times the King interposed his veto. In order then to set the matter upon a new track and avert a total defeat, the government resorted to its customary expedient of appointing a royal commission to draft a new law concerning “godly assemblies.” This commission consisted of Professor of Theology J. K. Dietrichson, District

Judge Sørensen (who later died as a Councillor of State in 1853), and Pastor W. A. Wærles. And this commission did in fact prepare a new law concerning godly assemblies and the activity of lay preachers, which was presented to the Storting on the 7th of March 1842.

But it was too late. Five days earlier the well-known Ole G. Ueland, who was undoubtedly strongly seized and brought forth by the Haugean revival, had already introduced a proposal for the unconditional repeal of the Conventicle Ordinance. This proposal, which was also recommended by the chairman of the Church Committee, Pastor J. L. Arup, passed. It was the third time; and with that the notorious ordinance of the 13th of January 1741 was thus dead and buried. Imperishable honor follows Ueland's memory for this.

As has already been noted, the Dissenter Act was thus added in 1845, and there had in this way been made a small beginning toward freedom for Christian movement and activity, both within and outside the Established Church. But so little was the principle of religious freedom at that time acknowledged by the clerical estate, that even earnest and God-fearing pastors disapproved of both of these actions of the Storting. Thus the Danish pastor Mau communicates a letter from the well-known Bishop R. Gislesen in Tromsø (born 1801, died 1861), in which it is said:

"In regard to the safeguarding of religious freedom I cannot even follow you, dear brother! It is our Dissenter Act that I chiefly have in view. I can never find it Christian to invite all manner of foreign religious confessors and sectarians to confuse our uninstructed people, and to encourage our own unlearned countrymen, to set themselves up as founders of new sects and church bodies. I have seen that it is quite other forces in human beings that have been loosed by the Dissenter Act than conscience, whose freedom can surely be had without the religious freedom which we now have in Norway. The only thing on which I rely is that God so governs matters that the foolish and untimely law does as little harm as possible, and that the Revival, which is from God, is not altogether halted and loses its blessing through the excesses to which the law invites."¹⁶

It is almost incredible that a Norwegian bishop could have written thus in 1860; yet so thought perhaps more than a few, even among the most earnest of the clergy. And one notices all too clearly that when there is talk of "our own native countrymen lacking theological training," there are meant not merely the Dissenters and sectarians; rather, the expression is aimed at Lutheran lay preachers who have not passed through the regulated theological course at the University of Christiania.

We thus observe that although at this time, in the first place, a far more popular current

^{16*} Mau, Wærles' Life and Work, p. 209.

runs through our entire official and clerical estate, and although, in the second place, within certain ecclesiastical fields a rapprochement is taking place between the theologians and the laity, yet there still remains much that divides. For on the one hand, the national enthusiasm of the university educated is still a stumbling block to the laity, and on the other hand there continues to be a distrust of the laity's free activity. One senses that a portion of the clergy is well inclined, by new means, to restrain the free activity which the law no longer forbids.

But even if some had not been attentive to this, the opposition between the two tendencies within the Norwegian Church at this time came to manifestation in the sharpest possible manner in the textbook controversy.

2.3.5 The Textbook Controversy

In this matter the situation is such that already in the days of Rationalism, and after its time, an opposition arose against P. Saxtorph's abridgment of Pontoppidan's Explanation. Saxtorph, who died in 1803 as parish pastor at St. Nikolai Church in Copenhagen, had already in 1771 published this work, excellent in many respects. Little by little it was introduced into the great majority of schools in Norway. But new theological viewpoints gained ground among the educated classes; Saxtorph's language began to grow antiquated, and from certain quarters there arose clamor for a change. Already in 1828 the Norwegian Church Department issued an invitation to those Norwegian pastors who might feel both ability and calling thereto, either to revise the abridgment or to compose a new textbook for use in the common schools and in confirmation instruction. On that occasion Wærles wrote in 1831: "That the Saxtorphian abridgment might stand in need of revision, this at least I will not deny; but the book has become dear to the people, and no one in our day provides a more heartfelt, more spirited, and on the whole more simple Christian exposition of Luther's Catechism (which indeed ought surely to be laid as the foundation for every textbook intended for the religious instruction of children)."

Meanwhile, following the above-mentioned invitation from the Department, nine drafts for a new textbook in religion were submitted. They were examined, but none of them was approved. The government therefore appointed a commission, consisting of Professors Keyser and Kaurin and Pastor Wærles, to prepare a new edition of Pontoppidan's Explanation. It was chiefly Kaurin and Wærles who carried out this work, and the result was that in 1842 there appeared a revised Explanation and a reviewed edition of Saxtorph's abridgment. And in 1843 the government determined that after five years, that is, from 1848 onward, it should be permitted to use only one of these two books in religious instruction.

And thus the storm broke loose, so that one could plainly see what strong contradictions the Norwegian Church bore in her bosom. The revised Explanation bore a strong mark of the Grundtvigian leaven, which was so repugnant to the awakened people. And when this view now came forward with a claim to be the sole authorized one in the religious instruction of children, there arose against it a resistance as natural as it was justified. Indeed, exaggerated expressions were employed when it was said that the authors of the revised Explanation were “false prophets who deceive souls with a hope of salvation, until they awaken in hell”; yet in the matter itself the struggle against the revised Explanation was in reality a struggle for serious Christianity and for the necessity of conversion. For what the awakened people had against the book was that it: 1) in the doctrine of regeneration and of the Church made room for the mode of viewing all the baptized as regenerated and therefore as good and proper members of the Church, who no longer had need of regeneration; 2) taught a preaching of the Gospel to the dead, whereby these could be converted; and 3) struck out Pontoppidan’s judgment upon “dancing, games, comedies, tavern-going, and such things as are all sin in themselves”; finally, that 4) in the third article of faith it had placed only “a holy, universal Church” instead of Pontoppidan’s “to be a holy, universal, Christian Church,” or Luther’s: “a holy Christian Church.”

It is of no use to deny that when all these four points are taken together, one receives the impression that the simple Christian truth had been accommodated in such a way that it should not stand in too sharp a contrast to the whole state-church system. Forced baptism brought people into the Church, and the most frivolous worldly amusements could not be a testimony that one had fallen out of the grace of baptism and the state of regeneration.

This hard struggle bore first of all the praiseworthy fruit that nothing came of the foolish coercive regulation which the government had established in 1843, that after five years only the “revised” and the “reviewed” Explanation should be found in use in Norway. Secondly, it brought fully and clearly to light that it was not the intention of the Norwegian church people to allow the children’s catechism to be corrupted by the theologians. The standpoint of the laity had come forward in a manner that plainly made it understood that there would be neither peace nor cooperation in the Norwegian Church unless the Grundtvigianizing tendency among the theologians were pressed back.

With this controversy, then, we draw nearer across the way toward 1850. The forces which were to contribute to better understanding between the laity and the clergy had already been matured in the Lord’s school, and they stepped forth with a determination and a youthful freshness that promised great things. At the same time the people came forward with demands which found support among several liberal-minded theologians, and a vigorous

and powerful ecclesiastical development seemed to be at hand.