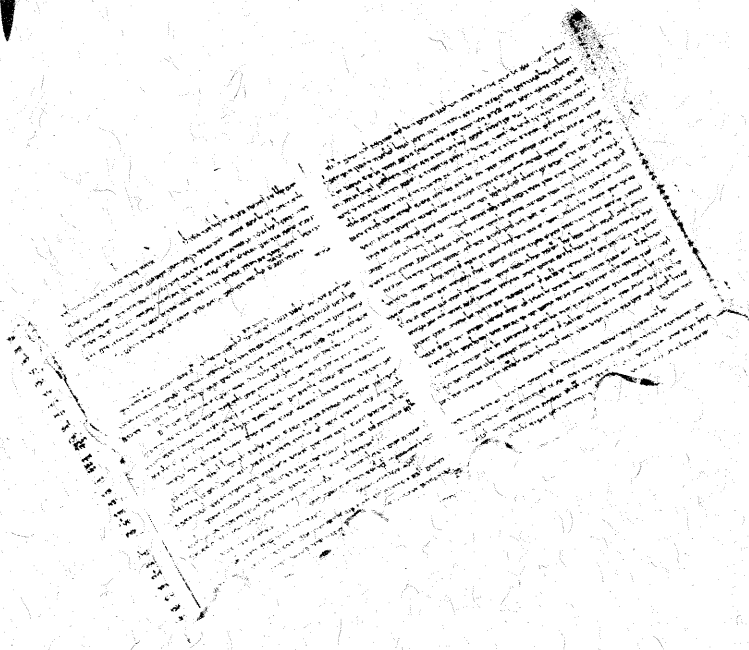




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Dr. N.S. Tjernagel

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1972 REFORMATION LECTURES

Bethany Lutheran College
Mankato, Minnesota
October 26 & 27

by

*Neelak Serawlook Tjernagel, Ph.D., Pastor
Evangelical Lutheran Synod*

STUDIES IN THE LUTHERAN HERITAGE: LAW, LOVE, AND ORDER

LECTURE I *Martin Luther: Scholar and Educator*

Four hundred and fifty-five years ago this fall a young teacher in Germany was fretting about one of the games academicians played in those days. He was preparing the formal statements for a disputation to which he was inviting his own academic community. He was deadly serious.

We now know the dramatic effect and the profound consequence of the 95 Theses nailed on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg. I am honored to have the privilege of speaking to you here in recollection of some of the effects of the Lutheran Reformation. It is a great pleasure to pay tribute to its great architect, Martin Luther, lecturer on the Bible at the University of Wittenberg. I emphasize the title, because from 1512 when the Augustinian order placed Luther on the teaching staff at Wittenberg, to his death in 1546, the Reformer never had another title or calling. From the beginning to the end of his professional career he was a university professor. He held no other office.

Teaching, however, implies preparation for teaching, a mastered subject matter, a substance of knowledge to be conveyed to students and scholars. The substance of knowledge which he took for his study and concern was the content of the Bible, the holy and God-given book of life. He regarded it, as indeed it is, as the most important resource ever placed in human hands. He said: "For some years now I have read through the Bible twice every year. If you picture the Bible to be a mighty tree, and every word a little branch, I have shaken every one of those branches because I wanted to know what it was and what it meant" (Luther's Works, 54, 165). *

Though Luther's education and his wide interests gave him a competence in many fields of human knowledge, biblical studies remained his primary concern. He took this book and made it the fundamental basis of his study and his teaching and became, saving only the inspired writers of the Bible themselves, the greatest Biblical authority of all time. From the resource of Holy Scripture he drew the theological understandings that restored Apostolic theology and re-established a Christ-centered Gospel. His preaching and the monumental literary remains of his life gave the world an authentic witness to God's will and love for humanity.

Martin Luther was a man of God from the beginning to the end of his life. His work was more than academic because, his interest in his studies notwithstanding, his paramount concern was for the salvation of lost souls. For the purpose of these papers we merely take note of this, recalling that competent historians and theologians have dealt comprehensively with Luther's theology.

* Full references are given in "Works Cited", at the end of this series of lectures.

The purpose of these papers is to observe how Luther took from the pages of Holy Scripture a vast resource of wisdom applicable to life and to learning. Recognizing the values of both law and order among men, he applied the standards of love as the effective catalyst for the realization of law and order. Luther's studies never took him out of the world of reality. "The Psalter," Bornkamm remarks, "linked him with his own world by a thousand ties." (quoted in Rupp, 1951, p.37)

To Luther the mind and human reason, subject only to the will and wisdom of God, was the means for the propagation of truth and the improvement of the human condition. He said that if the Gospel were to be furthered by the powers of the sword, Jesus would hardly have entrusted it to fishermen. (quoted in Rupp, 1951, p.94) The monasteries, Luther recalled, were closing without the use of force. He had never thrown a stone or set a fire to end the vanities and the abuses of monasticism. The word, spoken and written, had been his only recourse, and the words this man spoke and wrote have changed the world. He stands before us today, the mentor and paragon of modern civilization. He is, among so many other things, the scholar's scholar, the father of modern education.

Martin Luther: Scholar

Luther's education and preparation for a career is evidence that though a giant, he was not standing in isolation in his 16th century world. He was, rather, the crystallizing force in a process that had anticipated him by several centuries and was to continue long after his death. His own family well represents economic changes that were in progress in his lifetime. His education illustrates the play

and counterplay of intellectual forces that shaped his life and enriched the theological and ideological structures that remain the heritage of the Reformation.

The voyage of Columbus in 1492 is illustrative of the rushing progress made during the Commercial Revolution of the 15th century. The life story of Hans Luther, the Reformer's father, is an interesting case study in the economic history of the period. His ancestors had been feudal serfs who had been liberated from the bondage of serfdom and had achieved a precarious existence as landholding farmers. Hans Luther had not inherited his father's holdings and had elected to find his means of livelihood in copper mining. He worked hard at it and became, successively, mine laborer, superintendent, lessor of mines, and, eventually, a prosperous mine owner well able to afford the luxury of an education for his eldest son.

Martin was born at Eisleben on November 10, 1483, the eldest of ten children to survive infancy. When the mines closed at Eisleben a few months after Martin's birth, the family moved to Mansfeld, which became the permanent home of Hans Luther and his family, and where Hans served in the dignity of a ward alderman. Luther's formal education began at Mansfeld and continued through the elementary and secondary levels at Magdeburg and Eisenach. In 1501, at the age of 17, Martin entered the University of Erfurt, one of the best if not the most prestigious of the German universities. Here, by the age of 21, he had completed his studies leading to both the B.A. and the M.A. degree, and had embarked on his legal studies.

Then, abruptly, in July 1505, Luther entered the Augustinian Monastery at Erfurt. It is significant that he should have attached himself to this order,

the most pious and serious of the mendicant orders. And it was even more important that the Erfurt house of the Augustinians belonged to the Observants, a strict group in comparison to the lax Conventuals. The Observants observed worship hours conscientiously and maintained the highest monastic ideals. "Out of this perfected Catholicism, not out of the rotted and decaying Catholicism, the German Reformation of Luther originated." (Lau, 1962, p.29)

Luther was no sooner established in his monastic routines when the authorities in his house sent him back to the university. Now, however, the educational objective was ordination to the priesthood. It meant that the Reformer was enabled to study theology and pursue his own quest for a spiritual peace of mind. Given his eagerness to learn, his studies were completed in the remarkably short time of less than two years. His ordination marked the beginning of the last phase of his formal training. For the next five years he was engaged in doctoral studies under the prompting of his monastic superiors. His trip to Rome (November 1510-March 1511) and temporary teaching assignments at both Erfurt and Wittenberg interrupted his studies. On October 18, 1512, the degree of Doctor of Theology was conferred on him. The necessary fees were paid by the Elector of Saxony on condition that Martin Luther accept a lifetime appointment to the chair of Lecturer on the Bible at the University of Wittenberg. The conferral of the degree made a teaching career mandatory and also required the candidate to commit himself to a life of preaching. Luther accepted his appointment and recognized the conferring of the degree as a formal calling into his life's vocation. The future Reformer was now 27 years of age.

So much for this brief sketch of Luther's formal education. In order to understand the broad sweep

of knowledge which was to serve him so well in his biblical studies, we must have some grasp of the currents of thought which shaped the mind and determined the theological methodology of the great Reformer. The first of these was Medieval Scholasticism, the second Medieval Mysticism, and the third Renaissance Humanism.

The term scholasticism is a reference to the schoolmen of the universities who applied their scholarship to a new methodology in biblical studies. They had become acquainted with the literature of classical antiquity and believed that the application of logic and reason, as employed in ancient philosophy, would enhance and further their understanding of the Bible. The movement flourished from 1050 to 1350, and its profound influence extended into the Reformation of the 16th century. Scholasticism may be compared to the 19th century effort to create a harmony between religion and the scientific philosophy of Charles Darwin. The darling of the Medieval Scholastics was the late Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), whose application of logic and use of the syllogism seemed so fully pertinent to a study of God's Word. The movement engaged some of the greatest minds of all time, and theology came to be regarded as the queen of the sciences.

The classic exposition of this movement was that of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274). Well versed in the writings of St. Augustine (A.D. 354-430), Thomas Aquinas could see no conflict between faith and reason and believed that the teachings of the Bible could be understood and demonstrated by the processes of reason. In his Summa Theologiae, the standard formulation of Scholastic Theology, he wrote:

Since God is the origin of both nature and revelation, both reason and faith are from Him and cannot be in conflict with each other, nor can knowledge

reached through the senses contradict the truth which is given through revelation and apprehended through faith.

William Occam (about 1300-1349), the English scholastic theologian, often referred to as the In-vincible Doctor, took a considerable step beyond Aquinas in challenging the temporal authority of the pope. He also challenged the earlier scholastics by denying the preeminence of reason over faith and declared that the Bible, not reason or logic, is the source of faith. His work laid the foundations for the theology of the Reformation, under which scholasticism ceased to be an effective and credible influence in Western thought.

In point of time the movement known as Medieval Mysticism ran roughly parallel to Scholasticism. Where scholastic theology had only an intellectual appeal and affected the people only indirectly, Mysticism had a popular appeal to the masses of pious Medieval Christians. It was a personal, emotional, and often passionate approach to God. It influenced personal life profoundly in its effort to secure a purity of heart and life through a mystical union of the soul with God. Mysticism encouraged and fostered a devotional and worshipful attitude in contrast to the customary formal and outward practice of religion. It emphasized the experience of religion in contrast to a mere intellectual assent to the articles of faith and the rituals of the Church. It was an effort of a inner faith to apprehend God and to possess Christ. Modern Pentecostalism and the Jesus Movement are illustrative of the spirit of Medieval Mysticism.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153), St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226), and Catherine of Sienna (1347-1380), early mystics, like the later Ignatius of

Loyola (1491-1556), did not stand in opposition to the Church. They and the mendicant orders simply sought to strengthen the true faith and to uphold the established church. Their emphasis was on teaching and preaching rather than on the formal fulfillment of the sacramental rites of the Church. Their evangelical message was based on the New rather than on the Old Testament and they saw Jesus as Mediator rather than as a figure in the sacramental system. The Brethren of the Common Life exemplify Mysticism at its best. Members of this Medieval order of laymen lived under a rule and devoted themselves to a life of teaching God's Word and rendering practical service to humanity. The Imitation of Christ, a devotional book written by Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471), is illustrative of literature circulated by the Mystics in the late Middle Ages.

Medieval Mysticism tended to prosper as an accompaniment of social and political unrest. Renaissance Humanism was to rise and flourish in the wake of the affluence generated by Italian economic expansion. Initially, Italian Humanism was a revival of interest in the literature and languages of classical antiquity. The wealth of Italian merchants subsidized the search for ancient manuscripts and a new generation of scholars and literati edited and translated the secular wisdom of the past. These scholars and men of letters also gave their generation and posterity a brilliant and vibrant literature in the vernacular languages. Museums were opened to house the treasures of antiquity, and libraries, including the great Vatican Library, were established to preserve the priceless heritage of the past. The arts, especially painting and architecture, were enjoying a new golden age as the wealth of Italy was lavished on everything related to beauty and knowledge.

Men turned from the subtleties of an arid Scholasticism to find freedom of expression in a world liberated from the authoritarianism of the Church and the intellectual bondage of the past. The monastic ideal of life was rejected in favor of an enlightened observation of the world and an admiration of the work of the hands of men. Man was called from a morbid self-mortification to the enjoyment of the pleasures of life.

Italian Humanism was secular and elite. It passed by the masses of people for whom the conditions of life were largely unchanged. The Renaissance in the north of Europe assumed both popular and religious overtones as scholars turned to biblical antiquities, biblical texts, and the writings of St. Augustine and the other Church fathers. The Vulgate, Jerome's translation of the Bible, was edited to remove some of its errors and the Donation of Constance was exposed as a forgery. Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536) produced an edited Greek New Testament set in parallel columns with a fine Latin translation. The arts and a vernacular literature appealed to the masses and printing presses, unavailable to the early Italian Humanists, gave new scope for learning and the dissemination of knowledge.

The strength of Humanism lay in its creative scholarship and its exaltation of the individual. The ascetic ideals of Mysticism and the speculative and philosophical ideals of Scholasticism had lost their force and significance. But Humanism had its own weakness. The posture of art for art's sake and the exaltation of beauty and human dignity were not enough to sustain a movement that really had no substance or concrete program for human betterment. In the long run the Humanists suffered from a paralysis of action and the lack of adequate motivations. Indeed none of the movements we have reviewed, Scholasticism, Mysticism, or Humanism, was able to survive the profound changes wrought by the Reformation.

Yet in their time, and with all their individual shortcomings, they served useful purposes in the progress of the Reformation and the broadening horizons of Western civilization.

All three must be taken into account in a review of Martin Luther's educational background. His studies began at the Mansfeld Trivialschule where the Medieval Trivium, grammar, logic, and rhetoric was the basic curriculum. The study of Latin began early. Table prayers, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Hail Mary were memorized. Large sections of the Plenarium, a manual of worship, was mastered so that:

By the time a student graduated from one of these Latin schools he was well prepared to enter into the spirit of Catholic worship services and to participate in the Masses, which all had their special liturgies. In brief, this training aimed to nurture the children as loyal members of the church. (Schwiebert, 1950, p.117)

In his fourteenth year, spent at a Latin school in Magdeburg, Luther probably had his first encounter with the Brethren of the Common Life. They brought to him their love for Holy Scripture and influenced him by the sincere piety of their Christian life. It may have been at Magdeburg that Luther first saw a whole Bible, chained for security reasons, to a library desk.

After one year at Magdeburg the young scholar went on to Eisenach to the modern equivalent of a high school. According to Melanchthon's account, Luther here "rounded out his Latin studies; and since he had a penetrating mind and rich gifts of expression, he soon out-stripped his companions in eloquence, languages, and poetic verse" (quoted in Schwibert, p.125). In later life Luther often had occasion to recall the excellent instruction and the happiness of his four years at Eisenach.

In the spring of 1501 he matriculated at the University of Erfurt to undertake the 18 months of intensive study required for the B.A. degree. He stood thirtieth in a class of 57 when his B.A. degree was conferred. By 1505 he had completed the liberal arts course leading to an M.A., now ranking second in a class of 17. Crotus Rubeanus, a roommate in Luther's Eisenach dormitory room, later referred to the Reformer as a "learned philosopher". Of his graduation Luther later wrote in words that will evoke chords of memory in every degree candidate: "It was a glorious and splendid time when the successful candidates received their degrees; torches were carried in front of them and tributes were paid to them; in my opinion there is no earthly pleasure known to man that equals it" (quoted in Kooiman, 1955, p.21).

The two strains of late Medieval thought happily combined at the University of Erfurt were the Occamist form of Scholasticism and the humanistic tendencies that were becoming so popular on European campuses. Outstanding among Luther's Erfurt teachers was Bartholomaeus von Usingen, an Occamist who made a careful distinction between the Bible and Aristotle as reliable sources of knowledge. Erfurt was a good example of instruction in the Via Moderna, the new way of the followers of Occam, as contrasted with the Via Antiqua, the old way of Thomas Aquinas. In the New Way, Philosophy was divided into dual categories: there were the things one knew by faith through divine revelation, and there were those things to which the knowledge of this world and the best efforts of reason were to be applied.

After acquiring his M.A., Luther began at once his legal studies. His father, now a man of considerable wealth, gave him the volumes of the Corpus Juris Civilis, the ancient foundation of legal knowledge and training. Within two months Luther had made a critical and

far-reaching decision. He abandoned a legal career and joined himself to the monks in the Augustinian House at Erfurt. It was a fortunate decision because now he had the support of the monastic establishment to continue studying in the area where his real interests lay.

But he was a new Luther. The spiritual struggle that had induced him to enter the monastery drove him in a frenzied search for truth and peace of mind. Having been ordained priest, he moved on to studies leading to the degree of Doctor of Theology. The first stage of this program gave him the title Biblicus and qualified him to lecture on the Bible. The second stage, designated by the title Formatus, involved mastery of the terminology of Medieval theology. As Sententiarius, the candidate was qualified to teach the scholastic handbook, Peter Lombard's Sentences. The last step in the candidate's progress entitled him to a position as Lecturer on the Bible.

Before he had finished the first stage he was assigned to a temporary teaching position in moral philosophy in the Augustinian House in Wittenberg. He returned to Erfurt to teach Lombard's Sentences. Then came the five month journey to Rome in the interests of the Monastery at Erfurt. In proceeding to the doctorate on October 18, 1512, Luther had completed a rigorous academic discipline. He had demonstrated his qualifications as a teacher. He had read the Latin classics and the works of the theologians of both the Via Antiqua and the Via Moderna. He had read all the writings of St. Augustine and most of the work of the other Church Fathers. He was well read in Church History, the exegetical literature of the Middle Ages, and the Canon Law. He was steeped in the pious literature of the Medieval Mystics and thoroughly trained in the scholarly mechanisms developed by Renaissance Humanism. Yet, as he later said of the day his final degree was conferred, "When I was made a Doctor I did not yet know the light."

Martin Luther: Educator

It is one of the strange and remarkable ironies of history that the Lutheran Reformation, in the first year of its course, should have been financed by revenues provided by pilgrims and worshippers drawn to the Castle Church at Wittenberg to venerate the collection of relics exhibited there by Frederick, the Elector of Saxony.

Greater Saxony had been divided into two jurisdictions in 1485. The electoral title had been given to the ruler of the area held by Frederick the Wise. The ducal title was given to Frederick's cousin Duke George, ruler of the other area in the original division. One of the problems of the division was that Ducal Saxony found itself possessed of two universities, while Electoral Saxony had none. It was a matter of great concern to Frederick the Wise. At a time when Renaissance learning and the pursuit of knowledge was so highly valued among princes in all of Europe, Frederick felt that without a first-rate university Electoral Saxony would be only a second-class principality.

He had come to his position as Elector out of an unusually pious development as a young man. A pilgrimage to the Holy Land, reflective of his seriousness about religion, stimulated a fervent interest in the relics, and when he came into a position of wealth he maintained a corps of collectors who bought relics for him and sent them to Wittenberg for display in the Castle Church. Eventually Frederick's collection of relics became the largest in Europe. It included 33 fragments of the cross, a splinter from the crown of thorns, many bones from the Holy Innocents, and a piece from Moses' burning bush. The oft-quoted figures of Meinhard, published in 1509, indicate that there were over five thousand items,

many encased in beautiful reliquaries. By 1518 the collection had grown to 17,000 items capable, by whatever assessment was made, of providing indulgences of 127,799 years and 116 days.

One should by no means regard all this as the vanity of an obsessed collector. Frederick was genuinely pious and a sincere Christian, held in honor by his contemporaries as the model of a truly Christian prince. His appellation "the Wise" was deserved. His life story reflects a man of undoubted integrity, fully determined and completely capable of ruling his people in justice and in love.

Frederick's passion for his relics and his desire for a university in Electoral Saxony eventually led to a rebuilding of the city of Wittenberg, including especially the Castle and the Castle Church which itself was becoming a magnificent reliquary. In 1502, just ten years before Luther's appointment to a chair on the faculty, the University of Wittenberg was founded under the full control of the Elector. From the beginning the Wittenberg house of the Augustinian Order was given a large role in the development of the University.

The District Superintendent of the order, John Staupitz, was given the responsibility for staffing the four colleges: Liberal Arts, Medicine, Law, and Theology. Georg Spalatin, the Elector's chaplain and secretary, represented Frederick in problems of funding and management and in the provision of a suitable library. In filling faculty posts the main objective was competence in teaching. The first members of the faculty represented both Thomist and Occamist strains of Scholasticism. Humanists, as well as men with leanings toward Mysticism, were appointed. Two men, Rheticus and Reinhold, were enthusiastic believers in the Copernican theory, so severely censured by Luther. Frederick's personal philosophy of education may well be

said to have laid the foundations for the modern concept of academic freedom. He insisted that instructors in the university be free to pursue knowledge without interference from arbitrary academic or political authority.

Martin Luther's presence in the university from 1512 to 1646, a 34 year period, made Wittenberg unique among the universities of Europe. For one generation, until its collapse in the Schmalkaldic War, it was the most important university in all Europe. Despite its recent beginnings, its enrollments were about double the average enrollment for the ten major German universities. Only one other approached it in size, that of Leipzig in Ducal Saxony (Elton, 1958, p.432). In the 34 years of Luther's tenure the methodologies of education were revolutionized. The contemporary philosophies of learning and intellectual currents were sifted and strained. A scholarly concern for the substance of truth rejected philosophical and methodological impediments to learning in such a way as to reform and revitalize the whole concept of scholarship and learning.

The substance that Martin Luther dealt with was the Bible, God's revealed Word. His objective was to learn what God has to say to sinful man. To that purpose he applied all his talents and energy. In the process he taught teachers and scholars how to apply their minds to the substance of other matters of academic, scientific, and social significance. For this contribution, education and learning are greatly in his debt. Luther's great strength and his creative scholarship lay in his ability to find uses and values in all the intellectual currents about him and in the tangled skein of human knowledge, and to apply them shrewdly and judiciously in the quest for truth.

The Lutheran Reformation began at the University of Wittenberg five years after the beginning of Luther's

professorship. One might well say that a movement of this kind had to originate in an academic setting because it was begotten of scholarship and nurtured in the relationship between teacher and student. Is it not further true that the essential function of the Church is educational? The Medieval Church had lost sight of the great commission "Go ye and teach all nations". Luther brought the Church back to the command of Christ, preparing a generation of teachers and pastors. And he left behind him a literary legacy of teaching materials and substantive knowledge that has influenced the entire Christian Church since his time. The Church has been the poorer to the degree that it has neglected or forgotten his pedagogical principles and his contribution to knowledge.

The Luther who had lectured on the Nichomachean Ethics in his term as visiting lecturer at Wittenberg grasped enthusiastically his new charge in 1512. He assumed the lectureship in the Book of the Bible, a chair previously held by Johannes Staupitz, who now was the Academic Dean at the University. The Reformer began with lectures on Genesis (1512-1513) and continued with the Psalms (1513-1515), Romans (1515-1516), Galatians (1516-1517), Hebrews (1517-1518), and so on until his death. Seldom absent from the university or too occupied with other things to carry on with his assigned teaching duties, Luther missed few lectures in his lifetime. His students and their welfare was never a secondary task. But he was busy. In 1516 he said:

I require two scribes or secretaries. I spend almost all my time writing letters, so that I am not sure whether I am repeating what I said before. I am lecturer at the convent, reader during meals. I am also called from day to day to preach in the parish church, act as regent of studies at the convent and sub-vicar, which means prior of eleven convents. I have to gather the fish at Leitzkay,

administer the affairs of Hreizberg at Torgau, lecture on Paul, edit my lectures on the Psalms, and besides am burdened with writing letters which, as I have said, takes up much the greater part of my time. I have insufficient time for prayers in the breviary or for saying Mass. In addition to all that I have to fight against the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil. (Quoted in Green, 1964, pp.37,38)

His lectures in the first years were encumbered by medieval conventions and exegetical procedures. Gradually the Reformer changed his method to a more practical and utilitarian turn. The Humanists had given him the linguistic tools of scholarship and the awareness that sound exposition of Scripture must be based on the grammatical and historical sense of the text. Yet he never lost the values of his Scholastic training, since he continued to base interpretation and conclusions on reasoned argument subordinated to the divine revelation. It will not be forgotten that at his great moment at Worms he refused to recant unless his writings were proved erroneous "by the testimony of Scripture or by evident reason".

Nor was the heritage of Mysticism lost on him, as is evident in his intense personal piety, but he remained too much the scholar to be betrayed into the superficialities of much of mystic theology. All three movements, Scholasticism, Mysticism, and Humanism, had played their part in the making of the Reformer. All three, distilled in the process of scholarship, made their contributions in the quest for truth.

A verbal portrait of Luther as teacher is left us by one of his students, an Augustinian friar from Cologne:

He was a man of middling height, with a voice both sharp and gentle: it was soft in tone, sharp in the enunciation of syllables, words, and sentences.

He spoke neither too rapidly nor too slowly, but evenly and without hesitation, as well as very clearly, and so logically that each part flowed out of what went before. He did not get lost in the maze of language, but first expounded the individual words, then the sentences, so that one could see how the content of the exposition arose, and flowed out of the text itself. For it all hung together in order, word, matter, natural and moral philosophy There was never anything in his lectures that was not relevant or full of meaning. (Quoted in Green, pp.48,49)

As many as 400 students are said to have attended Luther's lectures at the height of university enrollment. A total of 16,000 students were registered during the 34 years of his professorship. No estimate can be made of the number of persons who heard him preach (150 times in some years) in his frequent appearances as guest preacher in Wittenberg churches and the cloister chapels. The effect on his generation was incalculable. His hearers knew that they were listening to a great teacher and man of God. His greatness as a teacher was evident at the beginning of his career. The intensity and urgency of his speech and manner deepened and accelerated the more he realized that the salvation of souls depended on a continuing presentation of the Gospel.

Nowhere does Luther demonstrate so clearly both his total grasp of the content of Holy Scripture and his masterful understanding of the effective principles of education as in the Small Catechism of 1529. A towering giant in the intellectual world of the 16th century, he was able to lay aside his academic pre-eminence and speak to the people, yes, to children, in the precious simplicity of the questions and answers of the Catechism. What other textbook has gone through so incalculably many editions, in so many languages? What other book has been memorized by so many

people for their spiritual training and nurture? The McGuffey Reader with its two generations of service and one hundred and twenty-two million printed copies pales into insignificance by comparison.

And the Catechism was more than just effective education methodology. That small book has stood the test of time and infinite use as a faithful summation of the content of the Bible. Everything essential to the salvation of man is in that little book, in words and organization comprehensible to all. The Catechism revolutionized religious education. It became the pattern for similar books produced by the Jesuits in the furtherance of Catholic education; and it was used by Protestants outside the influence of the Lutheran Confessions.

Luther's own education had been based on the foundation of the liberal arts. He had studied God's word under a variety of methodologies. At no time did he make clear cut distinction between religious and secular knowledge. All knowledge, he believed, had a relevance to human life and to an understanding of the magnitude of God's love. How could one understand the Word of God without an understanding of the nature of life; without a grasp of the problems of human relationships and fundamental elements of human vocations? His was no simplistic admonition, like that of Massachusetts' Deluder Satan Act, to learn to read so one could read the Bible. He considered all knowledge within the sphere of human interest. He considered knowledge to be a precious gift of God.

In demanding free, compulsory, and tax-supported education for all, Martin Luther was anticipating the American pedagogue Horace Mann by three hundred years. Two principal essays outline the Reformer's principles of education: "To the Councilmen of All Cities In Germany That They Establish And Maintain Christian Schools" (1524; in Luther's Works, 45, 347-378),

and the "Sermon On The Duty Of Sending Children To School", (1529; in Painter, 1928 pp.210-271). Though he referred to education in many other essays and letters, these two works lay down the main lines of his thought on education. His enthusiasm for the subject was heightened by his own experiences and by the tremendous strides education had taken in his own lifetime. He said:

In our times it is easy to educate such persons, who may learn the Gospel and the Catechism, because not only the Holy Scriptures but also every kind of learning is now within reach, with so many books and so much reading and preaching that (God be thanked!) a man at present can learn more in three years than formerly in twenty; even women and children can now learn more of God and Christ from German books and sermons (I speak the truth) than was formerly known by the universities, priests, monks, the whole papacy, and the entire world. (Quoted in Painter, pp.235-236)

It goes without saying that he was concerned about religious education, remarking that "when schools flourish, things go well and the Church is secure, let us make more Masters and Doctors. The youth is the Church's nursery and fountainhead" (Luther's Works, 54, 452). He knew, however, that neither Church nor society could prosper without the foundation of education. He said that "Learning, wisdom and writers must rule the world If God out of His wrath would take away from the world all the learned, people would become beasts and wild animals. There would be no wisdom, religion, or law, but only robbery, stealing, murder, adultery, and the doing of all kinds of evil" (Quoted in Grimm, 1960, pp.81-82).

The Reformer scorned the idea of self-training and home education as inadequate for the need of society.

You say, everyone may teach his sons and daughters himself, or at least train them in proper discipline. Answer: Yes, we can readily see what such teaching and training amount to. Even when the training is done to perfection and succeeds, the net result is little more than a certain enforced outward respectability; underneath they are nothing but the same old blockheads, unable to converse intelligently on any subject, or to assist or counsel anyone. But if children were instructed and trained in schools, or wherever learned and well-trained schoolmasters were available to teach the languages, the other arts, and history, they would then hear of the various cities, kingdoms, princes, men, and women. Thus, they could in a short time set before themselves as in a mirror the character, life, counsels, and purpose--successful and unsuccessful-- of the whole world from the beginning; on the basis of which they could then draw the proper inferences and the fear of God take their own place in the stream of human events. In addition, they could gain from history the knowledge and understanding of what to seek and what to avoid in this outward life, and be able to advise and direct others accordingly. (Luther's Works, 45, 368-369)

Luther believed that civil government was a divine ordinance, an institution necessary not only for the general welfare but also for the welfare of the Church. For that reason he insisted on the vital need for compulsory public education.

I maintain that the civil authorities are under obligation to compel the people to send their children to school, especially such as are promising, as has elsewhere been said. For our rulers are certainly bound to maintain the spiritual and secular offices and callings, so that there may always be preachers, jurists, pastors, scribes, physicians,

school-masters, and the like; for these can not be dispensed with. If the government can compel such citizens as are fit for military service to bear spear and rifle, to mount ramparts, and perform other martial duties in time of war; how much more has it a right to compel the people to send their children to school, because in this case we are warring with the devil, whose object it is secretly to exhaust our cities and principalities of their strong men, to destroy the kernel, and leave a shell of ignorant and helpless people, whom he can sport and juggle with at pleasure. (Quoted in Painter, 269-270)

The practical effect of Luther's pedagogical principles was the complete reorganization of the curriculum at the University of Wittenberg. The "Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony" (Luther's Works, 40, 263-320) likewise included a comprehensive plan for the revision of the curricula of the elementary schools. Many of the proposals were revolutionary. Much of it is incorporated in contemporary education. The entire program reveals a perceptive understanding of what we now speak of as educational psychology. Grimm (1960) has referred to the Reformer's understanding of children.

(The Reformer) realized that young persons must be active, saying that a boy "is like the juice of fruits, you cannot keep it; it must ferment". He warned that young people brought up with excessive strictness and severity "become much worse when freed from restraint than those who have not been so strictly reared. So utterly impossible it is to improve human nature by commandment and punishment". On the other hand, "When a child is permitted to do what it pleases and parents say, whatever our little daughter does is good, that girl certainly is headed for prostitution." Children are not to be rebuked and beaten, "but they are to be chastized out of love". Parents who vent their tempers on their

children and try to cow them into obedience in their tender years destroy their spirit and make them so timid they are unable to do anything. "Also those nursemaids should be stopped who, especially in the evening, frighten children with terrifying actions and gestures." To get the best results in teaching young children, Luther said, it is necessary to love, understand, and work with them instead of acting as their lords and masters. "When Christ wished to influence men, He had to become a man," he said. "Since we are preaching to children we must prattle with them." (pp.91-92)

Teachers everywhere have reason for gratitude to Martin Luther, for he elevated and gave new dignity to the vocation of teaching. He often spoke of the vital task they performed and called them "servants of God who can never be sufficiently rewarded".

For the full 34 years of his professional career Luther remained, first and last, an educator. Never a mere wheel in an ecclesiastical mechanism, never part of the order of a hierarchy, his metier and purpose in life was the increase of knowledge, both spiritual and temporal. Classroom lectures, sermons, exegetical studies, apologetic and polemical essays, letters: all served the same purpose, the enlargement of the human mind. For him mind and spirit were one, the endowment of God the Creator who gave His Son Jesus Christ to save men from their sins, and who established a moral and rational order on earth to bless and prosper the redeemed in their temporal sojourn.

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II. *Martin Luther: Political Theorist and Saxon Citizen*

The Reformation of the 16th century was, and continued to be, a religious movement from its beginning at Wittenberg through its dramatic course in the first half of the century. Having said that, we must add that it was a religious Reformation nurtured and made possible in the particular social and political setting that existed in the 16th century.

In order to understand the Reformation itself, we must have before us at least a brief outline of the European political structure and the political events that affected the reform movement initiated by Martin Luther. The birthplace of the Reformation was Saxony, a territory affiliated with some three hundred independent political jurisdictions within the Holy Roman Empire. Greater Saxony had been divided between two heirs of the reigning duke in the Leipzig Partition of 1485. The eldest son, Ernest, received the electoral title. He divided the territory equally and gave Albert, the younger son, his choice of the two equal halves. At first the divided lands were referred to as Ernestine and Albertine Saxony. Later the more common designations were Electoral and Ducal Saxony.

Ernest died a year after the Leipzig settlement and his son Frederick, later to be known as Frederick the Wise, succeeded to the throne. He ruled Electoral Saxony for 39 years, to his death in 1525. A man of unquestioned integrity and piety, he earned the appellation "the Wise" by his shrewd handling of the problems created by Luther's reform activity. To the religious issues raised by the Reformer he maintained a consistent attitude of neutrality. At the same time that he protected Martin Luther in his right to teach the Bible

according to his understanding of it, the Elector so far dissociated himself from the conflict as to have no personal contact with the young monk, Martin. Only at the Diet of Worms did they meet, and then no more than twenty words passed between them.

That the Church thought highly of the unmarried prince, Frederick, is apparent. The Pope offered him the Golden Rose (a distinction offered annually to the secular prince who had rendered the most distinguished service to the Church). He offered dispensations for Sebastian and Fritz, the illegitimate sons of Frederick's mistress, Anna Weller. He offered him a Cardinal's hat for a churchman of his choice, and even the high tribute of candidacy for the office of Holy Roman Emperor. We do not know Frederick's innermost thoughts about Lutheran theology even though the Court Chaplain administered the Sacrament to the dying Elector in both kinds. It seems certain that if Frederick had publicly acknowledged an acceptance of Luther's teaching in 1517 and the years immediately following, it would have been disastrous for the cause of religious reform. The wrath of both pope and emperor would almost certainly have descended on Electoral Saxony at a time when, in its infancy, the Reformation was in no position to defend itself against the two most powerful figures in Europe.

The Holy Roman Empire, as we have seen, was a loose federation of semi-independent feudal principalities, including 60 independent chartered cities, but not including England, France, and Spain. The rulers of this cumbrous body were the Holy Roman Emperors. When vacancies in this office occurred, usually caused by the death of the incumbent, seven electors met at Frankfort to choose a new emperor. The electoral title was hereditary in four secular and three ecclesiastical principalities. The Holy Roman Empire had begun early in the 9th century as an uneasy alliance between pope and emperor. In the following centuries the two had been rivals, the Church being dominant in some periods, the Empire in others.

By the 16th century their rivalry had been complicated by the rise of the three powerful Atlantic states, England, France, and Spain. The rulers of these states had achieved a personal sovereignty and apart from some limitations imposed by the laws and traditions of feudalism, could rule as absolute monarchs. Their distance from Rome helped them also to rule with a minimum of interference from the papacy.

In 1517 the reigning Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian, was near death, and a frenzied political activity was in progress. The decision in the forthcoming election would be made by the seven electors. It was in the interest of the pope that a weak man be elected who might be dominated by Rome. It was in the interest of the electors, however, that a man be chosen who would be in a position to support them in their own individual quest for power.

The pope's candidate was Frederick the Wise. It was an apparently creditable choice in view of Frederick's reputation as the most pious prince in Christendom and the added fact that he was loved and respected by his own Saxon subjects. In any realistic appraisal, however, only one man in Europe had sufficient wealth and power in his own right to carry the burdens and responsibilities of the imperial office. He was Charles, grandson of Maximilian, heir to the great wealth and power of four grandparents. Only Charles had the resources for the massive bribes that all the electors, other than Frederick expected to receive for their votes. Thus, while the political conflict over the election of the emperor was in progress, Luther and his work was safe under the protecting hand of Frederick, the pope's candidate for the office.

Maximilian died in 1517 and Charles was promptly elected his successor. With his own candidate defeated, the pope could now make use of the considerable power

in his hands for the purpose of destroying Luther and halting the Reformation. By this time, however, the work of Luther had gone too far to be halted by papal bulls or by the excommunication of Luther and his spiritual heirs.

The emperor was also frustrated in his efforts to stop the Reformation movement. The election of Charles, already king of Spain, put France in a state of panic lest, under the enormous power of the Holy Roman Emperor, France might be absorbed into the Holy Roman Empire and thus lose its political independence. The result of these fears was the Hapsburg-Valois Wars that continued through the life spans of both Charles and Luther. In addition to this war with France, the emperor was also confronted by Turkish power on a second front in eastern Europe. The aggressive Turks had advanced to the very gates of Vienna, the Austrian capital, by the year 1529. Since Charles needed men and financial support from all the territories in his jurisdiction in support of his military engagements, he was in no position to press his hostility to Lutheranism against any of his subject princes.

Now, if we may go back to the Saxon princes, we may conclude this historical summary. As we have seen, Frederick remained neutral and avoided a confrontation with both Church and state. He was succeeded at his death in 1525 by his brother John the Steadfast. By this time it was no longer necessary for the Elector of Saxony to remain neutral and John expressed clearly and forcibly his support for the Lutheran cause. He saw the growth of the Lutheran spirit in other principalities and provided strong and unifying leadership through the Diets of Speyer in 1526 and 1529 and the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. John the Steadfast died in 1532 and was succeeded by his son, Duke John Frederick, who remained the forceful leader of the Lutheran princes and the champion of Lutheranism until the catastrophe of the Schmalkaldic Wars beginning in 1547.

Duke George, the cousin of Frederick the Wise, inherited his rule over Albertine Saxony when his father died in 1500. Though his initial inclination was to support Martin Luther, Duke George later turned against the Reformer and became one of the ablest defenders of Catholicism. He was the motivating power behind the Leipzig Debate of 1519, an encounter that George had hoped would silence Martin Luther forever.

Duke George died in 1539 and the rule passed to his brother Henry, a staunch supporter of Lutheranism. At his death, three years later, his son Maritz, inherited the ducal title. He was the son-in-law of the Lutheran Philip of Hesse, and that, together with his heritage from a Lutheran father, suggested that he would be a supporter of the Reformation. His aspiration for power, however, led him to defect from the ranks of the the Lutherans in return for the Emperor's promise to support Moritz in his claims to the lands and rule of Electoral Saxony. Joining the imperial forces in the Schmalkaldic Wars, he contributed significantly to the defeat of the Schmalkaldic princes and the evil days that were to plague Lutheranism from 1547 to 1577. He had had his day of ill-gotten glory. He died in battle in 1553.

Martin Luther: Political Theorist

In any exact or precise terms Martin Luther was not a political theorist at all. He drew up no masterplan or philosophy of government comparable to Plato's Republic, Aristotle's Politics, Locke's Two Treatises of Government, or Hobbes' Leviathan. Luther was content with the forms of government in existence in his own time. He recognized and valued the Holy Roman Empire and the functioning role of Saxony within that empire. The form and content of Roman law which overlay the changing feudal system of his time was, in his opinion, sufficient to serve the needs and interests of humanity in the 16th century.

Luther regarded government and the family as divine institutions functioning under God's will and blessing. Though not, himself, a political figure, he wrote more, and more sensibly, about politics than any of the other reformers of the 16th century. This was because, as Gordon Rupp (1953) puts it, "The practical application of biblical exegesis to the affairs of the contemporary world always seemed to Luther a solemn part of the calling of a theological professor" (p.287). Sophisticated political theorists might describe Luther's views of the family and government as paternalistic or patriarchal. The Reformer simply believed that God has appointed heads of government, as well as the head of a family, to rule in love, serving the interests of the household and the state. It was an uncomplicated ideology. There was, in all this, no creative breakthrough in political thought.

In spite of that, Luther, drawing his knowledge and ideas from Holy Scripture, passed on concepts and values which have been both critical and creative in the development of modern political thought. This fact stemmed, first of all, from Luther's comprehensive understanding of the nature of man. He knew that man is conceived and born in sin and that, left to his own inclinations, he is prone to sin and subject to the danger of degeneration into anarchy and bestiality. Luther had a sufficiently firm and realistic grasp of the nature of men to spare him from falling into the delusion of political theorists who, from the beginning of time, have written in the dreamworld of illusions of a paradise on earth. He never wrote, or thought, in such terms as the Utopia of Thomas More or the utopian Das Kapital of Karl Marx. Luther rested his hope for human betterment on realistic and practical applications of moral principles, not on the self-deceiving of a dream of the perfectibility of man.

Luther's understanding of law derived from the Ten Commandments. He saw them as the laws of God applicable to men everywhere in terms of what political theorists have referred to as natural law or the law of nature. These were laws that were inherent in the very nature of man and the universe. Beyond these were national laws, household regulations as it were, appropriate to the specific needs of particular jurisdictions. He saw law as going much further than to a peace-keeping or regulatory function. Government had the same responsibility as parents, namely the task of caring for the needs and welfare of all the people without distinction. He saw these needs as they applied to education, as well as to the economic prosperity and the physical welfare of the people. Luther says:

A ruler must give consideration and attention to his subjects, and really devote himself to it. This he does when he directs his every thought to making himself useful and beneficial to them; when, instead of thinking "The land and people belong to me. I will do what pleases me." he rather thinks, "I belong to the land and people. I shall do what is good and useful for them. My concern will not be how to lord it over them and dominate them, but how to maintain them in peace and plenty." (Luther's Works, 45, 120)

Realistic in his appraisal of the nature of man, Luther was also unique among the reformers of the 16th century in refusing to make the authority of government dependent on holding the "right" religious views. Calvin and the other reformers believed that the Church could not exist, much less prosper, unless the government avowed the same faith as the dominant Church. Luther demanded that Christians be subject to the government even though the ruler himself was not a Christian. "Ceasar," he said, "does not need to be a saint." The insistence of Calvinists and Jesuits on control of government resulted in bitter religious wars for a

century after the Reformation. None of the blood shed in those wars in any way taints the memory of Martin Luther. He knew that, the world being what it is, a purely Christian government was not a practical possibility. He said:

It is out of the question that there should be a common Christian government over the whole world, or indeed over a single country or any considerable body of people, for the wicked always outnumber the good. Hence, a man who would venture to govern an entire country or the world with the Gospel would be like a shepherd who should put together in one fold wolves, lions, eagles, and sheep, and let them mingle freely with one another. . . The sheep would doubtless keep the peace and allow themselves to be fed and governed peacefully, but they would not live long (Luther's Works, 45, 91)

Luther's total view of life was informed by his comprehensive knowledge of the content of the Bible. For him the Scriptures were a view of the world, a construct of the relations between God and man, as well as a blueprint for human relationships. The Bible provided a comprehensive view of life in microcosm. That gave Luther a consequent recognition of the value of law and order. Without law there could be no order, only lawlessness and the human misery that always accompanies anarchy. But, more importantly, without love there could be neither law nor order. Bornkamm (1958) gives us an admirable summary of Luther's view of the relationship between law and order on one side and love on the other.

Since the fall of man the world stands in need of law, order, and a restraining hand. Reason, though vitiated and erring, can still perform miracles in this decaying world. But even at its best all the functions of reason are only makeshift by means of which the world continues to exist. Reason falls

far short of restoring the pristine beauty and freedom of creation. To recreate at least a fraction of this on the poor earth is the great prerogative of love. Without force, and yet surpassing reason by far in efficacy, love grants us a faint glimpse of that naturalness of life which we forfeited. Where love reigns (and to Luther this means in true Christendom) there we find a restoration of proper order; there only justice is practiced . . . The world's decay can be stayed only through the agency of clear and rigid reason. But love alone can weld the sundered ring of creation together again. Love is the Gospel's great gift to the world. And this love owes its being to the love of God which antedates it. (p.259)

Luther's comprehensive knowledge of the Bible was informed by his understanding of the love of God expressed in the redemptive sacrifice of Jesus, the Savior. Therefore he knew that no obedience to the law was possible without love, no justice attainable without love. It was the love of God that had attributed to sinners the perfect righteousness of Christ. The justice of God was satisfied through the vicarious atonement of Christ. When the Reformer spoke of justice meted out in courts of law, he urged a wise tempering of the demands of the law in a generous show of love. He urged that legislators make laws with a view toward the loving care of the people. Luther summarizes the whole idea in these words:

He who would be a Christian prince must certainly lay aside any intent to exercise lordship or proceed by force. For cursed is every sort of life lived and sought for the benefit and good of self; cursed are all works not done in love. They are done in love, however, when they are directed wholeheartedly toward the benefit, honor, and salvation of others, and not toward the pleasure, benefit, honor, comfort, and salvation of self. (Luther's Works, 45, 118)

Judicial decrees, Luther said, should also flow from love, for

when you judge according to love you will easily decide and judge matters without any law books. But when you ignore love and natural law you will never hit upon the solution that pleases God, though you may have devoured the lawbooks and the jurists. Instead, the more you depend on them, the further they will lead you astray. . . . A free decision is given by love and natural law, with which all reason is filled. (Luther's Works, 45, 128)

The Reformer broke significant ground also when he repudiated all secular authority of the church in the ordinary processes of temporal affairs. He elaborated this view in one of his great essays of 1520, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Improvement of the Christian Estate" (in Three Treatises, 1960, pp.9-111). Preserved Smith (1911) has called this book "a work of world-wide importance, at once prophecying and moulding the future (p.79). The essay opened by calling attention to three walls behind which the Roman Church had entrenched itself. The first was the view that the civil authority was subordinate to the authority of the Church. The second was the claim that no one has the right to interpret the Bible except the pope. The third wall gave the pope exclusive jurisdiction in calling a council of the Church. The essay then went on to a concrete proposal for reforms that would limit the Church to its spiritual functions and restore to the state all of its civil and legal prerogatives. Luther's essay was, literally, the death blow to the temporal pretensions of the Roman papacy. It was never to recover its political clout in affairs of state.

Another fundamental and long range contribution in Martin Luther's political thought lies in his valuation of the dignity and worth of man as an individual, both in his citizenship and in his chosen vocation. The Reformer saw the life of man as a service rendered to

God in whatever role the fortunes of life cast him. Luther recognized levels of authority but no scale of values in the individual worth of men. All were conceived and born in sin. All were cleansed in the same blood of Christ. All have equal worth in the sight of God. All deserve equal consideration in the counsels of men.

This is not to say that Martin Luther's view represents any kind of initial stage in the development of modern democracy. Luther's great contribution to government was the encouragement of those moral ideals and that Christian love which, in their basic qualities, have served the objectives of good government under a variety of historical forms. Of one thing Luther was sure. In the ordering of human affairs on earth, nothing was more important to the welfare of the Church and its people than the existence and continuity of good government. He could well say that, though he was a Churchman, he had written more in the cause of good government than any of the other Reformers.

On the other hand he also had a great deal to say about the way in which pious Christians, at work in their vocations, and loyal in their citizenship, contributed immeasurably to the welfare of the state and its people. He said:

If you are a manual laborer, you find that the Bible has been put into your workshop, into your hand, into your heart. It teaches and preaches how you should treat your neighbor. Just look at your tools -- at your thimble, your beer barrel, your goods, your scales or yardstick or measure -- and you will read this statement inscribed on them. Everywhere you look it stares at you. You have as many preachers as you have transactions, goods, tools, and other equipment in your house and home. All this in continually crying out to you: "Friend, use me in your

relations with your neighbor just as you would want your neighbor to use his property in his relations with you." (Luther's Works, 21, 237)

Luther's generation had problems of war and peace that were fully as traumatic as those which we experience today. The parallels between his century and our are remarkable. After the rise of Mohammedanism in the 7th century, Moslem power had exterminated Christianity in its early stronghold in North Africa and had taken possession of all of Spain in continental Europe. In 1453 a new wave of Moslem expansion brought with it the Turkish seizure of Constantinople and the utter collapse of the Christian Byzantine Empire. Luther and his generation had reason to fear the continuing thrust of the Turks into Europe, just as we, who have witnessed a surge of Communist power in the 20th century, fear its further expansion into what we call the free world. Another parallel between the 16th and the 20th centuries may be seen in the Peasants' Revolt of the Reformation period and protest movements in the last decade of our time.

For Luther, war was simply the extension of the peace-keeping responsibility of the state. He did not recognize the Medieval definitions of a so-called "just war". A modern scholar has seen Luther's break with the concept in these words:

A just war does not give a national power the right to make war against him who inflicted the wrong. Luther knows only one occasion which justifies going to war: the enemy must have entered our land with his troops -- he must, therefore, have clearly acted as an aggressor before we may advance against him in a warlike manner. Luther allows no exception to this principle . . . As far as I know, he was the first to advocate the principle which first became a fixed component of national law through the Charter of the United Nations, namely, only self-defense

against an actually effected attack is a legitimate use of force in the form of war. (Brunner, 1961, p.41)

Luther recalled that one of the charges cited in the papal bull of excommunication had accused him of opposing a Turkish war. The Reformer admitted that he had previously objected to the war because it had the character of a holy war against the Moslem religion. He said: "I do not advise that men go to war with the Turk or pope because of their false belief" (The Works of Martin Luther, 5, 81). But the situation was different now in 1529 because the armies of the Turks were invading Austrian territories, and Luther was prepared to urge men to fight against aggression under the banner of the emperor. We note that Luther did not tell his Saxon prince to stay out of the war on the grounds that the Austrians ought to fight their own battles. Luther felt that the imperial states of Germany were bound to defend Austria against aggression that threatened all of Europe. Indeed, so serious was the threat that Luther considered the successful resistance of the imperial troops at the siege of Vienna in 1529 to have been a miracle of God.

Luther justified the Turkish War, saying that "War is only a little brief lack of peace that prevents an everlasting and immeasurable lack of peace, a small misfortune that prevents a greater misfortune" (The Works of Martin Luther, 5, 36). He compared it to the misfortune of losing a limb at the hands of a surgeon; but better that then the gangrenous limb destroy the whole body. He adds: "When men write about war, then, and say that it is a great plague, that is all true; but they should also see how great the plague it prevents Therefore God honors the sword so highly that He calls it His own ordinance" (The Works of Martin Luther 5, 36).

But even more distressing for Germany than the foreign wars against the French and the Turks were the recurring insurrections and rebellions of the time. The views of Martin Luther on these frequent expressions of violence and anarchy were always dependent on his attitude toward government and his passion for upholding and maintaining public order.

The first occasion for him to talk about violence and the breakdown of public order came as a result of the disturbances in Wittenberg in 1521. His essay "A Sincere Admonition by Martin Luther to All Christians to Guard Against Insurrection and Rebellion" (1522; in Luther's Works, 45, 51-74) made the point that insurrections are futile. He gave four reasons, each of them as cogent today as they were in the 16th century. First, threats of violence are useless because they do not result in a dispassionate effort to resolve problems. Second, insurrection lacks discernment; it is blind and harms the innocent more than the guilty and does more harm than good. Third, God has forbidden insurrection, therefore it makes matters worse because God is not on the side of rebellion. Fourth, other means are more effective in securing the desired results. Luther reminded his readers that he had spoken against monasticism without throwing a stone, destroying property, or burning a cloister. Yet because of his words, rationally spoken, the monasteries were empty in many places. "The Word did it all," he said. "Had I wished I could have started a conflagration at Worms. But while I sat still and drank beer with Philip (Melanchthon) and Amsdorf, God dealt the papacy a mighty blow."

A second necessity for speaking out about insurrection against law and order came with the disturbances created by Thomas Muenzer and others of a radical left-wing movement in the Reformation period. Luther spoke of them in "A Letter to the Princes of Saxony Concerning the Rebellious Spirit" (in Luther's Works, 40, 41-60).

Though I realize full well that your Princely Graces will know how to deal in this matter better than I can advise, yet I am in duty bound to do my part and respectfully to pray and exhort you to look into this matter carefully. Your obligation and duty to maintain order requires you to guard against such mischief and to prevent rebellion. Your Graces know full well that your power and earthly authority are given to you by God in that you have been bidden to preserve the peace and punish the wrongdoer, as St. Paul teaches in Romans 13:4. Therefore your Graces should not sleep nor be idle. For God will want and require an answer if the power of the sword is carelessly used or regarded. Nor would your Graces be able to give account to the people of the world if you tolerated and endured rebellion. (Luther's Works 40, 51-52)

Luther then described the effective means he had used at Leipzig in 1519 and at Worms in 1521. He urged the princes to let the radicals preach to their hearts' content, but added: "When they want to do more than fight with the word, and begin to destroy and use force, then your Graces must intervene" (Luther's Works, 40, 57).

The third instance of violence in the German states was the Peasants' War, a tragic chapter in the Reformation of the 16th century. The occasion for this conflict was a changing economic situation accompanying the decay of feudalism and the development of modern commerce. These changes had left the peasants in a bad way. Luther was sympathetic to their plight as they had described it in their celebrated Twelve Articles (in The Works of Martin Luther, 4, 210-216). Luther's response to the articles was "An Admonition To Peace: A Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Swabia" (in The Works of Martin Luther, 4, 219-244). Luther commented:

The thing about them that pleases me the best is that, in the 12th Article, they offer to accept instruction gladly and willingly, if there be need or necessity for it, and are willing to be corrected, in so far as that can be done by clear, plain, understandable passages of Scripture, since it is right and proper that no one's conscience should be instructed or corrected, except by Scripture. (The Works of Martin Luther, 4, 219)

The Twelve Articles were not in themselves threatening or revolutionary, but threats of rebellion were in the air and Luther was seriously concerned. His response to the articles began by castigating the princes and lords for their responsibility for the evils which were now stimulating rebellion. He said:

We have no one on earth to thank for this mischievous rebellion, except you princes and lords; and especially you blind bishops and mad priests and monks In your temporal government you do nothing but flay and rob your subjects, in order that you may lead a life of splendor and pride, until the poor common folk can bear it no longer. The sword is at your throats, but you think yourselves so firmly in the saddle that no one can unhorse you. This false security and stubborn perversity will break your necks, as you will discover. (The Works of Martin Luther, 4, 230)

Then he turned to the peasants and urged them to take up their cause with a good conscience and with justice. But, he added, "The fact that the rulers are wicked and unjust does not excuse tumult and rebellion . . ." (The Works of Martin Luther 4, 230). Then Luther spoke to both parties and urged that questions at issue be settled with justice and not with force or strife. Charging the lords first he said: "You lords have both Scripture and history against you, for both tell how tyrants were punished."

Pointing to the peasants he said that turbulence has never had a good end, and God has always strictly held to the words, "He that takes the sword shall perish by the sword."

The eventuality was that the peasants, encouraged by Luther's sharp words against the lords and emboldened by his sympathetic counsel to them, ignored his warnings and turned to violence and bloodshed. The result was the bitterest polemic essays of Luther's career, "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants", (1525; in *The Works of Martin Luther*, 4, 248-254) and "An Open Letter Concerning the Hard Book Against the Peasants", (1525; in *The Works of Martin Luther*, 4, 257-281) both violent and angry diatribes, written by a Martin Luther who feared that the anarchy of the peasants would overthrow all law and order in Germany.

A hundred thousand peasants died in the bloodbath of the rebellion. Luther was accused of letting the peasants down and catering to his own interests by supporting the nobility after the insurrection began. But the Reformer had been consistent. He had seen faults on both sides and had urged them to come to a just agreement. When the peasants rebelled, he had no choice but to support the rule of law and to demand that the princes put down the rebellion by the sword of their divinely appointed authority. He pleaded, however, for mercy for all revolutionaries who would sheathe their swords.

Those who can read Luther's essays dispassionately after this long passage of time will note that the Reformer rebuked those who gave occasion for rebellion no less severely than the rebels themselves. Luther had given no comfort to tyranny. Indeed he warned that God may permit the oppressed to rise up in blind anger to destroy their oppressors. Luther was a pragmatic and realistic counselor. He had Scripture and history to verify the wisdom of his judgement.

Martin Luther: Saxon Citizen

Martin Luther was almost as proud of his citizenship in Saxony as the Apostle Paul had been of his Roman citizenship. Electoral Saxony had given its people the realized ideal of Luther's political thought: wise and just princes who were sincere Christians and ruled under the moral principles of Christianity. As a Christian subject Luther regarded it as his solemn obligation to render competent service in his office as professor at the university.

Most of his writing, however, went beyond the specific requirements of his professorship. The Catechisms and his translation of the Bible, as well as his preaching and writing on many subjects, were his contribution toward fulfilling his obligations both as citizen and churchman. He was extremely fortunate in his political superiors, the three electors of Saxony who ruled during his lifetime. He gave all the honor due them, and more. But he was no less deferential and respectful to his highest temporal superior, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. After the Diet of Worms, and in spite of the emperor's condemnation of the Reformer, Luther wrote to Charles thanking him for his safe conduct to Worms. He closed his letter, in which he did not miss the opportunity of reaffirming his theological position, by saying: "Christ Himself prayed for his enemies on the cross, how much more should I pray for you Majesty, the Empire, my very dear rulers, and the whole German Fatherland."

He gave the respect due to the office of the head of the Church, the pope, and as late as 1520 dedicated his essay on "Christian Liberty" to Pope Leo X. Indeed in the previous year Luther had said:

The Roman Church is honored by God above all others, by the undoubted fact that the Saints Peter and Paul, 46 popes, and many hundred thousands of martyrs

have shed their blood there If, unfortunately, there are such things in Rome as might be improved, there neither is, nor can be any reason that one should tear oneself away from the Church in schism. Rather, the worse things become, the more a man should help and cling to her, for by schism and contempt nothing can be mended. (Quoted in Rupp, 1951, pp.65-66)

In 1522 the Reformer spelled out in clear terms the responsibilities of citizenship as well as the limitations of the secular authority in the essay: "Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed" (Luther's Works, 45, 75-130). This work was explicit in denying secular rulers the right to set themselves in God's place over the consciences of men and to specify what books or other materials they might read. It offered, in biblical terms, "a sound basis for the civil law and the sword so no one will doubt that it is in the world by God's will and ordinance" (Luther's Works, 45, 85). Then he went on to say:

Since a true Christian lives and labors on earth not for himself alone but for his neighbor, he does by the very nature of his spirit even what he himself has no need of, but is useful and needful to his neighbor. Because the sword is most beneficial and necessary for the whole world in order to preserve peace, punish sin, and restrain the wicked, the Christian submits most willingly to the rule of the sword, pays his taxes, honors those in authority, serves, helps, and does all he can to assist the governing authority. (Luther's Works, 45, 94)

Luther had no reservations as to the duty of citizens to accept a call to arms when one's country is attacked by aggressive powers. If the prince is in the wrong in his call to arms and asks his citizens to fight in a cause repugnant to the will of God, citizens

may refuse to obey on the grounds that one ought to obey God rather than men. If there is a doubt, however, citizens may obey their prince without peril to their souls.

Throughout his life Luther continually urged Christians to be diligent and zealous in fulfilling their obligations to the state. He reminded them of the need for lawyers, magistrates, and judges; of soldiers and military officers, of farmers, artisans, and laborers. The need for schools and well trained teachers and educational administrators was fundamental to his whole idea of the welfare of the state and its citizens. The state needs hangmen too, Luther said, and no one ought to despise this function on the grounds of his Christian faith. All honorable and necessary vocations constitute service both to God and man.

When, in the last weeks of his life, his political superiors asked him to go to Eisleben to mediate a quarrel between the Counts of Mansfeld, Luther considered it his duty to do so. He did not respond that such things were none of the concern of a churchman, a lecturer on the Bible at the university. The Reformer traveled to Eisleben in inclement weather and spent three weeks with the counts and their legal advisors in reaching a friendly agreement on the questions at issue. He died on the very day that the conflict was resolved. He had rendered a service to God and man. He would not have considered it an inappropriate termination of the life of a man of God.

The Reformer often spoke of property rights, affirming not only the right of citizens to own property, but the duty of princes to protect the property of their subjects. For his own property he had little concern. It may well be that the monk's vow of poverty remained an unconscious force within him. After his marriage, when his salary had been increased and the elector had given him the entire Augustinian monastery as a residence,

Luther's disregard of personal property was reflected in an almost irresponsible open-handedness and generosity. He refused royalties for his books and, with the Medieval concept of the "just price" still clinging to him, said: "What I have got for nothing I will give for nothing." Valued gifts from wealthy patrons were often given to the poor, much to wife Katherine's discomfiture. The Luther-house became a hostel for orphans, nuns, monks, students, and many others who could not pay the rent Katie normally charged for the cells previously assigned to the resident monks at the cloister. His frequent comment, "I have enough money," was the despair of a wife whose resourcefulness and hard work kept the Reformer and his family from suffering the chaos and insecurity of improvidence.

Before his own marriage on June 13, 1525, Luther had encouraged the marriage of monks and nuns and priests, but his own excellent prospects for martyrdom had restrained him from the added tragedy his death would create for a surviving widow. Besides, he saw certain personal advantages in remaining single. He said:

Oh truly a noble, great, holy estate is the estate of matrimony, provided it is rightly observed! Oh what a truly miserable, frightful, dangerous estate the estate of matrimony can be when it is not observed in all faithfulness! And who cares to meditate on these things would soon lose his fleshly desires and would as much grasp for the estate of virginity as marriage. (Quoted in Schwiebert, 1950, p.581)

Once his decision to marry was made, Luther proceeded with dispatch. He said:

It is very dangerous to put off your wedding, for Satan gladly interferes and makes trouble through evil talkers, slanderers, and friends of both parties. If I had not married quickly and secretly

and taken few into my confidence, everyone would have done what he could to hinder me; for all my best friends cried: "Not this one, but another." (Quoted in Schwiebert, p.589)

A limited number of friends, including Martin's parents, were present at the wedding. The elector sent wild game for the wedding feast, a friend sent a keg of the best Torgau beer. The wedding service was held in the town church followed by a wedding dinner at the Black Cloister and a square dance at the Rathaus. Among many valued gifts from friends all over Europe, the most valued was the elector's deed of gift to the Augustinian monastery and a substantial raise in salary.

It was a marriage that was to have incomparable value in the total perspective of the Lutheran Reformation. Where formerly celibacy had been enthroned as the highest order in the spiritual realm, marriage and the family were now restored to their place of dignity and honor in society. A home, formerly the Black Cloister, now became the mecca of guests (one might almost call them pilgrims) of high and low degree who passed through its doors from 1525 to 1546. What they saw in that home was the realization and the exemplification of all that was best in the daily lives of a devout Christian family.

They saw a man, touched by greatness in his own right, who respected, as well as loved, his wife and treated her as an equal in the mutuality of their lives. In truth, no one in modern times has done more to elevate and dignify womanhood in its best and truest sense. They saw a marriage in the pleasant relationship of a sense of humor and the sustaining atmosphere of mutual inter-dependence, a marriage relationship kept in a harmony of purpose through an unqualified faith and trust in the love of God. They saw a home in which sons and daughters enjoyed the respect and dignity due

them as human individuals and who received a love and parental attention worthy of their Christian heritage.

But let us take a further look at the home itself. When Luther received it as a wedding gift, the elector included a gift of 100 Gulden for "new home necessities". Local records indicate that two tons of plaster were used in renovating the building. The first floor had a kitchen, supply rooms, and the monks' sleeping quarters, later converted into a dining room accommodating several hundred students. The second floor became the living quarters for the Luther family. There was a reception room (12X24 feet), Luther's study (24X24), a dining room (12X24), three bedrooms, and the famous tower room. In addition there were two lecture rooms on the second floor, one large enough to accommodate 400 students. As the necessities of the family grew, space in a dormered third floor was also utilized.

The occupants of this princely mansion were Martin and Katherine Luther and their six children. There was Aunt Lena, who had left the convent with Katherine and, beyond marriageable age, spent the rest of her life with the Luther family. There were up to six tutors for the children and a dozen orphaned nieces and nephews of Luther who made their permanent home with his family. There were usually one to two dozen table companions of Luther, students who spent varying lengths of time in the Reformer's home. From the recollections of these table companions come the notes, often inaccurate, that were compiled in the "Table Talks" of Luther. The students occupied the cells of the former monastery. A few paid rent, most were indigent students who could not pay. Unattached monks and nuns, unemployed pastors, and a steady flow of thousands of overnight guests of high and low degree passed also through the halls of that stately edifice.

All guests were treated as members of the family, and all of them conformed themselves to the family customs. These included a daily study of the Catechism, prayers, and family devotions with formal Sunday worship. Music and singing were favorite amusements and occasionally Luther would challenge a guest to a game of chess. A bowling lane and ample playgrounds in the garden provided needed forms of relaxation. It was a happy and busy home in the best sense. Christian love and a generous hospitality were always evident.

Twice the Luther family was stricken by illness and death. Visitors had occasion to see the grief of parents over the loss of children, confident that they would surely see them in Paradise.

The effect and influence of the practical and Christian daily home life in the Luther-house is beyond calculation. Literally thousands of people had occasion to see, at first hand, the effects of the Gospel on an honored Christian family. Luther's marriage and the theology of the Reformation had destroyed the Medieval ideal of celibacy. The Christian home, with all its values, was to be the ideal of Christian life for the following centuries. Martin Luther at home, as well as at the lectern of his formal professorship, has represented that functional citizenship that undergirds so effectively a healthy and robust national life.

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III. *Martin Luther: Pastoral Counselor and Social Mentor*

Among the problems faced by Martin Luther as a reformer none was more vexatious than the Anabaptist movement which swept over most of the lands that were involved in the Reformation. It was serious enough that it had a theology which, in Luther's opinion, departed from biblical norms. Its most troublesome impact was due to the fact that Anabaptism discredited the whole Reformation movement by a policy of withdrawal from society and by its repudiation of the authority of secular government. The movement had been involved in the tragedy of the Peasants' Revolt of the 1520's, but the spirit of Anabaptism was not crushed by the defeat of the peasants.

In 1532 Luther wrote a letter to Eberhard von der Tannen, the chief magistrate of Wartburg and Eisenach, warning him to be on the alert for the revolutionary activity of Anabaptists, whom the Reformer referred to as "infiltrating and clandestine preachers". He said that they were men who were preaching without a call either from a Christian congregation or from the political authority. On the contrary, their activities were secretive and carried out furtively. Luther said:

I have been told how these infiltrators worm their way to harvesters and preach to them in the field during their work, as well as to the solitary workers at charcoal kilns or in the woods . . . They want to dislodge the pastor secretly, together with all of his authority, without revealing their secret commission . . . There is no other solution than that both offices, the spiritual and temporal, concern themselves diligently with these matters. (Luther's Works, 40, 384)

It was in this context that Luther asserted so vigorously the qualifications and the authorization for his own public calling:

I have often said, and still say, I would not exchange my doctor's degree for all the world's gold. For I would, in the long run, lose courage and fall into despair if, as these infiltrators, I had undertaken these great and serious matters without call or commission. But God and the whole world bears testimony that I entered into this work publicly and by virtue of my office as teacher and preacher, and have carried it on hitherto by the grace and help of God. (Luther's Works, 40, 387)

Luther believed that his education and his calling qualified him for the grave responsibilities to which he had been assigned and that they authorized him to speak on any subject pertinent to the welfare of the people. Counting the temporal blessings that God is wont to give to men, he said: "But more excellent than all these are the blessings of the mind, such as reason, judgement, knowledge, eloquence, and prudence" (Luther's Works, 42, 145).

It was inevitable that Martin Luther's calling and his position of intellectual eminence should have placed him on call both as pastoral counselor and social mentor. Since he viewed man in the totality of his human experience, he felt no less responsible for giving counsel in temporal affairs than in those matters that relate to the salvation of the soul.

Martin Luther: Pastoral Counselor

Among the legends in the Medieval cult of saints was the story of a Franconian shepherd who, in 1446, had a vision of Christ surrounded by fourteen saints. In time these saints acquired names and each was identified as the protector against specific diseases.

These were: Dennis of Paris, headache and rabies; Erasmus called Elmo, colic and cramp; Blaise, throat ailments; Barbara, lightening, fire, explosion, sudden and evil death; Margaret, demonic possession and for pregnant women; Catherine of Alexandria, philosophers and students; George, soldiers; Acatius and Eustace, hunters; Pantaleon the physician, tuberculosis; Giles, epilepsy, sterility, insanity; Cyriac the Deacon, demonic possession; Vitus the Martyr, epilepsy; and Christopher the Giant, travelers (Luther's Works, 40, 387).

The palace of Frederick the Wise at Torgau had an altar screen by Lucas Cranach with Christ and these fourteen saints framed in panels on each side of the Lord. When Frederick returned to Torgau seriously ill after attending the election of Charles V at Frankfort in 1519, his court chaplain, Georg Spalatin, requested that Martin Luther write a series of devotionals to comfort the ailing Elector. Luther responded by writing what he called a literary altar screen in fourteen parts. He called this work "Fourteen Consolations For Those Who Labor and Are Heavy Laden" and said that these consolations were to replace "the fourteen saints whom our superstition has invented . . . Now this is a spiritual screen and not made of silver. The book is not meant to adorn the walls of churches, but to uplift and strengthen the pious heart. I trust it will be a great help to your Lordship in your present condition" (Luther's Works, 42, 123).

The book included instruction for those who struggle for a stronger faith, for those who would pray effectively, for sinners who face temptations and death. It reveals a Reformer who could be both tender and confident in conveying the certainty of the blessings of true faith and effective comfort to the disconsolate. The following paragraph will illustrate the spirit of these fourteen consolations:

Thus the Christian (if he but believes it) may glory in the merits of Christ and in all his blessings as though he himself had won them. So truly are they his own that he can boldly dare to look forward to the judgement of God, however unbearable that is. Such a great thing is faith, such blessings does it bring us, such glorious sons of God does it make us! We cannot be sons without also inheriting our Father's blessings. Let Christians thus say in full confidence, 'O death, where is your victory? O death, where is your sting?' namely, sin. 'The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God who gave us the victory through Jesus Christ, our Lord' (1 Cor, 15, 55-57). That is to say, the law makes us sinners and sin makes us guilty of death. Who has conquered these two? Was it our righteousness? Was it our life? No, it was Jesus Christ, rising from death, condemning sin and death, imparting his righteousness to us, bestowing his merits on us, and holding his hand over us. Now all is well with us; we fulfill the law and vanquish sin and death. For all of this let there be honor, praise, and thanksgiving to God for ever and ever. Amen. (Luther's Works, 42, 164)

Much of the rest of Luther's literary output reveals the flowing continuity of pastoral counsel to the princes of the German states and to others in high station. When the princes of the Schmalkaldic League were preparing for a general council called to meet in Mantua in 1537 they asked Luther to write their doctrinal testament. We find him advising the city of Zerbst how to deal with adultery (Luther's Works, 49, 85) and counseling the city of Stettin on the thorny issue of tax exemptions for the clergy (49, 25). He advises the Elector Frederick against an increase in tax rates (48, 52). He counsels a pastor on liturgical usage (49, 55), and instructs another how to deal with heretics (49, 232).

During his tenure at Wittenberg Luther was both teacher and counselor to thousands of students. Both students and friends sat at his table listening to his counsel on all manner of questions and issues. The published "Table Talks" are evidence of the Reformer's wide-ranging interests and the numerous questions on which he was prepared to give counsel in his generous concern for everyone's problems.

We see his approving presence at an initiation ceremony for new students at Wittenberg. Theodore G. Tappert (1959) describes the proceedings:

The fledglings were called 'yellow bills' who needed to be tamed before they could become accepted members of the academic community. After they had submitted to humiliating harassments, horns which had previously been attached to the students' heads were removed, salt was sprinkled on them in token of their need to be preserved from corruption, wine was poured on their heads to mark their entrance upon a new and more exalted kind of life, and finally they were "absolved," as it was called, from their low estate. Luther was invited to such ceremonies and often participated in them. On one of the occasions when (Luther) addressed entering students (he said): "This ceremony is intended to make you humble, so that you may not be haughty and arrogant and given to wickedness. Such vices are monsters with horns, and these are not becoming to men and students. Therefore, humble yourselves. Learn to be patient. You will be subject to molestations all your life. When you hold important offices in the future, burglars, peasants, noblemen, and your wives will harass you in various ways. When this happens, do not become impatient. Bear you cross and your troubles with equanimity and without murmuring. Remember that you were initiated into trouble in Wittenberg. Say that you first began

to be "hazed" in Wittenberg when you were a young man. Now that you are more distinguished, say that you have more grievous vexations to bear. So this your "disposition" is only a symbol of human life in all its troubles and castigations." (p,4)

We hear Luther's admonitions toward proper decorum at university dances and his severe reproof of a negligent student: "I shall not hear more of this, nor shall I suffer such an example of disobedience in my house or at my table, even if you possessed the wealth of a Count. Pay heed to what I say, for I shall not stand for such conduct from you or anybody else" (Quoted in Tappert, p.17). We hear the Reformer complaining that "we have a large number of young men from a variety of lands and the girls have become bold, run after the fellows in their rooms and wherever else they can, and offer them their love gratis" (in Tappert, p.14). Luther writes to a worried mother: "Your son John is attached by a great love to an honorable girl here I am unwilling to see his hope turn to ashes. The girl pleases him very much, her station in life is not unlike his, and she is, besides, a pious girl of an honorable family . . . It therefore behooves you, as a loving mother, to give your consent" (in Tappert, p.15). Luther diagnosed the illness of one of his students in these words: "The reason for your illness is love. Studying seldom has this effect" (in Tappert, p.14). On another occasion the reformer ruefully "observed that many of the students have rejoiced over rumors of the plague, for some have developed sores from carrying their schoolbags, some have acquired colic from their books, some have developed scabs on the fingers with which they write, some have picked up goutiness from their papers, and many have found their ink to be getting mouldy. In addition, they have devoured letters from their mothers and these have made them hearsick and homesick" (In Tappert, pp.17-18).

When students died of the plague or from other illness or mishap, Luther personally sent letters of comfort to the parents. Many letters were written to plead for financial aid for worthy students. In other ways Luther endeared himself to his students and to the people of Germany. He regarded the simplest folk as worthy of his attention and respectful regard. He once said to his table companions: "When I preach I sink myself deep down. I regard neither Doctors nor Magistrates, of whom there are here in this church above forty: But I have an eye to the multitude of young people, children, and servants, of whom there are more than two thousand" (in Kepler, 1952, p.253). The whole spirit of his pastoral ministry may well be summarized in his counsel to pastors:

An upright, godly, and true preacher should direct his preaching to the poor, simple sort of people, like a mother that stills her child, dandles and plays with it, presenting it with milk from her own breast, and needing neither malmsey and muscadin for it. In such sort should also preachers carry themselves, teaching and preaching plainly, that the simple and unlearned may conceive and comprehend, and retain what they say. When they come to me, to Melanchthon, to Dr. Pomer (Bugenhagen), etc, let them show their cunning, how learned they be; they shall be well put to their trumps. But to sprinkle out Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in their public sermons, savors merely of show, according with neither time nor place. (in Kepler, p.254)

One of the most perceptive of the contemporary biographers of Luther, A.G. Kickens (1967), writes:

To understand the finer characteristics of Luther, the man and the pastor, we should no doubt turn aside from the spectacle of the earthshaking reformer to read the 3,000 and more extant letters and the many other evidences of his activity as a personal counselor. They show beyond a doubt his

ceaseless and helpful concern for the sick, the bereaved, the perplexed, the oppressed and persecuted, the sufferers from matrimonial problems. Everywhere he makes the evangelical appeal to faith, yet over and above it he displays a rare human sympathy, an inspired common sense. Never, even to the correspondents he has not met, is he the dry impersonal confessor. During the Bubonic plagues in Wittenberg he remains at his pastoral station: even when the university itself is evacuated he visits the sick and takes some of them into his house . . . Bitter experience makes him urge depressed and tempted people to seek companionship, to go out and converse with anybody, above all to avoid those inventions of the Devil: fasting and solitude. (pp. 111-112)

Martin Luther: Social Mentor

Jesus Christ came to earth both to effect and proclaim the salvation of sinners. What He said and what He did fulfilled the promises God made through Moses and the Old Testament prophets. Having accomplished His eternal purpose, He also addressed Himself to believers to instruct them in Christian living. The Sermon on the Mount is an expression, in depth, in which Jesus tells believers what He expects of them in response to the antecedent love of God. His simplest and most inclusive statement with reference to the human relationships that result from a love for God is: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as Thyself" (Matt. 19, 19). The parable of the last judgement gives us Christ's own commentary on the precise meaning of the words which He called the second great commandment.

The sheep, the heirs of heaven, are arrayed at His right hand; the goats, the heirs of hell, are at His left hand (Matt. 25, 31-46). He says to the heirs of

heaven: "Come, ye blessed of My Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." Jesus' Proclamation of the Gospel had recalled that the preparation for salvation had begun with the promise at Eden and had been fulfilled at Calvary. The host at His right hand on judgement day were there because the Holy Ghost had led them to accept the promise and the cleansing of the Son of God. That they had accepted Christ in a true faith had been demonstrated by their acts of love. They had fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, taken in strangers, clothed the naked, and visited the sick and those in prison.

To those on His left hand He says: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." That they had not accepted Christ as their Savior was evident from their failure to reflect the love of Christ in their relations toward their neighbors. Their conduct in life was proof that they had rejected Christ and had not become true believers. They had failed to exhibit the fruits of faith in their lives because a true faith had not been in them at all. They had not fed the hungry or given drink to the thirsty, they had not taken in strangers or clothed the naked, neither had they visited the sick or those in prison.

The Apostles understood the meaning of the Sermon on the Mount and knew how true Christians responded to the love of God. St. Paul's eloquent words to Titus (3, 5-7) are often quoted: "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Savior: that being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life." The pity is that the following verse, which speaks of the fruits of faith, is less frequently alluded to. The Apostle

says: "This is a faithful saying and these things I will that thou affirm constantly, that they which have believed in God might be careful to maintain good works."

The Apostle Peter similarly refers to the "knowledge of God, and of Jesus our Lord. According as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises: that by these ye might be partakers of the divine nature having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust" (2 Peter 1, 3-4). The Apostle then calls attention to the good works that ought to follow lest faith itself become "barren" and "unfruitful in the knowledge of Jesus Christ" (2 Peter 1, 8) and "blind" in its forgetfulness of the love of Christ that has purged them of their sins" (2 Peter 1, 9).

The Reformer, Martin Luther, read and understood the words of Christ and the Apostles. Though he may be remembered most vividly for his rediscovery of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and his rejection of a theology of salvation by good works, it is our great loss if we fail to recognize Luther's careful exposition of the nature and the source of valid and God-pleasing good works. We shall fail in our worthiness of a Lutheran heritage if we do not grasp fully the sense and the substance of the ethical principles of Martin Luther. A modern scholar has observed the root and foundation of Luther's ethical principles in these words: "Luther's ethic is determined in its entirety, in its starting point, and all its main features, by the justification of the sinner through the grace that is shown in Jesus Christ and received in faith alone. Justification by faith determines Christian ethics because, for the Christian justification is both the presupposition and the source of the ethical life" (Althaus, 1972, p.3). Luther himself said: Having

been justified by grace, we then do good works, yes, Christ Himself does all in us" (Luther's Works, 34, 111). Under the privileges of the priesthood of all believers the sinner is enabled to serve others in a spiritual and a social ministry which the Reformer outlines in the following words: "A man does not live for himself alone in this mortal body to work for it alone, but he lives also for all men on earth; rather he lives only for others and not for himself . . . He cannot ever in this life be idle and without works toward his neighbors, for he will necessarily speak, deal with, and exchange views with men" (Luther's Works, 34, 364).

Taking the Ten Commandments as the basis for his discussion Luther has given us a comprehensive view of his doctrine of good works in a treatise under that title published in 1520. Later in the same year there followed the third of the three great treatises of 1520, the Reformer's "Treatise on Christian Liberty" (Luther's Works, 31, 333-377). It opened with the famous paradox:

"A Christian is perfectly free, lord of all, subject to none."

A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all."

Luther could hardly have conceived a more dramatic formula for discussing the Gospel and describing Christian life. Of the Gospel he said:

To preach Christ, means to feed the soul, to make it righteous, set it free, save it, provided it believes the preaching. Faith is the saving and efficacious use of the Word of God, according to Romans 10, 9, 'If you confess with your lips that Jesus is Lord and believe in your heart that God raised him from the dead, you will be saved.'

Having established the basis for salvation, Luther could turn to a reconciliation of his paradox and say that while a Christian's faith is directed solely to Christ, his works spring solely from Christ. The Christian's righteousness is of Christ and his works are inspired by a love for Christ. Believers have become a "royal priesthood" with access to the mercy seat of God and the privilege of ministering to others, not only for ourselves, "for as priests we are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one another divine things. These are the functions of priests, and they can not be granted to any unbeliever. Thus Christ has made it possible for us, provided we believe in him, to be not only his brethren, co-heirs, and fellow kings, but also his fellow priests" (Luther's Works, 31, 355). Luther considered the priesthood of believers a happy ministry of service, saying, "All our works should be of such a nature that they flow from pleasure and love, and are all directed toward our neighbor, since for ourselves we need nothing to make us good" (Luther's Works, 30, 79).

Luther could see no difference or distinction between love for God and for our neighbor. We must experience the love of God through faith, but once the love of God is in us love for our neighbor is simultaneously present. The love of God which flows into us through faith flows out of us to our neighbor in a continuous process. Not only do good works result from faith, they exercise and strengthen our faith. Faith cannot exist in isolation: it exists in the concrete acts of the life of the believer. Faith does not represent something that I do but it exists in the things that I do because good works are the fruit of my faith. The Reformer says: "Faith goes out into works, and through works comes back into itself again" (Luther's Works, 44, 79).

Luther did not think that a Christian needed definite prescriptions for a life of good works. He believed that love dictates these things better than any law. "The Christian, therefore", Luther said, "insofar as he has faith is the master of all things; insofar as he has love, he is the servant of all." Faith is directed to God, good works are directed toward our neighbors. The good works are not done to lay up a treasury of merit, they are done because they are pleasing to God. On the other hand, "those who like to hear and understand this doctrine of true faith but do not begin to serve their neighbor, just as if they wanted to be saved by a faith devoid of good works, do not perceive that their faith is no faith, no more than an image reflected in a mirror is a face, but only the reflection of it" (Quoted in Bornkamm, 1958, p.91).

Service to one's neighbor, Luther taught, is service to God, and everyone ought to be a Christ to his neighbor. Wherever the works of Christ are absent, there Christ too is absent. "We are so named after Christ not because he is absent from us, but because he dwells in us, that is we believe in him and are Christs to one another, and do to our neighbors as Christ does to us. We conclude, therefore, that a Christian man lives not in himself, but in Christ and his neighbor. Otherwise he is not a Christian" (Quoted in Rupp, 1951, p.89). One of Luther's table companions quoted the Reformer as saying: "One ought to love one's neighbor with a love as chaste as that of a bridegroom for his bride. In this case all faults are concealed and covered over and only the virtues seen" (Luther's Works, 54, 28).

In another table conversation Luther was speaking of Galatians 5, 6, and said:

Faith is active in love, that is, that faith justifies which expresses itself in acts. Now, it is assumed by some that the fruits of faith make the faith to be faith, although Paul intends something

different, namely, that faith makes the fruit to be fruit. Faith comes first and then love follows. (Luther's Works, 54, 74)

Luther shows how far he is prepared to go in his emphasis on the necessity for expressions of an active love for our neighbors when he says:

God would much rather be deprived of his service than of the service you owe your neighbor, and would sooner see you less stringent in your service to Himself, if you are pious at the expense of serving your neighbor. Summing up, God wishes you to see first to your neighbor's service and interests. (Quoted in Pelican, 1967, p.226)

Martin Luther's thought and action always stemmed from the fundamental idea of the reality and the omnipresence of God. For most Christians a relationship to God is perfunctory. We go about life's tasks. We earn a livelihood for our families. We are solicitous of our respective husbands, wives, and children. We are concerned about advancement in our professions and the educational progress and achievement of our children. We pay our taxes, obey the laws, serve our country, and participate in community activities. We take appropriate measures to promote our health and spend a goodly amount of time in a variety of the pleasures of life. God really is a secondary matter, even to those who go to church regularly. We concede that God is important, but only in a remote relationship to everyday life. We baptize and confirm our children, we go to church and offer prayers for the sick and the dying, but God remains a God at some distance from us.

It was not so with Martin Luther. God was all in all, and everywhere present and a factor in the smallest concerns of life. That very fact led Luther to a far more immediate and realistic understanding of the affairs of human life than is possible for those who attribute to God only a secondary role in human life.

God was a concrete factor in life and Luther had the certainty that Christian love, and a genuine Christian love at that, was the best source and motivation for the amelioration of social ills. But, remember, Luther was no utopian. His grasp of the nature of man and the realities of life did not lend itself to any illusions about the perfectibility of man. His view of the social order was informed by an objective appraisal of reality that was neither pessimistic nor utopian. He proposed no abstract formulas for the solution of social problems. He lay claim to no special spiritual authority in temporal matters but, as Bornkamm has said, "He spoke merely as a Christian who, as he was obliged to do, served his brethren in love by marshalling reason to support his views. He did not shrink from preaching those opinions from the pulpit, but he always stated them only in the form of sound and sensible advice" (1958, p.91). Suggestions for reform, as in his "Open Letter to the Christian Nobility," reflect a social morality attuned to the changes in progress in the 16th century. Though he had no illusions about a general acceptance of Christianity, he had an optimistic view of continuing improvement in social and civic life. He believed that through the use of reason and necessary force (police power) God's design for order in the universe was capable of practical realization.

No, Luther did not shrink from action when it was called for. He once irritably asked, "Are we to do nothing but talk about the Word of God and never act?" The burning of the papal bull of excommunication together with the long venerated and respected Canon Law, certainly was the work of an activist deeply inflamed by the issues at hand. His frequent appeals for the application of Christian love, even to one's enemies, was nothing like the mindless and polluted sentimentalism of modern activists who say, "Make love, not war!" Luther said, "Love your enemies, yes, but God's enemies, must be my enemies."

At a time when conservative Lutherans in this country have a pathological fear that social involvement will bring upon them the charge that they are dispensing a "Social Gospel," with all the dreadful semantic overtones with which that phrase is freighted, we shall do well to realize that Martin Luther became involved in almost every social issue of his time. His plea

Do unto your neighbor as Christ has done unto you, and let all your works, together with your whole life, be directed toward your neighbor. Search out the poor, the sick, and all sorts of needy persons. Help them to the limit of your ability with body, property, and honor. Let this be your daily habit. (Quoted in Bornkamm, p.91)

The range of his concerns in social affairs included educational reforms, the abolition of monopolies, the restriction of an import trade, particularly with respect to luxury goods which resulted in a gold drain and inflated prices, the regulation of interest rates and guilds (the unions of the 16th century), and the dispersal of large capitalist holdings in favor of small businesses and agricultural interests. He urged coercive action against begging, prostitution, and intemperance, and advocated vocational education to make possible an honorable industrious, and godly life.

He was severe in his criticism of those who oppress rather than aid their subjects, as in a letter to Albert of Mansfeld, written in 1541.

According to complaints Your Grace is also sharply and severely oppressive to subjects and proposes to confiscate their forges and goods and to make what amounts to vassals out of them. God will not suffer this. Or if he does, he will allow your land to become impoverished and go to ruin, for he can take away what is his own gift without giving an accounting for it; as Haggai says: "Ye have sown much, and

bring in little; and he that earneth wages, earneth wages to put into a bag with holes. (Quoted in Forell, 1960, p.166)

When Luther wrote to the Peasants in 1525 he admitted that their taxes were unbearable, that their profits were consumed in the interest of maintaining the luxuries of the princes, and that their bitter labor was squandered in unnecessary expenditures of their rulers. Frequent comments were made by the Reformer against high prices and the unreasonable profits of merchants and tradesmen.

Luther's idealism and his interest in human equity and social justice is also illustrated by many views which discarded prejudices generally hold in the 16th century. He urged the abandonment of all prejudices related to birth and asked why an illegitimate child should be denied right assured to other citizens. He inveighed against harsh treatment meted out to widows and condemned the practice of imprisoning debtors. At a time when the Church, under regulations of the 4th Lateran Council, 1214, were excluding Jews from the Church and the privilege of landholding, Martin Luther called for the conversion of the Jews and their reception into the Church. His later intemperate diatribes against the Jews were related to their denial of Christ and their involvement in the extortionate business practices that were so common in the 16th century.

Martin Luther's economic views, much like those of the American Thomas Jefferson, tended toward a special regard for a simple and rustic agriculturalism. The crafts and commerce seemed less worthy of honor. Though he made frequent comments in behalf of craftsmen and small trademen and urged the application of Christian social ethics in the tensions between laborers and their employers, his sympathies were generally with those directly involved in agriculture. Like Jefferson, Luther considered a prosperous peasantry the best foundation for a sound economy. He believed that all the

people should have the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of healthy social and economic progress. But these were not merely the views of the academician. He actually worked and contributed toward improving the existing civic and social practices of the time.

Luther's concept of Christian stewardship has implications that can only be understood in relation to his concept of love toward one's neighbor. He defended and supported the right of ownership of property. But he considered property as a means not of self-service but of helping one's neighbor in the spirit of Christian love. You cannot help your neighbor unless you have something to help with. Personal property, therefore, becomes the means for service to others and the more property one has the better is he enabled to serve his neighbor. The Socialists have said that "property is theft". Luther might have said the same of persons who refused to use property for the purpose of helping a neighbor in need.

Luther drew the parallel of the ruler who must have means in order to be able to serve his subjects:

Having money, property, honor, power, land, and servants belongs to the secular realm, without it these could not endure. Therefore, a lord or prince should not and cannot be poor, because for his office and station he must have all sorts of goods like these. This does not mean, therefore, that one must be poor in the sense of having nothing at all of his own. The world would not endure if we were all to be beggars and to have nothing. The head of a household could not support his household and servants if he had nothing at all. (Luther's Works, 21, 12)

When Jesus told the rich young man (Luke 18, 22) to "sell all that thou hast and distribute unto the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven" the Savior was acknowledging the young man's right to his property

while He was teaching a lesson in the ultimate value of Christian giving. The young man clearly loved his possessions more than he loved Christ. A treasure on earth was more important to him than a treasure in heaven.

One of the basic economic problems of Luther's time was extortionate interest rates. Luther was well aware of the problem and wrote extensively about it. We shall not be surprised to find that we cannot share all of Luther's economic views. He thought, for example, that all loans ought to be secured by real value and that the risk involved should be shared by both borrower and lender. As Roland Bainton puts it: "A contract of mutual risk was acceptable, but not a contract of fixed returns which would give Shylock his ducats even though the ships of Antonio were on the rocks." The Reformer considered excessive interest rates an example of the depravity of the times and lashed out against those who became rich by collecting interest on loans. He felt that the way to get money honestly was to work for it.

Reasonable profits on investments and manufactures were acceptable, but ought, he felt, to be computed in terms of wages. Excessive profits corrupted the rich and constituted a double hardship for the poor. When all is said, we must recognize that whatever inadequacies Luther's economic theories may have had, his conception of legal interest rates approximate those that are legal today. One of the "Table Talks" quotes him as follows:

I'm happy to concede what the law and the emperor allow, namely 5 per cent or 6 per cent. But 20 per cent, and 40 per cent -- this is excessive. Wollen-secker (a bookseller) is said to be a pious man, and yet he takes 20 per cent (per half year) and makes forty on every hundred. This is too much. And Dr. Loffel (a doctor of law), I hear, gets four thousand annually on ten thousand, yet he's a doctor of jurisprudence. (Luther's Works, 54, 369)

It is remarkable how generally right Luther actually was. Subsequent generations have seen fit to regulate prices, limit monopolies, place business under legal controls, protect labor, and establish minimum wages. Where he gave advice on economic matters he spoke from a common sense rationality, never under pretense of making judgements on biblical grounds. If his counsel was, as indeed it was in many cases, far ahead of the wisdom of his time we can only attribute it to his comprehensive grasp of the fundamental and common sense wisdom of the Bible itself.

In some instances, of course, Luther's counsel did have a foundation in biblical truth. He stood on firm ground in his condemnation of monasticism because it was an invalid and unacceptable service to God. He totally rejected any thought that the asceticism and poverty of monasticism represented a redemptive virtue. It was his great store of solid common sense, however, that made Luther take the concept of vocation out of the cloister and place it in the workshop. Under Luther's influence the concepts of labor and work lost their denigrating connotations and became general expressions denoting human activity in its various forms.

Because the true believer serves God in every appropriate activity Luther's philosophy gave labor, on all levels of skill and responsibility, a dignity worthy of its service to the Lord. Believing that God Himself places us all in our vocations Christians may work joyfully, confident that their labor is a God-pleasing service. A disciplined home life and honest labor thus have replaced the poverty and chastity of monasticism as instruments of sanctification. The Gospel of Jesus Christ, effectual both in the performance of duty and in service to others, thus becomes a far-reaching power in effecting social reforms. Where charity had formerly been a requirement in a regimen of good works, Luther helped to re-create it as an act of love to both God and man.

Indeed Luther's elevation of everyone's vocation to a role of dignity before God and man has had the added effect of placing a stigma on idleness and begging. This change in attitude toward man's work may well be one of Luther's most important secular legacies. The actual achievements of labor and frugality working together since the 16th century to change the world can scarcely be computed.

My concern in these essays has been to speak to my own generation which so desperately needs the pastoral and personal counsel of the great Reformer. I believe that Martin Luther is a greater man than the Lutherans have known in the centuries since his death. I think that we, the spiritual heirs of the Lutheran Reformation, have been faithful to Luther's principle of the inviolable authority and integrity of Holy Scripture. But have we read and studied the Bible as Luther did? Have we followed Luther's incomparable example of making use of all of Scripture and its vast resource of wisdom for life as well as salvation? Do we know this book, this one book, from beginning to end as Luther knew it?

We do indeed hear the Gospels and the Epistles read on the Sundays of the Church year. We regularly read the texts for the great Church festivals. A few selected proof texts and the basic passages illustrative of the teachings of Christ are constantly before us. But how well have we even attempted to absorb the rest of God's Word to make it a living and functional element in our lives? We may well say: Back to Luther! But first I think that we, the primary heirs of the Lutheran heritage, ought to say: Back to the Bible!

We have held vigorously and steadfastly to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without the deeds of the law. But we have, to our great loss, failed to realize the full implication of Luther's great paradox: "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant

to all, subject to all." We have tended to weaken and dissipate the true freedom of the Christian through formal professions that have not borne the full fruit of love in service to our fellow men. We have shunned involvements in activities that serve the spiritual and temporal welfare of humanity.

As followers of Luther we should have been outstanding in almost every humanitarian activity. We should have set an example to Christians in missionary zeal. We should have shown the world what Luther taught so clearly, that law and order are unattainable without the presence of a fructifying love. But, alas, we have not had a spirit of love proportionate to the love that God has showered on us through His Son Jesus. We contribute far more for the support of our own parishes, for our own spiritual nurture, than we do for a ministry to those who have no Christ at all.

We have taken seriously Luther's principle of the priesthood of all believers, but we have restricted the sense of the words to an emphasis on the idea that every man is his own priest and that each of us has personal access to God in heaven. In this interpretation we have largely ignored Luther's reading of this doctrine, which gives us a priesthood to minister to others, the joy and privilege of bringing the blessed Gospel and our own tokens of love to everyone who is in need of our help.

Where have Lutherans been while the victims of commercial and nationalistic exploitation have sought equity and justice? Where were the Lutherans when American slaves were crying for freedom, and, after emancipation, pleading for justice and equality? Where have Lutherans been while poverty has bred crime in our great cities? Where have the redeemed Lutherans been while Luther was calling on them to be Christs to their neighbors?

Too often we have denied the whole spirit of love encompassing the writings of Martin Luther by saying that our task as Christians is a spiritual, not a social ministry; as if we could deal with disembodied spirits, and as if the love of God does not include all his children in the flesh, and in the totality of the miseries brought into the world by sin. I can only urge every one of you to give a fresh reading to Luther's "Treatise on Good Works" and his "Treatise on Christian Liberty", both written by the Reformer in the white heat of his reforming activity in the year 1520.

We need to recapture some of the spirit of confidence and optimism that Luther expressed when he assured his pessimistic and doubting friends that the world "will not go wrong, that I know for sure. Christ is conqueror of the world, -why then do you fear a conquered world as if it were conqueror?" (Quoted in Brunner, 1961, p.25). God still is active in history, and God's Word remains the innermost nerve of history, performing the work of salvation to the end of time.

We need to recapture the unflinching steadfastness of Martin Luther who read God's Word, believed it, and acted on its precepts without recourse to practical modifications or tactical considerations. We need to recapture the spirit of Martin Luther's consistency in taking God's Word literally and seriously, in its personal precepts as well as in its doctrines.

The last act of Luther's life was the rendering of a social and political service. He was called on to sit with lawyers and legal experts to arbitrate a complex and troublesome difference between the Counts of Mansfeld. Luther knew that a settlement of the dispute was vital for the peace and the welfare of the rulers and the people of the contending areas. Unseasonable weather in late fall made for a difficult journey from Wittenberg to Eisleben where the commission was to sit.

The sessions lasted for three weeks and the matter was concluded in agreement. Martin Luther died on the day that a final accord was reached.

Before he left home on this last journey he had said (Quoted in Green, 1964, p.173): "Old, decrepit, bereft of energy, weary, cold, and now one-eyed, I had hoped that now at last peace would be vouchsafed to me as a dead man. And yet, as if I had never done anything, never spoken, written, achieved anything, I must still be overwhelmed with such toils. But Christ is all in all, both to do and to finish, blessed forever."

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Note: Further amplification of Martin Luther's social ethics may be found in two fine studies: Faith Active in Love, by George W. Forell, Augsburg, 1954, and The Ethics of Martin Luther, by Paul Althaus, Fortress Press, 1972. The latter is an English translation of the German original which appeared in 1965. Both books include comprehensive citations from Luther's works. Luther's World of Thought, by Heinrich Bornkamm, Concordia, 1958, is also the translation of a German original. A number of chapters in this book deal effectively with Luther's social and political thought. For those who wish a quick review of the Reformer's life based on recent scholarship I recommend Gerhard Ritter's Luther: His Life and Work, Harper & Row, 1963, an English translation of the German work published in 1959. I agree with Gordon Rupp's evaluation: "Easily the best work of its size on Luther."