

Simultaneously Saints and Sinners

Religion, Race and Public Leadership in the Lutheran Church
1623-1965

1

Particular focus on specific periods...

- Early establishment of Lutheran Settlements (1700-1750)
- Antebellum period (1830-1860)
- Early Civil Rights period (1955-1965)

2

Barolome' de las Casas

- Spanish Missionary to Caribbean Islands and Mexico
- First Bishop of Chiapas
- In 1550, he participated in the [Valladolid debate](#),
- [Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda](#) argued that the Indians were less than human, and required Spanish masters to become civilized
- De las Casas argued that Natives WERE fully human

3

European Christian Theology and White Supremacy

- 16th Century theologians argued that peoples identified as Black or Natives were NOT HUMAN because they lacked the following characteristics (as determined by Europeans!):
 - Souls
 - Christian faith (religion)
 - History (social context)
 - Civilization (politics)
 - Human development (economics)

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Kelly Brown Douglas, Canon Theologian at Washington National Cathedral

- “anti-black narrative arrived in America with the Puritans and the Pilgrims”
- First black slaves were brought to the mainland by the English in 1619 at Jamestown, VA.
- First black slaves were brought to Caribbean (Virgin Islands) in 1500’s by Spanish, and then the Danish West India Company (late 1600’s)

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Early Lutheran Settlements by country/language:

- Dutch: 1623 in New Netherlands (NY and NJ) (slavery dictated by local government; same standing in courts as whites; brutality prohibited)
- Swedes: 1638 along Delaware River (slaves prohibited)
- Danes: 1666 at St. Thomas (Frederick Lutheran Church) harsh plantation style slavery
- Germans: 1683 at Germantown, Lutheran leader Daniel Francis Pastorius presented first anti-slavery petition in 1688. Opposed by wealthy Quakers.
- Salzburgers (Austria), 1734 in anti-slavery colony of Georgia

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German immigration and indentured servanthood in 1700's (PA, MD, VA)

- Most Germans arrived as “redemptioners” who sold themselves into indentured servanthood for a defined period (typically 5-7 years) after which they were free
- Indentured servanthood did not transfer to children like slave status and guaranteed freedom once time of service ended
- Due to prominence of Indentured Servants, slavery wasn't as attractive in states such as PA, MD

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Individual Lutheran Leaders: “If they come, we will serve them”

- Emmanuel, first black male baptized, by Pr. Jacobus Fabritius on Palm Sunday, 1669 in NYC. (little information known about Emmanuel)
- Pr. Fabritius' ministry among Dutch Lutherans was short-lived due to his “fondness of strong drink, his habit of wearing flamboyant red clothing, and his equally colorful vocabulary.”

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Justus Falckner, first pastor ordained in US

- Began serving NY (Hudson Valley) Lutheran congregations in 1703.
- Listed two free blacks as members (Aree van Guinea and wife, Jora) and baptized their daughter in 1705
- Van Guinea family moved to Raritan Valley (NJ), purchased land and established first Lutheran church there. In 1714, Falckner began yearly treks to offer baptisms and confirmations of black families.
- English law prohibited the enslavement of baptized persons. Nevertheless, Falckner baptized slaves in 1708 and 1712 after insuring they did not intend to use their baptism as a means for seeking freedom from bondage.

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First slaves baptized by Justus Falckner

- 1708, Native American slave named Tom becomes first slave baptized in a Lutheran Church on mainland
- 1712, Pieter Christian was first African descent slave baptized on mainland, married a Palatinate (white) women, had seven children all baptized at Zion Lutheran Church in Loonenburg (Athens, NY) and served on the Church Council as a slave. Both free blacks and slaves were recorded as members of this congregation.

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Pr Wilhelm Berkenmeyer succeeds Falckner

- Pr. Berkenmeyer owned two slaves himself
- To his congregational critics, Berkenmeyer claimed it was “none of their business since he purchased the with his own money”
- Introduced first model constitution for Lutheran congregations, stating, “in regard to the Negroes, a pastor shall previously ascertain that they do not intend to abuse their Christianity, to break the laws of the land, or to dissolve the tie of obedience”
- In 1744, Berkenmeyer requested Loonenburg church to designate a bench for Negro slaves. The council rejected his request and encouraged slaves to occupy the front pew.

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Danish West Indies

- First recorded baptism of a negro slave (name unknown) in 1713 by Pr. Christian Fischer, who neglected his duties due to excessive drinking.
- 1718, Pr. Hans Christian Brandt recorded baptisms of a few more slaves and died two years later.
- First organized effort to evangelize/teach slaves began in 1740 when Pr. Hans Jacob Stroud started instructing 50 slaves in the evenings and ordered bibles and catechisms in Dutch (slaves spoke Dutch creole).
- After Denmark purchased the Islands, in 1754, they required slaves to be instructed and examined in Danish (which slaves did not speak).

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Seeking to overcome Eurocentrism

- In 1771, Lutherans adopted the pattern of the Moravians, providing worship and instruction in Dutch Creole, a separate worship service led by a “church clerk”, a slave named Michael Samuelson who serviced as worship leader.
- Two hundred Africans were added every year from 1771-1776. Free schools were conjoined with all Lutheran congregations. Free blacks served as teachers and students were instructed in Creole.
- New Church in Charlotte Amile in 1793 made possible by the generosity of a free black, Mr. Jean Reneau. By 1800 there were over one thousand black members, both slave and free.

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Anti-slavery Salzburger Lutherans in Georgia

- Religious Refugees who fled Austria and were offered land in the anti-slavery colony of Georgia in 1734.
- Ebenezer (near Savannah) was a communal colony, organized like a theocracy and led by Pr. Johann Boltzius from Pietist tradition of University of Halle. (Strongly anti-slavery).
- As pressure grew for slavery in the Georgia Colony, Pr Boltzius relented and instead focused on “buying” slave children at the Charleston slave market, educating them (against the law) and offering emancipation. (about 59 total).

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Henry Melchior Muhlenberg

- First arrived in Charleston, visited Ebenezer, before travelling to Philadelphia
- Muhlenberg personally opposed slavery, was known to baptize, confirm, marry and bury slaves, BUT did not publicly oppose slavery.
- Muhlenberg's son Peter (also a pastor) became a slave-owner in Shenandoah Valley, VA.
- As Lutheranism expanded through Shenandoah Valley, (where 40% of population were slaves), Hebron Lutheran Church in Culpepper, VA used contributions from Europe to purchase 9 slaves (in 1748) to work on the 685 acre farm owned by the congregation. The pastor, George Samuel Klug, received 800 lbs of tobacco annually as his salary.

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A Systemic Evil: Northern Lutherans 1787-1861

- Presbyterians and Protestant Methodist Episcopal Church (Methodists) initially oppose Slavery (but later reverse decisions to allow for local jurisdiction North/South, ultimately split).
- Lutherans choose not to address issue ecclesiastically.
 1. Theological debate over Two Kingdoms between Pietists and Confessionalists (not pro-slavery or anti-slavery)
 2. Focus on Church Unity
- S. S. Schmucker, Benjamin Kurtz (Observer) & Wm. Passavant (Missionary)
- Abolitionist Movement begins with William Lloyd Garrison
- Southern clergy re-act vehemently to Abolitionism
- Franckean Abolitionist Synod (Upstate NY)

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Samuel Simon Schmucker

- Founder of both Gettysburg College and Seminary
- Publicly spoke in favor of moderate abolitionism in 1824 at General Synod
- Lectured and preached against slavery throughout his life
- Acquired slaves through 2nd marriage to Mary Catherine Steenbergen
- Educated, Manumitted and Paid as servants
- Part of underground railroad, hid runaway slaves even after Fugitive Slave Act of 1850
- Wrote legislation to establish trade school for young free blacks
- Admitted and mentored Daniel Alexander Payne
- Targeted by Lee's Army for his anti-slavery stance, fled, home ransacked

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Franckean Abolitionist Synod

- Mostly Upstate NY (but non-geographic synod), est. 1837
- Strong Pietists, refused fellowship with any denominations which did not agree with them on abolitionism
- Douglas Stange, *Radicalism for Humanity*, "thoroughly revolutionary... [if they] excelled in zeal in one endeavor, it was in their agitation for the abolition of slavery... it is doubtful if any group in any denomination exhibited a more extreme position."
- Published *The Lutheran Herald* which attacked slavery and their fellow Lutherans for failing to advocate abolitionism. (often quoted in *The Liberator*)
- Ordained Daniel Alexander Payne in 1839

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Pr. John Bachman, St. John's, Charleston, SC

- Moved from NY with his family and two slaves, Lydia and Plenty.
- In 1816, Bachman requests his vestry to allow free blacks and slaves to become members.
- By 1845, St. John's had over two hundred black members, a 150 member black Sunday school with black teachers, two weekly worship services for blacks with black leadership and their own societies within the church, including a society for African missions.
- Encouraged three free blacks to go north to be educated for ministry (it was illegal for blacks to be educated for ministry in SC) including, **Jehu Jones, Daniel Alexander Payne, and Boston Drayton.**
- Spokesperson for southern Lutheran clergy on issue of slavery. Exemplified the typical southern Lutheran response that slavery was not inherently evil as an institution, but depended upon the moral character of the master. (an individualist perspective).
- Believed the Northern states did not have the right to abolish slavery and offered the prayer of Succession when South Carolina seceded from the Union.
- Unlike many Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist clergy, did not defend slavery biblically or scientifically

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John Bachman (2)

- In 55 years as pastor at St. John's, Charleston, Bachman baptized 1,835 free blacks or slaves and confirmed 800 Black as adult members into the congregation.
- 20% of South Carolina Synod were people of color in 1860
- Wrote the *Unity Theory of the Human Species* which promoted controversial theory of monogenesis (all people are of the same species) based upon his education as a naturalist (wrote descriptions for many of Audubon's books)

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Jehu Jones, 1st Black Lutheran pastor

- A free black tailor and one of St. John's first black members
- Jones was offered sponsorship by the American Colonization Society to go to Liberia to teach school and work for the *Liberia Herald*.
- With the recommendation of Pr Bachman, Jones sought appointment to become first Lutheran missionary to Liberia.
- Bachman sent Jones to appear before the Lutheran Ministerium of New York to seek ordination.
- Jones was ordained at St. Matthew's Lutheran Church in New York city on Oct. 24, 1832.
- Upon Jones' return to Charleston for his family, Jones was arrested under state law preventing free blacks from entering South Carolina.
- Jones was forced to leave Charleston immediately, including a three day old son.
- Unable to accompany free black Charlestonians departing for Liberia.

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Jehu Jones (2)

- After being re-united with family, Jones moved to Philadelphia to begin ministry with free blacks in the city.
- In June 1833, Jones is received as a member of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania
- "Resolved: that Mr. Jehu Jones be recognized as a regularly ordained Minister and that he be appointed to labour as a Missionary to the coloured people of Philadelphia for a period of four months under the direction of our Ministers there."
- Within 6 months the first black Lutheran congregation in the continental US was established (St. Paul's E.L. Church).
- Jones requested funds to defray the cost of the building of the church, which was promised but never materialized.
- Jones attempted valiantly to secure funds from Lutheran circles to pay off the mortgage, but, "through the neglect of friends" the church was sold at a sheriff's sale for \$950 in 1837. Jones continued to minister to a small congregation until 1851.
- In 1849, Jones approached to Synod of New York to establish a black congregation in New York City. The Synod not only denied his request, but censured him, claiming that his Philadelphia ministry demonstrated "he was an utter failure, and by his inefficiencies and general deportment, forfeited whatever confidence the Church had reposed in his Christian character and integrity"
- Jones died in 1852 in Centreville (now part of Camden) New Jersey.

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Daniel Alexander Payne

- Operated a school for 60 young black boys in Charleston, SC
- Sought the assistance of John Bachman to identify a species of caterpillar and they became friends
- SC forced the closure of all black schools (including Payne's) after the Nat Turner Revolt
- Bachman provided Payne with a letter of introduction to his New York colleagues, including Rev. William Strobel. Strobel informed Payne of a scholarship available at the Lutheran Seminary at Gettysburg "to educate a talented, pious young man of color for the intellectual, moral and social elevation of the free people of color."
- Payne agreed to study under S.S. Schmucker, provided he not be required to renounce Methodism or embrace teachings of the Lutheran Church, nor be trained for African colonization.

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Daniel Alexander Payne (2)

- Payne arrived as first black student at Gettysburg in 1835.
- Used an old seminary building as Sunday School for neighborhood colored children, to hold revivals, and to organize societies among black women.
- During 2nd year, Payne discerns call to ministry, but temporarily loses his sight as a result of illness which prevented him from graduating.
- Upon leaving Gettysburg, Schmucker advised, "we should be glad to have you operate as a minister of the Gospel in the Lutheran Church, but I think you can find greater usefulness in the AME Church, therefore I advise you to join that body of professing Christians."
- In 1837, Payne goes to Philadelphia to join the AME Church, but discovered that many of its ministers were opposed to educated clergy.
- Payne turns to the Franckean Abolitionist Synod where he was ordained, but never able to find a congregation.

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Daniel Alexander Payne (3)

- Payne returned to the AME Church and becomes elected their sixth Bishop in 1852.
- In 1863 the AME Church purchased Wilberforce University in Ohio and appointed Payne as the first black president of any university in the United States.
- On the 50th anniversary of his ordination, Payne wrote, "Oh, that the Lord Jesus would move the heart of the Lutheran Church to work among the colored people according to their ability. Luther ought to be as widely and intimately known down South among the colored Christians as Calvin, Knox, or Wesley."
- Franckean pastor, H.L. Dox, who was ordained with Payne, wrote, "He left [the Lutheran Church]... not because he did not love it. He left it because it had no place or him"

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Boston Drayton, first Lutheran Missionary to Africa

- Drayton became the third free black from St. John's, Charleston, who was encouraged by Bachman to pursue a church vocation.
- Drayton held a leadership position among the black congregants of St. John's, and, like Jehu Jones, desired to go North to receive authorization to become a missionary to Africa.
- Drayton received financial support from the African Missionary Society of St. John's.
- Drayton was ordained and commissioned to serve the Las Palmas colony in West Africa. (located southeast of Liberia).
- Upon arrival, the Governor granted Drayton land to build a church and school in the name of the Lutheran Church.
- Shortly after his arrival, however, Drayton contracted malaria which severely effected his health.
- Drayton, instead, pursued politics and law. He served as the governor of the Republic of Maryland from 1855 until it was annexed by Liberia in 1857.
- Drayton then became the third Chief Justice of the Liberian Supreme Court from 1861-1864.
- He died in a drowning accident in 1866.

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Shameless plug...

- Interesting Civil War stories about Lutherans at Gettysburg
- Available in book... to be published in 2021.

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Post-War Religion, Reconstruction & Jim Crow

- Lingering Institutional Racism in the Church, following Civil War...
- 1871, Statement from the Southern Presbyterians... “The dogma which denies the lawfulness of [slavery] under any circumstances, which condemns it as always contrary to the Divine will; which asserts its inherent sinfulness, is completely contradicted by the plainest facts and teachings of the Old Testament and the New; is a doctrine unknown to the church until recent times; is pernicious heresy, embracing a principle not only infidel and fanatical, but subversive of every relation of life and every civil government on earth.
- Southern Lutherans primarily accepted the new reality of black emancipation, but struggled to determine the implications for the church.
- St. John’s Charleston, after the end of the war and the retirement of John Bachman, amended its constitution to restrict membership to white men.
- Most denominations established separate congregations for their white and black members after the war, especially among Methodists and Baptists.

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1882: Maryland Synod seeks to provide training for black ministry candidates

- Five candidates received seminary training at Howard University; two of whom became influential Lutheran pastors.
 - Daniel Wisemen, Pastor, Our Savior Lutheran Church, DC, and...
 - Philo Phifer, served congregations in NC, and St. Philip, Baltimore
- North Carolina and Tennessee establish lay leadership programs for black members who feel called to preach

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The Rev. Daniel Wiseman

- Born in 1858 on St. Thomas, enrolled in Howard U., under the auspices of the Maryland Seminary
- After graduation from Howard University, Called to serve with pastor of Luther Place, DC, which had black members
- Following the mission strategy of the day, Pr Wiseman started a black congregation in 1886 (Our Redeemer, Howard Park) until his death in 1942
- Members comprised mostly of freed slaves who moved from MD and VA.
- Founding member of the Interdenominational Ministerial Union, which advocated improved health, education, housing and voting rights for black members during segregation and Jim Crow
- Known as the “Mayor of Washington’s Poor” for his role as pastor to the community.

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Sister Emma Francis, First Black Lutheran Deaconess,

- Born in 1875, Emma Frances was the daughter of a black Moravian missionary on the island of St. Kitt's.
- Emma hears call to become a missionary and travels to Germany where she connects with an international deaconess motherhouse in Friedenshort.
- Sister Emma returns to St. Croix to establish an orphanage, Ebenezer Home, under the auspices of the Danish Lutheran Church.
- In 1921, West Indies Mission Board of the ULCA requested Sister Emma to explore starting a church among the fast-growing Caribbean community in Harlem. She agrees and is transferred to the Mary Drexel Motherhouse in Philadelphia where she became the first black deaconess there.
- In 1926 she was struck by a taxi cab and seriously injured. Following a long hospitalization and recovery she returned to the Virgin Islands in 1927 to continue as the overseer of Ebenezer Home.
- When Sister Emma died in 1945, "Hers was said to be the largest funeral the island of St. Croix had ever seen."

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Rosa Young, Nils Bakke and The Synodical Conference (LCMS) work in Alabama.

- Rosa Young, 22 yo school teacher and daughter of an AME pastor, established school for black children in Rosewood, Alabama in 1912.
- boll weevil infestation devastated the economy in 1914 and threatened her 200 pupil school. Young wrote to Booker T. Washington for assistance, who pointed her to the Synodical Conference's Board of Colored Missions advising, "they are doing more for the colored race than any denomination."
- In addition to the Rosewood School, The Synodical Conference sent a missionary to work with Young to establish 30 schools for black children and 35 congregations in rural Alabama, including the Alabama Lutheran Academy & College in Selma.
- One of the most successful evangelization outreach to people of color, although done in a thoroughly paternalistic and colonizing manner; 30 schools and congregations; 26 female teachers, 3 male teachers, 5 pastors, +1500 students.

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Rosa Young, *Light in the Dark Belt*

- Rosa Young (mother of Alabama Lutheranism) experienced tremendous personal persecution for working with Lutherans. Nils Bakke also persecuted for working with black communities.
- “When a white denomination such as the Lutheran church began working in black communities it was seen as a threat to the system [segregation]. When this white denomination sent in white missionaries this threat intensified. When they opened day schools to educate the “darkies” the local whites began to resist. When white missionaries began... home visitation, this was the last straw. When it was discovered some of these missionaries were sitting down and dining with colored families on an equal social level, the machinery for enforcement [KKK] went into action.”
- “During those dark days of suffering for bodily needs I had to go visiting in order to reach the people... I had no conveyance to carry me from place to place except my feet. Sometimes I would walk all day in the cold wind or in the hot sun or through rain, mud, water and sandbeds, through dense forests and swamps, over hills, across creeks and streams to reach my people and deliver a Gospel message.”

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Andrew Shultze, Karl Lutze, Jim Crow & LCMS

- Both white LCMS pastors who worked to integrate the LCMS against opposition, including a segregationist LCMS President, John Behnken
- Established the Lutheran Human Relations Association (LHRAA) at Valparaiso University to publicly challenge the LCMS on issues of racial justice.
- Shultze, *My Neighbor of Another Color*, Concordia refused to publish it, LCMS President spoke against it. Also, *Race Against Time*.
- Lutze, *Awakening to Equality*

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Lutherans, the KKK and the White Citizens Council: John Davis & Gadsden, Alabama

- Lutheran pastors, both black and white, experienced cross-burnings and even beatings by the KKK during the 1940s and 1950s in Alabama
- The true religion of the black belt was Segregation
- Gadsden, Alabama congregation: two white Lutheran missionaries were driven out of town by the KKK. So, John Davis, a black layperson assumes the responsibilities, his house was burned to the ground.
- Davis: The Ku Klux Klan would be parading the street all the hour during this service. I taught Sunday School and Vacation Bible school with a double-barrel shotgun.
- The white missionaries were accused for not respecting patterns of segregation, Davis was accused by the KKK of working with Black Muslims.
- And yet... Davis chose to attend seminary and was ordained by the LCMS, despite living "under perpetual paternalistic supervision."

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Robert Graetz and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

- A recent seminary grad, Robert Graetz was assigned to Trinity Lutheran Church, Montgomery Alabama (ALC) in June 1955. Trinity's prior pastor was Nelson Trout, who becomes first black bishop in ALC.
- NAACP Youth Council, under the supervision of Rosa Parks, met at Trinity's school.
- Saturday, Dec. 3, 1955 Rosa Parks is arrested for refusing to give up her seat on the bus.
- NAACP and Women's Political Council immediately organize for boycott.
- Pastor Graetz supports boycott and provides transportation for members to go to work, etc.
- Graetz (27) becomes only white pastor to serve on council of Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) along with Martin Luther King, Jr. (26) and Ralph Abernathy (29) all pastors in Montgomery.
- Six white Methodist pastors attended an MIA meeting and had their license plates recorded by police, all were removed from their congregations within weeks, whereas Graetz had support of his congregation.
- January 1956, Graetz covertly attends a WCC meeting where Police Commissioner and Mayor were received into membership

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Robert Graetz (2)

- As only white pastor supporting boycott, Graetz received inordinate attention, including JET, NY Times, Christian Century, which he used to raise money from northern Lutherans.
- In Montgomery, however, Graetz was persona non grata. Montgomery Advertiser: *"The only white person in Montgomery supporting this thing is Graetz, that Lutheran preacher. Outside of Graetz there is no white support for the boycott. And Graetz is a missionary worker put here by the Lutheran church to do missionary work among the "Nigras" – he is a missionary, just like the missionaries sent to darkest Africa and he has something to gain by sticking with his flock."*
- Graetz home bombed twice during boycott. "A White Preacher's Message"

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Joe Ellwanger, Birmingham; Will Herzfeld, Tuscaloosa; and the ALAC, Selma

- Throughout the 1960's, Alabama was a hot-bed of Civil Rights protests and there were a minority of Lutheran pastors who provided public leadership to these events... most who did, were subject to negative consequences within their congregations: risking lives, family and livelihood.
- Joe Ellwanger, served black LCMS congregation in Birmingham
 - Funeral for church bombing for four girls
 - Participated in Birmingham, Selma and Montgomery Protests
 - Chosen by Dr. King to be one of the representatives to meet with President Johnson to advocate for Voting Rights Act
- Will Herzfeld, pastor of Christ Lutheran Church, LCMS, Tuscaloosa,
 - chair of Alabama SCLC,
 - presiding Bishop for AELC during merger
 - Attended ALAC in Selma which he remembered fondly
 - Attended LCMS Immanuel Seminary, Greensboro, NC where he had no fond memories, "There were too many oppressors there, we were maldeveloped."

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James Gildersleeve and Ulysses Blackmon, ALAC, the DCVL and the Courageous Eight

- In Selma, home of Alabama Lutheran Academy and College (ALAC), 57% of residents were black, but only 1% of black population were approved to vote.
- Dallas County Voters League (DCVL) organized to promote voting rights, two of leading members were teachers at ALAC; James Gildersleeve and Ulysses Blackmon.
- Although ALAC discouraged the participation of its students in protests, etc., it supported teachers in their involvement. WHY is this important?
- In 1963, due to sudden death of DCVL president, James Gildersleeve was elevated to the position.
- October 1963, an injunction was issued to prevent 300 blacks from protesting outside county courthouse to register to vote. Gildersleeve was mentioned in that injunction.
- January 19, 1965, Dr. King arrives in Selma to draw attention to continuing civil rights and voting rights violations. Gildersleeve was "rough-handled" and arrested by Sheriff Clark along with sixty others. Gildersleeve was charged with criminal provocation along with other members of the DCVL and dubbed "the Courageous Eight"

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The March from Selma to Montgomery: Bloody Sunday and Voting Rights

- When interfaith religious leaders are called to Montgomery, approx. 20 Lutheran Leaders (Joseph Sitler, Martin Marty, Jerald Brauer, John Stumme) as well as Lutheran seminary and college students from Wartburg, Luther, and Gettysburg.
- While religious leaders from all over the country lobby congress for passage of the Voting Rights Bill, Reformation Lutheran Church on Capitol Hill prominently provided meeting space, mid-day prayer services, lunch and rest for ecumenical leaders.
- Dr. Richard Stewart, LTSP, is recording documentaries of African-descent Lutheran Pastors who are still living.

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What can we learn?? Problems...

- Historically, for both theological and cultural reasons, **Lutherans utterly failed to speak publicly** on issues of racial justice. (We were more concerned about maintaining church unity).
- Lutherans failed to provide support for those leaders who DID speak publicly. Most outspoken Lutheran leaders paid a severe cost (both black and white).
- Lutherans failed to support black clergy and congregations economically and typically acted paternalistically. Both leadership and congregational development was done (on the cheap).
- Lutherans failed to prioritize ministry among BIPOC or strategies that worked (revivals) with the notable exception of schools.

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What steps proved beneficial?

- Speaking/teaching in the language of the people
- Promoting local/indigenous lay leadership
- Public engagement/personal involvement

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Where can we go from here?? Discussion??

What 3 options might be most effective?

- Strong and Consistent Public Theology and Public Leadership from Bishops in order to support the role of Pastors.
- Training for Public/Rostered Leaders in Cultural Competency and strategies for placing those leaders in key congregations
- Strategic congregational partnerships
- Required training for Congregational Councils on Anti-Racism
- Racial Justice as 'Status Confessionis' for Lutherans
- Synodical Supervision in demographically changing neighborhoods
- Engage members in discussion on Racial Justice and Anti-Racism, as well as advocacy for voting rights and Black Lives Matter.
- New mission starts for BIPOC congregations with BIPOC leaders

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Contact me if you have any questions about sources from this discussion. tgknepp@gmail.com

- Timeline:
- For the first 400 years (1450-1850) primary question was "are people of African Descent and Native Peoples human?"
- 1860-1960 primary question was (If "they" are human, then how shall we live together and what rights do "they" deserve).
- 1970-2020 What is the enduring legacy of White Supremacy and how can it be overcome?

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Silence/neutrality assists the oppressor...

- Lutherans were least likely to own slaves
- Lutherans were least likely to argue theologically for slavery
- Lutherans were least likely to express public opinion on slavery
- Lutherans were least likely to evangelize to African-Descent peoples
- Lutherans were least likely to adapt theologically/culturally
- “we will serve them if they come” resulted in the lowest percentage of BIPOC members in US. Yet isn’t this still how most of our congregations operate?