
Why Bother with Dusting Off and Updating Deinzer? Reflections on Writing a New Biography of Loehe

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History without biography is apt to degenerate into soulless statistics or at best yawn-provoking generalizing sketches of broader or narrower trends over certain periods of time. Worse still, history without biography might provide fodder for deterministic views of history. Enacted properly and understood aright, the genre of biography flashes a light on free human agency, the surprise factor that infallibly renders futurology an imprecise discipline. The world held its breath to discover whether George W. Bush would invade Iraq or Vladimir Putin attack Ukraine. With apologies for lumping our saintly Wilhelm Loehe together with such questionable characters, I must observe that there was nothing predetermined about the career that Wilhelm Loehe would enter or about the kind of Lutheran he would become, in some ways to his own professional detriment. Had he wanted to, he—rather than his younger brother—could have taken over the family business; he had a knack for financial management, after all. Moreover, if he had only been a conservative Biblicist who sloughed off a few Pietist skins, he could have broadly aligned himself with the Neo-Lutheran movement and still have enjoyed a more prestigious parish than St. Nicholas, Neuendettelsau. Hence, I double down on the assertion that biography focuses attention on free human personality and its unique historical effects in a way that no other scholarly pursuit can achieve.

We remain indebted to Alan Bullock for his biography of Hitler,¹ which opens our eyes to one of the most unmitigatedly evil forms of totalitarianism, but in the realm of church history biographers must surely have some sympathy with their subjects. Diarmaid MacCulloch admittedly mixes the genres of secular and ecclesiastical history in his recent 728-page biography of Thomas Cromwell,² but I find it odd, even troubling, that he shows sympathy for one of the coldest fish who ever swam the seas of human life. Wilhelm Loehe was fortunate to be able to choose as his

Wilhelm Loehe was fortunate to be able to choose as his supremely gifted biographer a long-time protégé who was a close ministerial associate in his final years. In the opening sentence of the first edition of his first volume, Johannes Deinzer (1842-1897) highlights how his readers hold in their hands something “written by a friend of the blessed Loehe for friends of the same.”

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1. Alan Bullock, *Hitler: A Study in Tyranny*, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1963).

2. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cromwell: A Revolutionary Life*. (New York, New York: Viking, 2018).

3. Johannes Deinzer, *Wilhelm Löhe’s Leben: Aus seinem schriftlichen Nachlaß zusammengestellt*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Nürnberg: Gottfr. Löhe, 1874), vol. 2 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1880), vol. 3 (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1892), 1:3. All translations from German are my own.

of Loehe in the firmament of nineteenth-century Neo-Lutherans is the catholicity of his sympathies, not only in the direction of the historic churches of East and West, but also seeping out into all nooks and crannies of Christendom. The Independents better known as Congregationalists have a point,⁴ and he has a warm place in his heart for medieval sectarians such as the Waldensians and the Bohemian Brethren,⁵ and he much appreciated partaking in Anglican worship when visiting his convalescent daughter in Cannes.⁶

Two things need to happen for Loehe studies to flourish aright in the Anglosphere. First, we need a full-length biography that tells his whole story from cradle to grave in due depth and detail. The translation of Erika Geiger's work⁷ provides us with an enticing hors d'oeuvre that leaves the scholarly reader hungry for more. And, secondly, more primary works need to be rendered into English: the *Three Books about the Church*,⁸ the third edition of the *Agenda*,⁹ and even the publication of *Der evangelische Geistliche* under the misleading title *The Pastor*¹⁰ whet the appetite but do not fully satisfy it. For the anniversary year 2008, I was able to issue a translation of the 1849 *Aphorisms* and have now published a rendition of the 1851 successor volume.¹¹ Anyone attacking Loehe's understanding of the office of the ministry needs to go to the source and avoid tabloid caricatures like the plague. Viewing the two sets of *Aphorisms* as a whole, I am mystified by Missouri Synod's breach with Loehe in 1853. The two sides in the debate may have had different emphases and drawn from different streams of the Lutheran tradition, but I wait to learn from diehard followers of Walther why Loehe should be cast outside the pale.

As I made other preparations to mark the anniversary year 2008, teaching two elective courses on Loehe back-to-back at the St. Catharines seminary, Loehe impressed me with great force as the Lutheran forebear with the most to say to a North American

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Lutheranism spoiled for three centuries by a sympathetic surrounding culture but now itself part of a shrinking Christian culture barricaded on all sides by a militant secularism that seems to have come out of nowhere. Of course, it helped that Loehe's gut instincts dovetailed so neatly with my own. In the good company of Deinzer, I declare myself his friend:

At a conference of like-minded brethren in office (on 3 October 1865), he said among other things, "I am still the same good Lutheran as previously, but in a more *inward* way. Earlier, Lutheranism was to me tantamount to confession of the symbols from A to Z, but now the whole of Lutheranism is contained for me in the Sacrament of the Altar, in which all the chief doctrines of Christianity, especially those highlighted by the Reformation, have their center and focus. The main point for me now is not the Lutheran *doctrine* of the Supper but sacramental *life* and the experience of the blessing of the sacrament that is only made possible by abundant participation [in the sacrament]. My progress is marked in the words 'sacramental Lutheranism'."¹²

However closely attuned a potential biographer might be to Loehe's most cherished aspirations, perhaps the best argument against the effort involved in researching, writing, and publishing a new biography of our hero in either English or German is that the end product would be the very opposite of a bestseller. A German speaker pondering such a task would also have to justify the presumption involved in endeavouring to replace Johannes Deinzer's three-volume biography, of which Hermann von Bezzel remarked that it "belongs to those biographies that are still studied with great success centuries later."¹³ Granted, so long as Deinzer's

4. Wilhelm Löhe, *Aphorisms on Church and Office, Old and New*, trans. John R. Stephenson (St. Catharines, Ontario: Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary, 2022), 4.

5. Löhe, 110.

6. Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 3:308; on the Sunday in question, Loehe "bopped around a bit," also taking in the services of a French Evangelical and a Scottish Free Church congregation.

7. Erika Geiger, *The Life, Work, and Influence of Wilhelm Loehe (1808-1872)*, trans. Wolf Dietrich Knappe (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 2010). Originally published as *Wilhelm Löhe (1808-1872): Leben-Werk-Wirkung*, (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 2003).

8. Wilhelm Loehe, *Three Books about the Church*, trans. James L. Schaaf (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969).

9. William Loehe, *Liturgy for Christian Congregations of the Lutheran Faith*. 3rd ed., ed. Johannes Deinzer, trans. by Frank Carroll Longaker, (Newport, Kentucky: publisher not identified, 1902).

10. Wilhelm Loehe, *The Pastor*, trans. Wolf Dietrich Knappe and Charles P. Schaum, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2015). This work would be better titled *The Protestant Clergyman*; a *Geistliche* is a member of the clergy as distinct from a lay person, and Loehe deliberately chose the wider term *evangelisch* over the more specific *lutherisch*.

11. Both translations are now available in Löhe, *Aphorisms, Old and New*.

12. Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 2:523.

13. Quoted in Siegfried Hebart, *Wilhelm Löhe's Lehre von der Kirche, ihrem Amt und Regiment: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1939), 7.

labor of love remains available,¹⁴ German-speaking scholars may continue to draw directly from this literary goldmine while recommending to inquirers Erika Geiger's popular but meaty biography of 2003.

The lay of the land is vastly different in our Anglosphere, though, where Deinzer's *Wilhelm Loehe's Leben* is largely confined to a few specialist libraries, and even then, accessible only to the shrinking minority of readers fluent in German. My own copy, given by a pastor's widow during my first weeks at Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary, had been procured by her military chaplain husband as he scoured theological bookstores in Germany shortly after the Second World War to furnish resources for the seminary of what he hoped would be a single Lutheran Church in Canada. The ecclesial hopes of Colonel the Reverend Harold Merklinger, D.D., were dashed as the Canadian synods increasingly took different routes after 1970, but his widow's kindness made it possible for me to teach the elective courses just mentioned during the 2008 anniversary year. Rushing to stay several steps ahead of the students, I threw data from Deinzer into the word processor, ending up with a 170-page print-ready file which I provisionally titled *Deinzer Distilled*.

Fourteen years later, having been distracted with teaching, administration, and other avenues of research but with retirement now looming on the close horizon, I am wondering what, if anything, to do with the just-mentioned *Deinzer Distilled*. In the first drafts of this paper, I argued that a summary of Deinzer's work would be quite insufficient for our time and place, and that a totally fresh approach would be in order, involving years of immersion in primary sources and hence to some extent bypassing the achievement of Loehe's last curate. But the more I dipped back into Deinzer's pages and reviewed the file that has long been marinating in the entrails of my computer, the more evident it has become that, while further research into primary and secondary sources would be called for, the modestly conceived *Deinzer Distilled* could still form the skeleton and supply much of the flesh of the in-depth, critical biography of Loehe that is needed to put him well and truly on the map for students in the Anglosphere. Deinzer, the learned classicist who became Director of Neuendettelsau's Mission Institute, produced a masterpiece of biography that should never be allowed to gather dust. As von Bezzel pointed out, Deinzer not only depicted Loehe's life but also gave a sympathetic and informed account of his thought: "He expounded Loehe's literary legacy with astonishing diligence."¹⁵ Deinzer's almost two decades' long close personal contact with his subject, which blossomed into a close friendship across the generational gulf, rendered him the best of choices as the biographer granted access to all Loehe's literary remains. The end product manages, with a remarkable lightness of touch, to combine intimate and often touching personal detail with an account of Loehe's thought that never becomes arcane or overloaded.

14. The 2009 reprint seems to have sold out, but the whole text is available online.

15. Quoted in Hebart, *Löhes Lehre von der Kirche*, 7.

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Deinzer's ordained father belonged to the strict Lutheran group that coalesced around Loehe's positions at the Bavarian General Synod of 1849. Born in 1842, Deinzer first made his hero's acquaintance when he came as a grieving orphan with his mother and five surviving younger siblings to Neuendettelsau in or shortly after 1856. Himself orphaned at the age of eight, Loehe was ideally placed to be a substitute father figure in Deinzer's life. In Loehe's own case, the giant gap left by his father's unanticipated death was remedied partly by Rector Roth of the Nuremberg Gymnasium and to a greater extent by the Reformed Professor Kraft, then to be dramatically addressed by the close relationship he developed with Erlangen's Professor Karl von Raumer. Noting that at an earlier stage in his life Loehe had been very close to von Raumer,¹⁶ Deinzer includes an appendix in his first volume made up to no small extent of Loehe's correspondence with von Raumer,¹⁷ who left the Reformed for the Lutheran Church under the influence of the younger man. It is striking how a Herr Professor dutifully addressed as *Sie* suddenly turns into a familiar *Du*; this can only have happened at the older man's invitation. Quite stunning, though, is how a veritable adoption takes place as von Raumer's vocative becomes *Vater*, with Frau von Raumer being referred to as *Mama*. Yet, throughout the long life of Barbara Maria Loehe, her older son and presumably all her children respectfully addressed the no-nonsense businesswoman as *Sie*. A psychologist might have a field day analyzing these relationships. The developing psychology of a stunned eight-year-old cannot have been benefited by having to put his hands between those of his expiring father, promising never in later life to disgrace his name.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Deinzer's

16. "The intense relationship with Raumer that Löhe eagerly cultivated *at that time* . . ."; Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 1:vi (emphasis mine). Deinzer delicately avoided the distance wrought between them when Fräulein Sophie von Scheurl proved disinterested in becoming the second Frau Loehe. See Dietrich Blaufuß, "Löhe und Karl von Raumer: Briefe 1833 bis 1864," *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte* 84 (2015): 4, esp. 31: "Sophie [still single daughter of the von Raumers] would be the only one of my acquaintances with whom I would again dare it [viz., marriage]."

17. Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 1:305-394.

18. Deinzer, 1:19. Deinzer is here reproducing an autobiographical fragment written by Loehe around 1850; the memory was sunk very deep into his soul.

unique relationship with Loehe stands forth from his being the cleric who administered to the ailing pastor his last Communion as well as from the high emotion with which he wrote a pamphlet describing Loehe's death in 1872, published by Gottfried Loehe that same year.¹⁹ No twenty-first-century biographer can duplicate or even come close to Deinzer's relationship with his subject.

If Deinzer should not simply be summarised or rehashed, a future biographer might nevertheless include substantial excerpts straight from the existing classic. I already have some englished pages of Deinzer's gripping account of exorcisms and supernatural healings wrought through Loehe's ministry.²⁰ Along with August Vilmar, with whom he seems never to have enjoyed direct personal contact, Loehe stepped out of the Lutheran mainstream by holding that the charismata of the apostolic age never totally died out, should rightly be prayed for, and might confidently be expected to return in force as the end times intensify.²¹ Likewise worthy of focus is Loehe's awareness of events that he could not have known by regular empirical means: at New Year 1816 he cried out, "*Mein Vater stirbt!*" ("My father is dying!")²² And as a high school student in Nuremberg, he was aware of his eldest sister Anna's death before the post arrived next morning.²³ Rather than acknowledging Loehe as a so-called psychic, I prefer to think of his "supernatural" side as a matter of charismatic endowment.

Another facet of Loehe's piety and theological reflection that merits highlighting is the awareness he enjoyed from an early age of the real link between the struggling flock here below and the church on the other side of the altar. Throughout his life Loehe displayed keen awareness of and interest in the intermediate state of blessed souls, a topic on which Luther had suspiciously little to say. In this focus Loehe displays similarity with John Keble, the long-time vicar of Hursley, who is his counterpart whenever we compare the Lutheran Awakening with the contemporary Oxford Movement in the Church of England. Loehe focussed much on the actual communion experienced with the faithful departed through partaking of Holy Communion. "*Aufewig ist verschwunden/Was Erd und Himmel trennt/Denn Gott hat sie verbunden im heiligen Sakrament.*" ("Behold the heavens and the earth/No longer marred by sin's great rent/For they are bound forevermore/Here in the Holy Sacrament.")²⁴ This emphasis obviously relates to his painful experience of early widowhood, but it deserves targeted

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theological reflection as we consider the topics of prayer for the departed and the intercession of the saints.

Another way in which I should be happy to emulate Deinzer is by following the method he articulated as he set about writing his superior's biography. Charged by the aged Loehe with the task of writing his life, being given access to all his papers for the purpose and bidden to involve Marianne Loehe as much as possible in the process, Deinzer noted that the biographer's

guiding thought was to let Loehe speak as much as possible through information from his diaries and letters and, without much input from himself [Deinzer], to set forth the records of a significant life, in order to enable readers on this basis to appraise Loehe's personal and churchly significance for themselves.²⁵

When my wife and I were in Neuendettelsau for a few days in October 2015, Dietrich Blaumuß introduced us to Wolfgang Frieß, a great-great grandson of Loehe resident in nearby Ansbach. Herr Frieß brought to our meeting an original letter in Loehe's hand, written in tiny script covering both sides of a large sheet of paper. Even so recently as the twenties of some of us present at this conference, handwritten letters were a prime means of communication between absent family and friends. Such missives took time and effort and imparted self in a way that is impossible through the medium of email, texts, or tweets. From the earliest days of his literacy, Loehe was a great letter writer, and the author of any volume that could be titled *Deinzer Distilled, Updated, and Expanded* is going to have to go through the first two volumes of Loehe's *Gesammelte Werke* with a fine toothcomb, receiving help in the process from the almost two hundred pages of introduction supplied by Klaus Ganzert, who offers a treasure trove of

19. Johannes Deinzer, *Letzte Stunden, Tod, und Begräbnis des Herrn Pfarrers Wilhelm Löhe in Neuendettelsau* (Nürnberg: Gottfried Löhe, 1872)

20. Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 2:201-213.

21. Deinzer, 2:201.

22. Deinzer, 2:18.

23. Deinzer, 1:7.

24. For the German text of the hymn "Weit offen steht des Himmels Perlenort," see *Lutherisches Kirchengesangbuch: Ausgabe für die Evangelisch-Lutherische Freikirche in der DDR*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1988), #43 (p. 59). Kurt Reinhardt's translation quoted above captures Loehe's poetical imagery with an accuracy sadly lacking in *Lutheran Service Book* (2006), #639. See Kurt E. Reinhardt, *My Life and My Salvation*, 2nd ed. (St. Catharines, Ontario: Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary, 2020), 32.

25. Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 1:iii.

unsourced biographical information while studiously avoiding writing a biography.²⁶

Mention of Dietrich Blaufuß causes me to rejoice over the opportunity of making this Erlangen scholar's personal acquaintance when he drove over to Neuendettelsau to spend a couple of days with my wife and me, dining with us at the Gasthaus zur Sonne, taking us to the Sunday service at St Lorenz, introducing us to Herr Frieß, and then taking us on a memorable afternoon drive through parts of the neighboring Franconian countryside, including Windsbach, where Dietrich had himself attended the orphanage school, and Wolframs-Eschenbach, where one steps back into a magic world of Counter Reformation Catholicism. Should I bring a Loehe biography to fruition, I need to know more about Franconia/Franken, a process that should surely involve more than immersion in books and articles. Reading about Neuendettelsau is no substitute for arriving by train, walking by the Deaconess House and along Hermann von Bezzelstraße to arrive at the old parsonage and then amble down to St Nikolai with the Gasthaus zur Sonne just across the street. One picks up a sense of the old village to which Wilhelm and Helene came in the summer of 1837, and notes the diplomatic distance between the established village and the newfangled Deaconess institutions. A twenty-minute walk in one direction takes the visitor to tiny Wernsbach and the little chapel of St Laurentius, and I still remember the surprise of a lady whom we asked for directions: "Sie kommen aus Kanada! Was machen Sie in Wernsbach?" ("You come from Canada! What are you doing in Wernsbach?") Meanwhile, a short drive in the other direction takes one to Reuth, incorporated in the Neuendettelsau parish in the late 1840s, a place usually accessed by Loehe on foot.

As one resident for over a year in Tübingen and thus familiar with the local flavor of Swabia, I appreciated the South German ethos of Franconia, where the greeting "Grüß Gott" and "gel," the equivalent of the Canadian "eh," raise no eyebrows. If we cannot understand Loehe without a historical sense for his *time*, neither can we get into his shoes without a deep sense of his *place*. A little after halfway through the *Three Books about the Church*, he writes lovingly of Franconia as "God's own ancient little hill country (*das alte Wellenländchen Gottes*),"²⁷ and he even produced a full-length church history of Franconia,²⁸ of which von Ranke is said to have remarked that Loehe could have made a mark for himself as a church historian.²⁹ He remembered learning in school that his native Fürth had been one of Germany's four great villages;³⁰ what, pray, were the other three? Politically fractured till incorporated

into the new kingdom of Bavaria, and religiously divided since the Reformation, Franconia, a sometime Circle of the Holy Roman Empire, still enjoyed a great measure of cultural cohesion. A detailed grasp of constitutional history cannot be denied to the humble country parson:

To the Franconian Circle there used to belong: the sovereign territory [*Erzstift*³¹] of the archdiocese of Bamberg, the bishoprics of Würzburg and Eichstätt, the possessions of the German Order [*Deutschorden*³²], the burgraviate of Nuremberg above and below the mountains [*Burggraftum Nürnbergs oberhalb und unterhalb Gebirgs*], the county [*Grafschaft*³³] of Henneberg whose ruler had princely status³⁴ and to which belonged the region of Meiningen [*meiningischen Lande*], the county of Schwarzenberg whose ruler had princely status, the counties of Castell, Dernbach, Erbach, Hohenlöhe, Limburg, Löwenstein and Werthelm, Reineck, Schönborn, the knightly cantons [*Ritterkantone*³⁵] of Odenwald, Steigerwald, Gebirg, Altmühl, Baunach, Rhön and Merra, the imperial cities of Nuremberg, Schweinfurt, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Windsheim and Weißenburg in the Nordgau. The principality of Coburg lies in Franconia, although it was reckoned to Upper Saxony. This writing will focus especially on the burgraviate above and below the mountains and on the city of Nuremberg.³⁶

31. For an explanation of *Stift* and *Erzstift*, in which *Stift* is much more than "foundation" (!), see John R. Stephenson, "Towards an Exegetical and Systematic Appraisal of Luther's Scattered Thoughts on Episcopacy," in John R. Stephenson and Thomas M. Winger, eds., *You, My People, Shall Be Holy: A Festschrift in Honour of John W. Kleinig* (St Catharines, Ontario: Concordia Lutheran Theological Seminary, 2013), 285, n. 39.

32. Usually known as the Order of the Teutonic Knights, the Order of Brothers of the German House of St Mary in Jerusalem was founded by the reigning pope in 1190 in the setting of the Third Crusade. The Order never fully recovered from the blow it sustained in 1525 when Albert of Brandenburg-Ansbach (see Löhe, *Reformationsgeschichte von Franken*, GW 3.2:528) secularised its largest territory, Prussia, switching his title from Grand Master to hereditary duke. The beautiful town of Wolframs-Eschenbach, 11 km (5 mi) distant from Neuendettelsau, belonged to the *Deutscher Orden* until taken over by Prussia in the 1790s.

33. Not a simple geographical division as in North America (and even in the UK), but an area under the sovereign rule of a *Graf* (= count, earl).

34. *Gefürstete Grafschaft*, where the emperor had elevated the hereditary count to rank among the princes (*Fürsten*) of the empire.

35. The order of imperial knights was historically a force to be reckoned with in Franconia.

36. Löhe, *Reformationsgeschichte von Franken*, GW 3.2:527n. The thought has struck me with some force that Loehe's constitutional world of thought remained strongly influenced by the Holy Roman Empire, a structure that fostered simultaneous acknowledgement of extensive interconnectedness and local uniqueness and autonomy. Such multi-layered gradation was a far cry from the top-down universal abstractions imposed by the various forms of totalitarianism that have succeeded the French Revolution.

26. Wilhelm Löhe, „Einleitung,“ in *Gesammelte Werke* (hereafter GW), ed. Klaus Ganzert, 7 vols., (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 1951-1986), 1:15-240.

27. Wilhelm Löhe, *Drei Bücher von der Kirche 1845*, ed. Dietrich Blaufuß, Studienausgabe 1 (Neuendettelsau: Freimund-Verlag, 2006), 132.

28. Wilhelm Löhe, *Erinnerungen aus der Reformationsgeschichte von Franken, insonderheit der Stadt und dem Burggraftum Nürnberg ober- und unterhalb des Gebirgs* (1847), GW 3.2:523-683.

29. Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 2:246.

30. Deinzer, 1:3.

At the time of writing his *Recollections of the Church History of Franconia*, Loehe passionately protested any suggestion that Franconians were rightly Bavarians. Yes, pray for the king and be taught in school the deeds of the dukes of Bavaria, but never surrender an ounce of Franconian territorial pride!³⁷ Yet by the middle of the 1860s his heart had softened toward the reigning Wittelsbachs,³⁸ and he countered the absent Marianne's incredulity by stating that he had wept over the death of King Max II, father of Ludwig the Mad.³⁹ Born within walking distance of Nuremberg, educated at its Gymnasium, and having served in some of its parishes, it went without saying that Loehe accepted as a secondary theological authority the Nuremberg Agenda of 1533, an original copy of which we have in our seminary library at St Catharines. Ontario also enjoys a personal connection with Loehe inasmuch as the first president of the Ontario District, now Region, of Lutheran Church—Canada was Adam Ernst, one of the first two *Sendlinge* sent from Neuendettelsau to the New World; the house in which he and Ernst Buerger lodged still stands. True history is by necessity biographical, and biography is rooted in time and space; so, I hope to spend more time in Franconia before I am too old to appreciate the experience, which would help me to enter ever closer into the world of the great church father and luminary in the constellation of glorified saints, Johann Konrad Wilhelm Loehe.

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37. "It is quite right that the names and good works of our Bavarian kings are recounted to and impressed on our children in the schools, for Christian children should honor kings according to God's command and learn to pray for them. Nor need we object if people find it praiseworthy to impress on them the names and deeds of all Bavarian dukes from time immemorial. But that the children should learn nothing of the heroes and deeds in the land of Franconia, where they are born and live; that they should not even get to know the tribe to which they belong; and that they should end up supposing themselves to be not just Bavarian subjects but also of Bavarian origin—this we cannot praise. The rich and manifold Franconian days of old offer our children memories as worthy to be gratefully cherished as the memories of any German tribe and territory. Why should our days of old be buried? Why should knowledge of their olden times make it impossible for the people to understand the present and nobly and self-reliantly to strive for the future God has shown them? May these "recollections" serve to bring someone—be it a youth or a man—to a living awareness of the harmless, ungrudging truth that we were not born yesterday, and that we still have something to do and to achieve before the world's evening comes and the tribes come to the city that is to gather them all according to the number of their elect!"; GW 3.2:526; the first three sentences are quoted in Deinzer, *Löhe's Leben*, 2:245.

38. "With the passage of time I've become increasingly glad to be a Bavarian subject;" to Karl von Raumer, 12 April 1864, in Blaufuß, "Löhe und Karl von Raumer," 52.

39. "I've privately shed many tears for him, although my daughter won't believe it of me;" Blaufuß, 52.