

Centennial of the Death of George Stoeckhardt (1842–1913)

Gaylin R. Schmeling
President, Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary
Mankato, Minnesota

This is the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Georg Stöckhardt, usually referred to in America as George Stoeckhardt. He was a stalwart Lutheran confessor and one of the most important exegetes of the Synodical Conference.

Stoeckhardt's Years in Germany

George was born February 17, 1842, in Chemnitz, Saxony (for a short time known as Karl-Marx-Stadt). His parents were Julius Adolf Stoeckhardt and Rosalie née Liebster. In 1847, the Stoeckhardt family moved to Tharandt, near Dresden, where his father taught chemistry at the Royal Forest Academy.

Stoeckhardt descended from a long line of Lutheran pastors, going all the way back to the age of Lutheran Orthodoxy. Although his father was a chemist, George's grandfather, Christian Gottlob, was a pastor at Röhrsdorf and his uncle, his father's older brother, Karl Friederich Gottlob Stoeckhardt, succeeded him in this parish. Karl Friederich was involved in the Lutheran confessional renewal movement (*Erweckungsbewegung*) during his pastoral ministry. Around twenty pastors from the Stoeckhardt family served in Saxony during the nineteenth century.¹

In 1873 Stoeckhardt married Anna Amalie Henriette König. Through this marriage, he was a brother-in-law to August Pieper, who was a professor at Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary (Wauwatosa, Wisconsin). After the death of Anna, he married Mary Kohne in 1901. She survived him and married Prof. Martin Sommer of Concordia Seminary (St. Louis, Missouri). George and Anna adopted two sons: Karl, who became a bank employee; and Ernst, who became a pastor.²

Stoeckhardt attended the Fürstenschule St. Afra in Meißen. He studied theology at Erlangen and Leipzig (1862–1866). Among his teachers in Leipzig were K.F.A. Kahnis, Franz Delitzsch, and C.E. Luthardt. In Erlangen he was a student of Gottfried Thomasius, Gerhard von Zezschwitz, and Johann von Hofmann. Hofmann imparted to him a deep interest in exegetical studies. He joined the Christian student association, *Wingolf*, where he became friends with Otto Willkomm, who was later a member of the Lutheran Free Church in Saxony (Lutherische Freikirche in Sachsen)³ and Carl Manthey-Zorn, who published many popular commentaries in the Lutheran

¹ Gottfried Herrmann, *Lutherische Freikirche in Sachsen: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer lutherischen Bekenntniskirche* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985), 208–209.

² Gottfried Herrmann, "Zum Lebensweg Georg Stöckhardts." *Theologische Handreichung und Information* 31:1 (February 2013): 2.

³ The part of this church in former West Germany eventually merged with other independent Lutheran groups in Germany to form the *Selbständige Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche* (SELK) in 1972. The part of this church in former East Germany is known today as the *Evangelisch-Lutherische Freikirche* (ELFK). The ELFK is in fellowship with the Evangelical Lutheran Synod (ELS) and was one of the founding members of the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference (CELC). For a short history of the ELFK see Gaylin R. Schmeling, "A Brief History of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Germany Including Its Recent Ministry Discussion," *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 42:4 (December 2002).

Church–Missouri Synod (LCMS).⁴ He also spent time in Berlin where he learned to value Hengstenberg’s lectures on the Old Testament and enjoyed Leopold von Ranke, the great German historian; he visited August Vilmar’s⁵ lectures in Marburg; and he travelled to Neuendettelsau, Bavaria where he met Wilhelm Loehe. Here he learned about the confessional Lutheran synods in America, including the LCMS.⁶

After briefly considering service in India, as was the case with Carl Manthey-Zorn, he accepted a position at the German Lutheran Church in Paris. With the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), he left Paris and provided for the spiritual needs of wounded Germans in a hospital near Belgium and served as a camp pastor (*Feldprediger*). Stoeckhardt describes his ministry in Paris and his service in the military hospitals and on the Sedan battlefield in a booklet entitled, *Das Schlachtfeld von Sedan: Erinnerungen aus dem Kriegsjahr* (*The Battlefield of Sedan: Remembrances from the Year of War*).⁷

The year 1873 brought many changes in Stoeckhardt’s life. That summer he was called as assistant pastor (*Diakonusstelle*) of the Saxon State Church congregation in Planitz, Saxony and, as noted above, this was the year that he married Anna. His years in the state church were difficult because of its laxity in doctrine and morals. After three years (1876), he left the state church and was called as the second pastor of the *St. Johanneskirche* in Zwickau-Planitz, which was not part of the state church. The other pastor in this congregation was Friedrich Ruhland.⁸ Together with Ruhland and the Zwickau printer Johann Herrmann,⁹ he published the first edition of *Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Freikirche*, which soon would become the official periodical of the Lutheran Free Church in Saxony. Here he made a strong stand against the liberalism of the state church. In August of 1876 Stoeckhardt was among the orthodox Lutheran pastors that formally organized the Lutheran Free Church in Saxony.¹⁰

Stoeckhardt’s Years in America

Partially as a result of continued conflict with the state church, in 1878 Stoeckhardt accepted a call to Holy Cross Lutheran Church, St. Louis, Missouri, and began to teach exegesis at Concordia Seminary. He remained a professor of biblical exegesis at the seminary until his death in 1913.

⁴ Ludwig Ernest Fuerbringer, *Eighty Eventful Years* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944), 102–104.

⁵ For more information concerning Vilmar, see August Friedrich Christian Vilmar, *The Theology of Facts Versus the Theology of Rhetoric: Confession and Defense*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville (Fort Wayne, Indiana: Lutheran Legacy, 2008).

⁶ Joel L. Pless, “G. Stoeckhardt: The Exegetical Task,” *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 2007): 6.

⁷ Joel L. Pless, “In the Footsteps of Walther: The Doctrine of the Ministry in the Writings of George Stoeckhardt” (Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 2008), 24.

⁸ There is an interesting connection between Ruhland and the ELS. Before he was called to the *St. Johanneskirche* in Zwickau-Planitz, Saxony, he served in the LCMS in America. While he was a pastor at Oshkosh, Wisconsin, he helped organize St. Martin Lutheran Church of Shawano in 1859, which today is a member of the ELS (St. Martin Lutheran Church Centennial Booklet, 6). Pastor Otto Willkomm, who was also president of the ELFK, later served the *St. Johanneskirche* in Zwickau-Planitz, Saxony.

⁹ Johannes Herrmann (1850–1904) was an important printer and editor of confessional Lutheran literature in the nineteenth century. His son Johannes Herrmann (1885–1965) was the head of the publishing house following his father. These faithful men were the great-grandfather and grandfather, respectively, of Gottfried Herrmann, the rector emeritus of *Lutherisches Theologisches Seminar* in Leipzig, Germany.

¹⁰ See footnote 3.

Stoeckhardt and Walther

Both Stoeckhardt and Walther breathed the spirit of orthodox Lutheranism. Both desired to maintain the doctrines of Scripture and the Lutheran Confessions. While they were one in spirit, there were differences between the two men, and in many ways they complemented each other. Walther was first and foremost a dogmatician. He intended to produce his own dogmatics in America. While this did not come to fruition, he added a prolific number of German and Latin citations to Baier's *Compendium*. This is not to say that Walther was not interested in exegesis. His writings are rich in biblical knowledge. When Walther would present a biblical argument, he always started with Scriptures. Then he confirmed that this was the exegesis of the Scripture through the Confessions. Finally he included many quotes from the fathers to indicate that this had always been the teaching of the church.

Stoeckhardt was first and foremost an exegete. He had a deep interest in the biblical languages and mined Scripture for its treasures. The difference in method between Walther and Stoeckhardt has been explained in this way:

Walther produced chiefly the Lutheran doctrine and then proved it from the Scriptures; Stöckhardt produced the scriptural doctrine and then showed that it was also the doctrine of Luther and the Confessions. Thus naturally Walther's influence came down to chiefly making us orthodox and then biblical, while Stöckhardt's method was suitable for making us directly scriptural and thus at the same time Lutheran.¹¹

Stoeckhardt, the Exegete

Stoeckhardt is known as the first exegete of the LCMS and probably the greatest exegete in American Lutheranism. He did not write a commentary of the entire New Testament as was the case with R.C.H. Lenski, but of the commentaries that he did write, there are none more profound and thoroughly orthodox. He was one of the few exegetes who was a master of both Old and New Testament studies. His commentaries and sermons based on the Old Testament demonstrate that Christ Jesus and Him crucified are the heart and center of the Old Testament and the foundation of the New Testament. Stoeckhardt was firmly committed to the inerrancy and infallibility of Holy Scripture. His hermeneutical principles were derived from the inerrant Word.

The exegetical method of Stoeckhardt was influenced by Johann von Hofmann. He indicated that he was not only a thorough student of Hofmann's *Commentary on the New Testament*, but also that he had to a certain extent learned from him his exegetical method.

Stoeckhardt himself wrote in the foreword to his 1907 Romans commentary that his exegetical method followed that of his teacher Hofmann: "The method used in the commentary before us, that is continuous, coherent exegesis and development, as it is found also in Hofmann, Godet, and essentially also in

¹¹ J.P. Koehler, August Pieper, and John Schaller, *The Wauwatosa Theology*, Vol. 3, ed. Curtis A. Jahn (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997), 422-423.

Philippi, appears the best to me to answer the just-mentioned purpose of exegesis."¹²

This method was typified by a strong emphasis on the grammar and syntax of the original languages of Scripture. The rules of grammar and syntax were carefully applied to the particular biblical passage providing an accurate rendering of the sacred text.

Stoeckhardt was influenced by Hofmann's exegetical method but not by all the tendencies of the Erlangen school. The Erlangen theologians endeavored to derive theology on the basis of three principles: the Scripture, the Confessions, and Christian experience. By adding Christian experience to the source of theology they were trying to give some credence to Schleiermacher and the influence of Romanticism. Franz Pieper referred to such an Erlangen theology as *Ichtheologie*.¹³ This emphasis on Christian experience is contrary to the orthodox Lutheran position which maintained only one source of theology: the Holy Scriptures.¹⁴ This position of orthodox Lutheranism and the Lutheran Confessions was the stand of Stoeckhardt. He was a repristination theologian as Walther was before him.

Hofmann's novel views of atonement and Christology also were not accepted by Stoeckhardt.

In Christology Hofmann adopted the modern kenotic theory. His view of Christ's work of reconciliation caused considerable resentment in the Lutheran church. He rejected the vicarious sacrifice of Christ and the thought of His suffering the wrath of God. He interpreted the work of Christ in the sense of Greek theology and Schelling's philosophy as a contest with the devil. Christ, the Holy One, suffered all the torments of evil but overcame it by preserving, in life and death, the purity desired by God in fulfilling His calling. In eschatology Hofmann maintained for the teaching of premillennianism a place in nineteenth century Lutheranism.¹⁵

Another Hofmann (Carl Gottlob, 1703–1774, professor at Wittenberg) had an important influence on Stoeckhardt. He authored a hermeneutics text in 1754, *Intitutiones Theologiae Exegeticae (Institutes of Exegetical Theology)*. Although this book was entirely in Latin, Stoeckhardt used Carl Hofmann's textbook on hermeneutics and exegesis in his seminary lectures.¹⁶

Stoeckhardt and Wauwatosa Theology

J. P. Koehler, August Pieper, and John Schaller are the names that are usually associated with Wauwatosa Theology. All three of them were professors at the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS) seminary in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin at the turn of the century. These three men emphasized an exegetical study of Scripture. Koehler is usually spoken of as the "father of

¹² George Stoeckhardt, *Commentar über den Brief Pauli an die Römer* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907), iii: "Die im vorliegenden Commentar befolgte Methode, fortlaufende, zusammenhängende Erklärung und Entwicklung, wie sie sich z. B. auch bei Hofmann, Godet und wesentlich auch bei Philippi findet, schien mir dem eben genannten Zweck der Auslegung am besten zu entsprechen." Quoted in Pless, "In the Footsteps of Walther," 18.

¹³ Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, vol. I (Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), 6.

¹⁴ Lowell C. Green, *The Erlangen School of Theology: Its History, Teaching, and Practice* (Fort Wayne, Indiana: Lutheran Legacy, 2010), 46.

¹⁵ J.L. Neve, *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. II (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania: The Muehlenberg Press), 135.

¹⁶ Pless, "In the Footsteps of Walther," 39.

Wauwatosa Theology.” However, both Koehler and Pieper were students of Stoeckhardt at the St. Louis seminary and were thoroughly influenced by him. Therefore, Stoeckhardt is at least the grandfather of Wauwatosa Theology if not the father.

The main emphasis of Wauwatosa Theology was a greater stress on independent biblical exegesis and a lesser stress on what the fathers and the seventeenth-century dogmatists said on a particular subject. It was believed that there was a tendency among the older Lutheran theologians to go first to the Confessions and the fathers in a theological discussion and then to the Scriptures. The Wauwatosa theologians believed that one should make a careful exegesis of the text of Scripture first and then compare the results with the Confessions and the fathers.

It would be a caricature of Walther and the older Lutheran theologians to assume that they had very little concern for exegetical theology, that they simply answered every theological question from the Confessions and the seventeenth-century dogmatists (*Väter Theologie*). At the same time, it is a caricature of Wauwatosa Theology to imply that these theologians had no interest in the Lutheran Confessions and the Lutheran fathers.

A Proper Study of Scripture

Lutheran theologians will go first to the inerrant Scriptures which are the only source of doctrine. They will use the proper rules of hermeneutics derived from Scripture to reach a biblical conclusion. In theological controversy they first will study the Bible and prepare a careful exegesis of the pertinent texts. The orthodox Lutheran theologian will make his stand on the inerrant Scriptures.

Each new generation of theologians must study the Scriptures in order to make its teachings its own. They will carefully mine the Scriptures for its truths. When the doctrines of Scripture in this way become our own they will be much easier to defend and be more cherished in our midst than if they were simply handed down to us.

An orthodox theologian will make a careful exegesis of the text of Scripture. He will then compare his conclusions with that of the fathers. A twenty-first-century theologian knows that he is not the only one who ever had great exegetical expertise. He understands that he can be influenced by the worldviews around him. It is very difficult to do exegesis in a vacuum. He compares his conclusions with the generations of Christians that have gone before him. The forefathers of the Synodical Conference, Gerhard and the seventeenth-century dogmatists, Chemnitz, and Luther may not always be correct. However, one should be very certain of his biblical stance when he says the fathers misunderstood Scripture or taught contrary to them.

The orthodox Lutheran exegete will make that same comparison with the Confessions. He will not go first to the Confessions but to the Scripture and make a proper study of the text. Then he will compare his conclusions with the Confessions. If his conclusions are contrary to the doctrine maintained in the Confessions, he knows that his conclusions are in error for the Confessions are the correct exposition of the Scriptures. A Lutheran theologian adheres to the Confessions because they present a proper understanding of the Scriptures, while we accept the teachings of the fathers as long as they are in agreement with the Scriptures and the Confessions.

Stoeckhardt and the Election Controversy (Gnadenwahlstreit, Naadevalgstrid)

In the 1880s a controversy arose in the Synodical Conference concerning the doctrine of election. C.F.W. Walther wrote a paper on election in 1877 which was severely criticized by F.A. Schmidt, the president of Luther Seminary of the Norwegian Synod. Walther, in accord with Scripture, explained that God in His mercy chose people to salvation. This choosing took place in eternity on the basis of God's grace in Christ. The Father sent His only-begotten Son into the flesh as the one atoning sacrifice. In His resurrection the whole world was declared innocent. This verdict of not guilty is brought to the individual in the means of grace. Through the Word and the Sacraments, these individuals are brought to faith in Christ, justified, sanctified, and glorified. Salvation is not in any way a human activity, but entirely the work of God. The purpose of the doctrine of election is to give comfort to the Christian. Our salvation is absolutely certain; no one can pluck us out of the Father's hand (Romans 8:28-32; Ephesians 1:3-7; John 10:27-29).

Schmidt maintained that individuals are elected in view of faith (*intuitu fidei*). While this terminology had been used in a legitimate way in the past by Gerhard¹⁷ and others, Schmidt used the statement to imply that God elects man on the basis of his faith, his lack of resistance to the Holy Spirit, or something in man. He said, among other things, "We believe and teach now...that salvation in a certain sense does not depend on God alone."¹⁸ Therefore salvation would not be entirely the work of God but to some degree based on human effort.

This controversy occurred around the same time that Stoeckhardt arrived in America. He immediately saw that Walther was correct in this discussion and began to publish helpful articles in *Lehre und Wehre* on election, such as "Scriptural Proof for the Doctrine of Election."¹⁹ As Walther, he maintained that God's grace in election is the cause of one's coming to faith and not that the faith of the individual is the cause of his election.

Stoeckhardt and the Doctrine of Church and Ministry

In the early 1900s questions began to arise in the Synodical Conference concerning the doctrine of the church and the doctrine of the public ministry. The questions centered on the following issues:

- a. Some restrict the concept of a divinely instituted church local (the Church of Christ as it appears on earth—ἐκκλησία, Matthew 18) to the local congregation and consider all gatherings of believers, groups of Christians beyond the local congregation, such as synods, conferences, etc., a purely human arrangement.
- b. Others find in the descriptive name of church (ἐκκλησία, they who are called out) a term which applies with equal propriety to the various groupings into which the Holy Spirit has gathered His believers, local congregations as well as larger groups.

¹⁷ See Theodore A. Aaberg, *A City Set on a Hill* (Mankato, Minnesota: Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 1968), 17.

¹⁸ Paul Ylvisaker, *A Blessing in the Midst of the Land* (np: 1953), 20.

¹⁹ "Schriftbeweis für die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl," *Lehre und Wehre* 26 (1880): 176.

- c. Some restrict the idea of a divinely instituted ministry to the pastorate of a local congregation and consider such offices as teachers, professors, synodical officials, etc., branches of this office without a specific command of God, established in Christian liberty.
- d. Others see in “ministry” a comprehensive term which covers the various special offices with which the ascended Lord has endowed His Church.²⁰

C.F.W. Walther, the father of confessional Lutheranism in America, is often cited as maintaining the view espoused in a and c, above. This, however, appears not to be the case.²¹ He spoke of gatherings around the means of grace, such as synod, as church and of offices in the church with a limited use of the keys as given by God.

Stoeckhardt taught much the same as Walther, although at times his terminology appears otherwise. In a *Lehre und Wehre* Stoeckhardt writes concerning female Lutheran elementary teachers, “Thus every female teacher truly teaches, and that is a public teaching. She teaches God’s Word on behalf of the congregation.”²²

Stoeckhardt as Author and Writer

During his years as professor, Stoeckhardt wrote a goodly number of commentaries; probably the best known of these are those on Romans, Ephesians, and 1 Peter. In addition, a number of commentaries have been produced based on Stoeckhardt’s class notes.²³ They cover many of the New Testament books and the Psalms. Many of these commentaries have been and are used in the exegetical courses at Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary. In addition, Stoeckhardt produced an outline of biblical history, translated into English as *Wisdom for Today*.

Stoeckhardt’s monogram, entitled *Lectures on the Three Letters of John*, gives an excellent defense for including the *Comma Johanneum* in the sacred text. The *Comma Johanneum* is a section of 1 John 5:7–8 not found in many of the ancient manuscripts or writings of the early church fathers but is a clear witness to the doctrine of the Trinity: “For there are three that bear witness in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth: the Spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three agree as one.” His defense is found in the article entitled “Stoeckhardt and the *Comma Johanneum*” in this issue of the *Lutheran Synod Quarterly*.

Pastoral care and concern were a definite part of Stoeckhardt’s life and work. His preaching was remembered as clear, simple, and concise with a proper emphasis on Law and Gospel. He produced his own postille (*Gnade um Gnade*), a book of Advent sermons (*Adventspredigten*,

²⁰ *Proceedings of the Synodical Conference*, 1948, 141.

²¹ See C. Lawrenz, “An Evaluation of Walther’s Theses on the Church and its Ministry,” *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 85–139; and Gaylin R. Schmeling, *Bread of Life from Heaven* (Mankato, Minnesota: Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary Press, 2009), 243, 254–256.

²² G. Stöckhardt, “Von dem Beruf der Lehrerinnen an christlichen Gemeindeschulen,” *Lehre und Wehre* 43 (March 1897): 66.

²³ There were translations of class notes from a number of his former students. However, the individual responsible for the final editing of these translations and their publication was Hugo W. Degner of Fairmont, Minnesota.

Auslegung der vornehmsten Weissagungen des Alten Testaments), and a book of Lenten sermons (*Passionspredigten*).

In his book of Advent sermons, there is an insightful presentation of the messianic prophecy in Isaiah 11:1-10. He explains how the new creation pictures in this text do not refer to the millennium but to the peace between God and man restored through the work of the root of Jesse, Jesus Christ. In the Gospel we have a foretaste of Eden's peace which we will have in all its fullness in heaven.²⁴

Stoeckhardt's book of Lenten sermons begins with a sermon on the crossing of the Kidron, where he compares David and Jesus. In this sermon his use of typology is evident. As David crossed the Kidron in sorrow with his faithful followers fleeing his own son he discovered that even Ahithophel, his trusted advisor, had betrayed him. Likewise as Jesus crosses the Kidron with His faithful followers, He met His betrayer in the garden, one of His own trusted disciples (Psalm 41:9; John 13:18). He is indeed great David's Greater Son.²⁵

The journal for pastors in the early years of the LCMS was known as *Lehre und Wehre*, "Doctrine and Defense." The pages of this journal are filled with articles by Stoeckhardt. This journal was a precursor to the *Concordia Theological Monthly*, which later became known as the *Concordia Journal*. Stoeckhardt also wrote in *Der Lutheraner* and produced a considerable amount of sermon material in the LCMS homiletical journal, *Magazin für evangelisch-lutherische Homiletik*.

A special service of love to the church in America is evident in Stoeckhardt's initiative and encouragement of a new edition of *Luther's Works*. This edition was a revision of the Walch edition, dating from 1740-1753 and compiled by Johann Georg Walch. Here Luther's Latin works are translated into German. The edition appeared from 1880-1910, published by Concordia Publishing House in 23 volumes. F.A. Hoppe served as the editor. It is usually known as the St. Louis edition or Walch² (W²). It was reprinted in Germany in 1983 by Lutherische Buchhandlung Harms, Groß Oesingen.

Conclusion

George Stoeckhardt died suddenly of a massive stroke on January 9, 1913. Four days later his brother-in-law and pastor, C.C. Schmidt, conducted his funeral at Holy Cross Lutheran Church where he had once been called as pastor. His burial took place at Concordia Cemetery near the grave of his dear friend C.F.W. Walther. His life spanned two continents and two centuries. He was a stalwart Lutheran confessor and one of the most important exegetes of the Synodical Conference. He had a profound influence on generations of LCMS pastors, he inspired the founders of Wauwatosa Theology in the WELS, and through his commentaries and sermon books, he was a great blessing to our synod.

²⁴ A translation of this Advent sermon on Isaiah 11 may be found in *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (September 1984): 32-42.

²⁵ George Stöckhardt, *Passionspredigten* (St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1885), 1-13.

Bibliography

- Aaberg, Theodore A. *A City Set on a Hill*. Mankato, Minnesota: Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 1968.
- Fuerbringer, Ludwig Ernest. *Eighty Eventful Years*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1944.
- Green, Lowell C. *The Erlangen School of Theology: Its History, Teaching, and Practice*. Fort Wayne, Indiana: Lutheran Legacy, 2010.
- Herrmann, Gottfried. *Lutherische Freikirche in Sachsen: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer lutherischen Bekenntniskirche*. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1985.
- . "Zum Lebensweg Georg Stöckhardts." *Theologische Handreichung und Information* 31, no. 1 (February 2013): 1-3.
- Koehler, J.P., August Pieper, and John Schaller. *The Wauwatosa Theology*, Vol. 3. Edited by Curtis A. Jahn. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997.
- Lawrenz, C. "An Evaluation of Walther's Theses on the Church and its Ministry." *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 85-140.
- Neve, J.L. *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. II. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania: The Muehlenberg Press, 1943.
- Pless, Joel L. "G. Stoeckhardt: The Exegetical Task." *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (March 2007): 4-33.
- . "In the Footsteps of Walther: The Doctrine of the Ministry in the Writings of George Stoeckhardt." Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 2008.
- Pieper, August. "Stöckhardt's Significance in the Lutheran Church of America." Translated by James Langebartels. *Wauwatosa Theology*. Vol. 3. Edited by Curtis A. Jahn. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1997.
- Pieper, Francis. *Christian Dogmatics*, vol. I. Saint Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1950.
- Schmeling, Gaylin R. *Bread of Life from Heaven*. Mankato, Minnesota: Bethany Lutheran Theological Seminary Press, 2009.
- . "A Brief History of the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Germany Including Its Recent Ministry Discussion." *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (December 2002): 310-325.
- Stöckhardt, George. *Passionspredigten*. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia Publishing House, 1885.
- . "Schriftbeweis für die Lehre von der Gnadenwahl." *Lehre und Wehre* 26 (1880).

-----. "A Translation of a Sermon on Isaiah 11:1-10." Translated by Gaylin R. Schmeling. *Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (September 1984): 32-42.

-----. "Von dem Beruf der Lehrerinnen an christlichen Gemeindeschulen," *Lehre und Wehre* 43 (March 1897): 66.

Vilmar, August Friedrich Christian. *The Theology of Facts Versus the Theology of Rhetoric: Confession and Defense*. Translated by Roy A. Harrisville. Fort Wayne, Indiana: Lutheran Legacy, 2008.

Willkomm, Otto. *George Stoeckhardt: A Biography of a German-American Theologian*. Translated by Thomas R. Ehnert. Unpublished paper. Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Essay Files, 2002.

Ylvisaker, Paul. *A Blessing in the Midst of the Land*. N.P., 1953.