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Confessional Position of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin *1861 Proceedings, page 14*

Following is the essay delivered by Pastor G. Reim at the 1861 Wisconsin Synod Convention. See the Historical Institute "Journal" Vol. 13, No. 2, page 13.

It would indeed be hardly necessary to demonstrate that it is both necessary as well as expedient to address this topic openly in our full convention. For those outside the synod it is necessary to declare as falsehoods the false accusations which are being spread about the confessional position of the Hon. synod. For synod members it is however double necessary; in the first place our co-workers meet annually in convention; it is of the utmost importance that they clearly understand the confessional position of our synod, if we desire to stand and work together in spirit and confession of faith. In the second place it is essential for a church body to pay utmost attention to this topic, lest gradually and unnoticed it becomes weakened and lost.

Considering the subject most closely, let us look back to the eleven year development of the synod and inspect the written documents about our position.

In the account of the founding of the synod on December 8, 1849 we find a resolution which reads as follows:

RESOLVED, that the synod which is to be organized take the name of Ev. Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin, and that it keep that name in perpetuity;
2) that the president, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, be instructed to draw up a constitution that states the confessions of the synod.

In the following year, May 26 to 28, at the convention held in Granville the constitution was presented, amended and adopted. Chapter 5 § 3 reads:

Each pastor, together with his church council, can establish such church regulations which are most purposeful for the congregation. But everything must be in agreement with the Word of God and the confessional documents of the Ev. Lutheran Church.

Chapter 6 § 1 reads:

Any candidate who desires to be accepted into this church body must appear in person before the assembled Ministerium to be examined, and he must declare his allegiance to the Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church, especially to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*.

Chapter 6 § 10 reads:

Concerning the ordination of a candidate, it can take place only in a scheduled meeting of the Ministerium. At the ordination each candidate will be made to

adhere to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* of the Ev. Lutheran Church, and will be asked the following questions:

1. Do you believe that the fundamental doctrines of Holy Scripture are to be found clearly and correctly in the articles of faith in the *Augsburg Confession*, and of the other confessional documents of the Ev. Lutheran Church?
2. Are you firmly resolved to accept them as the doctrinal standard in your important pastoral office, and to teach them diligently?

It is likewise written in the revised Constitution: "The synod openly accepts all the confessional documents of the Ev. Lutheran Church."

Finally, at the seventh annual synodical convention several additional articles pertaining to the relationship of the synod to the congregations and of the congregations to the synod were drawn up. One of those articles reads:

Each congregation which joins our synod accepts thereby the confessional documents of the Lutheran Church, especially the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession* and Luther's *Small Catechism*, and accepts the latter as the religious instruction book for the youth.

If we consider all of these historical testimonies, there can be no doubt that our synod is a Lutheran synod. The seeds of its origin definitely show a Lutheran character. Our constitution proceeded out of the spirit which has always held sway in the Lutheran Church. It articulates its confessional stand and its churchly character in not unclear or ambiguous terminology, but in clear and positive statements; its foundation is based in the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, exactly as established by the highly enlightened Reformers of the Lutheran Church and as adopted by the entire Lutheran Church and its adherents. It is free of all and every innovation of rationalistic, unionistically inclined and heterodox confession-bunglers and traitors. It acknowledges no altered *Augustana* [the term frequently used for the *Augsburg Confession*] nor the nonsense of the Modernists. Its pastors will be obligated to the confessional documents. All congregations desiring to join the synod will likewise have to accept the confessions. Two points countering this could be brought up:

1. If the synod is truly Lutheran, why has it stayed away from the conflicts over the confessional position which has affected everything both here in the new world and there in the old? That it has up till now stayed away from these conflicts is a fact; the cause, however, does not lie in the confessional stand, but in circumstances. It has not as yet been attacked because of its confessional stand. In its midst no attempt has as yet been made to question the confession; for it to take part in the conflicts of other church bodies it does not have the time or the strength, because both were demanded in the development of the Lutheran Church of Wisconsin and Other States. However, it does not and will not recognize such loveless quarreling which restricts Christ to its own quarters and which indulges in the use of sophistry and word battles for the purpose of rendering suspicion on other Lutheran synods. May this attitude remain foreign to our synod.

2. Why is the expression "especially the *Augsburg Confession*" used in the above statements? It might naturally seem as though the entire Lutheran confessional position is being narrowed down to this one confession; also the opinion may be given that the other confessions are not necessarily rejected, but are not forced on anyone. This could be concluded only if the individual confessions stood side by side, or consisted only of heterogeneous material. Every detailed study shows this to be without basis and false. The *Augustana*, the first of the specific confessions of the Lutheran Church, contains the entire and complete confessional stand of the Lutheran Church, just as the *Apostles' Creed* was the entire and complete confessional stand of the Christian Church of the first three centuries. Just as this creed had to be expanded and more clearly defined in all of its points, not because of imperfections, but because of false doctrines and misinterpretations of the Apostles' confessional position, so was also the case with the *Augustana*. Luther himself wrote in the Forward to the *Smalcald Articles* as follows:

What should I say, what should I complain about! I am still alive, writing, preaching and lecturing daily: yet there are such venomous persons, not only among my adversaries, but also false brethren who profess to be on our side, who dare to direct my writings and teaching against me, letting me observe and listen, even though they know that I teach otherwise, and that they desire to ornate their poison with my works, and mislead the people using my name.

So far Luther.

Under such circumstances it was necessary that the brief and concise *Augustana* finally had to place its sole existing, sanctioned explanation in the *Formula of Concord* if the unity of faith was to be maintained. Thus there follows the conclusion that whoever truly and sincerely confesses the *Augustana* must confess all of the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church. Under such circumstances the expression "especially to the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*" cannot be understood otherwise than that the *Augustana* is thereby singularly elevated as being the correct and so far most important confession of the Lutheran Church.

What then is the position which the Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin takes in regard to its confession? Do we get the attention of our congregations to confess freely and without reservation the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church? They have only those church regulations which agree with God's Word and our Lutheran Confessions. Concerning our pastors, they are openly duty-bound to the confessional writings of our Lutheran Church. There can be absolutely no doubt that not only the confessions of the synod are Lutheran, but also that the position which it takes concerning the confessions is Lutheran, and that it, as a part of the Lutheran Church, is faithful to them.

The obligations to the confessional writings at ordinations has been criticized many times; they say that it is a binding of the spirit, that it hinders the further unfolding of the spirit, that it is a sham of symbolism. On what basis can their obligations to these writings be required especially by the Lutheran Church and particularly by the Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin?

The relationship between pastor and congregation clearly indicates the commitment to, in fact the necessity of the obligation. The congregation calls the pastor not to preach

his own opinions and views, or force them upon the congregation, but that he build up faith, increase it and establish it firmly. The congregation is a part of the membership of the church body which it has joined; this body has a doctrine and this doctrine is the doctrine for the congregation—the doctrine in which the congregation wants to be instructed and edified. So that this will occur with clarity and purity, the congregation must have surety from the preacher in whom they place complete trust, and this surety is the freely given confession and solemn promise of the pastor at his ordination.

The Ev. Lutheran Church and the individual congregations can therefore not ask less than the obligation to its entire confessional stand, which is the doctrine, unconditional and unreserved. This has been the requirement since the time of the Reformation. Spener himself speaks out in favor of this. When Rationalism first broke its way into the church, the practice of being only conditionally obligated to the confessional writings began. These conditions were then broadened to such a degree that actually nothing of the confessions was spared; doubt crept in and faith was entirely undermined. The argument that such an obligation would be harmful to the conscience of the individual, is nonsense.

The Lutheran Church gives each one who feels himself called to enter the preaching ministry the opportunity to learn to know its confessions exactly and firmly. It positively demands that he do this; it seeks to assure itself that he has done this by means of examinations. Only then does it ask the above questions at his ordination, and it can rightfully require that the respective person act in accordance with his convictions. The church is not compelled to allow him who by conviction cannot obligate himself to the confessional writings, to become a pastor. Such persons, because they do not obligate themselves to the confessional writings, the church will reject, so that a situation does not arise where they disagree with the church's conviction. The church rejects them also to protect its congregations from them. However, if such a person through study has come to the conviction that these confessions are the pure doctrine of God's Word, to him such obligation should be no burden or yoke of conscience; such a person will no longer find objection in the beloved phrase "insofar as the confessions agree with God's Word." Of this he has already convinced himself and can much more so make the following confession with joy: I acknowledge and confess that these confessions are in summary the contents and expression of God's Word. The Lutheran Church recognizes the right of free investigation; in fact, it encourages it, and establishes the proper limitations. It demands that the investigation be done in the light of the confession of faith, in accordance with St. Paul's rule. To make an investigation which ignores the Apostle's rule, signifies the destruction of the unity of faith. Of importance is what Melanchthon said in his own defense against Osiander:

Osiander boasts of his retaining freedom, and not having submitted to the restrictions. To this outpouring many, in the spirit of lack of restraint and anarchy, take pleasure in accepting unrestricted liberty, in inventing interpretations, and, like Pyrrhus (the doubt philosopher), in casting doubt on everything presented. But the devout and intelligent see, not without great pain, in what direction this terrible error is going, namely, that the followers and righteous should not be made aware even once of this matter, for these wild,

insolent and conceited people cannot be contained through such misstatements or by other restraints. First I want to speak of the reason for our practice and its purpose. This affirmation was not produced first by us, but about 20 years ago from this *Collegium* it was introduced by Luther, Jonas and Pomeranus, the pastor of this congregation. Osiander insults these upright men when he sows the suspicion that they want to establish a tyranny, since it is known that they have had the most honorable causes for their intentions. Also at that time fanatical people were roaming about, who soon were spreading new nonsense, namely the Anabaptists, Servetus, Campanus, Stenkfeld, etc. And that type of troublemaker is not lacking at any time. As much as human effort can prevent, would that the local senate be made aware of the art of awareness, and show them the limitations which are not easily broken through. Would that it also curb the restless heads as much as it can. This was also the practice of the ancient church, in which no tyranny ruled, and in which the sources of doctrine were pure. There was a desire for signers in God-pleasing Councils. At the Council of Nicaea the decrees were signed not only by the bishops but also by Emperor Constantine. Also, no one was permitted to be a preacher until after an examination and definite commitment in which those called into the teaching ministry declared that they are committed to the unfalsified doctrine of the gospel, and that they profess never to want to cast away the same.

So far Melanchthon.

The less we now seek unrestricted investigation, the more we should recommend that study be controlled as in the old system of controlling, and if the researcher, before his study, is not in conflict with the confessions of our church, such control will not be a restraint of the spirit, but a welcome leader. What the dear fathers of the Reformation found in the Holy Scriptures, he will find confirmed with such guidance. He will thereby also strengthen his own confession, be more devoted to his church, and will become stronger and mightier in the word of truth and evidence of the spirit and of strength.

Commissioned by our Hon. president.

G. Reim, pastor

Theses Based on Pastor Reim's Essay

1861 Proceedings page 24

I

In regard to the specific declarations of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin as expressed in its constitution concerning ordination and obligation formulas which expose the Lutheran character, no one has the right to deny it this character.

II

The synod declares that it exercises a gentle practice with a strict adherence to the Lutheran Confession, not because of feeble compliance, but with full knowledge.

III

Congregation members not originally Lutheran, who in connection with the forming of Lutheran congregations declared themselves to be in agreement with Lutheran doctrine and practice, but who later on emerge as having differences with the confessional position of the synod and congregation, are to be advised by the congregation, but not released as long as they comply with the existing doctrine and practice and do not endeavor to introduce foreign doctrine and practice into the Lutheran confession.

IV

The synod allows that some of its congregations do not have to have pronounced Lutheran liturgical formulas or regulations, such as responsorials, altar candles, private confession, etc., which also were not considered as required in the confessional writings.

V

The synod considers the Lutheran church to be the church of pure doctrine, but not to be the only soul saving church, but to be an endowed and blessed part of the church of Jesus Christ on earth, and it recognizes that other confessions also possess gifts.

VI

The synod considers the building up of the kingdom of God in its congregations to be more important than participating actively in confessional conflicts which generally lead away from the focal point of the Christian faith rather than toward it.

These theses were discussed individually by the synod and finally adopted as a declaration of the synod, and it was resolved that the essay together with the Theses be printed in the *Synodical Proceedings*.

Happy, strengthened, and thankful to the Lord who gave us such a precious confession, the session was adjourned with prayer to Wednesday, 9:00 a.m.

The Men from Michigan

by Geoffrey A. Kieta

Part II

C. The American Lutherans

The third major source of pastors available to the Michigan Synod was the other American Lutheran church bodies. These men are classified as "American Lutherans" only in the sense that they were already in America serving Lutherans (and not necessarily in the sense of the Definite Platform). In many cases there is no record where these men actually received their training. There are definite examples of men who were trained in places like St. Chrischona or Basel coming to the Michigan Synod after serving in another American Lutheran church body. In other cases the men in question were trained in America at the synod's seminary.

The synods of concern are the Ohio Synod, the Iowa Synod, and the Buffalo Synod. The largest supplier of men from this category is the Ohio Synod. This is not terribly surprising, since the Ohio Synod had churches in Michigan at this time, and the Michigan Synod had churches in Ohio. There was also a historic connection. After the collapse of the first Michigan Synod, Friedrich Schmid served for a time in the Ohio Synod. Finally, the Ohio Synod was a confessional body at this time. It did not join the General Council and it was a member of the Synodical Conference from 1872 until 1881. It was natural that men who were serving a confessional body would be comfortable in a synod like Michigan that was striving to be confessional and was trying to lead the General Council into a more confessional position as well.

The first man known to come from the Ohio Synod was A. Tuerk, who came with his congregation in 1873. He actually applied for membership in 1872, but he had no *Entlassungzeugniss* [in today's terms: peaceful release] from the Ohio Synod, so his application was refused. He was finally accepted in 1873. Apparently his relations with the synod were somewhat strained, however, because he left in 1882, and took his congregation with him. Eberhardt is extremely sharp in his comments in the 1882 *Proceedings* regarding Tuerk and his ministry. Tuerk seems to have made peace, however, because he applied for and was accepted back into membership of the Michigan Synod in 1886. He remained a member in good standing until his death in 1904. His obituary in *Synodal-Freund* is extremely brief, noting only that poor health had forced his retirement some years earlier.

Unless one of the unknown men from the middle to late 1870's was in reality an Ohio Synod man, the next member of that synod to join the Michigan Synod was F. Huber in 1882. Huber had in fact been a member of the Scio congregation during Klingmann's pastorate there, but had attended Concordia College, Ft. Wayne during his prep years. He graduated from Capitol University, (the Ohio Synod's seminary) and was ordained in 1881. Beginning in 1889, when he was still quite young, he served as president of Michigan Lutheran Seminary [MLS] and remained there until 1898. After

he left the Michigan Synod he served an Ohio Synod congregation in Racine for more than forty years. Koehler is extremely critical of Huber, laying much of the blame for the split in the Michigan Synod in 1896 at his feet (along with Boehner, Merz and Linsenmann). He describes him as being "in no wise equal" to the position he had attained and as being unfit to teach Sexta [ninth grade], while attempting to teach theology. At this late date, it is difficult to evaluate Koehler's judgment of the man. He certainly contributed both to the instruction at MLS and helped to found *Synodal-Freund* in 1888. The 1889 proceedings list him as teaching Old Testament, New Testament exegesis, introductory and intermediate Greek, Latin and English. Possibly Huber's responsibility in the schism colored Koehler's views of the man's academic abilities.

In 1885, two more Ohio men, R. Weise and A.P. Mueller, joined the Michigan Synod. R. Weise left the next year, but stated that he would have gladly stayed if there had been a suitable place for him to serve. Mueller died in 1888. That year also brought the last two Ohio Synod men, J. Buerkle and W. Linsenmann.

R. Conrad, who entered the synod in 1870, was a pastor in Lansing who applied for membership in the Michigan Synod. In all probability, his congregation was originally affiliated with either the Missouri or the Ohio Synod, the two largest Lutheran bodies in Michigan. Since we have no indisputable case of a Missouri man serving in the Michigan Synod, I think it is most likely that he was an Ohio Synod man. His ministry in Michigan was brief. He left for Minnesota in 1873.

J.J. Buechsenstein also came to the synod from another church body. He had to go through the colloquy process in 1882. The recommendation of the floor committee specifically stated the concern *ueber seinen luth. Standpunkt*, but this may have simply been the formal way of stating the requirement for a colloquy. The fact that he went to the Ohio Synod in 1885 would lead one to believe that he probably came from there originally.

The Ohio Synod provided a total of five (and possibly eight) men to the Michigan Synod during these years. Of those five, three (Tuerk, Huber, and Linsenmann) provided extensive service. The ministry of all three was, however, marred by controversy. Tuerk's defection and return may be the reason that his obituary is so limited—no one wanted to dig up the past. Linsenmann and Huber both served as director of the synod's seminary—always an influential post. But their involvement in the 1896 split in the Michigan Synod permanently marred their reputations in our circles and made it impossible for them to continue to serve in the church body that had repudiated Boehner's leadership and was slowly moving toward reconciliation with the Michigan District-Synod, and thus with the Joint Synod and the Synodical Conference.

Huber was also a co-founder of *Synodal-Freund*. However, during the late 1890's, nearly every issue of that publication carried an article attacking the Wisconsin Synod over its role in the MLS controversy. Clearly, that point of view did not prevail. Whatever influence Huber may have exercised through that periodical seems to have ended with his involvement in an unpopular controversy.

It is not surprising that the Ohio Synod did not supply more or better men to serve the Michigan Synod. Although their relations appear to have been quite cordial, they

were never in fellowship with one another. Ohio had no obligation to serve as the source of Michigan's pastors.

The Iowa Synod and the Buffalo Synod each provided one pastor to Michigan. G.H. Brecht came to Michigan from Iowa in 1869. He was released in 1871. A. Lange came in 1885 from Buffalo, where he was a member of the faculty of Martin Luther College. He offered to train students for the ministry and his offer was accepted by the synod. He left in 1888. The German Ev. Lutheran Synod of New York (which appears to be a different body from the New York Ministerium) provided P. Matschat in 1872, but he may have been a temporary arrangement to fill a vacancy.

A final group of men fall into the category of American Lutherans. This group consists of the first two men to graduate from MLS. They are included here because they really don't fit anywhere else. H. Luetjen and J. Henning began their ministries in 1889, the last year of my sample. Their appearance marks the end of my sample. They provide an interesting comment on the state of theological education at the end of the nineteenth century. Luetjen left the synod in 1893 and took his congregation with him. Henning was expelled in 1911.

D. A Comment on the Unknown Men

There are a large number of men whose origin cannot be definitely determined. Of these as noted previously, Hennische most likely came from Basel and Steinnicke may have come from Neuendettlesau. Lutz is more problematic. He appears to have given faithful service, but he died before the synod began publishing *Synodal-Freund*, so we have no detailed obituary. Since he entered the synod in 1867, Chrischona or Basel would seem to be good guesses, but he could also have come from another Lutheran church body. The 1867 *Proceedings* give no indication where he came from, they simply list him with the other pastors, between Schlenker and Gangnuss, both of whom arrived in 1867.

As was noted above, Conrad seems most likely to have come out of the Ohio Synod. Schoenberg was probably a St. Chrischona man, as were also Schmolz, Mueller, Stein, Fontaine, Deckinger, Rein, Mayer and Wuest. My reasons for holding this view are set forth in the section on St. Chrischona. Part of the difficulty in determining the truth of this belief lies in the fact that H. Reuther, who was probably also a Chrischona man, was the synod secretary from 1871 to 1874. He was temporarily succeeded by Haas (1875) and then Haussman (1876-77). None of these men left particularly detailed minutes. In 1878 Stamm took over and continued until 1881. He appears to have begun to more carefully annotate where these men came from.

W. Asall is another problematic case. He was examined and ordained already in 1881, although he does not appear on the synodical roles until 1882. He definitely did not come from either the General Council's German Home Mission Committee or from the Philadelphia Seminary, but he did come as a candidate. Again, he may have come from St. Chrischona, but he would be somewhat late for that. He was also Stephen Klingmann's son-in-law for a short time (his wife died). He resigned from the district-synod in 1887.

In 1885, Tessmer joined the synod (through a colloquy) as did Renz in 1886, but neither stayed long. Tessmer left the Lutheran church in 1889 to serve a Protestant *Waisenhaus* [orphanage] in St. Louis. Renz left the Michigan Synod in 1888.

II. EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN CONFESSIONALISM

In 1888, a Pittsburgh newspaper known as the *Workman* published an article in response to the withdrawal of the Michigan Synod from the General Council. The article was quite critical of the synod for its failure to become a large and viable body even in the state of Michigan. It ridiculed Michigan's confessionalism and predicted that Michigan could not stand alone, but must be absorbed by another, larger body. The article contained the following statements:

One of these [actions that were an embarrassment to the General Council] was the reception into the Michigan Synod of a Mr. Marksheffel, pastor of a church in Toledo O. [sic] — a man of questionable character and known to many as a vulgar rationalist! Another was the undue endurance by the Synod of a minister of openly intemperate habits and shameless life at Monroe, Mich. . . Happily, the pressure from without led to the removal of these scandals, and the mantle of charity covered these and other evidences of a faith but imperfectly realized. Until quite recently, the support of the United Seminaries at Basle [sic] and Chrischona was openly maintained . . .⁸

While there is no evidence available that anyone in the General Council exerted any "pressure from without" to deal with discipline problems within the Michigan Synod, the fact that Michigan drew her workers from so many sources did leave the synod open to charges of a lack of confessional commitment. Such ideas persisted in the Joint Synod (and even in the WELS) for many years to come. Without a doubt, Michigan sprang from a unionistic and pietistic root. Therefore it is essential to a study of Michigan's efforts to obtain pastors to evaluate Michigan's efforts to maintain and enforce her confessional stand among those candidates who came to her. We will review Michigan's practices in four areas: the public examination of candidates, the colloquy and recommendation process for men already in the ministry, the discipline efforts, and the conference papers produced and studied by the ministerium of the synod. We will then take a brief look at the level of retention among Michigan Synod pastors.

Already by the 1866 convention, the synod had adopted the practice of charging one of its floor committees with the task of reviewing the credentials of all the applicants for service in the synod and making the commendations to the body at large. This practice continued as long as the synod remained an independent body. In some instances the committee recommended immediate acceptance. In others, they recommended examinations or colloquies. At times, they recommended that the person not be admitted for service in the synod.

The report of this floor committee appears in the proceedings of every convention in which detailed reports of the floor committees are recorded. This reflects a commitment from early on to screening candidates for service in the synod.

Most of the time, the men in question presented themselves to the synod at some time during the year, rather than at the synod convention. This was in keeping with the synod constitution. This also enabled the synod president to discharge another duty specifically charged to him by the synod constitution of 1866. Paragraph 7, A, c of the 1866 constitution reads:

[The president] *hat im Namen der Synode predigerlosen Gemeinden auf ihr Ansuchen hin, Kandidaten und Pastoren vorzuschlagen, oder ihr Wahl zu bestaetigen . . .*

[{the president} is, in the name of the synod, to recommend candidates and pastors to vacant congregations or to verify their election . . .]

Naturally, this made the synod president responsible on a practical level for screening the candidates. Klingmann and Eberhardt especially took this responsibility seriously. Reading through the proceedings of their presidencies indicates great attention to their responsibility in this regard.

A. The Examination Process

At least since 1867, the Michigan Synod adopted the practice of examining new candidates who came to work within her fellowship. In that year, C. Nussbaum, a student from the Philadelphia Seminary came to the synod and was assigned *nach einen wohlbestandenem Examen* [after a comprehensive examination]. The format for this particular *Examen* is unclear, but the reason for it is not. The synod had experienced no end of difficulties with untrained and unconfessional men. It was not unusual at this time for a seminary student to receive a call into the ministry before he actually finished his studies. No doubt both these factors led the ministerium (and especially the officers) of the synod to institute a formal examination process.

It is also clear that this was not a mere formality, at least at this time. In the same year that Nussbaum passed his examination, another candidate, C.A. Reinert, presented himself to the synod for a call. At that convention, the synod held a *Ministerial-Sitzung* and examined him. Unfortunately, Candidate Reinert did not perform satisfactorily. The Examinations Committee reported that Reinert was adept at the *Real-Fachen* [practical subjects], but that he needed at least another of study *auf das Fach der Theologie*. Not surprisingly, there is no indication that Reinert ever applied again to the Michigan Synod. What is noteworthy however, is the fact that Schmid, in his president's report, noted that the congregations in Genoa (Brighton), Sebewaing and Sturgis, could not be served. If the Michigan Synod were only interested in filling pulpits, a man like Reinert who was apparently well versed in practical theology would have sufficed. But the synod had a greater interest than that.

Unfortunately, no first hand account or record of any examination is available. Clearly Reinert's examination was conducted at the *Ministerial-Sitzung*. There are other occasions in which the examination was handled at the convention or at the general pastors conference in the spring or (at a somewhat later date) at the district conferences. Occasionally, the examination was conducted as a part of a public worship service.

In addition to the requirement that the men pass an examination, the synod also required a letter of recommendation from the candidate's educational institution. Again this seems to reflect the bad experiences the synod had had. In perusing the proceedings, one often finds the comment that the floor committee has in its hands a letter from St. Chrischona, for example, recommending the candidate for ordination.⁹

It is also interesting to note that *Synodal-Freund* reports, in each year in which the Michigan Seminary produced candidates, the successful examinations of those candidates. The custom remained at least until the Michigan Synod joined the federation in 1910. Perhaps by that time it had become a mere formality, since the synod was training its own men. It seems likely that the practice was probably discontinued by the time of the amalgamation [Ev. Luth. Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States] in 1917.

B. The Colloquy Process

It is not surprising that a body like the Michigan Synod that was endeavoring to maintain its confessional moorings also required some evidence of confessional commitment and faithfulness from experienced pastors who came to serve in her midst. However, like today, the background and experience of the men who came varied greatly. These men appear to have been dealt with on a case by case basis. In general, however, the synod required a letter of recommendation (the *Englassungszeugniss* or *Empfhehlungszeugniss*) from the president of the body that the man was leaving, and the successful participation in a formal colloquy. The colloquy, unlike the examination of the candidates, never appears to have been public, but rather was generally conducted by a committee at a conference or convention. The committee then reported back to the body. The final decision, however, rested with the synod in convention. The committee then reported back to the body. The final decision, however, rested with the synod in convention. At times, there seems to have been quite a bit of discussion over the findings of the committee.

The primary issue often seems to have been confessionalism. As evidence of this, I would like to look in some detail at three specific instances in a little more detail. The first is the case of J. Raible. As was stated earlier, Raible was a Chrischona man who served in Cairo on the *Apostelsstrasse* before coming to America in 1869. Even though the floor committee of the 1868 convention had agreed to Raible's coming, Klingmann still appears to have had some reservations. So he had Raible, who was already an experienced missionary, serve as his vicar and during that time he had him study the confessions. Klingmann reported:

*Waehrend seines neunwoechentlichen Aufenthalts bei uns studierte er mit unermuedlichem Fleiss die Bekenntnisschriften unserer ev. luth. Kirche und vikairte bei mir und den benachbarten Amtsbruedern. Nachdem er mit freudiger Ueberzeugung die Erklaerung abgegeben, dass er ganz unsern konfession-
allen Standpunkt einnehme und wir heinlaenglich von seiner Tuechtigkeit zum
hl. Predigtsamt ueberzeugt waren, wurde er . . . von mir ordinirt.¹⁰*

[During his nine-week long residence with us, he studied with untiring industry the confessional writings of our ev. luth. church and he served as a vicar for

me and the nearby brothers in the office. After he had, with joyful conviction, given his explanation that he completely accepted our confessional position and we were witness of his adequate competence for the holy ministry, he was . . . ordained by me.]

The result of this level of attention to confessionalism was a thoroughly confessional Lutheran pastor. Raible served the Lord in the Michigan Synod until his death. Significantly, he was nominated for the synod presidency in 1870.

The second instance is somewhat similar to that of Raible. It is the entrance of H. Reuther in 1871. This Reuther may also have been a Chrischona man. He had been serving in Brazil and he came to Klingmann looking for a place to serve in the Michigan Synod. Klingmann recommended him to the dual parish at Plymouth and Ypsilanti *nachdem er Rechenschaft ueber seinen Glaubens-und Bekenntnissgrund gegeben [hat].* [After he gave an accounting of his faith and confessional positions.] This man, however, only remained in the synod until 1876. No mention is given in the president's report of his departure, however. His name merely ceases to appear in the *Parochial-Bericht*.

The third instance differs from the other two in that the man under consideration came from what the men at that time would have considered a basically confessional Lutheran church body (although they were not in fellowship with them). G.H. Brecht came from the Iowa Synod in 1869. Klingmann installed him in Marshall without a formal colloquy on the strength of the *ehrenvolles Entlassungszeugniss* he received from Pastor Grossman, the president of the Iowa Synod. This instance demonstrates the importance that the Michigan presidents put on the official recommendation of the pastor's previous church body. Occasionally, General Council pastors were simply admitted on the strength of that recommendation. Without it however, the synod would not even hold a colloquy. G. Tuerk, who served the synod for many years, was refused membership in 1872, because he did not have the recommendation of his parent church body, the Ohio Synod. Because they took this document so seriously, whenever a man left under questionable circumstances, Klingmann and Eberhardt refused to issue such a recommendation, even if it was requested.

In order to demonstrate that this process was more than just a formality, it is necessary to show a few negative instances. There are actually a number of instances in which men were refused membership in the synod, even though they had served or were serving as pastors in other Lutheran bodies. Tuerk was cited above. Other examples would include A. Pfister in 1867, who was urged to remain in the Iowa Synod and a Pastor Hahn in 1874 who was judged to be unworthy of service to the church.

C. Discipline

No confessional church body can exist without a vigorous exercise of church discipline. The men from Michigan recognized that fact as did even the author of the attack printed in the *Workman*. That periodical accused the synod of permitting "a vulgar rationalist" and a man whose life brought disrepute to the ministry to remain in the synod. It also alleges that these problems were only dealt with as a result of pressure

from outside the synod. Therefore, it is worthwhile to use these two instances to examine the disciplinary proceedings with the Michigan Synod during its membership in the General Council.¹¹

The *Workman* alleged that "the undue endurance by the synod of a minister of openly intemperate habits and shameless life at Monroe, Mich." was evidence of "a faith but imperfectly realized." Since the unknown author doesn't name the pastor in question, we will have to make a guess. Zion, Monroe (which was the only Michigan Synod congregation in Monroe at that time) was served by Karl Mutschel from 1858-65, by Stephen Klingmann from 1865-67, by Frederick Lutz from 1867-76 and by Wilhelm Fontaine from 1876-1881. Mutschel can probably be eliminated, since he was gone before the synod joined the General Council. Klingmann, likewise, can be eliminated because the author's case would have been even more damning if it had involved the president of the synod. There would be no good reason to fail to mention that fact, if Klingmann were the culprit. Also, Klingmann was many years in Scio, while only two in Monroe. Lutz was certainly in the congregation long enough to have been accused, but he is an unlikely candidate, because he was not removed from office; he died in 1876. Wilhelm Fontaine, however, is probably the man in question.

Fontaine is difficult to pin down. He was accepted by the pastors conference in the spring of 1876. In 1877, Klingmann reported that he was serving in Monroe. There is no further mention of Fontaine by Klingmann until his last presidential report in 1881. There Klingmann reports that Fontaine's congregation brought charges against him to the ministerium late in 1880. Klingmann reported that a commission was formed, consisting of himself, Eberhardt, and Wuest to try and deal with him. Klingmann accused Fontaine of "agitation" (*Herzerei*) and subterfuge (*Wuehlerei*) and reported that Fontaine used every means at his disposal to frustrate the efforts of the commission. Fontaine refused to meet with the commission, so the synodical pastors conference suspended him. Eberhardt, in his first official report (given that same year) reported that the congregation in Monroe suspended Fontaine from his office and that he would receive no *Entlassungszeugnis*.

It would appear that some error in judgment was made in admitting Fontaine into the synod. Since there is little information about him available to us, it is difficult to make an evaluation. However, the problem emerged on a synodical level in 1880, when the congregation brought charges to the synod. By 1881, Fontaine had been suspended from the ministry. Even if his problems began as soon as he came to Monroe in 1876, and even if Klingmann knew about them already then, the entire episode lasted less than five years. That hardly seems an undue amount of time. Further, it was the congregation itself, not any outside influence, that brought about the disciplinary action.

The other case, that of Markscheffel, also demonstrates a willingness to exercise proper discipline. Markscheffel was a member of the synod in 1866. In 1869 Klingmann informed Markscheffel that the southern district of the synod had adopted a *gefassten* (either "prepared" or "written") resolution concerning him. Klingmann did not elaborate. However, floor committee No. 3 reported that it had a letter from him and the minutes of the southern conference's meeting. The conference had taken place in conjunction with a free conference sponsored by the Ohio Synod regarding the Lord's

Supper. Markscheffel had spoken against the Lutheran understanding of the sacrament. His resignation was accepted. It is worthwhile to note that the conference took place in May and Markscheffel was dealt with by the time of the synod convention in October. Even if Markscheffel's rationalistic views were known earlier, Klingmann had only been in office since 1867. By 1869, the issue was resolved.

The Michigan Synod did attempt to exercise doctrinal discipline. Like many conservative church bodies, they often had the experience that an unfit pastor would leave before they had the opportunity to expel them. In these cases, the only option left to them was to withhold the *Entlassungszeugnis*, which they frequently did.

There are also other instances of discipline that we could discuss. It also is worthy of note that both Klingmann and Eberhardt report every year that they conducted congregational visitations. In many instances they were addressing problems, but there are also reports that nothing was amiss; they were being what we today might term "pro-active." This is another indication of the commitment of the synodical officials to confessional Lutheranism and their efforts to make that a reality in the synod at large. Doubtless, their job was made infinitely more complicated by the total lack of uniformity of education of the men who came to serve their church body, and doubtless their efforts made the Michigan Synod an unpopular place to serve in some circles, but it was the only recourse available to them during the early years of the synod's existence.

D. Conference Papers

One final area of note in evaluating the confessional forces at work in the Michigan Synod is the production of conference papers by the members of the synod. Worthy of note is the Lutheran nature of the topics under consideration. This is extremely important in view of the large number of pastors who came from Wuerttemberg and stayed in the synod. These men needed to study sound Lutheran doctrine. Likewise, the fact that the Four Points are treated already in 1868. The result of those essays, which were printed along with the 1868 convention proceedings, was a strong confessional statement rejecting chiliasm, the lodge, and unionistic fellowship relations. After that, those issues were settled within the synod and witnessed to outside of the synod. Finally, the conference papers, especially those that were printed, indicate a strong confessional influence. Men like Eberhardt and W. Reuther from Basel consistently presented strongly Lutheran themes, as did especially Kramer from St. Chrischona. The influence is telling. What pastors study together, they take with them into the ministry. Given the "revolving door" that seemed to exist in the Michigan Synod, it seems likely that the men who stayed, stayed because they were comfortable with this approach to ministry.

E. Retention in the Ministry

There is one final aspect of the service of the pastors in the Michigan Synod that deserves examination. That is the area of retention. The specific point of interest is why men left the synod. A pastor might have left for one of five reasons: he died, he retired, he left his congregation to serve in another Lutheran church body, he deserted his congregation (which would include serving in a union church or simply leaving without

informing the congregation/synod as to why), or he was removed from office. A sixth category is "unknown"—that is, no reason is given in the proceedings, he simply no longer appears in the *Parochial-Bericht* [synodical yearbook].

The data is somewhat artificially weighted in favor of the positive reasons for leaving the ministry due to the fact that the resources necessary to follow up on men who remained in the synod are greater. It is quite difficult to track down men who left, especially when the proceedings report only that they have gone. If the proceedings did not indicate where they came from when they joined the synod, they are much more difficult to account for at this late date.

Keeping in mind that there are men whose background must be surmised, we can draw a few conclusions. The first is that Michigan did experience a "revolving door." Twenty-five of the 75 men who served during this period left to serve in another church body. Even allowing that several went to the Wisconsin or the Missouri Synod, this must have been extremely difficult for a small synod like Michigan. To be fair to the men in question, a large number of them went to the Ohio Synod (probably at least as many as came from there), which was quite a confessional church body at this time as well. Most of the rest went to General Council member churches. It seems that Michigan's dealings with the General Council and the other American Lutheran church bodies actually siphoned more workers out of the Michigan Synod than it supplied them with. At least five (and maybe eight) Wuerttemberg men left the synod to serve other Lutheran church bodies in the United States.

Another 17 pastors abandoned their congregations and, in some cases, the Lutheran church altogether. Again, this was a larger group of men than any single source provided to the synod. It is understandable why the synod would feel the need for a seminary so strongly. The fact that it actually was forced to remove seven men from the ministry in less than 30 years also helps us to understand the difficulties that faced the synod during this period.

III. EVALUATING THE MINISTRY

Any section with a name like "Evaluating the Ministry" automatically runs the risk of being rejected. By its very nature, ministry is difficult to evaluate under the best of circumstances. In this instance, the information that has come down to us is limited, so any conclusions that are drawn must be made very cautiously. Nevertheless, the amount of research undertaken in this article demands that some conclusions be drawn, since evaluation seems to be the distinction between merely collating facts and history.

My conclusions focus on four areas: the Wuerttemberg influence on the history of the synod, the effects of the retention problems on the synod, the efforts of the synod presidents, and the seminary question in light of my research.

A. The Wuerttemberg Influence

The influence of the Wuerttemberg men upon the history of the Michigan Synod is tremendous. That influence can be felt in every measure that I was able to devise. Numerically, they were the largest and most stable group, with the most years of service

and the most men overall who stayed in the synod, as was discussed in the preceding two sections. They also were solidly confessional men, as can be seen by their conference papers, their commitment to discipline, and their careful screening of candidates. They were extremely influential in their own day. The men trained in Basel and St. Chrischona dominated the offices of the synod.

Of course, the Wuerttemberg men exercised influence in at least one other way. The early difficulties that they experienced with Basel forced them to choose early which way they would go. The ongoing difficulties with the unidentified group (many of whom probably did come from St. Chrischona) and with the General Council forced them to stick by their choice. The *Workman* maintained that the synod ultimately belonged in the Union Church. That shows just how little they understood the history of the synod. The men from Michigan in some ways were like the Children of Israel when Joshua left them—they had to choose whether they would follow the pietistic influences of their roots, which would have easily blended into the so-called "American Lutheranism" of the General Synod, or whether they would cling to their orthodox Lutheran heritage. At least from the time of Klingmann's presidency, and already before that, the synod was strongly moving in a confessional direction. But it is the irony of the situation that the very source of men who would eventually move Michigan into the Synodical Conference, was also the source of much of their difficulty in getting there. Clearly, in 1866, the synod no longer trusted the Basel Mission House. Just as notable is the fact that no more men came directly from St. Chrischona after the establishment of the General Council's German Home Mission Committee. Even though the leadership of the synod had all come from Wuerttemberg, they knew that there had to be a better source of confessional pastors—they simply hadn't found it yet.

The Wuerttemberg contingent is a remarkably diverse group. There are some characteristics that seem to have been common to almost all of them. They shared the mission zeal of Friedrich Schmid. Eberhardt was a *Reiseprediger* and Raible served for years as mission treasurer. Many of them had served in other foreign mission fields. The proceedings mention Africa, the Middle East, Europe, South America, China, and the Orient. They had a genuine concern to gather up the scattered flock that lived in Michigan during the late nineteenth century. No doubt this spirit was born in Basel and St. Chrischona. It is no coincidence that Spittler was driven by a desire to mount a mission to "de-christianized Europe" and that the men who came out of his mission society and mission house spent most of their time gathering scattered German Christians into congregations where there were none. Wuerttemberg was thoroughly pietistic, that meant that its people believed that their faith must express itself in actions. While we would have no desire to return to the doctrinal laxity that marked the efforts of Schmid and the Wuerttemberg mission houses, we must be careful not to condemn the real fruits that the Holy Spirit worked through them, even as we note the inevitable contradictions that arise from a lack of vigorous doctrinal discipline.

The men from Wuerttemberg kept the mission zeal of Spittler and Wuerttemberg alive in the Michigan Synod. The fact that the synod remained a small and, in some people's minds, insignificant church body was not due to a lack of mission zeal it was due to a commitment to confessionalism—again, led by the Wuerttemberg men. There

were definitely men who were willing to serve Michigan's vacant pulpits at this time. But the synod would not have them. We noted several examples of the synod refusing to accept candidates and experienced pastors, despite the fact that congregations were defecting to church bodies with a more secure source of pastors. The Wuertemberg men, as a group, remained and served. Clearly, the confessional spirit of Eberhardt, Klingmann, Haas, Raible, Wuerthner, Stamm, Metzger, Kramer, Baumann, and Reuther had to infect a body that never had more than 30 pastors serving at one time. That spirit had to have its consequences. How many experienced missionaries would have been willing to serve (as Raible did) as a vicar and to study the confessions for several weeks under the supervision of another pastor before receiving a call? There were other places to go and other churches to serve. No doubt men with less confessional fortitude found them.

The burning question is: where did this commitment to the Lutheran confessions come from? This appears to be an unanswerable question. Certainly, the pietism of Basel and St. Chrischona considered itself to be the true heir of Luther, but history has shown that pietism's commitment to the orthodoxy of the *Formula of Concord* has been weak at best. Yet the synod's 1866 constitution's second paragraph subscribes to the *saemtlichen symbolischen Buechern unserer ev. luth. Kirche, als der richtigen Auffassung der h. Schrift*: ["All the symbolical books of our Ev. Luth. Church, as the correct interpretation of Holy Scripture."] The history of the synod shows that this was indeed a sincere statement.

It seems likely that the Michigan Synod experienced some of the same forces of confessional awakening that led to the formation of the General Council in 1867. Certainly, they did not live in a vacuum. But it seems most probable that the early leaders of Michigan's confessional movement reached their convictions as the result of their own study of Scripture and the confessions. Without doubt, personal Bible study was strongly encouraged in the mission houses. Another contributing factor would, no doubt, have been the presence in Michigan of both confessional Lutherans and Union churches. As the synod, under Klingmann and Eberhardt struggled with the issues of the Four Points and the efforts to be truly Lutheran, they were driven back into the Scriptures again and again, and they maintained a truly Lutheran understanding by maintaining truly Scriptural roots.

B. Michigan's "Revolving Door"

Another aspect of the Michigan Synod history that requires some evaluation is the impact of what I have referred to as its "revolving door." The overwhelming majority of the men who came from other synods left again. Of the 27 men who served more than 15 years in the Michigan Synod, at least 16 (and maybe 18) were from Basel or St. Chrischona, two were from Hermannsburg, two were from Kropp, and one was supplied by Michigan's new seminary. Only three were from the other American Lutheran churches. Yet at least 18 pastors from other Lutheran churches served in Michigan.

One effect that this must have had was to frustrate the men who stayed, especially the leadership of the synod (as their sometimes sharp comments betray). Yet it also

seems likely that a certain *esprit d'corps* would probably have been built up in the men who stayed as well.

On a more practical note, the question exists, were the other Lutheran men better or worse trained, as a group, than the Michigan men were? If they were better grounded in the Scriptures and the confessions, their instability was a devastating blow to the struggling synod. But I wonder if they actually were. After all, the confessionalism of the General Council ultimately failed because they lacked a clear understanding of the scriptural principles of church fellowship. Many of the men who left went to General Council churches or to the Ohio Synod. Perhaps their formal training was better than the Michigan men as a whole could claim, but the essays that have survived indicate a well-developed understanding of the Scriptures and the teachings of the Lutheran church. Their records indicate a real and well-intentioned effort to put those principles into practice.

A more tenable proposition is that the men from other synods might have lent a stabilizing influence through their maturity, rather than through their education. Klingmann graduated from Basel in 1860. In 1866, he was already vice president of the synod and in 1867 he was president, while his classmate was vice president. Clearly, the other men in the synod had real confidence in their abilities. If the men who came from the other church bodies were quality men (a debatable proposition), perhaps their age would have helped Michigan to deal with some issues in a more mature fashion. It seems more likely, however, that many of the men came to Michigan because they were unhappy in their own church body, and that they left because they were no more satisfied in Michigan. It is quite possible that these men did irreparable harm to the Michigan Synod by constantly diverting the attention of the leadership of the synod to whatever issues they brought with them from their own church body. To be sure, the praesidium devoted a great deal of time and effort to screening these men, corresponding with their synod presidents, conducting and reporting colloquies, recommending them to congregations and then trying to cover their vacancies when they turned around and left within a few years. Michigan might have done better without them entirely.

C. The Synod Presidents

The role the synod presidents played really was determinative for the synod's subsequent history. Without Schmid and Eberhardt, where would the mission zeal of Michigan have been? To this day we speak of "the Michigan spirit." It seems likely that much of that spirit was inherited from these early pastors.

There were more concrete contributions, however. Klingmann and his wife Karoline opened their home to the many pastoral candidates that would soon be coming to them from Germany. The author of his obituary commented:

*Da die Synode keine eigene Anstalt zur Erziehung von Predigern befass, sondern Kandidaten aus Deutschland kommen lies, so oeffnete er bereitwilligst diesen seines Hauses Thuer, nahm sie vaeterlich auf und behielt Manche Wochen, ja Monate lang unentgeltlich bei sich.*¹²

[Since the synod had no institution of its own for the education of pastors, but rather let candidates come from Germany, he most readily opened the door to his home to these men, in a fatherly manner he took them in and he maintained them for weeks, indeed months, without asking for money.]

The effects of this really cannot be underestimated. Klingmann had the opportunity to personally meet these men, if only for a short time, and assess their temperaments and abilities. It seems quite likely that he may have also let them preach and do other work in Scio, either while he was attending to his duties as synod president, or in the nearby congregations that he served. No doubt, the relationship he established with them there enabled him to deal with them more effectively during his visitations later. It also seems likely that many of the Chrischona men who stayed must have gotten their first taste of Michigan Synod confessionalism at this time. It seems that Eberhardt conducted a somewhat similar practice during his ministry.

D. The Seminary Question

The *Kurzgefasste Geschichte* states that the reason that the Michigan Synod failed to become the dominant church body in the state of Michigan is that she waited so long to start her own seminary. That evaluation has been repeated and echoed again and again. No doubt, there is an element of truth to it. Michigan sponsored numerous mission trips by several different *Reiseprediger* throughout her early existence. Yet, she continued to lose congregations because the synod simply could not fill the pulpits of the congregations that the *Reiseprediger* gathered. But does it necessarily follow that Michigan's "greatest neglect and gravest error" was its failure to found a seminary? I am not so sure. In the first place, the founding of seminaries had not yet become the accepted practice of the day in the 1860's and 70's. Indeed, the 1880 General Council proceedings indicate that many of the member churches were only then in the process of establishing colleges and seminaries, and that with great difficulty. The Philadelphia Seminary didn't come into existence until 1864 and then it only had a handful of students. Certainly, the Pennsylvania Ministerium and New York Ministerium had far greater resources to devote to that seminary than Michigan could possibly have mustered.

A related consideration is the financial backing necessary to establish a seminary. It is notable that the Michigan seminary really did not get a firm foothold until Eberhardt donated the land on which Michigan Lutheran Seminary currently stands. Even then he provided funds that helped to keep it going. In 1866, the synod treasurer reported that the synod had taken in \$79.06 in the past year.

The synod had 11 pastors and around 20 congregations. It seems unlikely that it could have supported a seminary then. In 1876, the number of pastors had more than doubled, to 23, and there were more than 40 congregations. Perhaps it would have been possible at this time to begin a seminary. But the synod treasurer reported an income of less than \$150 for synodical purposes. The missions treasurer reported an income of over twelve hundred dollars for mission work in that year. Perhaps the synod needed to reorder its priorities. But they were a very mission oriented church body. This is the earliest point at which they could have founded a seminary. It is by no means certain

earliest point at which they could have founded a seminary. It is by no means certain that it would have been a success. If they had started a seminary, could they have staffed it?

The initial impetus to begin instruction in Michigan came from A. Lange, from Buffalo, who offered to begin instructing young men for the seminary. It is significant that the synod immediately took him up on his offer, because it probably indicates that they themselves were willing to support such training, but they did not think that they had the capabilities to do the job themselves. In the end, Lange did not remain long with the synod. Men like Huber (who had a university level training) and Linsenmann (St. Chrischona) and others, who were already members of the synod, were left to do the training.

If they had started a seminary, it is not clear that they would have had enough students to make it worthwhile. Certainly Voelter's contribution of four students was significant when there were less than ten enrolled in the entire school.

If the synod had lost its opportunity to become the dominant Lutheran church body in Michigan, it really lost that opportunity not in the 1860's or '70's—it lost the opportunity in the 1830's when the Loehe men broke with the first Michigan Synod. The difference was the confessional practice of Friedrich Schmid. The loss was the loss of financial resources from Loehe and a steady stream of called workers who could have been trained and provided a stable, confessional pool of men for the Michigan Synod. From a human point of view, the *Proceedings* of the Michigan District of the Missouri Synod could have easily been the *die Verhandlungen der ev. luth. Synode von Michigan u.a. St.* [*Proceedings of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Michigan and Other States*].

Of greater import is the effect that the early efforts to obtain and retain competent, confessional pastors had on the subsequent history of the synod. The synod and its leadership had expended great amounts of energy to find qualified men, but it was often disappointed both by the caliber and commitment of the men who served. Again and again, congregations were left with extended vacancies. A large number of them left the synod. New fields could not be exploited. Doctrinal discipline was only enforced with great difficulty. To the men who had lived through these years, the establishment of the seminary must have been a blessing from heaven. It is not surprising that they closed it only with great difficulty. No doubt they felt it was as central to the mission of their church body as we feel our seminary is essential to the mission of our church body.

It is not surprising that they got "cold feet" after their initial acceptance of the plan to enter a federation with the Wisconsin Synod. After all, they had been in the General Council for 21 years and had never really had their needs adequately addressed. Once again, they were entering a union of separate church bodies as the smallest body and once again they were making themselves dependent on the word and the efforts of others. Could Wisconsin and Minnesota be trusted to keep Michigan's interests at heart? Their experience had to tell them that the General Council had never seriously addressed their needs. Why should a joint synod with Wisconsin and Minnesota be any better?

Someone might argue that this attitude would show a serious lack of Christian trust—and they would no doubt be correct. It seems unreasonable to think that the men from

Michigan could simply turn their backs on their own history. Certainly, the way events unfolded, they were not able to. What is more striking, is the fact that they were able to make peace. I believe that two things probably made the difference, one was the incessant harping in *Synodal-Freund* against the Wisconsin Synod. I think in the end, they probably alienated more of their own people than they helped. The second is that the seminary simply wasn't viable, even in the 1890's (which seriously calls into question the often repeated assertion that the synod should have founded a seminary sooner). It is a tribute to the pastors of the Michigan Synod that they made peace with each other and recognized the opportunity that God was giving them in the newly federated, and eventually amalgamated, Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan and other States.

The translation from German to English is by the author.

END NOTES

8. From *The Workman*, a set of proceedings in the Wisconsin Synod archives.
9. From very early on the Synod divided itself into a northern and a southern district. By the late 1870's the southern district had become the southeastern and southwestern districts. These are preserved in the conferences of the Michigan District today.
10. Michigan Synod Proceedings, 1869, page 7.
11. The *Kurzgefasste Geschichte* states that four men were excommunicated during the years 1867 and 1887. The other two men were probably Haussmann and Deckinger.
12. *Synodal-Freund* 4.7, page 79.

Pastors of the Michigan Synod, 1866 – 1889

Pastor	Source	Years of Service*
F. Schmid	Basel	1833 - 1872
C. Volz	(Ohio)	(1855) - 1868
F.T. Henniecke	(Basel)	? - 1872
H. Steinicke	(Neuendettelsau)	? - 1871
St. Klingmann	Basel	1860 - 1891
Ch. Eberhardt	Basel	1860 - 1893
C. Marksheffel	Unknown	(1858) - 1869
J. Haas	Basel**	1861 - 1885
W. Deininger	Wuerttemberg**	(1862) - 1869
W. Reuther	Basel	1867 - 1890
C. Gebauer	Basel	1867 - 1873
Cas. Nussbaum	Philadelphia	1867 - 1871
C. Schlenker	Philadelphia**	1867 - 1874
A. Lutz	(St. Chrischona?)	1867 - 1877
H. Gangnuss	St. Chrischona	1867 - (1900)

Pastor	Source	Years of Service*
W. Kramer	St. Chrischona	1867 - 1917
J. Baumann	St. Chrischona	1869 - 1906
Fr. Wilhelm	St. Chrischona	1869 - 1870
J. Raible	St. Chrischona**	1869 - 1880
G.H. Brecht	Iowa Synod	1869 - 1871
J. Wuerthner	St. Chrischona	1870 - 1910
G. Voss	New York Min.	1870 - 1872
R. Conrad	(Ohio Synod)	1870 - 1873
H. Reuther	(St. Chrischona)	1871 - 1876
L. Rau	Unknown	1871 - 1878
J. Eipperle	St. Chrischona	1871 - 1891
A. Schoenberg	(St. Chrischona)	1872 - 1897
P. Marschat	Ger. Luth. Syn. of NY	1872 - 1873
P. Stamm	St. Chrischona**	1873 - 1885
Ch. Metzger	St. Chrischona	1873 - 1891
L. Zuber	Pennsylvania Min.	1873 - 1877
C. Schmolz	(St. Chrischona?)	1873 - 1877
C.F. Boehner	Basel**	1873 - 1902
A. Tuerck	Ohio Synod	1874 - 1882; 1887 - (1902?)
C.F. Haussmann	New York Min.	1874 - 1893
Fr. Mueller	(St. Chrischona)	1874 - 1881
F.L.A. Stein	(St. Chrischona)	1874 - 1877
W. Fontaine	(St. Chrischona)	1875 - 1881
G. Deckinger	(St. Chrischona)	1876 - 1880
W. Rein	(St. Chrischona)	1877 - 1880
J.F. Mayer	(St. Chrischona)	1877 - (1907-10)***
O. Wuest	(St. Chrischona)	1878 - 1882
C. Lederer	St. Chrischona**	1878 - 1918
M. Schaible	Philadelphia	1878 - 1880
R. Hoeck	New York Min.**	1878 - 1890
Al. Moussa	St. Chrischona**	1879 - 1904
J. Fritz	Pittsburg Synod	1880 - 1893
G.H. Schoemperlein	Canada Synod	1880 - 1886
F. Huber	Ohio Synod**	1881 - 1898
J.J. Buchsenstein	(Ohio Synod)	1880 - 1885
J.G. Bleibtrau	Brecklam (GC)	1882 - 1884
H. Abelmann	Hermannsburg (GC)	1882 - 1916
F. Menke	Hermannsburg (GC)	1882 - 1906
W. Asall	Unknown	1882 - 1887
B. Merz Gross	Ingersheim (GC)	1883 - (1898-1902)***
F.C. Motzkus	St. Chrischona**	1884 - 1898
A. Lange	Buffalo Synod	1885 - 1888
R. Weise	Ohio Synod	1885 - 1886

A.P. Mueller	Ohio Synod	1885 - 1888
G. Wenning	Neuendetelsau (GC)	1885 - 1886
K. Mueller	New Jersey (GC)	1885 - 1888
H. Tessmer	Unknown	1886 - 1891
H. Lemster	Unknown (GC)	1886 - 1891
W. Renz	Unknown	1886 - 1888
R. Paetorius	Hermannsburg (GC)	1888 - 1893
G. Stern	New York Min.	1888 - (1897)
W. Lindloff	Hermannsburg	1888 - 1892
M. Kionka	Kropp (GC)	1888 - 1893
J. Buerkle	Ohio Synod	1888 - 1889
W. Linsenmann	Ohio Syn/St. Chrischona	1888 - 1903
H. Luetjen	Michigan Lutheran Sem.	1889 - 1893
J. Henning	Michigan Lutheran Sem.	1889 - 1902
P. Kionka	Kropp	1889 - 1811
M. Bode	Kropp	1889 - (1907-1910)***
Fr. Kock	Kropp (GC)	1889

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, the years of service are drawn from the *Parochial-Berichte* in the Michigan Synod Proceedings.

* It should be noted that in reality, the first and last year may not be the year the man entered or left service in the Michigan Synod. For example, generally men were not listed until they were officially accepted by the synod in convention (which were held in the fall). However, on numerous occasions they began to serve between conventions. They generally left the service of the synod between conventions as well, but they may have submitted a report to the secretary of the convention for that year anyway. Finally, in a few instances, men were absent from the parish due to illness or a return trip to Germany, but were listed as official members of the synod until they returned or it became apparent they would not return.

** The source is indicated in the President's report in the year the man was actually accepted into the synod (which does not always correspond to the year in which his name first appeared in the *Parochial-Berichte*). The specific source of that information can be found under the appropriate heading. Parentheses indicate the probable source of that particular date.

*** The dates are uncertain because the man left the synod during a year whose proceedings are missing.

(GC) indicates a man recruited by the General Council German Home Missions Committee

In Retrospect DMLC at 111

by John C. Lawrenz

Prologue (pre-1884)

Dr. Martin Luther College was born 30 years after settlers founded the city of New Ulm and 26 years after Congress carved the state of Minnesota out of Indian country. During those years before the school opened, the white man and Sioux fought a bitter war that began in New Ulm and ended at Wounded Knee in South Dakota. A ride up Center Street will take you past the monument to the 1862 Battle of New Ulm. If you eat Chinese food at the Ming Gardens in New Ulm, the waitress will show you the place where women and children huddled as the battle raged. In those early days the best way to get in or out of New Ulm was via riverboat, not overland. The census of 1880, the last one before DMLC opened, recorded around 800,000 Minnesotans. All but 68,000 of them favored a language other than English as their mother tongue.

In 1860 some of Minnesota's German immigrants met in St. Paul to form the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Minnesota. The new synod's few pastors spent all their time harvesting souls on the burgeoning frontier. They made the rounds, exhorting, baptizing, marrying, and burying. Almost all had been trained and sent out by European mission societies. In 1871 the idea was floated to train home grown pastors by sending students to Wisconsin where the Wisconsin Synod had just opened Northwestern College in Watertown. The idea died. There was no money.

One of the Minnesota pastors, Christian Johann Albrecht, believed Lutherans in Minnesota needed their own school. Albrecht was the pastor of St. Paul's in New Ulm. In 1882 he and his lay leaders raised \$7,000, enough to purchase four acres somewhere in town. The Minnesota Synod thought it best to weigh alternative sites. St. Paul and Shakopee were considered. In the end a committee of seven selected New Ulm and purchased four acres on the crest of the bluff overlooking New Ulm, a plot that remains the heart of DMLC's campus. The ensuing building program had fits and starts, and the cost escalated from \$14,000 to \$18,000. The architect of Old Main was Herman Shapekahn, an ancestor of New Ulm's current mayor. The cornerstone for Old Main was laid on June 25, 1884.

The Albrecht-Hoyer-Schaller Years 1884-1907

With the college's single building complete, eight students and three instructors opened school on Luther's birthday, November 10, 1884. Professor Gottfried Burk taught full-time. Pastor Albrecht served as director (the equivalent of president) and Pastor A.F. Reim of Sanborn taught part-time. The second director, Otto Hoyer, arrived in 1885. Tuition was set at \$32.00 a year. Board came to \$1.50 a week. Fees for the year

were \$1.75. The fledgling school had a pro-gymnasium, academy, and theological seminary. Students had to mind their P's and Q's. Exercise was mandatory, as were class attendance, room cleanliness, set hours of study, and due respect for the faculty. Students needed permission from the director to leave town, swim in the Minnesota River, or incur debts. It was forbidden to be late for meals. Students weren't allowed to shout from their windows, play cards, or go to the theater either.

In 1892 three upper Midwestern synods met in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to form a federation. It was agreed that the largest synod, Wisconsin, would train pastors for everyone at its Wauwatosa seminary and Watertown college. Michigan would convert its young seminary into a prep school. DMLC would abandon its theological program although it would have a three year prep program to feed Northwestern College with qualified pre-theological students from Minnesota. DMLC's main mission was to be a "teachers' seminary" with a two year "normal" program to serve the 140 schools with nearly 9,000 elementary aged children across Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.

Changes were implemented in the fall of 1893, but not before a major shake-up had taken place in the faculty. With no pastors to train, Albrecht returned to full-time parish work. Hoyer, who had yielded the directorship to John Schaller in 1889, went to Saginaw where a small theological seminary continued in spite of the concordat adopted by the federated synods. Burk, Reim, and Schaller remained. To their number were added John Brenner, the future president of the WELS. Teacher J.G. Mohr of St. Paul's congregation in New Ulm organized the local parish school as a place for aspiring teachers to practice. Mohr's daughter, Lillie, became DMLC's first woman graduate in 1898.

Director John Schaller increased the acreage of the campus. Old Main was converted to steam heat. An unheated, 25 x 40 ft. out-building, west of Old Main, became DMLC's first "gym." The high school program expanded from three to four years. With foresight Schaller developed a musical program for teachers. He secured the services of Professor Friedrich (Fritz) Reuter in his last year as director. Reuter served DMLC until 1924. Under him music became the queen of DMLC's disciplines. Having served a changing college well, Schaller moved to Wisconsin to become the head of the Wauwatosa seminary in 1907.

The Ackermann Years 1907 - 1917

DMLC's new director, Adolf Ackermann, rose from the ranks of the faculty. He had come to New Ulm the year the school reopened as a normal school. In the first of what was to become a series of worker training evaluations down to the present time, New Ulm survived as the location of choice. The Minnesota Synod in 1909 briefly considered St. James and Hutchinson as alternatives. Director Ackermann lost no time once the decision had been made. The synod authorized a \$57,000 building fund. Two new buildings appeared, the portion of Summit Hall facing downtown New Ulm, and the Music Hall, then known as the Aula. Old Main was remodeled. All campus improvements were dedicated on August 20, 1911. A magnificent \$5,000 organ led a crowd of 5,000, including a student body of 115.

The war years were a crisis time for DMLC. In a move not connected with the war, the synods which had been federated since 1893 entered into an organic merger in 1917. The Minnesota Synod became the Minnesota District of the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and Other States. The new synod appointed a special committee to consider the possible move of the teacher education program to Watertown. That same year pro-German and anti-German sentiment clashed in the New Ulm community. Director Ackermann became personally involved. He was removed from office as one of the first acts of the new synod's new president, Pastor G.E. Bergemann. The student body dropped to 77.

The Meyer-Bliefernicht Years 1917 - 1936

DMLC needed a new director. Johannes P. Meyer had been a faculty member at DMLC for a dozen years before returning to the parish ministry in 1915. Meyer was brought back to DMLC in 1918 to quiet the storms stirred up by the departure of Director Ackermann a year earlier. At its 1919 convention the Wisconsin Synod resolved to keep teacher training in New Ulm and authorized steps to strengthen the academic program. An eighth grade education was mandated for incoming high school freshmen. The high school curriculum was made to parallel that of public secondary schools. A third college year was approved in principle, although it was not put into practice until 1928. A call by the Michigan brethren to have DMLC accredited, however, was not approved, lest, it was feared, a confusion of church and state might result.

Director Meyer departed in 1920 after only two years. His successor, Edmund R. Bliefernicht, had been elevated from the faculty to serve as acting director for a brief time in 1917. He would stay on to lead the college through the Roaring Twenties and into the Depression Thirties.

DMLC was enrolling enough women to warrant a girls' dormitory. In 1920 the director's house was converted into Hillcrest Hall, large enough to house twenty. Until then women were required to find their own lodging in town. By the late 1920's more room was needed for the men as well. An addition to Summit Hall was built in 1926 at a cost of \$46,000. By the mid-1920's it had become apparent that DMLC was outgrowing Old Main, too. The 1927 synod convention appropriated \$328,000. The core of today's Academic Center was ready for use a year later. It contained 13 classrooms, an auditorium and gym, science labs, and a small library. At the same time the Aula was converted for use as a music center, and Old Main received its second remodeling.

The stock market crash of 1929 hit enrollments at all of the synodical schools hard. DMLC had 269 in attendance for the 1928-29 school year. Four years later that number had been cut in half. Calls into the parish ministry, preaching or teaching, dried up. The crash saddled the synod, which had also relocated its seminary from Wauwatosa to Thiensville, with a crushing debt that was not paid off until the end of World War II. At DMLC "unnecessary" rooms were left unheated, baths restricted, athletic and literary events cut back, and all but a few telephones disconnected.

The Schweppe Years 1936 - 1966

Ill health prevented Director Bliefert from attending the 75th anniversary of DMLC in 1934 and from serving actively for the next two years. Carl Schweppe filled in as acting director, a role that became permanent and that lasted for 30 years. The depression and war years were a time for holding on and making do. DMLC's new man-in-charge filled the void with strong personal leadership in the classroom, on campus, and in town, always as a tireless and creative advocate of the teaching ministry. As one result of this leadership, a summer school was begun in 1938.

As soon as the war ended, on campus enrollments for the combined school and college rebounded. The number 300 was passed in 1945-46, 400 in 1950-51, and 500 in 1955-56. Something more needed to be done to house women. In addition to Hillcrest Hall, women were soon dormed in Bode, Waldheim, and West Halls, as well as the Old Main "annex." The pressing need for more space was met during Schweppe's presidency with two buildings. Ground was broken for the first, a two story structure housing around 100, in the Wisconsin Synod's 99th year. This building, aptly named Centennial Hall, was occupied in the synod's 101st year. In 1963 a larger four story women's dormitory for 200 plus students, named Hillview Hall, was added to the complex of campus buildings. Burgeoning enrollments at DMLC, however, could not keep up with the demand for teachers. Classrooms were bursting with kids born after the Great Depression. For two years during World War II DMLC sent professors to Watertown to convert high school graduates into emergency teachers with only six weeks of training. A more substantial, longer lasting program was begun at Winnebago Lutheran Academy in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, in the early 1950's when the post-war Baby Boom hit kindergarten. Young women fresh out of high school sandwiched one full year at Winnebago between two summer schools at DMLC in order to become emergency teachers. Back on the New Ulm campus the three year "normal" program was extended for one additional year in order to offer graduates of DMLC a bachelor of science in education degree. The first to receive this degree exited DMLC in 1954. Not everyone stayed around for a college degree. From 1955 onward women, if judged to be competent by the faculty, could receive a call to teach after only four regular semesters and two successful summer sessions.

By 1960 DMLC's outstanding program of musical education, begun by Gottfried Burk and expanded by Fritz Reuter and Emil Backer, needed a new home. The synod built DMLC a new music center on the lip of the hill overlooking New Ulm. This building has been a fitting place for the music faculty to teach, consult with students, conduct choirs, rehearse with the band, and teach piano and organ ever since.

As the Schweppe years drew to a close, an old question was again before the synod in 1962, one year after the Wisconsin Synod broke fellowship with the Missouri Synod. Still more teachers were needed. Facilities in New Ulm were inadequate despite recent additions and improvements. In 1960 the "Winnebago program" had given way to a new junior college program housed at Wisconsin Lutheran High School under the name Milwaukee Lutheran Teachers College. In what geographical basket would the synod

eventually place its educational eggs? That key question wasn't answered until the synod's 1969 convention. Other far-reaching decisions, however, were reached in 1962. DMLC's college and prep departments were ordered to disengage, giving birth to Martin Luther Academy under the separate presidency of Oscar Siegler. The college by itself was told to strive for an enrollment of 500. For the first time DMLC was asked to tackle the training of secondary teachers. And, DMLC was urged to seek accreditation.

The Frey-Huebner Years 1966 - 1993

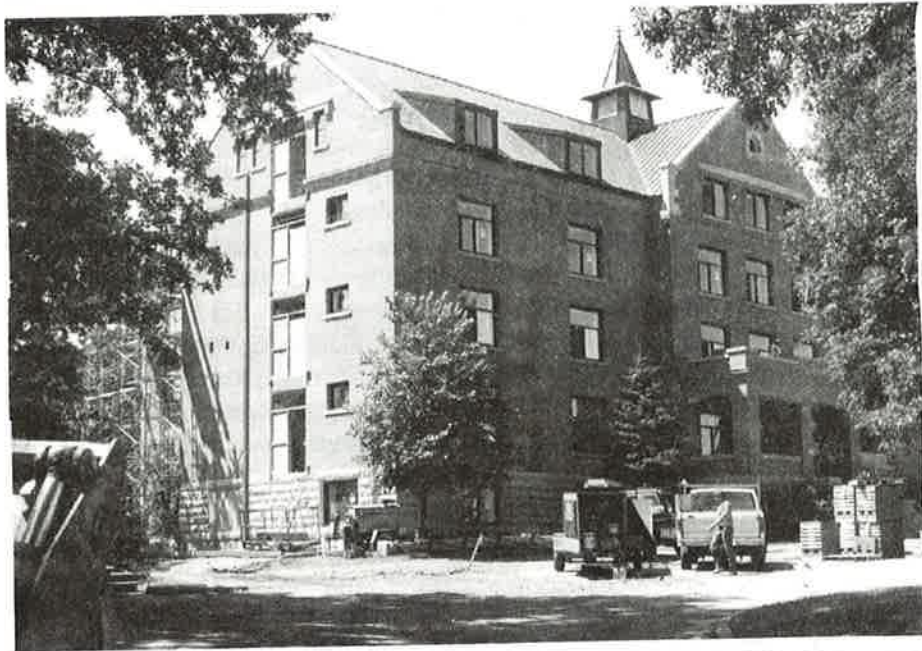
Conrad Frey was no stranger to education. In 1950 he had assumed the leadership of the synod's prep school in Saginaw which he built into a solid feeder for DMLC and Northwestern College of Watertown. Frey took over the presidency (the title changed during the Schweppe years) of DMLC in the fall of 1966. With one hand he steered the faculty in its revamping of the DMLC curriculum and the parallel pursuit of accreditation. A new curriculum was in place by the fall of 1968. DMLC achieved candidate for accreditation status as a teacher training institution on the baccalaureate level in 1974 and was granted full accreditation six years later.

With the other hand President Frey directed an overhaul of DMLC's campus to accommodate a college enrollment that soared past 800. The Academic Center underwent a much needed expansion. Classrooms were added and the auditorium was expanded where the gymnasium had been. A much larger gymnasium was made part of a whole new complex that also provided the school with a cafeteria and student union. We know this 1967-68 building as the Luther Memorial Union, or LMU. In 1969, the synod resolved in convention to have but one teacher education college. MLTC, the two year experiment in Milwaukee had changed its name to Wisconsin Lutheran College. It had even bought property in Brookfield, just west of Milwaukee, in the hope of becoming the synod's one school for teachers. The synod decided, however, to keep DMLC where it was and to merge WLC's operations with DMLC in New Ulm.

A flurry of further building activity followed. A second women's dormitory, Highland Hall, sprouted next to Hillview in 1970. Like mushrooms 15 new faculty homes appeared almost overnight. Next came a spacious college library, deemed crucial for an accredited institution. Its cornerstone was laid in 1981. That same year a beautiful organ was installed in the new auditorium. Other developments were less dramatic, but equally important. In short order the college had its first business manager, print shop, greenhouse, football team, and dean of women.

The 1970's made it clear that the campus bounded by Center and Highland Avenues could not hold both DMLC and Martin Luther Academy. Their combined enrollments exceeded 1,100. As a result many college students lived in private homes and apartments all over New Ulm. A tract of over 105 acres had been bought in 1963-64 for an academy campus. Instead of developing this land, the WELS at a special convention in 1978 decided to move MLA and Northwestern Lutheran Academy of Mobridge, South Dakota to an already existing campus in Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin.

In 1980 President Frey turned over the leadership of DMLC to Lloyd Huebner, the man who had served as DMLC's Dean of Students since President Frey's second year. The transition paralleled subtle shifts in American life and in the Wisconsin Synod. An energy crisis had pushed inflation and interest rates into the double digits. The opening of mission congregations, which had led the WELS to "every state by '78," slowed. Women teachers, many of whom had left teaching to become full-time moms, now trickled back into elementary classrooms. By 1980 one of every two women teachers was married. Today that number has risen to two out of three. Almost overnight the teacher shortage, which had existed since World War II, became a teacher glut. There were not enough calls to go around. The college enrollment had its all-time high of 850 students in 1979-80. In successive years that number shrank by an average of 50 students a year until it hit a low of 441 eight years later. It fell to President Huebner and his campus colleagues to husband resources and cut budgets while awaiting a turnaround. Faculty members, long pressed with overloads, found an opportunity to pursue graduate work. A secondary education program got off the ground in 1988. The first staff ministry professor joined the faculty in 1992. Midway through this time of enrollment contraction, DMLC paused to mark its 100th birthday, choosing as its motto the subdued but confident words of Isaiah 30:15: "In quietness and trust is your strength." At his retirement in 1993 President Huebner saw DMLC's enrollment return to a healthy 570.



Summit Hall, renovated

Epilogue 1993 - 1995

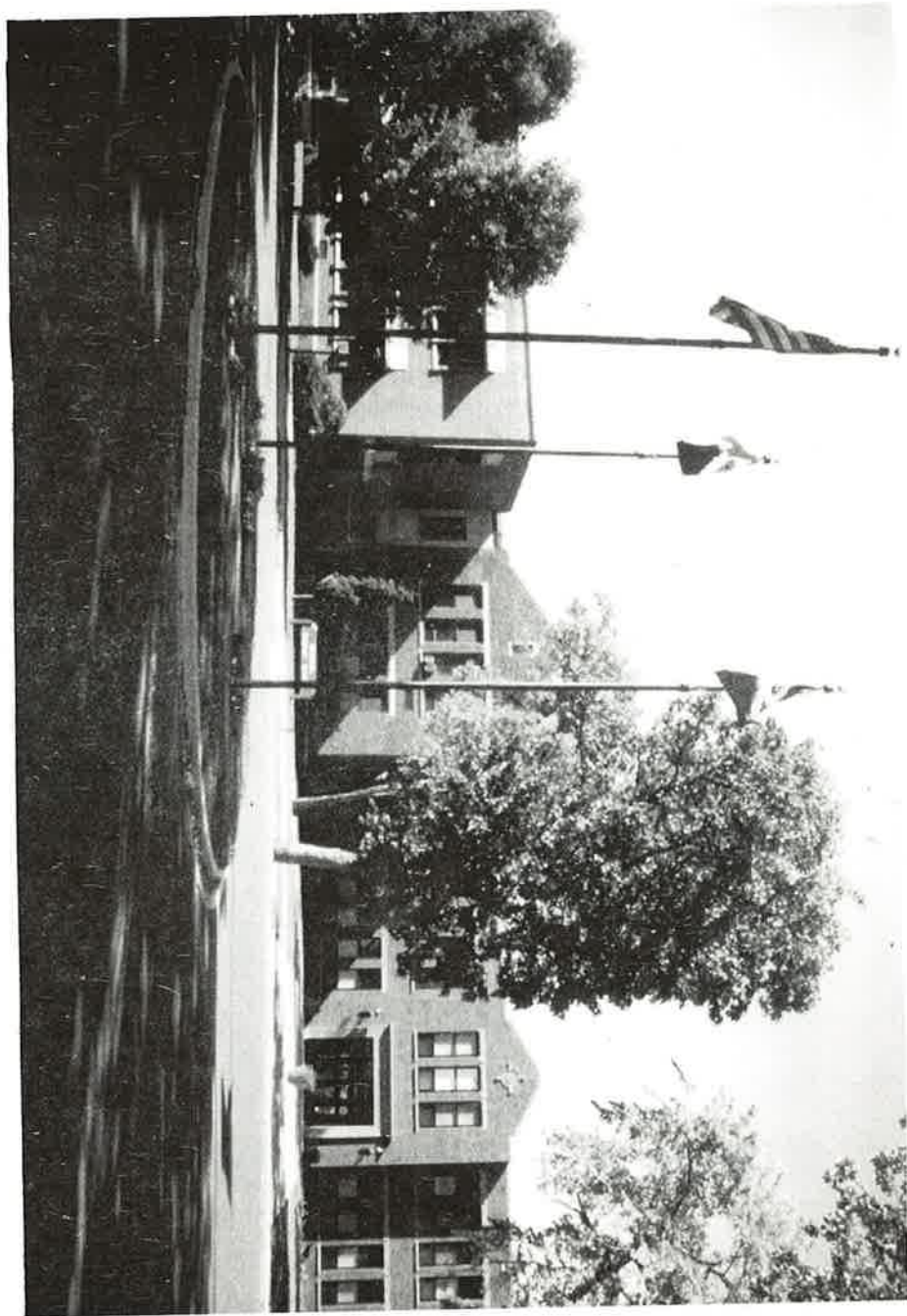
A tight financial picture, first evident in synodical budgeting around 1980, did not ease. Nor did the Wisconsin Synod continue to experience the explosive growth which characterized the 1960's and 1970's. At the synod's 1985 convention the question was raised. Does the synod still need three preparatory schools? A Prep School Study Commission was appointed. Their answer in 1989 was breathtaking. It called for one Wisconsin based preparatory school in Watertown and a single Minnesota based college for teachers and future pastors in New Ulm. Two years later the 1991 convention adopted the PSSC's recommendation and appointed a special commission to weigh the feasibility of a double amalgamation. In 1993 the synod meeting in Saginaw, by a close vote, confirmed its earlier action.

Three weeks later John Lawrenz, who had left the presidency of Michigan Lutheran Seminary in spring, became DMLC's tenth and last president. His two-year stewardship of the college was dominated by the impending emergence of Martin Luther College. To prepare for the new educational institution a transformation of the campus took place. Students and visitors today experience a remodeled Summit Hall, a linking of Old Main and the Academic Center, new roadways, a new entrance, new parking areas, and new and expanded curricula. Campus life from two proud traditions came together.

The work of training shepherds for the lambs and sheep of Christ's flock continued on the New Ulm campus "in quietness and trust" for 111 years. That tradition has not been broken. It simply began a new chapter on July 1, 1995.

This historical sketch relied heavily on Morton A. Schroeder's "A Time to Remember," for which I wish to give ample and deserved credit.

The newly constructed building connecting the Academic Building (shown on the left) to Old Main (not shown).



The Anti-German Spirit Experienced by German Americans During World War I

by Otto Engel

A modern war is more than a series of air, land and sea battles. It is a tragedy that grips the whole of each nation involved. It upends and twists not only the life of the combat men, but also the lives of those left behind to secure the home front. World War I was no exception. The years 1917 and 1918 saw violent passions unleashed in the United States—passions that bred deeds that sober men before the war would have thought impossible.

The chief objects of this passionate concern during these war years were the German Americans living in the United States at that time. In fact anyone who had a German name or spoke the German language often found himself the victim of bitter attack bordering on persecution. Basically this was due to the mistaken belief that all Germans were sympathetic to the Central Powers who were fighting the war in Europe. Oftentimes these attacks came from super patriotic citizens who considered themselves self-appointed guardians of the commonweal.

As part of the efforts to mobilize America for war and to cope with problems on the home front, a National Defense Council was formed together with a network of state and local committees. Organized to educate the citizens for patriotic sacrifice and dedication these councils also sought to search out "slackers" and all manifestations of disloyalty. Often they performed their duties with uninformed enthusiasm, giving rise to a war spirit that ultimately infringed upon the civil rights of many of its citizens. What made these councils especially obnoxious to German Americans was that they were granted unusual powers during war time. Members of the councils believed that in dealing with disloyalty cases their actions were not subject to judicial review, nor were witnesses entitled to the right of counsel or to a knowledge of the charges that were being brought against them which oftentimes remained secret.

The nearly two years of the United States participation in World War I have been called "The Era of Patriotism Plus." Before the war Americans were free to express their opinions about the war and even their opposition to America's getting into the war. Peace rallies conducted by peace activists were a common practice. But once war was declared against Germany those who spoke the German language oftentimes were called "pro-German." And for someone to openly support the German cause after the outbreak of hostilities was to risk having your house painted yellow or being forced by an angry mob to kneel down and kiss the American flag in order to show your patriotism. In every community there were to be found a group of highly patriotic citizens who were on the lookout for every evidence of disloyalty and to report it thinking in this way that they were doing their duty as American citizens to counteract all subversion and unAmericanism. It was not long before this gave rise to a war hysteria which had as its purpose the eradication of everything German.

Frederick Nohl in his article *The Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod Reacts to United States Anti-Germanism During World War I* has given us a good description of what it was like for German Americans living at that time. He writes:

School boards dropped the study of German; libraries refused to issue German books; hotels, restaurants, insurance companies and churches dropped their German names. The official name of the Missouri Synod before 1917 was "The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States." After 1917 the word "German" was deleted. Local governments banned German publications from the newsstands and streets; symphonies and operas avoided the works of German composers. Once popular artists feared to make public appearances. Some localities forbade the use of the German language at any time. To have had an attack of German measles was a near act of treason. When an epidemic of German measles struck York, Pennsylvania, and the health department demanded that quarantine cards be displayed, patriotic citizens tacked American flags over the word "German", according to an article in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 7 May, 1917.

Anti-Germanism in Nebraska

In the following pages we shall give a description of what some individuals experienced who lived in a community where this anti-German spirit prevailed. This was a time especially difficult for the pastors who were still preaching German in their congregation.

For our first example we go to the Rev. Herman S. Studier, a pastor of a rural German congregation of the Iowa Synod near Barneston, Nebraska. In a letter to the *Chicago Examiner* about the war in Europe he had asked a number of questions. Among them were the following:

How is it that we are fighting for humanity when we are helping to starve women and children? What glory is there in a war against a nation that had been forced by a combination of world powers to fight for its existence? What justice is there in a war against a nation that has always been our friend and in this war did not harm us, but was sometimes forced to do so because we helped her enemies when we were neutral? What wisdom is there in a war waged to annihilate the foremost nation of the world from which all the rest derived so much benefit and which always was one of our best customers? If we stood all kinds of wrongs from England and did not retaliate and defend our rights, why is it that we go to war against Germany that harmed us only a little, being forced to defend herself? I would like to have someone answer these questions.

Pastor Studier's letter received wide publicity and it was not long before he had papers served on him and was summoned before the Council of Defense in Lincoln, Nebraska to testify. We shall let him describe for himself how he fared with the Council. He writes:

When I arrived in Lincoln at the big hall used by the state board of defense there was a crowd of men and some women assembled. They asked me some questions. "Did you write this letter? Are you a citizen of the United States?" I told them that I had been a citizen of the U.S. since 1881 and showed them my citizenship papers. My citizen papers spoiled their plans to intern me. More questions. "Do you talk about the war? Do you talk against the war?" I answered that I told my people: "We have to obey the government." "Do you preach against the war?" "I don't preach about the war, but I have preached on Romans 13: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,' and that we had to obey the government, as it had the power, whether right or wrong. Next question: "What do you think about the Germans sinking the Lusitania and sinking a thousand women and children?" My reply: "The Germans did not intend to sink women and children, but the ammunition that was on board the ship to protect their men from American ammunition, and that it was against the American law to haul ammunition and passengers on the same vessel." They had no word to reply. When they were through with me they sent me to a little room and after the door was closed they started a big laughter. After a little while I went to the first room to get my coat and hat to leave. Then the secretary came and told me "They think that you are disloyal. Don't write or talk anymore against the war and after a week write us a letter." I wrote them a short sketch and got a letter from the secretary telling me they got my letter and that it was circulating among the members of the defense council.

What makes Studier's case unique is that he recorded his experiences in memoirs written near the end of his hard life as a pastor.

Anti-Germanism in Jenera, Ohio

For our next example of experiences by a pastor enduring hardship bordering on persecution we go to Jenera, Ohio, to the case of John Gauss, a pastor of the Wisconsin Synod who was the pastor of a German congregation in Jenera. His story is told by Pastor Walter C. Voss, who was a co-pastor with Pastor Gauss for several years. He remarks that Pastor Gauss was an outspoken sort of a person and was accused of making some disloyal remarks against the government. For this he was subpoenaed by the defense council and summoned to appear before the federal court at Toledo, Ohio. But before he could be arraigned and appear before the court in Toledo he had to spend several nights in prison. However, his congregation in Jenera quickly raised a \$90,000 bond for him so that he could go free. Once before the judge he was asked about the charges that he was supposed to have made against the government. Pastor Gauss' reply was that he did not make any charges against the government but against the Wilson administration for promoting the war effort. The judge who was an Irish Republican and for that reason also opposed to what was going on in Washington was not inclined to prosecute cases of alleged disloyalty with the result that the case was dismissed and Pastor Gauss was permitted to go free.

Anti-Germanism in South Dakota

For our next example of what it was like to live in a community where the war hysteria prevailed we go to a little town in South Dakota, Elkton, where the writer of these lines lived and where his father was pastor of the German Lutheran Church. Soon after the outbreak of the war the South Dakota legislature passed a law forbidding the use of the German language in all public gatherings. It was feared that the use of German would detract from the war effort. That meant that the German language could no longer be used in the Sunday services. One of the members in the Ward congregation which was also served by my father recalls what effect it had on the members of the congregation when the pastor announced one Sunday that henceforth all German services would be discontinued. It has been said that to deny a person the use of his native tongue is the next thing to taking his life. After this announcement was made many of the members could be seen kneeling in the benches and crying and praying for the Lord's help that the German services could again be restored. The day after war was declared against Germany all the German textbooks that had been used in the Elkton public school were found dumped in the outhouse of the German Lutheran Church located near the school property. During the war years Pastor Engel was sitting in the Elkton depot waiting for the passenger train to arrive. He was talking to his son, Walter, who was in uniform and leaving for service in the National Guard. He hastily wrote a letter or postcard that he wanted to go on the train. But the depot agent refused to mail it because it was written in German.

A refusal to allow the use of the German language created a hardship not only for the German speaking members but especially also for some of the pastors. Pastor Engel had come to America as a young man and had been working in his pastor ministry almost exclusively with German speaking members. Hence he had not become proficient in the English language or conversant in it. How great a hardship it was for him to be forced to preach only in the English language he describes in a letter written to his parents living in North Milwaukee: "We have been experiencing the past week, yes, the past months, sad times. The language question has stirred up a lot of commotion here. He who speaks German on the street or on the telephone is reported and threatened with a fine. Right now I conduct all my services in the English language. What that means to me you have no idea. I must have the dictionary in hand the whole week and if I should deliver the sermon freely I must read it." Later the Council of Defense in South Dakota agreed to allow German ministers with congregations that understood little English to give a fifteen minute summary of their sermon after the English service. To show how determined the members of the church were to keep their German services and yet not run afoul of the law they often met on Sunday afternoons at the home of one of the members and conducted their German services there. A frequent meeting place was on the farm of one of the members who lived just across the state line in Minnesota, where laws evidently were not enforced as strictly as they were in South Dakota.

Use of the German Language Forbidden in Parochial Schools

Not only did the congregations that had been conducting German services feel the hardship of being deprived of using the German language, but its effect was also felt in the parochial schools, many of which were known as "German schools" at the time. The Nebraska Council of Defense for example, had been especially disturbed by the many parochial schools in which instruction was given wholly or in part in the German language. Several hearings were held and investigations conducted. As a result of these the State Council of Defense on December 12, 1917, requested that all foreign language instruction as to subject and medium of instruction be eliminated in all schools in Nebraska, public and private. At the same time the state superintendent of public instruction announced that credit could not be given under the state compulsory attendance law for attendance at schools at which, wholly or in part, instruction was given in a foreign language. In Gage County the superintendent of schools reported that all but four schools were cooperating and were abolishing the German language. Among the recalcitrants was the Rev. H.E. Studier of Barnston of whom we heard earlier. Thereupon the Council of Defense subpoenaed the pastor who had failed to cooperate. As on the previous occasion Pastor Studier was again requested to appear before the council which he did. A bit later he appeared before a criminal court which was hastily assembled and was asked some of the same questions that he had been asked once before at Lincoln. The Defense Council resolved that Pastor Studier be interned and that his case be reported to the grand jury in Lincoln for prosecution. It so happened that the District Attorney, whose wife was a sister to William Jennings Bryan and a friend of the Germans, was not inclined to prosecute cases of alleged disloyalty. He saw to it that the case never came before the grand jury with the result that the case against Pastor Studier was dismissed. After a few other skirmishes with the authorities including also a threat of being mobbed Pastor Studier finally retired from the ministry.

Meetings Held in New Ulm Opposing the Draft Law

A survey of this kind would not be complete if it did not include a reference to the turmoil that the war hysteria caused in the city of New Ulm and in the surrounding areas of Minnesota. It should be remembered that the population of New Ulm consisted largely of those who were of German descent. German was to a large extent still spoken in the homes and could be heard frequently in places of business and at public gatherings. Before America became involved in the war with Germany there were plenty of Americans who felt that the United States should remain neutral and not get involved with a war that was being fought in Europe. Peace rallies led by peace activists were a common thing. However, when Germany began sinking more and more ships on the high seas and committing other hostile acts the possibility of America getting into the war was becoming more and more imminent. This was a frightening thought for those German Americans living in New Ulm, many of whom had only recently come over from Germany and still had close relatives living there. If America were to go to war against Germany that would mean that our soldiers would be expected to fight against their own relatives, in many cases against their own cousins.

America declared war against Germany on April 6, 1917. Once war was declared the help of all citizens was called for to provide that which was necessary to carry on the war. In May, 1917 congress passed the Selective Service Act, the first in American history. It called for the registration of all American men in a certain age group who could be drafted for military service. By the fall of 1917 the first of the more than three million men registered were drafted and inducted into service.

On April 16, 1917, ten days after the United States declared war on Germany a bill to create the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety was passed unanimously in the state senate and with only one nay vote in the assembly. Fears of an uncertain loyalty from many in Minnesota's large German element caused the legislature to over-react. The commission was to control seditious activity, ensure compliance with the military draft and take steps to conserve food, fuel, and anything else that they deemed essential to the war effort. Arbitrarily assuming powers and responding vigorously to the worst fear of chauvinists, i.e. those showing a boastful devotion to another country, the Commission attempted to squelch all political dissent which, it said, detracted from the war effort.

The Commission had been at work for only a short time when it learned that several meetings had been held and others had been advertised in various parts of the state in violation of the act of 1917. Today we would call such meetings protest meetings. If there is something that the government is doing that the people do not like they stage protest meetings, oftentimes going even to the nation's capitol to make their feelings known. And as long as they are carried out peacefully they are not regarded unlawful and are not to be interfered with. However, in 1917, in war time, the situation was entirely different. The so-called "sedition law" made it unlawful to advocate resistance to the draft law in a public place or in a meeting where more than five people were assembled.

On July 25, 1917, a public meeting was held in New Ulm in Turner Park especially to hear explanations concerning the draft law. About 7000 people turned out for the meeting. New Ulm's population at the time was about 3000 which gives you an idea to what extent the public feelings had been aroused about the draft law. Involved in the proceedings in one way or another were Dr. L.A. Fritsche, the mayor New Ulm; Albert Pfaender, the city attorney; Louis Vogel, the county auditor, F.E. Retzlaff, a prominent business man in New Ulm; and two men from Dr. Martin Luther College: the Professors Wagner and Ackermann. Dr. Fritsche opened the meeting by explaining that he had been approached by public-minded citizens to preside over a public gathering at which Congress would be petitioned not to force drafted men to fight on the battlefields of Europe. "This is a peaceful gathering of American citizens," stated Mayor Fritsche, "We have no desire to cause any dissatisfaction of the draft law. The same should be upheld and obeyed. We do ask, though, that Congress and the government not force those drafted to fight in Europe against their will. There can be no objection to a meeting of this kind." Prof. Wagner spoke of the constitutional right of freedom of speech and against the draft law. Prof. Ackermann said he spoke because he wanted to testify to the loyalty of the people of New Ulm. Also he said he favored sending a petition to the Congress of the United States not to force drafted men to fight on the battlefields of

Europe against their will. We take this to mean that if America was to respond to the countries of Europe calling for our help that this should be done by volunteers.

It did not take long before the July meeting became known as the "New Ulm anti-draft meeting," and the entire matter was blown out of proportion. Loyalties were questioned and communities split. In the neighboring town of Sleepy Eye a sign was posted along Highway No. 19 in the middle of the street: "Fourteen miles to Berlin." Upon recommendation of the Public Safety, Fritsche and Pfaender were permanently removed from office by Governor Burnquist. Gross indignities were heaped upon those who in any way had been involved in the July meeting. The matter took on a humorous turn when Vogel escaped from being removed from office because he was able to prove his loyalty by saying that during the July meeting he was shining a light on the American flag on the courthouse.

Finally, Adolph Ackermann, who had served Dr. Martin Luther College as professor from 1894 and as president after 1908, was removed from office by the college board of control meeting in St. Paul on January 29, 1918. The then president of the Wisconsin Synod, the Rev. G.E. Bergemann, asked for Ackermann's resignation, reportedly after the Commission of Public Safety had threatened to close the college. Prof. Morton A. Schroeder in his *A Time to Remember* has given us a fine and a classic evaluation of this entire matter when he says: "The story of the resignation of Adolph Ackermann as director of Dr. Martin Luther College is a curious amalgam of the exercise of raw, dictatorial political power and the misuse or non-use of ordinary common sense."

Propaganda to Buy War Bonds

New Ulm, however, was not the only community where people permitted themselves to be carried away by the war hysteria. In the history of the *First Century of the Congregation at Wellington Township*, near Fairfax, Minnesota, the writer describes the happenings in this congregation in this way: "By 1918 the United States was deeply involved in the 'Great War' against Germany, homeland of all of Emanuel's founders, many of whom had relatives still living in Germany. While the war raged in Europe across the Atlantic, many Americans of German descent were subjected to hostilities here at home and were accused of being in sympathy with the German cause. The loyalty of American citizens was often judged by how much money they were willing to lend to the government by buying war bonds. Emanuel's members who apparently had also been experiencing some of these misguided feelings, went on record March 8, 1918, when a motion was approved for the congregation's treasurer to buy three war stamps a month using money from the church's treasury. Members at this meeting were asked to pay \$2.50 as soon as possible so that this action could be implemented. According to the minutes of that meeting some paid immediately. Another motion called on members to encourage each other to buy war stamps individually. The topic was viewed of such importance that 52 of the 57 eligible voting members attended the meeting.

That same day Pastor Emil Fritze, pastor of Emanuel congregation, drafted a letter to the Liberty Loan Committee of Minneapolis which apparently had written the congregation earlier urging them to support the American cause in deeds as well as in

words. Pastor Fritze began his letter: "As citizens of this great land we had expected to be addressed in the American language. We are happy to be addressed in our mother tongue. We have come to believe that only a minority is so foolish as to forbid us the use of the German language just because our country is at war with the German Reich. We feel free to answer in the language in which we were addressed."

The pastor then pointed out to the committee that according to the teachings of God's Word the congregation had followed the Biblical admonition: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." As proof he explained that the members of his congregation had dutifully paid their taxes, and as a group had contributed to the Red Cross and the YMCA. The congregation had also contributed a total of \$345 for the spiritual welfare of "our boys." He also pointed out to the committee the various actions that had taken place in the special meeting that afternoon. No further mention is made in succeeding records of any loyalty problems concerning members. And as the war ended that year, says the writer: "The problem apparently took care of itself as people's minds turned to things of a more pleasant nature."

Exercising the Right of Free Speech in War Time

As one looks back to this era when the anti-German feeling was at its height, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that it would have been far better if some of our German Americans, including some of our pastors, had not been quite so insistent of their right of free speech during war time. Those who spoke out insisting that they were only exercising a right inherent in their citizenship did so at the risk of their life and property. This was especially risky because of a widely circulated rumor by way of propaganda, that the Lutheran Church in America was an arm of the German State Church, and that all German Lutheran pastors were required to take an oath of allegiance to the German Kaiser before they were permitted to discharge their duties. Nothing of course was farther from the truth. One of the most hated figures in the world at the time, at least in the eyes of many Americans, was the German Kaiser. This came about because of all the misery he had created in the world, a result of his war policies in his efforts at world domination. Effigies of him were burned in many places. Even to mention his name in a conversation was enough to make one suspect. One such example involving the word "Kaiser" happened at a rally held in the armory at Olivia, Minnesota. One of the speakers that day was one of our Wisconsin Synod pastors. Whether the pastor spoke out against America getting into the war or against the draft law we do not know. At any rate his speech referred in German to the text: Matt. 22:21: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." In the German the text reads: "So gebet dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist, und God was Gottes ist." It should be noted that in the German quotation the word Kaiser occurs several times and was so used by the speaker. Immediately he was attacked and threatened with a fine because of his pro-German speech and attitude. Acting as his own defense lawyer the pastor exonerated himself when he gave his critics a lesson in semantics by showing them that the word "Kaiser" in this connection had nothing to do with the German Kaiser but was an expression in the German language denoting a ruler or king.

During World War I and in the years following our church was what we might call a bilingual church today. To be sure that put a heavy burden on the pastors and teachers at the time. Lay people could hear, read and speak the Word in the language of their choice, but the pastor and the teacher had to be adept in both languages. By and large they met the challenge successfully. But this was not without its difficulties especially for the older men lest they be guilty of saying something the opposite of what they wanted to say—something that could even turn out to be humorous or embarrassing. Older men constantly had to be on the lookout against that which today would be called "boners" such as the pastor when asked to lead in prayer before a meal wanting to say: "Let us say grace.", said: "Let us say grass." Then there is the story of one of our older pastors who was asked to perform a wedding in his church. Because the groom could not understand German the service would have to be in English. This the pastor agreed to do. In his sermon the pastor preached at length on the duty of the spouses to love each other. The pastor had a low, guttural voice and in his sermon often used the expression: "You luf her." But to the audience it sounded more like "You lo afer, You lo afer!" A similar incident bordering almost on the ludicrous happened in a southern Illinois town where a pastor suffered some indignities from an infuriated mob because he supposedly had led his congregation in a song which elevated the German General von Hindenburg to the status of a god. Actually the congregation had sung: *Ein fest Burg ist unser Gott not von Hindenburg ist unser Gott.*

Concluding Remarks

It took a long time for the anti-German spirit to die down and for things to get back to normal. But as the saying goes: "Time changes everything." By the time World War II rolled around most of our congregations were conducting their services in the English language. In fact anyone with the knowledge of German was given a job in the government involving national security. Even New Ulm, which for so long had the reputation of being pro-German, gained back its respectability. New Ulm, the city which was once looked down upon because of its German heritage now has become proud of it. Each year it puts on a heritage fest at which it makes a public display of its German crafts, culture, music and even its German cooking. The fest each year invites musical groups from Germany to perform and draws crowds of people from all over the state. At present there is a very close relationship with New Ulm and its adopted sister city, Ulm, Germany. The mayors of both cities and other dignitaries often exchange visits especially on festive occasions and in this way spread good will. The city of Ulm, Germany, has furnished a special room in the Brown County museum with furniture and other exhibits of German culture. German Street, which during the war was changed to "Liberty Street," has resumed its original name and is again called "German Street." But the German language which once was so prominent in New Ulm is now seldom heard and then only by old timers.

Dr. Martin Luther College, which at one time was in danger of being closed, has quietly gone about its work of training teachers for the day schools of the Wisconsin Ev. Lutheran Synod. In 1984 it celebrated its Centennial using as its motto: "Quietness

and trust in God," and calling these years 100 years of strength. Even the Wisconsin Synod churches of the New Ulm area which for over 40 years conducted German services each Sunday over radio station KNUJ also had to give in to the inevitable when a survey showed that those listening to the German services were so few that conducting the services in German no longer was warranted. Today all the services over radio station KNUJ are conducted in English.

In the past pages we have shown what it was like to have lived in America during the years of the war hysteria when highly patriotic citizens wanted to get rid of anything in the community that was German. These were years when German Americans were actually being deprived of their constitutional rights and were persecuted. The only thing that has come close to it since that time is when during World War II many Japanese people living on the West coast were removed from their homes and placed in concentration camps. Because of their foreign connections they were suspected of secretly collaborating with the enemy. It is hard to believe today that something similar once happened to those who were German Americans. Yet we can be thankful that we are living in a country where after the war furor and the anti-German feeling died down our rights as American citizens were again restored to us. We are once again respected as law abiding citizens who love their country and are willing to support it and fight for it if need be, but who also, as a church body, can quietly go about the work of building our church, being guaranteed the security and the protection of the laws of the land and our government.

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from the editor . . .

A special thank you to the contributors of articles for this issue of the *Journal*: Geoffrey A. Kieta, a missionary for the Wisconsin Ev. Lutheran Synod in Bogota, Colombia; Otto Engel, a retired pastor living in New Ulm, Minnesota, and former member and president of the Board of Control of the former Dr. Martin Luther College; and John C. Lawrenz, vice president for student life at the newly established Martin Luther College, New Ulm, Minnesota.

As stated previously in the *Journal*, many articles, large and small, concerning historical matters of interest, especially of American Lutheranism, lie hidden in someone's recollection or memorabilia. Please share these with others. Send such facts of history to the undersigned. In our next issue an article concerning the founding and establishing of one of the oldest WELS congregations will be featured. Surely there are other congregations that have interesting historical backgrounds which ought not be lost with someone's memories.

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