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Salem Lutheran Church
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Journal

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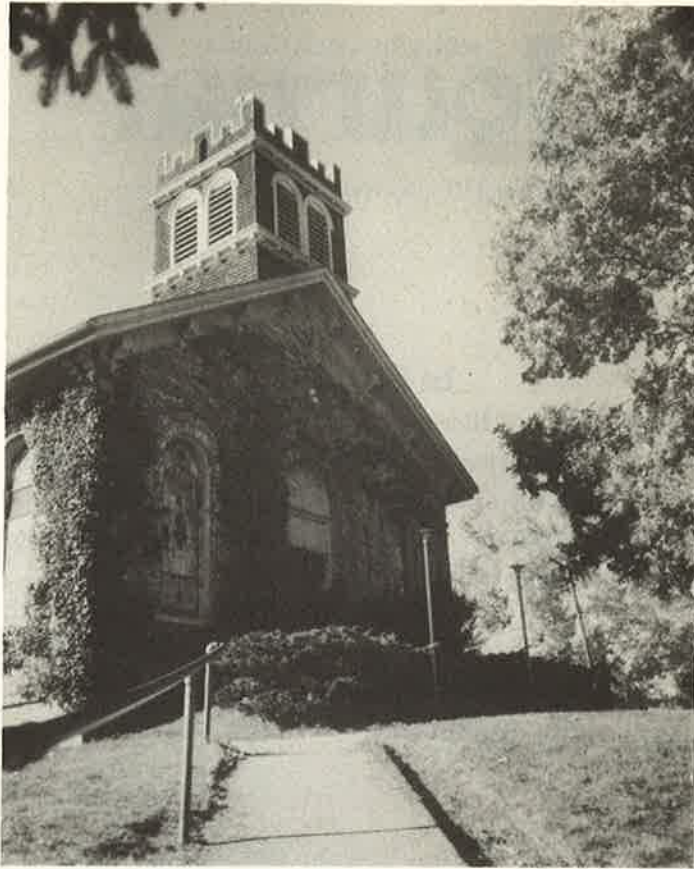
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Salem Lutheran Landmark Church
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Built in 1863 on the site of the
birthplace of the Wisconsin Synod

The President's Report

*We have heard with our ears, O God;
our fathers have told us
what you did in their days,
in days long ago. (Psalm 44:1)*

THE LORD BLESSED the fathers of our Synod with the gospel of Jesus Christ. He blesses us with that same gospel and with countless other riches, although we are unworthy and must confess, "We have sinned, even as our fathers did; we have done wrong and acted wickedly" (Psalm 106:6).

Salem Lutheran Landmark Church

One of the most visible blessings our WELS Historical Institute enjoys is the Salem Lutheran Landmark Church in Milwaukee. The Aid Association for Lutherans is granting the Institute \$68,500 for the restoration of this historic building. Built in 1863, the church stands at the site of the birthplace of the Wisconsin Synod and will serve as our Synod's museum. The generous AAL grant will provide for the following: energy efficient heating system, lexon glass to preserve windows and conserve energy, alarm system including smoke detectors, replacement of present roofing and gutters, sewer and water hookup to the city system, sprinkler system for fires.

Salem congregation has agreed to lease the church building to the Institute for an annual fee of \$1.00. (The congregation no longer uses the building for worship.) The Institute will be responsible for utilities and insurance. Display cases for museum items also need to be built.

Membership

Another blessing is a growing membership. Our membership now stands at almost 800, indicating widespread interest in our Synod's God-given heritage and roots.

Still, there is much room for growth. For that reason we have been including membership forms with our journals and newsletters. Please share the application with someone who is not member. Or, better yet, why not give someone a membership as a gift?

A reminder: all present memberships are good through 1984.

Finances

As of May 1, 1984 the Institute had a balance of \$11,100.99. This is enough to cover two issues of the journal, the maintenance of Salem and other expenses, such as newsletters, for about a year.

Obviously the Institute needs ongoing support through membership dues and gifts. We have received a number of monetary gifts and plan to use them toward the Salem museum.

Our treasurer, Mr. A. Ray Ellsworth, has asked to be relieved of his duties at the fall meeting. A new board of directors member will then be elected; the board will decide which of its members is to be treasurer. Mr. Ellsworth is the first member of the original board to leave. We thank him for the excellent work he's done during his three years on the board.

Meetings

The 1984 spring meeting was held at St. Peter Lutheran Church in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin on May 1. Prof. Ernst Wendland spoke on "Our Synod's First Mission Overseas." His essay is in this journal. Attendance was 70.

The fall meeting will be at Dr. Martin Luther College, New Ulm, Minnesota. The school will celebrate its 100th anniversary this fall, and our topic will deal with DMLC history. Watch for further notices.

Roland Cap Ehlke

A WELS Historical Profile

Chronological Sketches of Our Synod's Past: 1850-1860

Arnold J. Koelpin

THE WISCONSIN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SYNOD did not originate as a planned migration of German Lutherans who left their homeland for conscience' sake and brought their pastors with them. Its first members were German settlers scattered in communities on the Wisconsin, Michigan and Minnesota frontier. These mostly Lutheran immigrants desired to have pastors from their native land to serve them and their children. Their call for help was answered by the German mission societies. Missionaries from the Langenburg Mission Society joined hands with others from the societies at Basel and Berlin to organize the infant congregations into a Lutheran synod. The pioneer work of the first decade set the course for years to come.

1850-1860

- 1837-54 First great wave of German immigrants to the Northwest Territory of the United States. Lutherans, particularly from Pomerania and Mecklenburg, migrate to Wisconsin in great numbers.
- 1840-50 Books featuring Wisconsin appear on bookshelves in Germany:
C. E. Hasse, *In The New Homeland* (Grimma, Saxony, 1841)
Carl de Haas, *Tips for Emigrants* (Calumet, Wisconsin, 1847)
E. Wettstein, *Reports from Wisconsin* (Calumet, Wisconsin, 1847)
Gustav Richter, *The North American Free State of Wisconsin* (Wesel, Rhineland, 1849)
Wilhelm Dames, *What Does Wisconsin Look Like?* (Wesel, Rhineland, 1849)
A. Ziegler, *Sketches of a Trip Through North America, with a special feature on German settlements, the emigration, and agricultural conditions in the new state of Wisconsin* (Dresden/Leipzig, 1849)
- 1850 Milwaukee, Wisconsin: population includes about 8000 Germans.
- 1850 German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Wisconsin organized at Granville, Wisconsin, on May 26. This first convention of the Wisconsin Synod was attended by 5 pastors, representing 18 preaching stations:
Pastor John Muehlhaeuser, Grace congregation in Milwaukee;
Pastor John Weinmann, Kilbourn Road, south of Milwaukee;

Pastor Wilhelm Wrede, Granville, 5 miles north of Milwaukee;
Pastor Paul Meiss, Schlesingerville (Slinger);
Pastor Kaspar Pluess, licentiate (licensed to preach), to work in the Sheboygan area.

The Constitution provides for a Ministerium (a meeting of ministers) distinct from the Synod (a meeting of pastors and congregational delegates). The Ministerium has authority to license candidates for the ministry and ordain them and to receive pastors into membership in the Ministerium.

Elections: Muehlhaeuser, president; Weinmann, secretary; Wrede, treasurer.

Synod resolutions:

1. Every pastor committed to train the youth, conduct a day school, Bible class, and mission class;
2. Members of the Ministerium are to present theological essays on a regular basis;
3. Pastors are to oversee the practice of maintaining home and family devotions.

1850 Muehlhaeuser travels to eastern United States to solicit funds for Grace congregation's church building.

1851 Wisconsin Synod convention at Grace Church, Milwaukee, on June 15.

Admitted to membership: Pastor C. F. Goldammer (from Saxony), sent by the Langenburg Mission Society, assigned to Newton, near Manitowoc. Kaspar Pluess and Conrad Koester are ordained.

Dismissed from membership: Pastor Meiss withdraws from Synod; a Pastor R. Oswald excommunicated for cause.

The Synod recognizes the need for a missionary-at-large (traveling missionary). An appeal for missionaries is sent to the Barmen Mission Society which trains the missionaries for the Langenburg Mission. (Between 1851-1867, 17 missionaries out of 28 sent by the Langenburg Mission came to Wisconsin.)

1851 Weinmann begins work in Racine. He travels to the eastern part of the United States to solicit money for a church building.

1851 Preaching stations are located northward from Milwaukee along the Green Bay Road in the direction of Port Washington, Sheboygan, and Manitowoc; southward from Milwaukee, at Town Greenfield, New Berlin, Caledonia Center, and Racine.

1852 Wisconsin Synod convention meets at Racine.

Admitted into membership: Pastor W. Buehren (a former Methodist) by colloquy. The colloquy establishes a clear message against the sectarian activities of the Methodists among the German immigrants: "They seek to bring about conversion by artificial pressure. . . ."

Dismissed from membership: Pastor Pluess, because he applied for membership in the German Reformed Church of New York.

- 1853 In Michigan the Loehe-sponsored missionaries leave the state of Michigan and migrate to Iowa to found the Iowa Synod.
- 1853 Muehlhaeuser's plea in East coast church papers for missionaries to serve the Wisconsin Synod brings a rash of unfit applicants. The Gotthilf Weitbrecht case puts President Muehlhaeuser's confessional loyalty to the test. The Synod and its president are accused of riding the ecclesiastical fence between Lutheran and Reformed.
- 1853 Pastor Weinmann resigns his charge in Racine to take up work in Baltimore, Maryland, but he maintains affiliation with the Wisconsin Synod. Pastor Wrede replaces him and Pastor Buehren takes over at Granville, site of the Synod's founding.
- 1853 Wisconsin Synod convention meets at Town Herman (United Grace Church) on May 22-24.
Admitted into membership: Pastors Conrad and Buehren; Grace congregation of Town Herman, Dodge County, and St. John congregation of Town Greenfield (Root Creek).
Prime mover in St. John's joining the "moderate Evangelical Lutheran Synod (Wisconsin) in Milwaukee" was John Kerler, whose ca. 500 letters, published in Milwaukee at a later date, intimately depict church and society at that time and give perspective on the European circles from which the Wisconsin Synod founders came.
- 1853 Pastor John Bading (from Rixdorf, near Berlin, Germany) arrives in Milwaukee and is assigned to Calumet, near Manitowoc. He was trained at the Hermannsburg Ev. Lutheran Mission Society and at the Langenburg Mission.
- 1854 At his ordination Pastor Bading demands to be pledged to the Lutheran Confessions, which President Muehlhaeuser had called "paper fences." Bading toys with the idea of transferring to the Northern District of the Missouri Synod but is advised to stay with the Wisconsin Synod to raise its standards of doctrine and practice.
- 1854 Wisconsin Synod convention meets at Granville on June 11-14.
Admitted into membership: Pastor Daniel Huber, a former Roman Catholic priest, assigned to Kenosha. Pastor G. Weitbrecht, readmitted after he renounced his affiliation with the Methodist Church, assigned to Port Washington.
- 1854 The Wisconsin Synod receives financial support from the Home Mission Society of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, largely because of President Muehlhaeuser's acquaintance with the officials of that synod.
- 1854 The Ministerial Assembly of the Wisconsin Synod reacts favorably to the overture of the multinational Ev. Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois that the two synods establish closer ties.

- 1854 Pastor Weinmann sends questions from Baltimore concerning altar fellowship: whether it is proper for a Lutheran pastor to administer the Lord's Supper to a Methodist congregation and to lecture to it. The Ministerial Assembly comes to no conclusion on the issue.
- 1854 Philipp Koehler (from the Rhineland), trained by Inspector Wallmann at the Barmen Mission House, arrives in Milwaukee, assigned to Town Addison, near West Bend.
- 1855 Pastor Bading moves to St. Jacobi Ev. Lutheran Church near Theresa in Dodge County. He also serves St. Paul Ev. Lutheran congregation in Town Lomira.
- 1855 Appeals for a Lutheran pastor come from the western part of Wisconsin: Sauk County, La Crosse, and Lancaster.
- 1855 In Minnesota, Pastor Wies organizes Trinity Ev. Lutheran Church of St. Paul, the oldest congregation in the Minnesota Synod.
- 1855 A cholera epidemic strikes the Milwaukee area. President Muehlhaeuser publicly recognized for remaining in the city to serve the sick and dying.
- 1855 Wisconsin Synod convention meets at Grace congregation in Milwaukee.
Admitted into membership: Pastor W. Streissguth (from Baden), trained at Basel Mission House, assigned to Newton (tension between the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods over the split in St. John congregation at Newton).
- 1855 Pastor C. Stark (from Erfurt, Saxony), trained at Basel Mission House, assigned to Port Washington.
- 1855 Pastor Wrede, cofounder of the Wisconsin Synod, returns to Germany.
- 1855 Candidate Max Westphal assigned to study for the ministry under the tutorship of the Northwestern Conference of the Wisconsin Synod (Pastors Conrad, Bading, Sauer, Koehler).
- 1856 Pastors, especially university trained men from Germany, apply for positions in the Wisconsin Synod; few candidates accepted.
- 1856 Wisconsin Synod convention meets in Manitowoc on May 18-20.
Admitted into membership: Pastor Gottlieb Reim (from Wuerttemberg), trained at the Basel Mission House, assigned to Ashford in Dodge County.
Candidate F. T. Hennicke placed under the educational tutorship of the Northwestern Conference (Pastors Reim, Bading, Sauer, Koehler).
Convention action:
1. The Wisconsin Synod unanimously rejects the liberal "Definite Platform," proposed as a confessional revision by the General Synod in eastern United States.
2. Discussion of Reim's essay on Methodism indicates ferment regarding the Synod's confessional position. The North-

western Conference leads the Synod to a firmer stand on confession and practice.

3. Disciplinary action against an untruthful pastor and against a unionistic pastor undertaken at the urging of the Northwestern Conference.

1856 The Ministerium establishes a fund for the support of pastors' widows.

1856 Pastors Bading and Koehler establish the need for a missionary-at-large (traveling missionary) by surveying on foot the territory from West Bend through Two Rivers, Two Creeks, and Kewaunee, as far north as Algoma (Ahnapee).

1856 Mission work begins in the La Crosse area at President Muehlhaeuser's direction.

1857 Wisconsin Synod convention meets at Kilbourn Road, near Milwaukee.

Admitted into membership: Pastor Philipp Sprengling (from Hesse-Darmstadt), sent by the Barmen Mission Society via Langenburg, assigned to Newton. Pastor C. Diehlmann, studied at the Basel Mission House, assigned to Princeton, Mecan, and Montello.

Dismissed from membership: Pastor Buehler, for causing a minority of the Granville congregation to join the Presbyterian Church. The system of "licensing" pastors abolished in favor of personal pastoral training, followed by ordination. Candidate G. Schwanz put under the tutorship of the Northwestern Conference.

1857 A constitutional amendment on "Newly Admitted Congregations" and on "The Relations of Synod to the Congregations" reveal a clarification of the Synod's doctrinal stand.

1857 Pastor E. A. Gottlieb Fachtmann (from Hanover), university trained, pastor in Brandenburg, arrives in Milwaukee. He is assigned as the Synod's first missionary-at-large (traveling missionary).

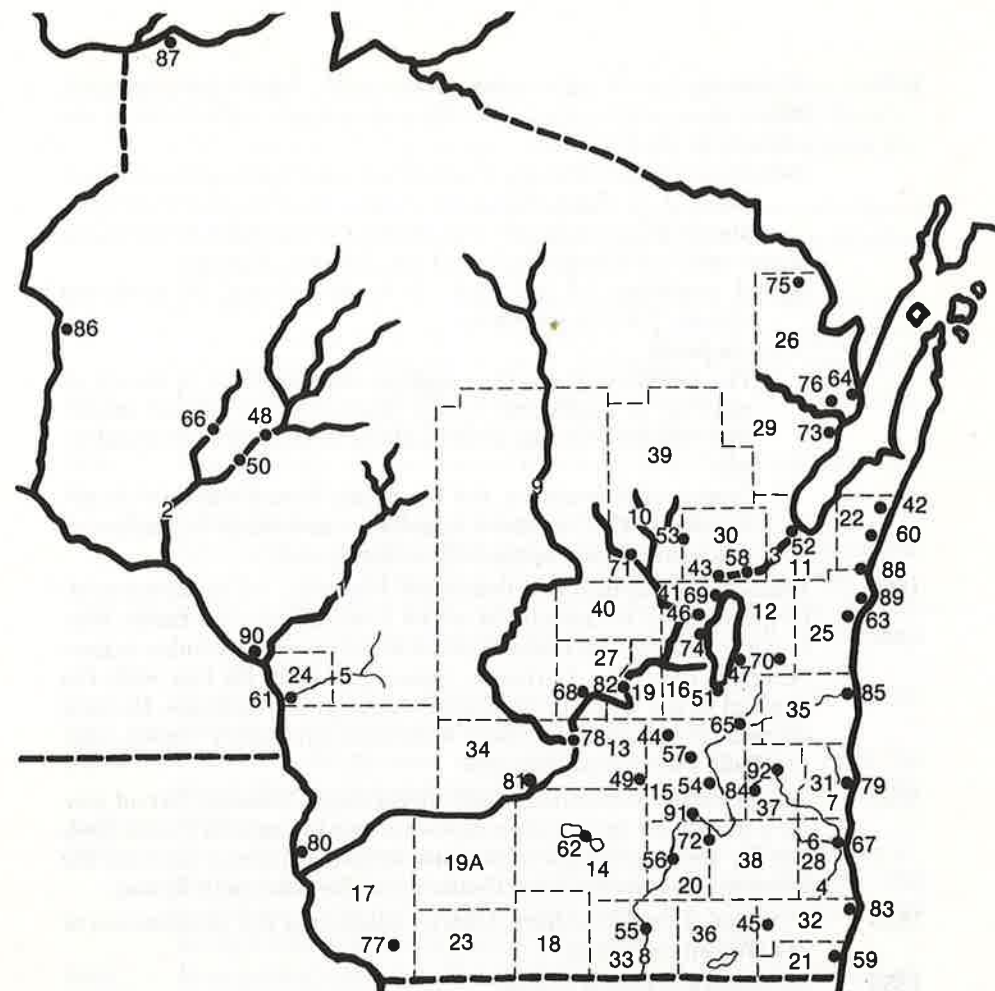
1857 In Minnesota, the veteran missionary, Pastor John C. F. Heyer, sent by the Home Mission Society of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, begins work in the St. Paul area.

1857 Inspector John Christian Wallmann (died in 1863), who had trained Wisconsin pastors at the Barmen Mission Society to appreciate the Lutheran confessional writings, accepts a call to the Lutheran Berlin Mission Society.

1857 The first Michigan Synod, "The Missionary Synod of the West," dissolves when Pastor Friedrich Schmid and his fellow Basel-trained pastors join the Ev. Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio.

1857 Missionary Fachtmann begins his first missionary journey: Milwaukee, Port Washington, Sheboygan, Calumet, Chilton, New Holstein, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Neenah-Menasha, New London, Hortonville.

1858 Fachtmann continues his journey in territory around Columbus and Watertown, including Beaver Dam, Hustisford, and Horicon.



LUTHERAN SETTLEMENTS IN WISCONSIN

RIVERS		COUNTIES --	
1	Black	22	Kewaunee
2	Chippewa	23	La Fayette
3	Fox	24	La Crosse
4	Kinnickinnic	25	Manitowoc
5	LaCrosse	26	Marinette
6	Menomonee	27	Marquette
7	Milwaukee	28	Milwaukee
8	Rock	29	Oconto
9	Wisconsin	30	Outagamie
10	Wolf	31	Ozaukee
		32	Racine
		33	Rock
11	Brown	34	Sauk
12	Calumet	35	Sheboygan
13	Columbia	36	Walworth
14	Dane	37	Washington
15	Dodge	38	Waukesha
16	Fond du Lac	39	Waupaca
17	Grant	40	Waushara
18	Green	41	Winnebago
19	Green Lake		SETTLEMENTS •
19A	Iowa	42	Ahnapee (Algoma)
20	Jefferson	43	Appleton
21	Kenosha	44	Beaver Dam
		45	Burlington
		46	Butte des Morts
		47	Calumet
		48	Chippewa Falls
		49	Columbus
		50	Eau Claire
		51	Fond du Lac
		52	Green Bay
		53	Hortonville
		54	Hustisford
		55	Janesville
		56	Jefferson
		57	Juneau
		58	Kaukauna
		59	Kenosha
		60	Kewaunee
		61	La Crosse
		62	Madison
		63	Manitowoc
		64	Marinette
		65	Mayville
		66	Menomonee
		67	Milwaukee
		68	Montello
		69	Neenah-Menasha
		70	New Holstein
		71	New London
		72	Oconomowoc
		73	Oconto
		74	Oshkosh
		75	Pembine
		76	Peshigo
		77	Platteville
		78	Portage
		79	Port Washington
		80	Prairie du Chien
		81	Prairie du Sac/Sauk City
		82	Princeton
		83	Racine
		84	Schlesingerville (Slinger)
		85	Sheboygan
		86	St. Croix Falls
		87	Superior
		88	Two Creeks
		89	Two Rivers
		90	Trempealeau
		91	Watertown
		92	West Bend

- 1858 Wisconsin Synod convention meets at St. John's congregation, Milwaukee, on May 30-June 3. The proceedings of the meeting are printed for the first time.
Admitted into membership: Pastor Fachtmann officially received. Pastor J. H. Roell, recommended by the Synod of New York (dismissed after six years because of a scandalous marriage).
Congregations admitted: Town Polk, Lomira, Theresa.
Synod statistics: 12 parishes, 25 congregations, 16 week-day schools, 7 Sunday schools.
Agenda items:
1. The question of training pastors and teachers is raised. A number of applicants to the Wisconsin Synod are recommended for training at Gettysburg Seminary in Pennsylvania.
 2. Doctrinal affirmation: the Wisconsin Synod reaffirms its adherence to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession "in the face of calumnies being spread about the Synod."
- 1858 Missionary Fachtmann continues his work as missionary-at-large contrary to the wishes of the Langenburg and Berlin Missionary societies. His second missionary journey includes: organizing St. Peter Ev. Lutheran Church at Fond du Lac with the support of the wealthy families Findeisen and Gromme. He then stops at the areas in northern Wisconsin previously visited, adding Belle Plaine and Waupun.
- 1858 The Lebanon-Watertown cases, involving a Missouri Synod pastor's insistence on private confession, are brought to Pastor Bading for advice. His aid in the case strains relations between the Missouri Synod Northern District and the Wisconsin Synod.
- 1858 Missouri Synod Northern District condemns the interference of the Wisconsin Synod.
- 1858 Minnesota becomes a state.
- 1859 Wisconsin Synod convention meets at Racine on June 18-24.
Admitted into membership: Congregations at Watertown, Lebanon, Fond du Lac, Maple Grove, La Crosse, Caledonia, Columbus, Burr Oak, Kenosha, Town Addison, Town Trenton, West Bend, Burlington, Helenville.
Synod statistics: 21 regular members of the Ministerium, 17 parishes, 40 congregations, 16 week-day schools, 16 Sunday schools.
The Synod honors Pastor Weinmann, cofounder of the Wisconsin Synod and former pastor at Racine, who died tragically at sea while he was returning to Germany.
Tension between the Wisconsin Synod and the founding German mission societies begins to mount: Koehler opposes a move to memorialize the unionistic societies in order to secure a synodical library and permission for the missionary-at-large.
- 1859 The Berlin Mission House under Wallmann's care begins to send its graduates to the Wisconsin Synod.

- 1859 Candidate C. Gausewitz (from Barmen), sent by the Langenburg Mission Society, is placed under the tutorship of Pastor Koehler. Candidate E. F. Strube from Langenburg is placed under the tutorship of Pastor Reim.
- 1859 Pastor F. Schmid of Michigan seeks approval from the Basel Mission House in Germany "that a Lutheran synod in the spirit of Wuerttemberg be formed in Michigan."
- 1859 Missionary Fachtmann takes charge of La Crosse and Burr Oak congregations. From there he journeys up the Mississippi River into Minnesota territory: Winona, Stillwater, Hasting County.
- 1859 Pastor Heyer of the Minnesota Synod urges the Platteville congregation to ask the Wisconsin Synod for a pastor.
- 1860 Wisconsin Synod convention meets in Fond du Lac on May 31 to June 7.
Pastor Bading elected president in place of Muehlhaeuser.
Admitted into membership: congregations at Newburg, Muskego, St. Peter in Milwaukee, Platteville, Ahnapee (Algoma).
Synod statistics: Clergy roster 22 in three conferences, 20 parishes, 48 congregations, 23 week-day schools, 20 Sunday schools.
Proposal by Illinois State University that the Wisconsin Synod appoint a professor of theology at its school is rejected.
- 1860 Pastors S. Klingmann and Chr. L. Eberhardt arrive from the Basel Mission House to assist Pastor Schmid in his work in Michigan.
- 1860 *Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Michigan and Other States* organized in Detroit under the direction of Pastor Schmid. The Synod members pledge themselves to the Holy Scriptures and to the symbolical books of the Ev. Lutheran Church.
- 1860 *Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Minnesota and Other States* organized in St. Paul under the direction of Pastor John C. F. Heyer.

A year before the outbreak of the Civil War, the three Lutheran Synods of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota were setting down roots in the upper tier states of the old Northwest Territory. In time, the three would merge because of agreement in faith to form the present Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS).

Professor Koelpin teaches religion and history at Dr. Martin Luther College, New Ulm, Minnesota and has completed his course work for a doctorate at Erlangen.

Salem's History

Ann Arbor (Scio), Michigan

Lyle A. Hallauer

ANDREW JACKSON was in his second term as president of the United States. . . . Michigan was still a territory. . . . Ann Arbor was a pioneer hamlet, a handful of rough-hewn log buildings near the Huron River. . . . the year was 1833 . . . and the beginning of Salem Lutheran congregation. Salem's history again gives evidence of the truth that small and insignificant is the beginning of God's kingdom. For it was a small group of German emigrants coming from southern Germany, who in 1831 made their way into the densely forested region of Washtenaw County, at the time still a part of the great Northwest Territory. All were of the Lutheran faith, and the sterling character of their faith may be seen from the fact that they broke ties that bound them to the fatherland and sailed for the shores of an unknown America, solely because false teaching became prevalent in the home church.

Such devotion to their Lord moved them to immediately establish a place of worship in the settlement called Scio Township. A log cabin was used as Salem's first house of worship. Very likely reading services were held during the early period of settlement. But such an arrangement could only be temporary to the devout fathers of Salem. They cheerfully submitted to many hardships of pioneer days, but they would not be deprived of true Christian preaching and administration of the sacraments. So they appealed to the Basel Mission Society of Switzerland to supply them with a servant of Christ. The petition was granted, and in 1833 Pastor Friedrich Schmid was sent to serve them. He was the first Lutheran pastor in Michigan, and on September 20 of the same year he organized Salem Congregation. By record and tradition Salem has the distinction of being the first Lutheran congregation in Michigan Territory and the oldest member congregation of the Wisconsin Ev. Lutheran Synod.

Salem, at Scio, where Pastor Schmid established his first pastorate, became like Antioch of old a central point for the spreading of the gospel. The grace of God brought about much of the early development of the Lutheran church in Michigan by the zeal and untiring missionary activity of Pastor Schmid, a dynamo of energy and religious fervor. While giving spiritual leadership to his Salem members, he made his way along forest trails on foot or on horseback to many new settlements in Michigan, organizing Lutheran congregations and eventually supplying them with a pastor from the Basel Mission Society, or one personally tutored by him at Salem. More than 20 congregations from Detroit to Monroe, from Saginaw to Lansing and Allegan, owe their beginnings to him.

Salem retained its log cabin church for about four years. But due to the influx of emigrants from Germany, the growth of the congregation soon made the building of a larger and more adequate place of worship necessary. This was erected on the present church site, a frame building, 30 by 40 feet, at the cost of \$1,000.

Salem's character of firm Lutheranism is seen by the fact that it sought and maintained synodical affiliation only with such bodies that were of sound Christian faith and practice, and soon severed relations when the confession became questionable. In 1843, Pastor Schmid, with a small number of pioneer pastors, organized the first Lutheran Synod of Michigan. It was called the Mission Synod because it planned extensive mission work among the Indians of the state. Because of doctrinal differences this first Lutheran synodical body was abandoned in 1846. In 1860, Pastor Schmid and eight other pastors, including Pastor Stephan Klingmann of Adrian and Pastor Christian Eberhardt of Hopkins and three delegates from different congregations, organized another Michigan Synod. Pastor Schmid served as chairman of this body from 1860 to 1866, and Pastor Klingmann from 1867 to 1880. Salem retained membership with this body until 1892, when the Michigan Synod, in conjunction with the Synod of Minnesota and the Synod of Wisconsin, organized the larger body of the Joint Ev. Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin and Other States, now known as the Wisconsin Ev. Lutheran Synod.

Particular mention should be made of the founding of New Salem at Sebewaing. In the fall of 1852, Pastor Schmid encouraged a number of young members of Salem to leave Salem and establish a new home for themselves at Sebewaing. Their number was increased the following year by newcomers from Ohio, and shortly a congregation was organized under the name of New Salem. New Salem became a true daughter congregation of Salem at Scio.

Pastor Schmid served Salem until 1867, when after 34 years he resigned his pastorate because of declining years. Pastor Stephen Klingmann was called as Salem's second pastor. Under his pastorate Salem apparently experienced its greatest development. Noteworthy in particular is the fine training and disciplining given Salem during this period of missionary endeavor. Mission festivals were always observed on two successive days, and at regular monthly intervals comparatively large collections were raised and sent to India for the extension of God's kingdom.

Soon after Pastor Klingmann was installed, the congregation bought land across the street from the church, on which there was a house and another building. The house became the parsonage and the other building was rebuilt to serve as a school where the pastor held classes for three or four months of the year, the precursor to Salem's Christian day school.

The rapid growth of Salem made the planning of another church building necessary. On May 3, 1870 the cornerstone laying of Salem's third and largest church building took place and on October 9 dedicatory services were held. It was built of brick at the cost of \$14,000.00, a beautiful structure with its lofty spire and its interior woodwork of black walnut and butternut. This edifice with a capacity of 500 still stands and serves the congregation well.

In April 1891 deep sorrow came to Salem congregation by the death of its beloved Pastor Klingmann, who during 24 years of faithful service had

gained the respect and affection of all. His body was laid to rest in the congregation's cemetery. His son, Pastor Julius Klingmann, was called to succeed his father. In 1893 another school was built in the southern district of the congregation and until 1910 two schools were maintained, classes being held alternately in both schools for several months during the school term. Pastor Klingmann was followed by Pastor Karrer. He in turn was followed by Pastor F. Thrun. During his pastorate a new brick school building was erected in 1917. Pastor Thrun was followed by Pastor W. Bodamer. And he, in turn was followed by Pastor F. Schulz. Before he was called to his eternal rest in 1935, the transition from the German to the English language began, beginning with the minutes of the congregation recorded in English. In 1936 Pastor A. Wacker was called to the congregation.

Mindful of the mission zeal of its first pastor, the congregation has always been mission-minded. Not only did the congregation take part in establishing a mission among the Indians of the Saginaw area, but when the congregation was asked to give Pastor Wacker a leave of absence so he could take part in exploring a mission field in Africa it readily consented. Pastor Bodamer was another who later became the Synod's director of the Polish mission. Several young men and women of the congregation were encouraged to enter the teaching and preaching ministry. One son of the congregation, Pastor E. Renz, became a missionary in Florida and for about ten years served our men and women in the armed forces in Germany. Pastor Wacker and a successor, Pastor A. Baer, served on the mission board of the Michigan District.

Until 1961 Salem's Christian day school operated as a one-room school. During Teacher Ronald Kaiser's term as teacher, a second classroom was opened and the school has remained a two-room school to the present time. Twice in its history there was a threat of closing the school but it survived. Twenty-six teachers, not counting Pastor Klingmann, have served this congregation. One of them, Ronald Kaiser, resigned to study for the preaching ministry and is serving one of our congregations in Colorado.

After Pastor Baer retired from the parish ministry, Pastor L. Hallauer was called in October 1968 and is still serving Salem. During the past 15 years several important milestones in the history of the congregation were noted. In 1970 the centennial of the church building was observed. The congregation also hosted the area Reformation festival several times. It became a charter member of the Huron Valley Lutheran High School. On March 28, 1976 ground was broken for the congregation's third and largest school building, consisting of three classrooms, a gymnasium, office and a Pioneer room. On September 25, 1977 the building was dedicated.

During the fall months of 1983 the congregation observed its sesquicentennial, giving thanks to God for his grace and mercy for so many years. Several of the eleven pastors who served Salem took part in the momentous occasion.

It is the fervent prayer of the congregation that the Lord Jesus continue to bless, guide and protect his flock.

Pastor Lyle Hallauer is at Salem in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This congregation is the oldest member of the Wisconsin Synod.

Lutheran Beginnings in the Watertown Area

Arnold Lehmann

MOST OF THE LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS in the Watertown area have published a history of their congregations. Some of these are very brief while others go into greater detail. All present those matters favorable to the congregation's past. Some compilers give reports of unfortunate occurrences in the course of the congregation's development, but quickly glide over them or indicate that the aftereffects proved to be beneficial to the congregation. Well, tonight we shall tell it like it is.

My aim in presenting the history of early Watertown area Lutheranism is not to show the development of each congregation individually, but to present the contemporary activities and developments of all the congregations. This will shed a different perspective upon our local history, especially since individuals, both clergy and laity, had some effect upon the whole picture.

Briefly, let us first see who constituted the Lutherans who came here. Most of the early settlers in the Watertown area were from Germany, although there were two or more congregations of Norwegians established east of Watertown along the Rock River just beyond Sugar Island.

Most of the Germans had emigrated either for religious or for political reasons. Those who left Germany because of politics were involved in the revolution of 1848. Most of them were educated, professional people and possessed some wealth. Many could not follow their professions in this wilderness so they took up farming. Some of these educated farmers were referred to as "Latin farmers" because they spoke Latin in addition to German.

The majority of those who emigrated for religious reasons objected to the 1837 edict of Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia whereby he forced the union of the Lutheran church and the Reformed church into the United (*Unierte*) church. Not only did *Lutherans* come to Wisconsin but also *Reformed*, as we can see from the rather heavy settlements in the area of Waupun and Randolph. However, some of the German immigrants had been exposed to the combined religious practices of the United church long enough to feel comfortable with the Reformed as well as with the Lutheran approach to doctrinal matters. Just to give one example — one which confronted especially the usually strict Lutheran Bading — the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper were used in such a way that they would not give *offense* to either Reformed or Lutherans. The expression, "Christ said, 'This body,' Christ said, 'This is my blood,'" was used.

The material in this essay comes from original sources, such as church records, synodical reports, personal letters, and writers and correspondents of the period. Most of these sources are in the old German handscript. Unfortunately, the Watertown *Weltbuerger*, a German newspaper begun in the 1850s, did not keep its issues on file; consequently published announcements, reports and news happenings of the Lutheran communities are lost. The early English papers in Watertown only occasionally referred to their German "friends."

In the midnineteenth century Watertown was not an integrated community. The original surveyor, Judson Prentice, said that he sent the Irish north and west, the Americans (of English descent) to the south and the Germans east. The dividing lines were the river and Main Street. The Irish organized St. Bernard's parish and built a church in 1844, just eight years after Timothy Johnson settled here in a log cabin in the area where Bethesda is now located. The Irish also settled in the towns of Shields and Emmet as farmers. The second generation, however, was less inclined to the hard work of farming and often moved away, selling their acreage to Germans, thus bringing about the establishment of a Lutheran church in Richwood. A small group of Welsh settled in the northwestern part of Watertown and built a church which no longer exists. We still have the Welsh Road. A Bohemian settlement, though small, was situated in the area near and east of the present powerhouse dam. The Americans who came west, and a few wealthy Germans, built their homes south of Main Street and east of the river. As already stated, the Germans were gently pushed north of Main Street, east of the river and into the hills of Lebanon and Ixonia townships. This concentration of Germans from several parts of Germany together with schisms and splits within congregations was the cause of the great number and variety of Lutheran churches in the area.

The first Lutherans to settle in Wisconsin were Pomeranians who in 1839 had emigrated from Germany with Pastor J. A. A. Grabau and Captain Heinrich von Rohr, the latter being the subject of an article in the *Gemeindeblatt Kalendar* of 1909. Grabau and a portion of the group remained in Buffalo, New York, while von Rohr brought the rest to the Milwaukee area, founding the town of Freistadt.

About four years later, on May 28, 1843, a group from the Oderbruch (lowlands along the Oder River), after hearing about the Grabau settlement, emigrated together with their pastor, Adolf Kindermann. They traveled through Berlin at night so as not to be observed. There Johann Hoeckendorf and a group of his followers joined them. The emigrees continued to Hamburg where Herman Grube joined them and where the entire group boarded ships. Having crossed the Atlantic, they stopped briefly in Buffalo and then continued westward via the Great Lakes until they landed in Milwaukee. They were met by L. F. E. Krause, a Grabau follower who served Freistadt and Milwaukee.

Most of the immigrants continued northwestward from Milwaukee, with one group settling at Kirchhayn, one in Cedarburg, and one moving on to Lebanon, arriving there on October 6, 1843. Kindermann, after a stay in Milwaukee, went to Cedarburg, from which he served the three settlements.

The Lebanon settlers had been middle-class professionals — tailors, cabinetmakers, all types of builders, painters — but most became farmers

because of lack of materials as well as business for their trades. They were *alt-lutherisch* (which is usually translated "Old Lutheran" but would be better translated "Strict Lutheran") and would have no part in worshiping with Germans who were Reformed or were followers of the Unierte church. Among these first settlers east of Watertown was Erdmann Pankow, his wife, and sister, and Herman Grube, who became a prominent politician and member of the state legislature from Dodge County. W. F. Whyte writes, "I have always suspected that the attractions of Frau—lein Pankow, whom Grube met in Hamburg and afterwards married, were a stronger motive for his emigration than the Augsburg Confession."

The church services in the first few years were conducted in private homes by Pastor Kindermann, who made the trip as often as possible, using an ox team. The first business to confront the congregation was to supply a burial place for a young girl who was the first to die in Lebanon. The congregation bought 80 acres, some of which is the property of the present Immanuel congregation. The northern portion of this land was reserved for a cemetery with the other area plotted for various buildings. Why 80 acres were needed is not known.

In 1844, according to one account, Kindermann suggested that they get a full-time pastor. He then helped the group in contacting the Saxons of Missouri who had not as yet formed a synod. The second account states that there was a division within the group with one faction agreeing with Kindermann who at that time followed J. A. A. Grabau and his specific teachings as published in *Hirtenbrief* in 1840, and with the other faction objecting to Grabau's teachings. The Kindermann group is said to have built a church elsewhere, but I have found no other evidence of this fact. The anti-Kindermann group applied to the Saxons for a pastor. Regardless of which account is the correct one, the Missouri Saxons supplied Lebanon's first pastor. He was candidate Ludwig Geyer, installed on November 24, 1844.

Candidate Geyer had hardly settled himself in his newly built log church and parsonage in 1845 before the first intracongregational confrontation took place. Two neighbors, both farmers, started an argument over a fence line which became so heated and involved that members of the congregation took sides, eventually causing a split. One faction remained in Lebanon with Geyer while the rest formed a congregation three miles south — the present St. Paul, Ixonia. Just when the rift took place and who served the south group in the beginning is not known. We know only that in 1849 Johann Hoeckendorf, whose whereabouts for the previous five or six years is also obscure, appeared on the scene. He was called to be their pastor. In the same year they organized themselves as St. Paul Evangelical Lutheran Church.

Their first church and school were probably adjacent to the present St. Paul cemetery. The pastor was both pastor and teacher. In 1860 a larger church, built with gravel, clay and lime, was constructed on the present property on Gopher Hill Road. It also seems as though the school remained at the old location until 1880 when a new school was built near the church.

In 1865 many of the congregation members decided to leave Ixonia lock, stock and barrel, and move to Nebraska. Their excuse was that the families wanted to live closer to school and church for their children's sake. They arrived in West Point, Nebraska, their goal, because Hoeckendorf had rela-

tives there. Since that area was too populated for them they moved on farther westward to Norfolk, which had been scouted by a couple of men, arriving there on July 12. Hoeckendorf came in October.

In Lebanon there was peace and quiet for a few months before the first of the two major splits took place. In 1846 the congregation built a schoolhouse and engaged Erdmann Pankow as teacher. Prior to this, two men in the congregation helped to educate the children in their homes. As we all know, the teaching of music to children in the church schools was and is of high priority. Such was the case also with Pankow. He used the violin as a teaching tool much as we use the piano today. Naturally he was wont to practice and in doing so on one particular day in 1847, played some rather lively exercises and tunes. Some well-diggers on the property, apparently enchanted by the tunes, laid down their shovels and began to frolic and dance to the music. A couple of Geyer's church members who were being counseled and reprimanded by Geyer brought the matter of Pankow's playing of sinful tunes to Geyer's attention and asked that Pankow likewise be reprimanded. As W. F. Whyte put it, "Pastor Geyer was such an ecclesiastic as John Milton had in mind when he wrote that 'presbyter' was only 'priest' writ large, and soon he and the teacher found they could not agree on the use of the violin."

Geyer insisted that the violin and its music was sinful and that it should no longer be used in school. Geyer was further supported by his in-laws (he had come to Lebanon as a bachelor and took a bride from the congregation) who stated that they heard him play the sinful and frivolous tune *Lot ist tot*. Pankow, in addition to stressing the point of Christian liberty, countered by saying that he could not teach music without the violin. (By the way, in just a few years the Missouri Synod teachers' college in Addison, Illinois, required all graduates to know how to play the violin.) And so Pankow continued.

Geyer's next step was to refuse communion to Pankow. This caused a lively confrontation when the church members took sides. Pankow had a rather large following and in 1848 they split from the Geyer congregation and called Pankow as their pastor. This group built the first brick church in Lebanon about a mile north of the Geyer church. But this was not the end of the matter. The young upstart Geyer would not let matters rest. A meeting was held in the area by Missouri's district president Fuerbringer and several area pastors of the *alt-lutherisch* persuasion. The results of this or these meetings has not been uncovered, if indeed they were ever recorded.

The case was next presented to the first convention of the newly formed Northern District of the Missouri Synod, meeting at Trinity Church in Milwaukee in June 1855. The published report of the meeting required almost four 50-line pages. Not only was the Pankow affair discussed, but much time was spent on the evils of secular music. I shall quote just the concluding statements. "In summa — if a weightier offense by one or the other side is to be found, it would have to be placed upon Mr. Pankow and his followers if we observe the specific details of the affair as placed before us." After the synod in an open and very active session had thoroughly examined the dispute on the basis of both documents, it resolved that the separation by Pankow and his followers was premature, thoughtless and sinful, but was not less unchristian and unjust than the removal from the office of



Buena Vista House

teacher by the Geyer congregation. It declared that its obligation to investigate the dispute was herewith completed.

Naturally Geyer and his delegate were in agreement with the synod's findings, but Pankow and his delegate stated that they would not have a response until the synod president appeared in person and on location. The entire matter was later sent to the faculty of the St. Louis Seminary and in turn then sent to references in Germany. With this action and with Geyer's departure from Lebanon to a congregation in Southern Illinois in 1861 the case followed the course of Haydn's Farewell Symphony. This episode is recorded not only in the above-mentioned district report, but also included in the booklet "Pilgrims of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County Wisconsin" by F. A. Moldenhauer, and in the proceedings of the Wisconsin Historical Society of 1915 in the article "The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County" by W. F. Whyte.

Pankow continued to be pastor of his St. Paul's Church for 58 years, retiring in 1906. Neither he nor the congregation affiliated with any synod, although the synodical report of the Wisconsin Synod convention held in Watertown in 1865 states that Pankow was invited to sit in on the eighth session. Pankow sent three sons to study in Watertown, all of whom became Wisconsin Synod pastors. Most of the members eventually returned to Immanuel in Lebanon after Pankow's retirement when St. Paul congregation disbanded.

It appears that the first Germans settling in Watertown came in late 1847 or early 1848. Most of them were probably political refugees because there seemed to be no concern about strict doctrine when the German Evangelical Protestant Congregation, now known as St. Luke, was organized in 1848. The group first met in what is now the Buena Vista House on 4th Street. They were served by a pastor from Milwaukee or by a Rev. H. H. Winter, a "Latin farmer" living in Farmington. In 1849 Georg Meyer was elected

“Vorleser” or reader. In 1850 the congregation received its first pastor, Pastor Friedrich Rentsch. The church records of the first 20 years are lost, as is the first constitution, so we do not know the doctrinal position of the founders.

In Lebanon poor Geyer now faced another problem about which he could do nothing. At the time of the Pankow conflict a dozen or so families were enamored of a Baptist missionary who was able to convince them that immersion was the only true form of baptism. They formed a Baptist congregation and built a church about a mile south of the Geyer Lutheran Church, near what is today the junction of SC and CW county highways. What is interesting is that an eventual settlement concerning the cemetery on the property which the Lutherans had purchased gave Pankow’s congregation burial rights in the northern section, the original Lutheran congregation the center section, and the Baptists the southern section.

In Watertown more and more Germans began arriving in the early '50s. They were not satisfied with the teaching of the Rentsch (St. Luke) congregation, which no doubt followed the German united church. So late in 1851 and in 1852 several families met in a small school on 4th and Division Streets for reading services. Credit for the beginning is given to Heinrich Kroening. They soon called Pastor A. Kleinegees, an Ohio Synod pastor, who had settled in Watertown. While pastor he also conducted a school. Shortly after he became their pastor, the members of the congregation, on December 11, 1852 organized and incorporated themselves as the German Evangelical Lutheran St. John Congregation. After four months of serving the congregation Kleinegees was dismissed because of doctrinal disagreements. This took place in March 1853. Kleinegees, misspelled in the Synodical Report as Kleenegees, had been accepted as advisory delegate at the 1851 Wisconsin Synod convention. He had also been pastor at Helenville when that church was established in 1848. From Watertown he moved to Missouri and joined the Missouri Synod in 1867. He died two years later.

For the remainder of 1853 and up to February 1, 1855, St. John congregation was served by Geyer of Lebanon on a part-time basis. St. John school was taught by a Teacher Wetzel, son of the Lebanon Wetzel, about whom we shall hear shortly.

At this same time the Rentsch congregation seemed to be flourishing. They drew up particular subdivisions of the area outside the city. They were: 1) Town of Ixonia; 2) Town of Oconomowoc; 3) on Jefferson Road; 4) in both settlements of (unreadable); 5) in and near Richwood; and 6) in the Boomhauer settlement. In 1854 Rentsch left for Ohio. Henry Doerner succeeded him as pastor.

In the same year, 1854, under the guidance of Geyer, St. John along with the Lebanon congregation (I was unable to determine when they took the name Immanuel) joined the Missouri Synod. They professed themselves to be *alt-lutherisch*.

Another group of Germans lay between the practices of the Rentsch-Doerner congregation and St. John. A Pastor Christian Sans of the Franckean Synod, a liberal group that broke away from the New York Hartwick Synod which was affiliated with the supposedly conservative General Synod, was sent to Watertown by the Franckean Synod. In a letter of December 11, 1857, Sans wrote to someone,



St. Mark Church (San's Congregation) 1855/56

I am sorry that I do not enjoy the pleasure of knowing you personally, to find out what sort of person you are. In case you are no Old Lutheran and no henchman or servant of Muehlhaeuser, I would gladly associate with you in brotherly love.

The group led by Sans organized itself on October 22, 1854 as the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Watertown, Jefferson County, Wisconsin. The notice, however, was not placed on file. The first officers were Henry Bertram, president; Gottfried Rohr, secretary; and five elders (*Vorsteher*) of whom one was a certain August Gamm. This fledgling congregation met in a building just south of 915 North Second Street. The history of St. Mark, published in 1979, is in error when it states that over 100 voting members were in attendance at the first meeting. The number should be between 20 and 25. The error is caused by adding the total number of votes cast for elders. The five with the highest number of votes were elected. Majority vote was apparently not sought. August Gamm received the most — 20. For the next few months the constitution was presented to the voters and gradually accepted and when finally filed in May 1855 the name officially designated was German Evangelical Lutheran Church of Watertown and the vicinity.

Already on January 14, 1855 the voters moved to pay for *die lot* which they had apparently contracted for previously. It is the lot on which the present parish hall is located, the cost being \$200.00. Also in 1855 our friend August Gamm was elected janitor, a position he held a year or less.

Several corrections and changes proposed for the first draft of the constitution are of interest. Article III was changed to read that the confessional service before communion be held on the day before communion, not three days before. In this same meeting of January 28 it was voted not to hold school in the basement of the new church.

In the February meeting the voters accepted the motion that a renewal vote of a pastor’s call (*Predigerwahl*) be held every two years, beginning January 1, 1857. In 1856 the voters passed a resolution that each new



St. John School/Parsonage/Teacherage

member must pay an initiation fee (*Eintrittsgeld*) of \$5.00, unless he was too poor. In that case he could join free. In January 1857 Sans's call was renewed. In March of that year the congregation voted \$500.00 for a steeple in which they hoped to place the town clock. The money did not come in. Three months later it was voted that women with noisy children disturbing the services be removed by F. Schuelermann, who was the janitor.

In January 1855, St. John received its first called pastor, Candidate Anton Wagner, from the Fort Wayne Seminary. He was ordained and installed by District President Fuerbringer on February 1 in Cole Hall (the upper floor of what was formerly the Penney building) because the schoolhouse was too small. Already in June 1854, St. John began the building of a frame church on the corner of Lynn and Vine Streets. It was completed the next year and dedicated on June 24, 1855 by synod president Wyneken. In 1856 the congregation built a brick school which also served as residence for the pastor and the teacher. It is still in use as a home, located at 808 Vine.

The year 1857 was not a good one. The Doerner congregation, as well as the Sans congregation, was constantly seeking money to pay the pastor's salary. Threats of dropping people from the membership were constantly brought up in meetings, but the due dates were postponed time after time. St. John and Immanuel, moreover, were faced with a greater controversy. Both young pastors insisted on private confession before communion. Members of each congregation objected to this practice and insisted on public confession. The bubble burst first in Lebanon. A group led by Teacher Wetzel openly defied the pastor and objected to his demand for private confession. They broke away from Geyer and the congregation. Although Missouri Synod officials agreed by letter to investigate the problem, they did not appear.

Matters were at a standstill as we see from a letter written by Bading to Muehlhaeuser on September 10, 1857. In this letter Bading incorporated a

letter written to him (Bading) by Wetzel. Teacher Wetzel and his delegate, Christian Koepsell, had tried to confer with Geyer, with Pastor Lochner of Milwaukee, with Northern District President Fuerbringer, and even with the president of the Missouri Synod. Fuerbringer had promised to come, but they waited ten weeks and he still didn't show up. The group learned from a friend that the matter had been discussed in a pastoral conference and that they had been condemned. Wetzel stated that he and his group had prayed diligently about the matter. Bading, serving the congregation in Theresa, then continued that the Wetzel group was asking him to come down and preach to them, administer the sacraments, and confirm children because they considered him to be a sincere and honorable pastor. In fact, he was asked to come down and preach the next weekend. In this letter Bading further asked Muehlhaeuser what to do — should he go and preach? Should he see Geyer first? Should he see Fuerbringer? We do not have Muehlhaeuser's answer, but from other correspondence we know that Bading went to Lebanon, so Muehlhaeuser must have given his assent. Wetzel and his group were excommunicated from the Missouri Synod. They then organized themselves into St. Matthew congregation. In May 1858 Bading sent another letter to Muehlhaeuser in which he wrote that three men from St. Matthew congregation would attend the next Synod meeting (only two went according to the Synod Proceedings of that year). Bading added that the congregation was building a brick church, and that quite a bit of work had been done on it. It was being built just around the corner from the Geyer church, probably on a portion of the 80 acres bought a few years earlier. He had also recently preached, conducted confirmation, and offered communion to the congregation in a shed (*Scheune*). About 40 visitors from Immanuel and St. John churches were in attendance.

The matter received lengthy discussion in the Wisconsin Synod convention of 1858. The Synod agreed that private confession was forced upon the now members of St. Matthew congregation contrary to God's Word and the Augsburg Confession, and that Geyer and officials of the Missouri Synod refused to negotiate the matter. Therefore, these members were under no obligation to that synod and were free to affiliate with those who shared their faith. The action of serving these members by Bading was approved. It should be remembered that the Wisconsin Synod came to these conclusions by hearing only one side of the story, with no attempts to contact Missouri Synod officials.

Shortly thereafter the Northern District of the Missouri Synod met, also in Milwaukee. They spent even more time and verbiage on the subject. In their resolution they condemned the work of this mob (*Rotte*) and Bading, the mob-preacher (*Rottenprediger*), and they concluded by condemning the Wisconsin Synod along with the Buffalo Synod with the statement, "It is clear to everyone that right is on our side over against the Buffalo Synod as well as in the case of the Wisconsin Synod." Note that the Missouri Synod too concluded its determinations by hearing only one side.

In a letter dated September 8, 1858, the elders signed and sent the following letter to Muehlhaeuser:

Since we have sufficient evidence that the Wisconsin Synod based upon the Lutheran Confessions, we therefore ask the)

orable Synod to kindly accept us, the undersigned congregation, into its synodical association. In the name of St. Matthew congregation.

The application was made at the 1859 convention and accepted pending the arrival of the congregation's constitution.

Now to a similar uprising in the Watertown St. John congregation. We have more correspondence in this case and more information. In 1857 a group of St. John members objected to Pastor Wagner's insistence on private confession. They were refused communion and thus felt obligated to hold their services elsewhere. In fact, they wanted to follow the course of St. Matthew congregation, but a teacher by the name of Hass urged them not to do so. He apparently felt that the matter might be resolved. However, he did meet with the group on Sunday afternoons when they held their devotions and he did explain briefly the Bible readings. Wagner heard about this and condemned Hass no end, saying that it was sin for an unordained person to give sermons even though Hass and others insisted that they were merely explanatory remarks. Since Hass refused to listen to Wagner, he was excommunicated with the rest, but he continued to conduct the school. Wagner retaliated by taking away the school janitor position from Hass and giving it to one of his loyal subjects. Then he and his adherents took their children out of school. How this school episode was concluded is not known because the early minutes of St. John are lost.

In a long letter to Muehlhaeuser dated February 27, 1858, Bading reported that he had gone to Watertown on February 20 to preach and serve communion to members of this (St.) Michael congregation — 145 communicants were present. (This shows that the congregation had organized at some time prior to this.) He said that he did this under the impression that Muehlhaeuser approved of it. Bading then showed his derision of Pastor Rueter of Columbus, who was not as yet a member of the Synod, but was inclined that way. Rueter vacillated between the Synod's side and Wagner's and Geyer's side, depending where he was. (Rueter had to leave Columbus because of charges against him. He accepted the pastorate in Maple Grove, which he also lost, and was later removed from Synod's roster.) Apparently Bading had had a bad breakfast, for he next attacked the Missouri Synod pastors who placed their members under a *Pfaffenjoch* (priestly-yoke).

The letter continues:

Now to conclude this matter I wish to state that I am not willing to take the sole responsibility for giving the Lord's Supper to the excommunicated ones, although I am convinced that they are in the right. I had promised them that I would preach to them on Cantate or Exaudi, celebrate the Lord's Supper, and also confirm seven children. But if I cannot do this in the name and with the sanction of Synod, then write to me so that I can inform the people that under such conditions I cannot serve them. However, my opinion is that we should all stand together and, as resolved, serve this congregation at intervals so that they may not lose faith in us as they have in Missouri and a greater calamity befall them to the detriment of their souls.

Apparently Bading cannot get Rueter out of his craw, for he continues the letter for another page and a half about him.

The next we hear is a plea from three elders of St. Matthew in a letter to Muehlhaeuser on September 20, 1858. They asked for help, stating that they had refrained from taking communion for some time now for conscience sake, and requested that Muehlhaeuser put in a good word for them with Pastor Bading so that he might come and serve them when he came to Lebanon. The two elders who signed were Georg Meyer and August Gamm. Meyer was the father-in-law of Teacher Wetzel, the leader of the St. Matthew group. What is so significant is that both men were members of Sans's congregation and Gamm was a charter member and a member of the council until 1856 when he apparently was not eligible for re-election. He was also the chairman of the building committee for the new church built in 1855. Now about a year later he was fully involved in the Michael affair. There is no report in the Sans congregation church books that either man was given a release or that they were dropped from membership. Neither is it reported that Gamm was accepted as a member when the Michael congregation joined the membership of Sans's congregation after Bading came.

Now back to Michael congregation. On September 9, 1858 the three elders wrote another long letter to Muehlhaeuser telling him about the origin and development of the affair, and requesting his aid in having Pastor Bading serve them. In a letter dated October 15, 1858, Bading wrote that he and some of the separated St. John members went to Pastor Wagner but really got nowhere. Now these members were asking for help and they wanted either Muehlhaeuser or Streissguth to come to Watertown and settle the matter.

Of the two most informative letters of the conflict, both to Muehlhaeuser, one was written on November 3, 1858 by the Michael board of elders in which five charges were leveled against Wagner. The other was written on December 15, 1858 by Wagner in response to a letter written to him by Muehlhaeuser concerning the accusations and other matters. While the Michael letter is brief, the Wagner one is long (eight pages, doublespaced). I shall touch upon each charge and upon Wagner's response to each.

1. Wagner denies the right of Christians to meet privately for devotions if a certain time has been set and invitations have been extended.

Wagner's response: Such meetings are of public character and therefore it is the pastor's duty to conduct such meetings because he is ordained by God, through the congregation, to do so. Wagner added that he couldn't conduct those meetings because they were held without his knowledge. Also, his contention was that at such meetings not one certain person should always deliver the sermons.

2. Pastor Wagner asserts that if one person at these meetings discusses the Word of God, be it only five minutes, he commits a sin which Wagner will not tolerate.

Response: "Yes, I have spoken of ten, maybe also of five minutes. and who would not, in the heat of battle, sometimes use a hyperbole? I have spoken of sin, but have applied this to the preaching of Teacher Hass because a) he has no call to preach and therefore no more right to preach than any other lay person, and b) he has caused offense as is plentifully apparent." Wagner also accused Hass of playing cards in a grocery store.

3. Wagner excommunicated two members as heathen and publicans because they disagreed with his principles.

Response: Wagner could not recall the reasons for their excommunication (which he called self-excommunication) nor did he deem that necessary. What angered Wagner most was that one of the men brought his Bible and accused Wagner of being like those to whom God spoke in Hosea 4:6. (My people are destroyed from lack of knowledge. Because you have rejected knowledge, I also reject you as my priests; because you have ignored the law of your God, I also will ignore your children.) The other man accused Wagner of willful neglect of duties and poor sermons. Of course Wagner denied those accusations, even in the presence of Bading, apparently at the previously mentioned meeting.

4. Wagner has lost the confidence of his members because of his falsehoods and his denials; in order to talk with him several witnesses were needed.

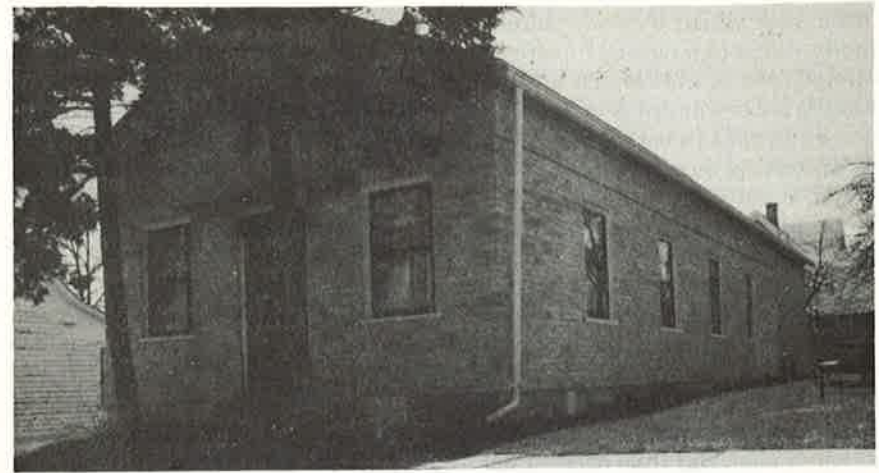
Response: Wagner did not want to discuss this because it gave him great anguish of soul. But he did continue with the explanation that he, too, was a sinner seeking God's forgiveness daily, and that he could recall only one instance of denying something, and that was when he said in public that one of the members had told him that Hass gave a fine sermon, while the member insisted that he said "speech." Wagner would not admit that he had substituted the word sermon for speech, but that the member actually had said sermon. He then concluded by saying that there were no witnesses, so let's forget the matter.

5. Wagner reviles the members of St. Matthew, our brothers, and calls them a *Rotte* (mob).

Response: Wagner admitted that he once called them a "mob." That was his opinion, and no one should forbid him the right to express his honest opinion. Wagner closed the letter, "If Pastor Bading says anything about our correspondence, which I for certain reasons no longer wish to continue, you may tell him in my name that I am able to prove all concerned facts with such infallible arguments that they who now have the temerity to call the arguments lies will be dumbfounded and silenced."

The excommunicated were not silenced. In April 1859 Georg Meyer wrote to Muehlhaeuser, inviting the Synod to meet in Watertown. No answer is available. In early 1859 a Pastor Gradmann appeared in Watertown to serve both St. Matthew and Michael congregations. In April Teacher Wetzel wrote that Gradmann was not preaching pure doctrine and that his sermons disturbed the people. On May 2 Gradmann wrote to Muehlhaeuser indicating that Wetzel and three members had come to him about the matter. Gradmann continued that he objected to Wetzel's baptizing of children, indicating that such a baptism was not valid. The matter of Wetzel's baptizing children is unclear. However, two years later a family was dropped from Bading's Watertown congregation because they had had their child baptized by Wetzel. Gradmann soon left both congregations.

Either in late April or early May 1859 both congregations sent a call to Bading to serve them. Meyer wrote two letters to Muehlhaeuser (May 30 and June 10, 1859) asking that he put in a good word for them with Bading. Bading eventually refused the call. Koehler has this confused in his *History* (p. 59), when he says that the call came from members of Sans's



Building where Michael Congregation held services 1857-60

congregation.

In June 1859 Michael congregation applied to the Synod for membership and was accepted with the provision that the constitution be sent to the officers.

In August another letter was sent asking that they be served alternately by four area pastors, since they were lacking in funds. If Bading had accepted the call, they would have had to dig deep to get funds for his salary. In February 1860 another urgent plea for a pastor was sent by the Michael church council. They indicated that they had voted on the previous night to build a new church since the place where they were meeting was so crowded that visitors could not get in and thus did not even attempt to come. According to another letter they, together with the *Herrnhueter* (Moravians), used a private school building for services and school. The building is still standing as a home at 609 Cole Street.

Apparently Bading no longer served Michael or St. Matthew, but Reim came from Helenville to serve them. One of the *Herrnhueter* wrote to Reim on April 12, 1860, urging him to come to Watertown and to serve them as well as Michael. He also alluded to the fact that there was trouble with Sans in his congregation and that something else might happen in Watertown. The final letter from Michael congregation was sent to Muehlhaeuser on May 29, 1860, urgently requesting a pastor and hoping that they could get Reim. According to the 1860 Synod Report, Reim had also sent a letter to Muehlhaeuser about the Watertown congregation.

To conclude the histories of these congregations — Michael congregation dissolved with most members joining Bading's (former Sans's) congregation later in 1860. St. Matthew congregation called Pastor A. Lange, a Missouri Synod pastor who had come to Watertown. In 1866 Lange accepted a call to St. Paul, Ixonia. Since the congregation reports have been removed from the church books it is difficult to determine what occurred between 1866 and 1880 when St. Matthew became a joint parish with St. Paul, Ixonia. In 1926 the church disbanded and all members joined St. Paul.

Now to where the action is. In January 1859 Wagner sent a letter to the

Lutheraner which was not published. In July he sent another, indicating that he did not know why his previous letter was not published. Both letters were printed in the July 26 edition, with a footnote by the editor (Walther) that the letter was not printed because the editorial staff considered it not to be of any value. In both letters Wagner rehashed the Lebanon affair, calling the protesting members a *Rotte*. He also vigorously attacked the Wisconsin Synod. What Wagner hoped to gain by this letter apparently was revenge, for he had already left Watertown in late 1858 for Freistadt, after four stormy years in Watertown.

One other matter of great irritation to Wagner was the incident in Reeseville. A group of Lutherans sought services and both he and Sans must have heard about it, so arrangements were made to hold services in the public school, but only one service was permitted by the school board. The first pastor to get there would get to use the school. Sans outwitted Wagner. Instead of going around Mud Lake, Sans got someone to row him across the lake in a boat and thus arrived before Wagner. He got the school. Wagner and the several Old Lutherans then had to go to a house for their services.

St. John flourished during the pastorate of C. Strasen, who came in 1859 after receiving the call three times. Soon after he arrived he and Geyer held the first mission festival in Wisconsin at St. John Church. Two items from the early minutes of St. John Church meetings are of interest. In March 1861 a young man asked to be transferred to Bading's congregation because he had been engaged to a girl from there under the condition that he join her church. St. John voters refused the release because he might break the engagement and not join an evangelical Lutheran church to his detriment. A committee of three was appointed to give him the resolution. Then in April of the same year, Teacher Griese was told that he had offended some members by walking downtown with some of the bigger school girls. Griese responded that he didn't look at this as though it should cause offense, but since it had been brought up, he was sorry. This satisfied the voters.

Now the Sans congregation. The congregation bought and installed a pipe organ in the new church. As stated earlier they had financial problems, so in February 1858 they passed a resolution that a plate be placed near the altar for communion offerings. They also moved that no citizens should be allowed to go to communion unless they were members of the church. Exceptions were guests of members and travelers. On January 1, 1859, Sans's call was renewed for another two years, but the sparks soon began to fly.

In the February 1, 1859 meeting the question was asked if it were not possible to have undisturbed church services. In the past on several occasions a man who was not a member and who was not invited stood up in the service and stammered out (unreadable) prayers which did not ask God's blessings, but disturbed the services. It was then passed that anyone, member or nonmember, who was not asked by the pastor or the president to serve, should be "put to rest" by Schuenemann (the bouncer).

Later in the month it was announced that the president and the three trustees were being sued for \$400.00, a debt remaining from the construction of the church. Sans suggested that 1,500 fliers be printed asking for funds and said that he would send these to all Evangelical pastors in the Union. He also promised that money would come from his connections in Germany,

and in the end the debt as well as the \$500.00 for the steeple would be taken care of.

Sans's problem in the community was coming to the fore. He not only condemned sinners, but became greatly involved in temperance and anti-slavery activities. To take up the cudgel for the former was very risky in a city where possibly half a dozen breweries were operating. In the case of one brewery just outside the city, passersby could tell when the farmer operating this brewery had a bad batch. He would feed it to his pigs, who would then stagger in the fields, fall on their backs, and kick up their legs into the air.

The story of Sans was written up by W. F. Whyte in his "Chronicles of Early Watertown" in the *Wisconsin Historical Magazine* where he described Sans as a "man of gigantic stature, and on the street with his dignified stride and yellow hair flowing over his shoulders he was a fine example of those Teutons who under Arminius overthrew the Romans in the Teutoburger Wald."

To add to his troubles, Sans was charged by his foes with immoral practices, especially in the East before he came here. Whyte recalls that his own father, together with other local law-abiding citizens, often slept at Sans's house armed with guns. In other instances, Mayor Skinner, Carl Schurz and church president Henry Bertram warned the agitators to desist and keep themselves clear of the congregation's business. After a donation party for Sans at Coles Hall, which many prominent citizens attended, someone noticed a group of "Sons of Belial," as the freethinkers were called, poised in a position to push Sans down the stairs. Mayor Skinner moved to the fore, pulled his revolver and said, "I'll shoot the first man who touches Sans." Sans went home without trouble.

Now that the citizens were somewhat under control, the congregation stepped into the picture. Several meetings were held. The first had to be adjourned because two nonmembers disturbed the meeting. Another on April 15 ended up in a near riot by members of the congregation and had to be adjourned. Finally, on April 23 Sans was suspended from his office and from his salary, and he was to return all church properties and books to the congregation. Sans wanted to fight the case but friends urged him to accept a call he had just received from an Evangelical Lutheran congregation in Joliet, Illinois. Later a committee from the Franckean Synod came to Watertown to investigate the case but could find no wrongdoings by Sans either here or out East. So the case was closed.

In the May 1859 meeting it was moved that arrangements be made to have pastors come in for test sermons. Whether this was actually done is not recorded. In July the 38 voters present selected Pastor Bading of Theresa, with two dissenting votes. No doubt our friend August Gamm had his fingers in the pie. Bading was to receive a salary of \$300.00, paid quarterly. He was to be given every fourth Sunday afternoon for preaching to mission congregations and every eighth Sunday the entire day. Bading arrived in August.

In 1861 the church joined the Wisconsin Synod and adopted a new constitution. After some discussion it was also moved that year to build a back-house, to pay for it from the treasury, and to have the trustees supervise its construction.

Early in July 1863 Bading and his family went to Germany to collect money for the seminary and college which the Synod convention of that year had resolved to build. He returned in November of the following year with about \$13,000.00. Pastor Moldehnke, the circuit-rider, was asked by the Synod to begin a seminary in Watertown. Watertown had been selected by a vote of 45-19 over Milwaukee. However, the Milwaukee men did not give up. In a later session they again brought up the location of the college. Finally after much discussion it was moved that if Watertown could collect \$2,000.00, the college would remain there. The amount was brought up by the time of the 1864 convention. It was reported in the 1864 convention at Manitowoc that the seminary opened with two students — Engelhard and Siegler. Engelhard was dropped because of lack of Christian knowledge. Siegler was reported to be making happy progress. (Some references indicate that the seminary opened with three students.) Moldehnke also served Bading's church as interim pastor.

In February 1864 the congregation took over the operation of a school. Up to this time the teacher's salary consisted of dues paid by the parents, if indeed they were paid at all. In the fall of 1859 Teacher Rausch left because he could not exist on the income he was getting. He had also been hired as organist and had not been paid. For the latter he was given \$45.00 when he moved away. There is very little information in the church records about the school or the teachers up to this time. They definitely were not paid by the church. The only salaries listed were the pastor's, the organist's and the janitor's, which at one time was \$2.00 a month.

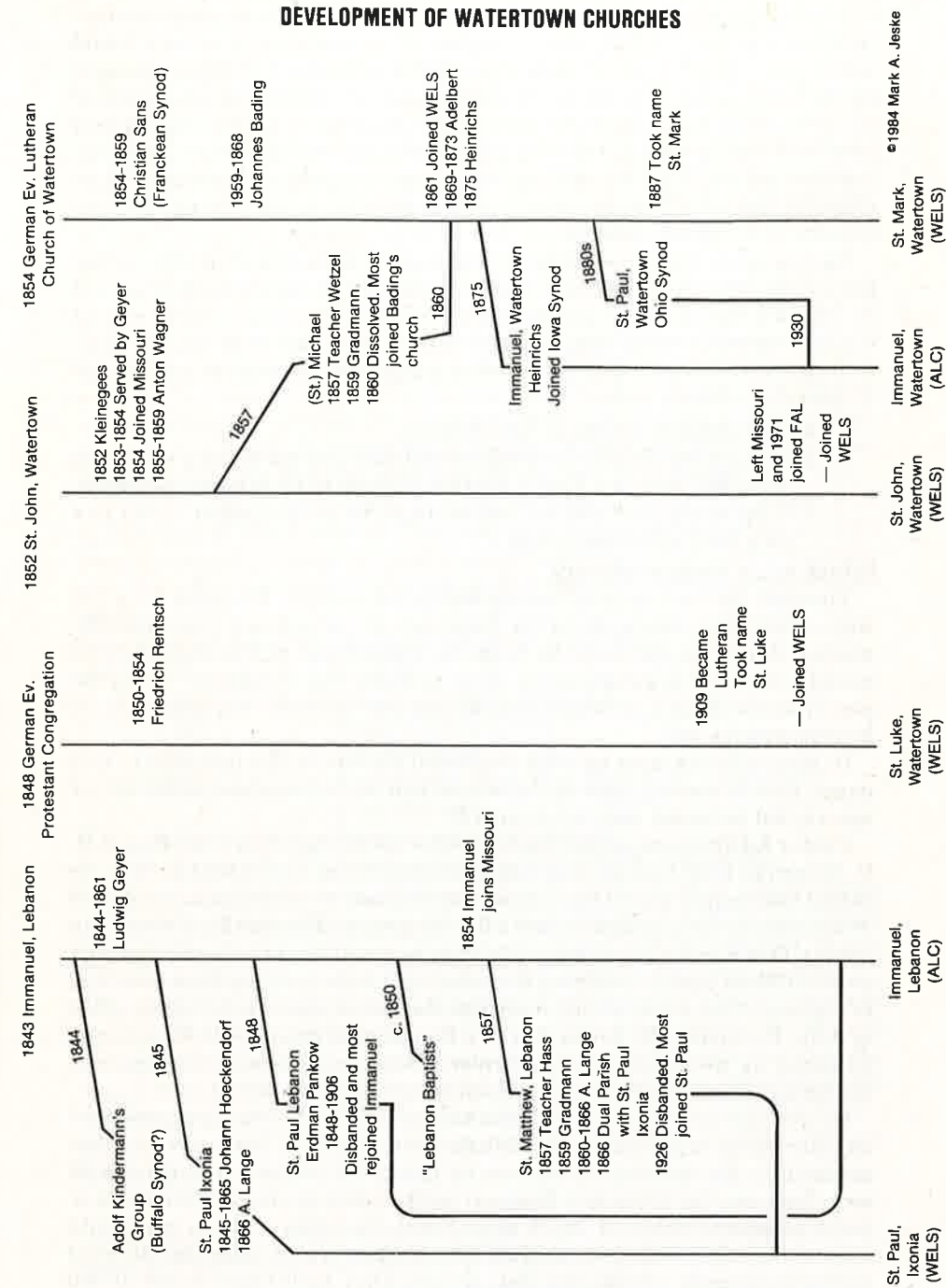
Things seemed to be progressing at Bading's church under Moldehnke, except for the problems of finances, of getting someone to "make wind for the organ" and of keeping organists. In October 1869 our friend August Gamm, who had been delegate to the Synod meeting two years earlier, brought up an accusation against a Mr. Block, who had claimed that Gamm had pilfered lumber. Since this was open slander according to the voters, Block had to apologize to Gamm and to all the workers at the brickyard where Block worked. To top it off, the accusation was even published in the *Weltbuerger* — the local German tabloid.

In November 1867 Bading received the call to St. John congregation in Milwaukee. He asked the congregation for his release but they would not give it to him. Instead, they gave him a leave of absence to tour the country and solicit scholarships for the new college, a position which he was asked to take after Pastor Sieker moved to St. Paul. In August 1868 Bading again asked for his release, which was then granted him. A list of guest preachers was to be presented to the congregation at the next meeting.

But Bading had different ideas. In the August 31 meeting he indicated that he had in mind a person who should succeed him in Watertown but he could not just then give his name or place. He added that this man was in an American Lutheran church body and that he had been in his present place about ten years. It was moved that Bading ask him to be a guest preacher. Bading, however, said that he first must make the proposition about this man known to the congregation in Milwaukee to get their reaction about a guest preacher. The meeting was adjourned.

On September 6 Bading indicated that he had received the answer and

DEVELOPMENT OF WATERTOWN CHURCHES



that he had asked the candidate to give a guest sermon in Watertown since that was the custom there. The candidate said that the guest sermon would not be properly understood at his place, but that Bading could give his name to the voters as he had requested. Bading gave the name of Prof. Schick of the Fort Wayne Seminary. It was passed that the motion to have guest preachers be rescinded. The vote was taken and Prof. Schick received the nomination, 44-13. On September 13 it was announced that Prof. Schick had returned the call. The congregation then voted to invite Goldammer and Gausewitz for guest sermons.

Bading again had other ideas. On September 20 he reported that he had personally gone to Ft. Wayne to win Prof. Schick for the congregation, and he told the congregation the specifics of their conversation. (The official history states that the congregation sent him — this was not the case. Bading slipped away.) The motion then passed by the voters is interesting. It consisted of three parts:

- a) that the call be sent to Prof. Schick;
- b) that if Prof. Schick accepted the call they pay his moving expenses; also that they pay Pastor Bading his fare to Ft. Wayne and back;
- c) if an acceptance did not follow, that the congregation would pay only half of Bading's fare.

Schick again declined the call.

Through the next months voting took place until on February 21, 1869, they called Prof. Hoenecke of the Seminary. He accepted it conditionally, stating that if no one could be found to replace him at the Seminary, he would not accept it permanently. Four months later Hoenecke, with pressure from the Synod, indicated that no one was found for the Seminary, so he returned the call.

In May 1869 we meet up with our friend Gamm for the last time in this paper. Gamm was engaged as the second teacher in the school at \$10.00 per month, but he lasted only till August 1.

Pastor Adelberg succeeded Bading. After Adelberg left in 1873, Pastor H. B. Heinrichs from Indiana was called and he arrived on January 1, 1875. He lasted less than a year. One reason was the lack of credentials to join the Wisconsin Synod; another he had a lively horse, and he also liked his strong drinks. One day the horse got away from him and ran into the kitchen of a store on Main Street, wrecking the store, which the congregation later had to replace. After a few stormy meetings Heinrichs was relieved of his office in July. He went to St. Louis, but in a few months returned to Watertown, gathered up his friends in his former church, and organized Immanuel Lutheran Church on 9th Street, which joined the Iowa Synod.

In 1887 the congregation took the name of St. Mark after it experienced one more split. In the early 1880s debates were raging in Lutheran churches concerning the doctrine of election by grace. Locally the argument held sway between the Wisconsin-Missouri position and the Iowa-Ohio position. Some members within St. Mark agreed with the latter position and would not be counseled otherwise, so they left the church and organized St. Paul Lutheran Church, joining the Ohio Synod. They built their church at 309 South 6th Street. When the American Lutheran Church was organized in 1930, St. Paul dissolved, with most members joining Immanuel, Watertown.

We are still left with the early developments of the present St. Luke congregation. Their main problem was keeping pastors. Thirteen different pastors served the congregation from 1848 to 1892. Since 1892 only four pastors have served the church. One of the pastors, Joerris, who arrived in 1859 got on the bandwagon against Pastor Sans. He accused him of being an imposter and spread other rumors about him. Sans sued Joerris in Jefferson, but Joerris was found not guilty. Sans then took his case to the State Supreme Court, where Joerris was found guilty. He had to apologize, retract his statements, pay \$100.00, and pay all court costs for both trials. Joerris left in early 1861.

In 1866 the congregation dedicated a new brick church on N. 4th Street, an area which is now a parking lot. It replaced a frame church which was moved from the property to 2nd and Cady, where it became the home of the Concordia Musical Society. The building burned down about 1880 when a portion of a nearby brewery was consumed by fire. In 1869 the voters passed a motion stating that unmarried women and widows who pay all obligations and dues and completely fulfill special obligations of a member of this congregation should be given voting rights, but not be eligible for office.

During each vacancy motions were made to advertise the vacancy in papers and in the Protestant journals. All of their pastors were given a provisional call for either a quarter or half year. If the candidate passed the test, the call was automatically extended for one year. All calls were renewed yearly.

In 1875 the following fees were set up for the pastor:

\$2.00	Baptism
3.00	Burial without a sermon
5.00	Burial with a sermon
5.00	Confirmation
5.00	Wedding in church or elsewhere besides the pastor's house
3.00	Wedding in pastor's house
.50 per mile	For any services held outside Watertown

In 1885 a Pastor Julius Koehler was elected. In the April 11, 1886 minutes it was brought up that during the past week Koehler, with many unpaid debts and with borrowed money, had absconded and disappeared. It was voted to publish this in the paper in order to warn other congregations.

In 1890 Pastor H. Sterz was called. During his tenure a parsonage was built at 4th and Dodge Streets and the constitution was revised. In 1909 the congregation became affiliated with the Lutheran Church but with the stipulation that it would join no synod and it accepted the name of St. Luke. The congregation joined the Wisconsin Synod about 20 years ago. Watertown's youngest Lutheran churches are Trinity, organized in 1916 and Good Shepherd, organized in 1971.

This essay was presented at the fall meeting of the WELS Historical Institute on November 1, 1983. Before his retirement Dr. Lehmann taught music at Northwestern College in Watertown, Wisconsin. He continues to reside in Watertown and serves the WELS Historical Institute on its board of directors and as an associate editor of the Journal.

Our Synod's First Mission Overseas

Ernst H. Wendland

WHEN REQUESTED TO LOOK into some mission topic of historical interest for presentation here, it was suggested that "Our Synod's First Mission Overseas" might be worthy of special interest. It's a story that hasn't received much publicity in the past, and I assumed one of the purposes of a historical society is to dig into crevices, nooks and crannies where sufficient dust has gathered to make one curious about what lies underneath. At least whenever I see in the seminary library one of my colleagues noted for his historical expertise, he's usually digging around in ancient, leather-bound volumes which nobody else has looked at in years.

The story of this mission, moreover, is that of a church body which we can observe from its inception practically to its very end. It's like a book we can open, peruse its contents, close, and then muse over for awhile to see if it has left us with any noteworthy impressions. Like a coal of fire this mission came into life, flared up brightly at times in spite of elements which threatened to extinguish it, and then gradually diminished in intensity so that only a few embers remain, glowing silently in a darkened surrounding.

One might question whether or not this mission was a mission at all in the accepted sense. No doubt it would be better to call it an effort on the part of our Synod to support true Lutheran confessionalism in another area of the world — and perhaps that's a mission as important as any other these days. Whatever the case, it presents to us a story which becomes more and more compelling as we get into it, often a tragic story as we see our fellow Christians up against odds which seem all but insurmountable at times, a story with an unusual and an ironic twist as it nears its close.

Time of Formation in Poland

Germany, as we were reminded so frequently last year (Luther's 500th anniversary year), is known as "the cradle of the Lutheran reformation." As a result German Protestants the world over have usually been identified as "German Lutherans." Unfortunately the "Lutheranism" which they have come to profess after a lapse of nearly 500 years is often distant from that which the Great Reformer professed.

This was especially true of many of the Germans scattered throughout Poland after World War I. A certain Lutheran consciousness, perhaps, was preserved. Staunch Lutheran confessionalism, however, was rare. Pastors trained in state-controlled universities were greatly influenced by the rationalistic and liberalistic trends of the times. As a result many of the poorer

people sought a religious outlet in self-organized meetings led by people with little theological training. Although the Lutheran Church of Poland called itself the "Augsburg Church," its state-controlled practices tended to serve the interests of the rich rather than the poor. Armin Schlender, a pastor in our Polish mission, describes the situation:

The care for souls (in the Augsburg Church) among the common people left much to be desired. In addition to spiritual indifference the social differences so prevalent in the land were reflected in church life. Pews for Sunday attendance were rented to the more opulent. Tariffs were introduced for baptisms, weddings and burials. This practice of favoring the wealthy aroused much restlessness among the common people, who turned to their own prayer meetings and assembled in private homes to find spiritual help (*Durch Kreuz zur Krone*, April 1974).

One such group began to meet in the city of Lodz under the guidance of Gustav Maliszewski, a schoolteacher and evangelist in the Augsburg Church, who somehow had acquired books and periodicals from Dr. C. F. W. Walther and from the Saxon Free Church in Germany. Further contacts led to Maliszewski's enrollment in the Theological Seminary of the Saxon Free Church, located in Zehlendorf, Germany. He writes of this experience:

In Zehlendorf I soon became aware that the Holy Spirit was in charge, and that its theology was rooted in the Holy Scriptures, a theology which I had never before been privileged to learn. Although I had studied sufficiently to serve as a licensed preacher, I was never fully satisfied with my theological studies. A doctrine of conversion which depended upon a person's own will or lack of it, a teaching of predestination which led to despair, teachings relating to baptism and Lord's Supper which failed to satisfy, and then especially matters pertaining to the last things and the millennium confused me to such an extent that I longed fervently to escape this labyrinth. Zehlendorf gave me what my heart desired (*Ibid.*).

Having enjoyed a "Zehlendorf experience" of my own shortly before World War II, I can appreciate Maliszewski's words. I studied under one of the same teachers who influenced Maliszewski, Rector Martin Willkomm, a man whom I shall always treasure as one of the great church leaders and theologians of our time.

Returning to Lodz in June 1, 1923 after completing his studies in Zehlendorf, Maliszewski undertook to rent a hall in order to found a Lutheran Free Church. Since the government denied him the right to hold public services, he resorted to meeting in private homes in Lodz and in Andrespol, gathering small groups of people and instructing them in the teachings of the Bible on the basis of Luther's catechism. His appeals for help in founding a Lutheran Free Church, directed toward the Saxon Free Church in Germany, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod and the Wisconsin Synod resulted in a response from our Synod, which promised to assist in this work.

That our Synod became directly involved came as a result of a visit to Poland by Pastor Otto Engel of Randolph, Wisconsin, who was authorized by the Synod to go to Poland and investigate requests for help coming out of this country. Pastor Engel reported personally to the 1923 convention of our

Synod, stating that the situation in Poland was "very sad" (*sehr traurig*), that "thousands upon thousands were without a shepherd," and that "the hunger for the Word was great." The convention responded by resolving to assist the work in Poland "with utmost energy" (*energisch*), and voted the sum of \$10,000 annually for its support (cf. *Proceedings*, 17th Convention, 1923).

In the meantime Maliszewski was granted permission by the Polish Ministry of Culture to hold public services, and the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Poland was organized on May 11, 1924 in the home of family Edward Gnauck in Lodz, in the presence of 35 adults. Since Director J. P. Koehler of our Wauwatosa Seminary and his son Pastor Karl Koehler were planning a trip to Germany in the summer of 1924, our General Board for Missions requested them to study further the free church situation in Poland with Pastor Engel. The Koehlers agreed with Pastor Engel's evaluation, and the three men from our Synod participated in the first large public service held in Lodz by the Lutheran Free Church on August 3, 1924, a service in which Pastor Maliszewski was officially ordained and installed as the pastor of St. Paul Lutheran Church.

During the course of the next 15 years (1924-1939) this little group in Poland spread out into various places in and around Lodz and Warsaw. Twelve congregations and 14 preaching stations were established, gathering in nearly 3,000 souls and 2,000 communicants. Ten congregations erected modest places of worship; others met in rented halls or private rooms. Pastors who served during these years were Gustav Maliszewski, Heinrich Mueller, August Lerle, Ernst Lerle, Leopold Zielke, Karl Patzer, Armin Schlender, Edward Lelke, Helmut Schlender, Alfons Wagner, Alfred Reit and Arthur Napp. Most of these men were trained at the Zehlendorf Seminary of the Saxon Free Church. August Lerle came to the church by way of colloquy, following doctrinal differences in Neuendettelsau, where he had received his first theological training.

Pastors from our Wisconsin Synod who represented us and supervised the work in our behalf during these years were Otto Engel (1924-1925), Adolf Dasler (1926-1928) and Wilhelm Bodamer (1929-1939). Pastor Engel did much traveling, seeking to gain students to study for the work of the ministry. Pastor Dasler concentrated on inner growth and on the organization of pastoral conferences. Pastor Bodamer served the longest of the three and is described by Pastor Maliszewski in these words:

With the arrival of Pastor Bodamer our young church achieved its real growth, both inwardly and outwardly. All his many God-given gifts, his time and his energy were devoted to the work of our church. Wherever a need existed he jumped in. Work was his desire and his joy. He preached often and willingly. His sermons were deeply grounded in God's Word, accompanied with an inner warmth and deep conviction which one could recognize immediately. He understood how to place the truths of Scripture upon the hearts of his hearers in simple words. Under his leadership our work prospered and took on a real significance both for pastors and congregations (*Durch Kreuz zur Krone*, May 1974).

This is not to say that this mission in Poland had an easy time of it during these years of growth. The greatest opponents of the free church movement came from people within the territorial state church, who tried in every possible way to hinder its progress. According to Polish law only Polish citizens could serve as pastors. Only acts performed in territorial state churches were granted official recognition. State church taxes were demanded of every citizen. Our congregations were sometimes refused the right to build their own churches. Others were padlocked after they were built. The only public cemeteries in existence were controlled by state churches. Although the existence of our mission was seemingly suffered in some places by local authorities, in other areas situations arose where state church members and pastors tried to harass the work in every possible way. A funeral procession, for example, was refused admission into a cemetery and the body had to be abandoned at the cemetery gate. A newly built chapel was padlocked on the day when it was to be dedicated and remained so for nearly three years. A confirmation service was interrupted by a state official and the pastor was told that he had no right to officiate in a robe. Usually these incidents arose as a result of some complaint issued by a member of the state church. At one time it seemed that Pastor Bodamer's visa to reside in Poland would not be renewed, and it was only through the mediation of our U.S. embassy upon the request of our Synod that his visa was extended.

In spite of these difficulties the work progressed. A monthly church paper, *Die Evangelisch — Lutherische Freikirche in Polen*, appeared in 1930 with Pastor Bodamer serving as editor. In 1937 the "Synod of the Evangelical-Lutheran Free church in Poland, UAC" was formally constituted. An arrangement was worked out between Poland's Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Culture whereby local authorities were directed to accept records of official acts performed in organized congregations of our Polish Free Church. During these years our Wisconsin Synod's support for this mission was renewed annually to the extent of nearly \$11,000, and in addition to this a number of loans were granted to make it possible for congregations in Poland to erect modest chapels and parsonages. This in spite of our Synod's "depression woes," when according to a report from the chairman of the Synod's General Mission Board cries were heard to "drop the mission in Poland."

It seemed that in 1938 and going into the summer of 1939 our mission in Poland had arrived at a point where it could look forward to a more settled existence, comparatively free from the struggles and harassments of its formative years. This was my own year of study in Berlin-Zehlendorf, a year brought to a close with the end of the summer semester in early August, 1939. I was able to visit with Pastor Bodamer as he stopped by in Zehlendorf on his return to the U.S., where he again was to report to the 1939 convention of our Synod. Of all the students at Zehlendorf I appreciated most of all my friendship with Alfred Reit and Arthur Napp, and as they returned to their homeland I returned to mine, late in August of that year. Although there were strange rumblings and occasional incidents on the border between Poland and Germany, and although the verbal hostilities between the Goebbel's propaganda machine and the Polish press were heating up considerably, none of us could have predicted the events which began September 1, 1939. On that day Germany declared war on Poland and our

mission in that country was to be uprooted violently and transported into Germany following the war.

The Interim — World War II

With the beginning of World War II it was as though an impenetrable curtain had been drawn between the mother church in America and its adopted offspring which it had nurtured in Poland. Synodical *Proceedings* from the years 1941, 1943 and 1945 offer scant information. Director Bodamer, who had come to America to report to the 1939 convention, was not permitted to return to Poland. Because of rigid censorship mail service between the U.S. and Poland (renamed "Warthegau" by the German army of occupation) was practically nonexistent. Funds requisitioned for the support of workers could not be processed. After the U.S. entered the war following Pearl Harbor there was the added danger that communications from our country would place those addressed in Warthegau into even greater jeopardy. All that could be done on this side was to pray — and await developments.

From those in Warthegau itself who experienced the years which followed — and who somehow survived — we now know what happened. Pastor Armin Schlender, who came through it all and later succeeded Pastor Maliszewski as leader of the refugees who reassembled in Germany, gives us a vivid description of these years in a series of articles appearing in the church paper *Durch Kreuz zur Krone* (April through September, 1974). From his report we shall bring excerpts of this interim phase in the church's history, a phase which can be divided into three parts: the time of Polish persecution, the time of German occupation, and the flight to the West from the Russians and the regrouping in Germany itself.

The Polish Persecution

One can imagine the parlous situation experienced by German residents in Poland after Germany's declaration of war upon that country. Armin Schlender describes them as "days of terror, of extreme unrest, of indescribable suspense, unheard of spiritual misery." Polish excesses led to "lowliest bloodlust, satanic evil, devilish sadism and deeds of bestiality." A time of "open season" was declared upon all Germans, who tried to hide in every possible place of refuge. Hordes of released criminals swarmed over their villages, plundered their homes, terrorized their women. The Poles were, according to his description, like a people possessed, driven by instincts so low that one cannot even imagine it. "Kill the German spies," was the cry as the remains of martyred Germans were recognizable only through remnants of their clothing as their cries for help filled the countryside. People from our own congregations were not spared. According to official reports, over 60,000 Germans were murdered as they were in the process of being deported elsewhere. It seems that in subsequent years much has been publicized about the Jewish holocaust, but very little of what went on in Poland.

By virtue of the German blitzkrieg this time of persecution was mercifully ended in a matter of weeks, only to be replaced by another time of extreme uncertainty, the German occupation.

The German Occupation

Although a measure of order came with the German takeover, the spirit of National Socialism was not favorably disposed toward church activities. Special permission for holding church services had to be obtained from police authorities. No offerings could be gathered for the support of the church; no official church papers could be printed; no contact with churches or organizations outside of Poland could be established.

On the other hand, Schlender reports that thousands of German refugees began to filter into the area, from the Baltic zone, parts of Russia, Bessarabia and Czechoslovakia. Many of these were attracted to the prayer meetings and services organized by our mission. In fact, many new preaching stations were begun, and after a time Schlender reports that "we were able to preach the gospel unhindered, administer the sacraments, hold instruction classes, make home visitations and provide pastoral care" (*Durch Kreuz zur Krone*, August 1974). The overall work grew to a total of 2,500 souls, 15 congregations and 30 preaching stations. Pastors could not be salaried and lived from whatever help their members could provide in gifts of food and clothing. It seemed for awhile that out of the horrible confusion following the declaration of war a time of great blessing was emerging.

And then from the Eastern front in Russia came reports of a German retreat and a massive Russian offensive. Schlender writes:

In a spirit of fearful anticipation we still celebrated Christmas and New Year, 1945, when the great offensive struck and brought the entire Eastern front into a state of flux. Millions of Germans either upon their own initiative or by way of official order fled and sought refuge in the West. Among these were most of our people. Therewith also our church in the East ceased to exist, this after two decades of visible blessings of the Lord in the activities of his church (*Durch Kreuz zur Krone*, August 1974).

The Regrouping in Germany

During the course of the year 1945 after what Schlender describes as a "grueling never-to-be-forgotten journey" — time and again under the fire of advancing and retreating armies — the stream of refugees flowed into Germany. In this devastated land they lived as unwelcome guests. Our own people were scattered throughout the four zones of military occupation, as one report has it, "ragged, emaciated and unwelcome beggars" (*Proceedings*, 1947).

Five of the surviving pastors from Poland — Maliszewski, Lerle, Mueller, Zielke and A. Schlender — managed to find each other in Zwickau, Saxony, where the Ev. Lutheran Free Church of Saxony had its publishing house. Since many of the pastors of the Saxon Free Church were in German military service, our pastors were prevailed upon to serve this church in the emergency. This they did gladly.

After the war finally came to an end, Maliszewski managed to invite the remaining pastors from our former Polish Free Church to a conference in Memmingen, Germany, which met there in February 1946. They decided to search out their people who had fled into Germany and in a subsequent meeting in June resolved to become re-established as the Evangelical Lutheran Refugee Mission.

The following summer, 1947, Bodamer and Executive Secretary A. Maas were finally granted permission to travel to Germany and re-establish the ties which had been severed by the war over a period of eight years.

Re-establishment in Germany

In the ensuing years, 1947-1975, a new free church gradually developed, with the remnants from Poland serving as nuclei. The first years were a matter of relocating our scattered people, finding facilities for holding services, and concentrating on centers where most of the refugees could be assembled. At first it seemed that a new era of unprecedented growth was in store for this refugee mission. The 1949 Covention *Proceedings* of our Synod reports a total of 10,000 souls assembled in the Western zones alone, and the 1951 *Proceedings* gives the figures of 3,000 souls gathered in 14 congregations and 110 (!) preaching stations in the Russian zone, served by five pastors and 24 lay teachers. In the Western zones 18,000 souls gathered in 11 congregations and 100 (!) preaching stations, served by 11 pastors. Additional pastors came to this mission from the Saxon Free Church, from graduation at the seminary re-established at Oberursel, by cooperating free churches and by colloquy.

One has to marvel at these figures, also wondering in the light of subsequent developments whether or not they were grossly exaggerated. At the time they seemed no doubt to be realistic. Refugees flocked together in this time of mutual need, receiving the physical aid which was extended to them so bountifully by relief agencies. Our own Synod's relief committee reported in 1951 that it had within the past few years shipped the following amounts either through Lutheran World Relief or directly: 25,000 CARE packages, 80,000 pounds of flour, 300,000 pounds of clothing, 1,000 pairs of eyeglasses, and countless Bibles and hymnals. For many refugees, however, the situation was temporary. Many emigrated to Canada, the U.S., and South America. Others were scattered throughout Germany, and as they became more permanently established returned to the more familiar atmosphere of a territorial church rather than to remain classified as free church adherents. Still others, no doubt, lost much of their religiosity as their need for help diminished. Much of this handout type of Christianity simply went the way of all flesh.

As our refugee mission took on signs of greater permanence in those places which were served by pastors, a reorganization took place during the 1950s in which the church was renamed "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Confession in the Dispersion" (*Ev. Luth. Bekenntniskirche in der Diaspora*) and eventually "The Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Confession" (*Ev. Luth. Bekenntniskirche*). Pastor Alfred Maas of Sodus, Michigan served as the church's nonresident director. Pastor Armin Schlender succeeded G. Maliszewski as president. Through aid from our Synod most of the established congregations gradually acquired modest chapels and parsonages at a cost of approximately \$5,000 per unit. Church membership settled down to a total figure of about 3,000 souls and 2,000 communicants in West Germany and about half that amount in East Germany. The annual cost to our Synod for the support of this venture came to about \$75,000, most of which went to subsidize the salaries of the ten pastors in the West and the five pastors in the East.

It was in the mid-1950s that I became personally involved with this mission as a member of the Board for World Missions and the executive committee in charge of the work in Germany. My chief qualification, it seems, was that I was conversant with German, an ability that was severely put to the test in a number of personal visits to this mission between the years 1955 to 1960. A number of experiences on these visits left a lasting impression.

On my first visit I attended a pastoral conference which almost ended in a serious split within the church. Several pastors accused Pastor A. Wagner of having transgressed fellowship principles when his new chapel in Varel was dedicated, since some pastors there were not in fellowship with us. Pastor Wagner protested that these pastors participated without his foreknowledge, and was so upset that his sound practice as a pastor should be questioned that he abruptly left the meeting in a huff. A big argument resulted, and it was only through the tearful mediation and fervent appeals of President Schlender that peace was restored. I'll always remember a comment made by Pastor H. Forchheim at this occasion: "Wir ersticken uns in userer eigenen Atmosphaere!" (We are suffocating ourselves in our own atmosphere).

On my next visit I presented a paper to the conference on how they ought to strive more energetically toward self-support rather than to rely on our Wisconsin Synod to pay their salaries. A lovely topic! I can remember old Pastor Maliszewski standing up and declaring: "Thre Worte sind mir gerade durchs Herz gedrungen!" I never quite understood what he meant by that. In any case my zealous exhortation didn't seem to do very much good. They still continued to bring generous offerings toward unnecessary bell-towers for their chapels rather than pay off the debt on the chapels themselves.

Perhaps my most difficult task was to try to explain to Dr. Ernst Lerle that his use of Wilhelm Moeller from the territorial church to teach his theological students at Leipzig didn't agree with our fellowship theses. The full impact of this discussion I'll probably never know. Two weeks after our Berlin meeting the Russians built that detestable wall, and all further direct contact with our men on the other side became all but impossible.

An unforgettable character at those Berlin meetings was old "Opa" Lerle, venerable pastor from the days in Poland, who was still serving numerous congregations and preaching stations in spite of his advanced age and almost total blindness. When asked how he could still manage to get around on a bicycle he simply declared, "When they see me coming they should have sense enough to get out of the way!" At one meeting he related how the Berlin border official insisted on going through all his "documents." His Bible was his only "document," and he told the official, "Go ahead, read! I'll sit here all day if you want to study the whole thing!"

Other memories are vivid: preaching in a home where there was scarcely enough room to stand and where people were straining their ears while standing on the outside near the windows. . . . Visiting all the church councils in the congregations in an all-out effort to encourage them to be more mission-minded, knowing all the while that if the pastor wasn't going to get out of his study during the week and do more visiting, my appeals would be fruitless. . . . Somehow through it all having the feeling that the hearts of many of these people were still in the old Polish homeland (*die alte*



Pastor "Opa" Lerle
in his pulpit
at Christmas
(confer page 41)

Heimat), and that the struggle of becoming established in this new Germany was a losing battle.

In my own report to the 1957 Synod Convention I expressed some of the problems in these words:

Everything in Western Germany is bustling with activity. Cities which ten years ago were a mass of rubble have been rebuilt to such an extent that the traces of war are scarcely in evidence. . . . But the average German has again lapsed into a materialistic way of life. . . . Church attendance in the Evangelical Landeskirche is lamentably weak. Parishes with memberships reaching into the thousands have less than one hundred people in attendance at a service. Still the average individual considers himself a member in good standing. . . . Surrounded by this depressing atmosphere of spiritual darkness and indifference is our mission, with its 12 pastors and 3,000 souls. Opportunities for doing intensive mission work are restricted by the fact that most people in Germany already consider themselves to be church members. The appeal of our mission must be made primarily to refugees, and the surge of refugees is diminishing rapidly. Thus the outward growth of our mission is practically at a standstill. If anything, there is a slight decrease in membership (1957 *Proceedings*).

In 1962 I left for Africa and was spared the depressing experience of having to see a church body go through a period of relentless and inevitable decline. While reports from the 1960s and into the 1970s show that the Bekenntniskirche was making strides toward reducing subsidy from our

Synod, its membership continued to decline rather rapidly so that by 1973 both East and West listed slightly over a thousand souls in each zone. The absorption of our people by other free churches in Germany, effected in 1975, was but a step away. The way in which this amalgamation took place deserves a closer, final look.

The Absorption by SELK

The history of our Synod's first mission overseas tells of ups and downs, surges of optimism when sudden growth seemed to be in prospect, followed by crushing disappointments when these hopes were suddenly dashed. When the wave of refugee prospects in West Germany began to vanish during the 1950s, synodical reports pertaining to our Bekenntniskirche began to take on a much more somber look. As the "Care-Package Lutherans" became absorbed in new interests and defected to other areas, and as efforts to interest German nationals in a conservative Lutheran free church became increasingly difficult, real concern for continued stability and even future existence began to make itself felt among pastors and people. Church membership was diminishing instead of growing. Nostalgic ties with the former homeland were becoming less important. Other Lutheran free church organizations in Germany were experiencing similar difficulties and were taking steps toward amalgamation in order to avoid duplication of effort in certain localities and also to strengthen one another in a common cause for Lutheran confessionalism. It was only natural that our Bekenntniskirche should also be interested in pursuing the possibility of closer ties with other free churches as a way of self-preservation.

Already in 1957 three other Lutheran free churches began to take steps toward a closer working agreement (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft*). They were the Ev. Lutheran Free Church in Germany (*Saechsische Freikirche*), the Old Lutheran Church of Breslau (*Altlutherische Kirche*), and the Independent Lutheran Church of Germany (*Selbstaendige Kirche*). Our Bekenntniskirche was in fellowship with the Saxons and with Breslau, but protested the position of the Independent Church on the doctrine of verbal inspiration and on its unionistic practices with the Territorial Church of Germany. It should be mentioned in this connection that our people whom we supported in East Germany could only receive their support from us as a district of the Ev. Lutheran Free Church of Germany, this because of governmental regulations in East Germany.

This whole situation was further complicated when our Synod discontinued fellowship relations with the Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod in 1961, since Missouri was supporting the Ev. Lutheran Free Church and Wisconsin was supporting the Bekenntniskirche.

On the one hand efforts toward clarifying our Wisconsin Synod's fellowship relations with the Lutheran free churches in Germany were intensified. On the other hand our people and the Saxons were being brought closer together through little flocks in the same community. Why two churches and two pastors? The future of our mission in Europe, as reports indicate, was becoming more a matter of concern for our Commission in Doctrinal Matters than for the Executive Committee for Germany. When in 1969 our Commission on Doctrinal Matters reported favorably on meetings with Breslau and the Saxons and also accepted an invitation to meet with the

Independent Church, our Synod in convention resolved "that we encourage and urge the Church of the Ev. Lutheran Confession in Germany, in consultation with the Commission on Doctrinal Matters and the Board for World Missions, to strive for closer relationships and eventual amalgamation with other Lutheran Free Churches in Germany and other European countries" (*Proceedings*, 1969). Our congregation in Oldenburg, it seems, took this resolution very seriously and soon after merged with the Independent Church in that city.

In 1973 the three other Lutheran Free Churches mentioned previously joined in a church body known as the Independent Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany (SELK), and in June of that year our Commission on Doctrinal Matters met at Mequon with representatives of this newlyformed church body. Discussions at this meeting were extremely propitious. It seemed that agreement had been reached on all points of doctrine that had been in question. Unfortunately this agreement between representatives at this Mequon meeting, as it later developed, was not shared by members of SELK's leadership in Germany, who later on refused to endorse and even repudiated the agreement which had been reached.

But affairs in our Bekenntniskirche's efforts toward a merger with SELK had in the meantime progressed to a point where our people no longer felt that they wished to withdraw. At Hohnhorst in June of 1975 the Bekenntniskirche unanimously resolved to declare fellowship and organic union with SELK. That is certainly a strange, perhaps tragic twist in this denouement. Through an unfortunate combination of unusual circumstances a fellowship, which we helped nurture for 30 years for confessional reasons, came to an end rather abruptly, through actions which were taken in good faith but which took on another direction.

Statements which have been subsequently issued by SELK's leadership and by its church periodicals continue to indicate that we are still not agreed on the doctrine of the inspiration and inerrancy of the Scriptures and on matters relating to church fellowship.

There still remains the group of pastors in East Germany, behind the iron curtain, who are reportedly still struggling with issues relating to SELK and who want to study the doctrinal differences which prevent our Commission on Inter-Church Relations from recommending fellowship with SELK. Further discussions with these men from the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Germany are still pending, and we are still sending them our financial support. This group consists of possibly seven pastors and about 1,000 communicants.

Concluding Observations

A historical survey of this kind leads to a few closing observations:

- Our Synod's first mission venture overseas followed an appeal for help, a "Macedonian call" if you will, at the same time a call strongly confessional in character. The fact that we entered this field in response to a call was stressed in many later reports justifying our involvement in this work. Most of our subsequent ventures overseas have followed a similar pattern (Jonathan Ekong and Edet Eshiett to Nigeria; Martinus Adam to Indonesia; Peter Chang to Hong Kong; Orea Luna to Mexico; Seth Erlandsson to Sweden; Luiz Rauter to Brazil). Work in Japan, Puerto Rico, Central Africa,

and Colombia began on our own initiative and on the basis of our own preliminary study.

- From beginning to end our prime motivation for helping this mission was deeply confessional in nature. This was our "Existenzberechtigung" (justification for existence). Although a greater promise for evangelism and in-gathering opportunities through this mission seemed to present itself at times, these quickly vanished and the confessional tone of our work again became the chief emphasis. In one synodical report Karl Krauss emphasized: "The Church of the Ev. Lutheran Confession is not strictly a mission. . . . It is a subsidized church" (*Proceedings*, 1963). It is ironic, therefore, that a venture which began out of confessional conviction had to be separated from us for confessional reasons and because of an amalgamation which we at first may have encouraged.

- The designation for this mission's official church periodical, *Durch Kreuz zur Krone* (Through Cross to Crown), aptly describes its existence. Severe crosses and tribulations were a part of its lot from the very beginning and continued throughout most of its history. One must marvel at the trials which its members were called upon to sustain again and again. The phrase "in the Diaspora" attached to its name for a time reminds one of the Epistles of Peter, also written to suffering Christians, yet "God's elect, strangers in the world, scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia" (1 Peter 1:1).

- Because of its lack of outward success and at times considerable expenditure in funds (as high as \$75,000 annually) this venture met with much criticism. Voices were frequently heard to abandon it and "spend the money more profitably elsewhere." No one, however, who became personally involved with those who were supported by this effort could help feeling deeply sympathetic with their cause. It was a work of Christian love in a very real sense, regardless of what some critics might have said.

- My own service on the Board for World Missions as a member of the executive committee in charge of the work in Germany was also my introduction to direct participation in world mission work. Sitting in World Board meetings at the feet of Edgar Hoenecke, one could easily become infected by a world mission spirit which was both compelling and irresistible. And so when my call to Africa came along in 1962, how could it be declined?

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