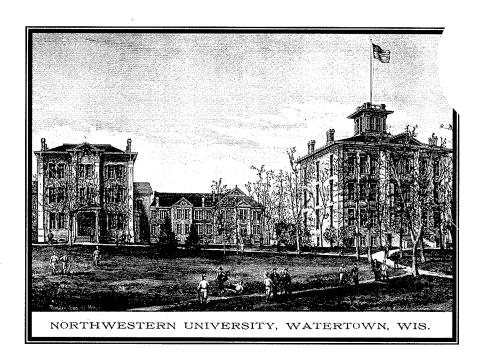
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Cover picture

Northwestern University, Watertown, Wisconsin c. 1880

The Watertown Institution: 150 Years in an Educational System¹

by Prof. James F. Korthals

eptember 2014 brought us to the mid-point between two anniversaries. Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary opened its doors for the first time in September 1863. The seminary just completed the observation of its 150th anniversary under the theme, Heritage and Hope – Remembering and Rejoicing. The opening of the institution on the campus of our present Luther Preparatory School took place in September 1865. LPS begins its celebration as it leads up to September 2015 and the 150th anniversary of its first incarnation. In both cases these institutions have been an answer to prayer and instrumental in gospel proclamation.

Call it a dream or call it a recognition of a real need, the Wisconsin Synod already at the time of its founding in 1850 saw the need for training workers. From the time of its founding, this collection of Lutheran congregations had been handicapped by a shortage of properly prepared pastors. This shortage was regularly reported in the annual convention of the Synod. The 1853 Synod Convention Proceedings noted:

[The president] complained bitterly over the lack of preachers. In the past year all hopes of help from the east faded. He made special mention of 13 letters, the contents of which he shared with the synod. Most of these had been given the prospects of some kind of help, in view of the lack of preachers in our midst, but up till now none of the places received help.²

At the 1859 convention President Johannes Muehlhaeuser reported,

I want to make the Hon[orable] synod aware of the fact that vacancies in congregations which are without a preacher will be filled as soon as possible, depending on the number of pastors available. . . .

Furthermore I would like to make our fellow pastoral brothers as well as the delegates of our congregations aware of the problem of getting young, devout men to study for the preaching ministry; so that we can with willing hearts support our students at Gettysburg as much as our strained resources can handle.³

The Wisconsin Synod had explored a number of possible ways to gain pastors. Initially, German mission societies were the main source of pastors for the young synod. No matter how many were sent from Germany, there was always a need for more. Various efforts had been tried during the opening decade of the synod's ex-

istence to address the shortage in this country. Appeals were made to eastern Lutheran seminaries for graduates to serve in our synod. In several instances candidates for ministry were ordained after they had served an apprenticeship under a local pastor. There was the possibility of a joint seminary with the Illinois Synod. Unfortunately all these efforts resulted in little help. It was understandable then that more individuals in the Wisconsin Synod recognized that the real answer was its very own institution in which they could train their pastors in a manner to satisfy their needs.

While various avenues for workers were investigated, the shortage of pastors became more severe. Tens of thousands of German immigrants continued to pour into the United States and many of them found Wisconsin to be an attractive alternative to their homeland. A quick survey of the statistics in the reports of the 1850s demonstrated the urgency of the situation.

When Johannes Bading was elected president of the synod, he eagerly promoted the idea of establishing a worker training school to provide homegrown pastors. His original worker training committee in 1861 quickly came to the conclusion "that as desirable as it might be to have our own seminary, we just cannot at present see how the goal could reached." Lest the situation be considered hopeless they added, "We recommend to the synod that a committee be named which in the course of the coming year should direct its attention to this problem." Immediately "a committee on educational matters" was appointed. Three pastors and one layman made up this new group and brought a report the next day. They recommended:

- 1) That pastors be reminded of their duty not only to pray for more workers but also to encourage young men toward the public ministry. In order to make that feasible they were to provide some pre-seminary training.
- 2) That congregations be thanked for past support, while also being reminded of the continuing and increasing need for support.
- 3) That synod should continue to entrust its pastoral students to Gettysburg Seminary of the Pennsylvania Synod because the prospects for starting our own seminary were poor.⁶

At the convention of 1862 President Bading tried to build on the minimal progress toward an educational institution that had been made the previous year. In his president's report he pointed to the need for such a school.

I can't really believe that the synodical praesidium has ever, since the beginning of our Synod, had to feel the lack of preachers as acutely as it happened in the course of the past synodical year. Old synodical congregations have stood there orphaned for many months, fighting for their life with the sects and schismatics. When they repeatedly asked for help, we could give them no comfort other than: wait with hope for the eventual help of the Lord. Re-

quests for help have come in from new congregations which have not yet joined, but we were not able to grant their request. Where will this end, if we do not think more seriously about the founding of our own seminary and get to work with more strength and courageous faith. We cannot and we may not rely on Germany. Even if a worker is sent to us now and then, whom we want to accept with heartfelt thanks to the Lord and to our German brothers who have a heart for us, that is only a drop in the bucket. We must dig a well in our land, in our synod, from which workers flow to us. If we want to wait with the founding of an institution of this kind until we are rich, then nothing will come of it.⁷

Bading then pointed to the example of August Hermann Francke's orphanage at Halle, Ludwig Harm's mission house in Hermannsburg, the educational institutions of the Missouri Synod, and the beginning of a Reformed seminary in America. All of them, according to Bading, began with little money and much faith. Not only have they survived, but they have flourished. Therefore he concluded,

Let us follow in their footsteps and just make a small beginning, with faith in the Lord's help. I hope in God, that a time will come also for us, when we can praise God about this with the Psalmist: "The Lord has done great things for us, and we are filled with joy." Come now, dear brothers and friends, let us at this synodical convention draw up a plan for founding an educational institution and call across the sea, "We are starting." I know for sure, some people over there will call out to us, "We want to help."

Once again Bading's plea was handed over to a convention committee for consideration. They responded that very afternoon, "The committee acknowledges with joy the advisability of the suggestions and encouragements which have come from the *Langenberger Verein* for the establishment of a seminary for preachers in the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin and bordering states, and recommends the matter to the synod for careful, serious consideration." The discussion which followed emphasized the urgent need for a seminary and the convention was certain that need would generate interest and support for a seminary among the synod's congregations.

No longer did the delegates talk about "if" they should start this school. Now they talked about "how" this could be accomplished. Wisely they thought to start small and gradually expand the institution to include a pre-seminary school. They spoke of renting space, while a capital campaign was conducted to gather funds for a permanent facility. The *Langenberger Verein* had promised to send them students and the delegates were certain young men from this country would also come, especially if there was a pre-seminary. The question of location was also considered. Although no definite spot for this effort was determined, at this point they simply indicated it would probably be some place in the Milwaukee area.

Wherever it was it would need to be easily accessible, be supportive of this effort, and have plenty of young people. The 1862 convention ended by resolving "that we strongly support the recommendation of the praesidium with respect to the establishment of a preacher seminary." ¹⁰

As the synod met in 1863, it had a number of issues on its agenda, not the least of which was the Civil War which had been waged since 1861. President Bading began his report, "While we must think about the situation in our land and people with such sighing, and while we were plagued the whole year through with the horrors of war, in the affairs of the church, the Lord showed us grace beyond all our asking and comprehension." ¹¹

Bading then went on to once again point out the shortage of pastors which had hampered the synod's work during the past year - 13 congregations without pastors, congregations lost to other denominations. In spite of those negatives, there was reason for rejoicing - Muehlhaeuser's trip to Germany to celebrate the $25^{\rm th}$ anniversary of his coming to America had been successful. He brought back a number of evangelists to work here. In addition the synod's $\it Reiseprediger$ had opened new fields. Again Bading realistically noted, "To be sure, that requires new workers. For if the thousands of our fellow countrymen are not to fall prey to sectarians in their forests and prairies, or become victims of unbelief, if the thousands who settle each year in Wisconsin and the bordering states are to remain in the Lutheran church, then every year we have a need for a significant increase in workers." 12

While expressing thanks for any pastoral help that might come from other sources, the president continued,

[W]e must come back again and again to the establishment of our own theological seminary. The desire for one has already been expressed long ago. The plan for the founding was talked through rather extensively at the last synod convention. Now it depends on this: that it be implemented boldly and courageously. Certainly one should first estimate the costs, if one wants to build a tower. But just doing the arithmetic won't get anything done. That does more to discourage than to encourage the founding of a seminary. . . . When we start something to the glory of our Savior and for the salvation of immortal souls, then we may entrust something to our Lord, to his almighty power and grace, without having to fear that we will come to shame with our work. Therefore, if we step forward confidently with the founding of an educational institution at this synod convention, the Lord will provide it and carry forward the work we start to its glorious goal. ¹³

Slowly, step by step, the 1863 convention worked its way through the details necessary to make the dream a reality. Lengthy discussion took place concerning the location of the new school. Floor Committee #6 recommended that the place needed to have a good-sized population and be centrally located. In their minds

Watertown was preferable. Others favored Milwaukee. When a ballot was finally taken, the vote was Watertown 45, Milwaukee 19. 14 Although this decision was reconsidered the next day, the final decision remained the same. There was, however, a stipulation made that Watertown needed to demonstrate its desire to support the institution by raising \$2,000. If this did not happen, the synod reserved the right to revisit its decision about the location.

This convention also chose Dr. Eduard Friedrich Moldehnke, the synod's *Reiseprediger*, as the first seminary professor. Before it adjourned it also approved the spending of \$75 toward President Bading's trip to Germany to raise funds for the seminary and made arrangements to cover Bading's parish responsibilities at St. Mark, Watertown, during his absence.

The seminary opened in rented facilities in September 1863 with one student, a Mr. Engelhardt. The school year did not start out auspiciously for this student was sent away by the end of October. At the 1864 convention Vice President Reim reported the departure was due to the "lack of a decidedly Christian way of thinking." Thankfully, a replacement arrived in November, A. F. Siegler from Wollin, Hinterpommern. Siegler had received teacher training which enabled him to help at the parochial school while pursuing seminary studies.

Already at the 1863 convention it had been noted that a college would be needed, if the seminary was to be successful. An institution to feed students into the seminary was understood as necessary for the viability of the synod's new pastor-training effort. The question of a feeder school was brought up at the 1864 convention. In the absence of Bading, Vice President Reim gave the opening remarks in which he shared the information that the founding of a college in Watertown would have to wait until the synod had the necessary facilities.

The delegates authorized the Board of Trustees to use the \$2,000 which Watertown had raised, along with any additional money collected, to buy property which would be suitable for building. Interestingly, the convention also approved an appeal letter which was to be sent to the synod's congregations which stated, "[W]e are turning to you, dear congregations, in the sincere confidence that you will be willing to continue laboring with us in the work of the Lord and to help us, where it is necessary, to found a seminary for preachers and school teachers, a workshop of the Holy Spirit, in which he forms capable young people and prepares them for his service." Later it was again mentioned that it had been decided in the last year to establish a seminary for the education of capable Lutheran preachers and teachers. It would appear that, although it had not been specifically mentioned before, the Watertown institution would be a multi-purpose school. 16

Prior to the opening of the seminary's second academic year the Board of Trustees went ahead and purchased land. Using the authority which the convention had granted them, they purchased 5.5 acres of pasture land on the corner of Western and College for \$687.50. ¹⁷ The trustees also proceeded to construct a building. The building was to house the seminary, the college, a preparatory school, and an academy or general high school. The building plans allowed for the later construction of wings on the initial structure. ¹⁸ The cost of the building was not to exceed

\$10,000. Ground was broken in the summer of 1864. 19

In its second year the Watertown institution saw its enrollment jump from one to eleven. A. F. Siegler was joined by Hermann Hoffmann who had completed most of his training in Germany. The other nine students formed what Koehler calls "the lower division, which was calculated to offer some teacher training." ²⁰ There were three additional students accepted on probation. After seven weeks their continuation was denied. This demonstrated to all that if the institution was to reach its full potential it would have to provide training for those who had limited academic experience.

The 1865 synod convention once again was largely devoted to the affairs of the Watertown institution. Vice President Wilhelm Streissguth presented the president's report since President Reim had unexpectedly resigned. The report spoke of the positive impact the seminary would have on doctrinal correctness. It was noted the school's first graduate, Hermann Hoffmann, would be ordained during the convention. It was also noted that the construction of the building in Watertown had progressed to the point that it would be ready by the end of the summer. At that time the synod could open the college but it would also mean providing a college instructor.²¹

Finances once again were a matter of concern. Moldehnke, in his seminary report, suggested that the synod send out a collector to raise money for the seminary. He also asked the convention to establish a summer vacation for the seminary. Apparently there had been no such break the previous year. Since most of the students were poor, they needed time to earn money to buy clothes and they needed some rest from the rigors of academia.²²

When it came time to discuss Moldehnke's report, attention focused on the lack of money and the lack of students. The delegates begged the pastors to put the matter of support for the school on the hearts of their people. Recognizing the value of good communication, they also regretted that the synod did not have a publication which could regularly bring these matters to the attention of the membership. Recruitment was another matter. The opinion was expressed that America was too materialistic, so recruiting additional students would be difficult. The delegates suggested looking into the feasibility of establishing a pre-seminary in Germany. ²³ In a later session a committee was given the assignment of establishing the pre-seminary program in Germany which would feed students into the Watertown seminary. It was recommended that a Pastor Lohmann in Glowitz begin the program. This program should reflect the synod's doctrinal position and provide training in Bible history and the Catechisms, and the biblical languages, if possible. The convention hoped the people in Germany would pick up the tab for this effort, since the synod could not afford to provide any financial assistance. ²⁴

Keep in mind that the year 1865 receives its fair share of attention in the history of the United States for other reasons. These events provide the backdrop for the opening of the new efforts in Watertown. On Palm Sunday, April 9, of that year the Civil War came to an end when Confederate General Robert E. Lee surrendered to the Union's Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia. Five days lat-

er President Abraham Lincoln was fatally wounded while attending a play at Washington D.C.'s Ford Theater. Compared to such events the opening of a small educational institution in Watertown, Wisconsin, commanded little attention outside its immediate area. For many this was simply one more addition to the long list of denominational institutions which dotted Wisconsin's landscape in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the September 1, 1865 issue of the *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt*, the newly-founded, official publication of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin and Other States, attention was given to the opening of the new institution in Watertown. With appropriate fanfare the *Gemeinde-Blatt* announced:

The aim which the Board of Trustees proposes for this institution is to fit the scholars entrusted to them for a higher walk of life by comprehensive and thorough instruction. Their interest is to organize and govern the institution so that it may rank with the best institutes of this country in respect to educational efficiency. . . . Though it is under the jurisdiction of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Wisconsin, the purpose is not to solicit for any confession, ²⁵ but simply to offer the above-mentioned advantages of education and culture in a genuinely Christian setting. ²⁶

In Matthew 9 Jesus says, "The harvest is plentiful but the workers are few. Ask the Lord of the harvest, therefore, to send out workers into his harvest field." ²⁷ In that first issue of the *Gemeinde-Blatt*, we hear a similar plea,

We need young people for service in the church and in schools from our own congregations. Where appropriate, offer your children to the Lord for service in church and school and do not hinder their work, but rather pray that the Lord prepare for himself among your children willing workers and urge them into his service. The Lord deigned to need the service of poor humans: he has need of weak tools for the preservation and spreading of this kingdom. Those who truly believe in the Lord Jesus are happy to have children who have received from God the natural and spiritual gifts for service in the church and school. Such parents will start early, directing the hearts of their children to the precious work. ²⁸

The reason for establishing the Watertown institution was clear in the minds of the synod's membership. They wanted the school to produce church workers, pastors especially and also teachers. Unfortunately that purpose was not so clear in the mind of the college's first president, Adam Martin. Although he had been born in Germany, Martin had been raised and educated in America. He was more thoroughly an American, preferring to speak English, than were the people with whom he would work in Watertown. He had big plans for the new institution. Even before



President Adam Martin

his arrival in Watertown, he had written to the Board of Trustees and had suggested that the name of the school be "Wisconsin College" or "College of Wisconsin" or "Wisconsin University" or "University of Wisconsin." Accordingly on his suggestion the Board of Trustees adopted the official designation of "Wisconsin University" for the institution. The somewhat pretentious title was an expression of the lofty goals Martin had for the new school.

In November 1865, Martin submitted a farreaching plan to the Board of Trustees in his effort to improve the new institution. Under his plan the school would be moved to Milwaukee.³¹ Having only spent a few months in Watertown, the new president was unhappy with the location of his dream

university. Realizing that there would be opposition to this move, he suggested moving the college to Milwaukee and leaving the preparatory school and the seminary in Watertown. This proposal, together with his endowment scheme, his promotion of English over German, and his doctrinal disagreements with the synod, would ultimately lead to Martin's leaving Watertown.

Initially, however, it seemed that Martin's school was going to be an impressive success. In the 1866 – 1867 academic year 68 students were enrolled. But only six were preparing for ministry. Most of the students were from well-to-do families in the area; families not belonging to Wisconsin Synod congregations. The German Lutherans were not generally in a financial position to give their children more than an elementary education. For that reason Martin had structured the school to appeal to the public at large. To aid in recruitment, the language of instruction was exclusively English, even in the German courses. 32 Surprisingly the Board of Trustees, themselves German speakers, went along with this stress on English.

In 1867 the Board still seemed agreeable to the direction in which Martin was taking the school. Their regulations continued to promote the English language at the expense of the German. English-speaking students could be excused from German courses, but there was no such exemption given to German-speaking students concerning English courses. In fact, students for the ministry, while in the preparatory school, were required to take part of their language instruction in English so they would better be able to follow instruction in the college department.

As it turned out, 1867 was the high point for Martin and his lofty plans. In 1868 disagreement between the Board and Martin become obvious. The 1868 convention of the Wisconsin Synod adopted a statement which rejected pulpit and altar fellowship with churches whose doctrine and practice were not in agreement with its own. President Martin was one of four who voiced objection. When the convention ended fellowship with the Iowa Synod and the General Council, Martin threatened to resign his membership in the ministerium of the Wisconsin Synod.³⁷

In July 1868 the Board of Trustees removed Martin from teaching the classical

languages. In the same meeting the Board decided that the classical languages would now be translated into German rather than into English.³⁴ In the fall of 1868 the chairman of the Board of Trustees, Synod President Bading, reported that he had dismissed Martin because of complaints from professors and from parents. Martin offered his resignation if he might remain until September 1, 1869. These terms were accepted after he assured the Board that he would faithfully serve the school and do his best to restore order in the student body.³⁵ When Martin did not live up to this agreement, he was terminated in April 1869.³⁶ On May 12, 1869, Adam Martin resigned his membership in the Wisconsin Synod.³⁷



President August F. Ernst

The faculty vacancy caused by Martin's removal was filled by August F. Ernst. Although the announcement of his acceptance of the call and his formal installation did not come until the November 9, 1869 meeting of the Board of Trustees, Ernst began serving upon his arrival in September. The 1869-1870 catalog lists "Rev. August Ernst, A.M., Professor of the Latin Language and Literature. ³⁸ He had also been called as "inspector" to preserve order in the dormitory and to serve there *in loco parentis* to students ranging from 13 to 23 years of age. ³⁹ Since the new president of the school Lewis O. Thompson 40 was of Norwegian descent and could not speak German, Ernst immediately became the faculty representative before both the

synod and the board. Reports and notices in the *Gemeinde-Blatt* also became his responsibility. All of that was in addition to a full teaching load.

In the summer of 1869 the Board of Trustees had decided that German should be a requirement for attendance at the school. Although students in the high school could be excused from German if their parents requested it, the board made it clear that no students would be admitted to the college without meeting certain German requirements. Collegians who had all the requirements for admission except for German would now be required to make up the deficiency in the high school. In addition, it was made clear that any high school student who desired to prepare for ministry would have to take the schedule of classes prepared for them by the faculty. Unfortunately a look at the catalog makes it apparent that these directives were not being carried out under Thompson. While other courses were explained in detail, there was only one sentence devoted to German: "The study of German will be carried through the four years' course, with exercises in Grammar, Reading, Conversation, and Writing."

Since the board's directives concerning curriculum had not been fully implemented, late in 1869 it once again directed the faculty to draw up a new course of study. This time the board was more specific and told the faculty to use the German *gymnasium* as its model. August Ernst assumed a major role in this reorganization. Not only had he received his education in the gymnasium setting, he had also taught in such a school for a short time.

For most people today the word "gymnasium" conjures up the image of a building in which athletic contests and physical education classes are held. The word had a much different meaning as it was introduced to the Watertown institution. The German gymnasium is not the equivalent of a German university, although the course work involved might make one think of a college. The German gymnasium was a bridge in the educational system in nineteenth century Germany. An American professor who toured Germany at the end of the nineteenth century reported:

The German gymnasium, whether the gymnasium proper with its course based on the classics and mathematics, the real gymnasium that omits Greek from its curriculum, or the Ober-Realschule that omits both Latin and Greek – the German school, whatever its variety, takes the boy when 9 years old and at 18 sends him to the university, the higher technical schools, or into business life with a well-rounded, symmetrical education.

This symmetrical education is made possible through the careful construction of the school curriculum. . . . The curriculum is a unit, as the gymnasial system is a unit; it is complete in itself, but it represents at the same time one stage in the development of the educational system.⁴⁴

The gymnasium proper was vigorously regulated. Instruction tended to be inflexible and severely disciplined. It was the training ground, where those unfit for the university were weeded out and placed into a field befitting their talents.

Daily drill and recitation in classical and modern authors, mathematics and natural sciences, history and geography, and modern languages were the intellectual fare of the gymnasia. There the students were "pupils" — children who were expected to memorize lessons and to obey their teachers in conduct and manners. After nine years of this, all pupils hopeful of attending the university were required to sit for a comprehensive examination. 45

The German system had one and only one purpose – to train thinkers. Professor Ernst, during his five years of ministry in the eastern United States, had observed that Lutheran schools in America lacked a strong foundation in the classics, language, literature, and history. It was his goal to inject the values of the German gymnasium into Northwestern.

He recognized that the members of the Wisconsin Synod would not support Northwestern until they were convinced that this school would produce Germanspeaking pastors. With this in mind, Professor Ernst submitted a memorial to the Board of Trustees which was to meet on January 4, 1870. He proposed to separate the academy, i.e., the English-speaking high school, and the English college from the German gymnasium. Containing the equivalent of a high school and a college

education, the gymnasium would prepare men for the seminary. Ernst continued that since the gymnasium was to be the source of the synod's pastors and teachers, the synod should support it with its gifts. Likewise it was considered only reasonable for the academy and English college to pay rent for its use of the property which the synod had provided. 46

Twenty years later as Northwestern celebrated its 25th anniversary, Ernst noted,

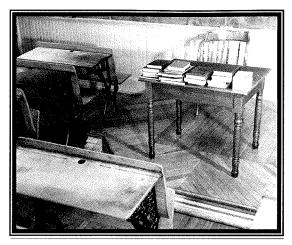
The proportion of the languages was regulated, so that German and English should have equal rights. The instruction in religion, in the classical languages, in German and in part of the history was to be in the German language. Therefore in the lower classes of the gymnasium, in the Academy and in the teacher-training division English dominates, while in the upper classes of the gymnasium the German was pushed more vigorously. 47

In December 1870 Ernst was able to report to the members of the Wisconsin Synod:

Northwestern University embraces three departments: a German-English college ("Obergymnasium"), a German-English preparatory department ("Untergymnasium"), and an English academy with normal and scientific courses. The college aims to provide its students with a thorough general education which should enable them to turn to any of the highest scientific professions successfully. In this department stress is laid on the study of ancient languages, for they are the media to convey the most advanced mental discipline; it must not be supposed, however, that the exact sciences such as mathematics and natural science are neglected. 48

In retrospect it becomes clear that 1870 was a turning point in the history of Northwestern. Not only was there a dramatic shift in the curriculum that year, but there was also a change in leadership. President Thompson, unable to deal with the academic changes, resigned his office. The board, however, did not immediately appoint a new president. It wasn't until March 1871 that the board appointed August Ernst as the school's third president, a position he would hold for almost half a century. During his lengthy presidency, Northwestern's reason for existence became clear. Northwestern existed to produce pastors. Its preparatory department was to feed students into the college and the college would provide students for the synod's seminary.

The clarification of Northwestern's mission did not, however, immediately solve its financial difficulties. It would take time for the changes to be noticed by the members of the synod and make them more willing to support the school. As a result the 1870 synod convention had to wrestle with budget deficits. After the Board of Trustees reported on the changes at Northwestern, there was considera-



Northwestern Classroom

ble debate as to whether it was advisable to reduce the synod's financial commitment to the school. Some suggested that this could be done by reducing the number of teachers there. Others suggested that the academy, the English-speaking high school, should be dropped. In response the board pointed out that the academy had produced an income of \$2,500 and had expenses of only \$1,800. To drop the academy would actually make the financial crisis more severe. The board also pointed out that some students who attended the academy ended up attending the college and preparing for ministry. During this discussion the convention also recognized that there were advantages to providing Christian education for its members who were not going into church work.

After further discussion the convention resolved that for the present the number of teachers would remain the same. To make this possible the congregations were asked to raise \$4,500 for their school. The resolution also indicated that any money collected from the congregations would not be used to support the academy. It was clear the academy could remain as long as it was self-supporting.⁵⁰

The fall of 1870 found six men on the faculty at Watertown. Three instructors were responsible for German and for the classical languages, now being taught in German. Three instructors were available for subjects taught in English. It would appear that the status of equal rights for German and English was being carried out. Two of the English instructors, however, taught only on the high school level. This left a ratio of three to one, German to English, in the college. ⁵¹

Despite the changes and challenges which had been faced in the recent past, the 1870-1871 academic year ended quietly. There were no major problems with the students and no faculty quarrels. Near the end of the first semester Ernst had written a report which gave a number of reasons why congregations should support the Watertown institution. Published in the *Gemeinde-Blatt*, this report was widely circulated. There he confidently announced:

We are now a purely synodical institution, which is supported by the church

exclusively. And to the glory of God we may say with due modesty that our service to the church is not in vain. . . .

The enrollment is larger than it was at any time in any corresponding term and totals 91, of which 51 attend the Gymnasium and 40 the Academy. Over 50 of these 91 students live at the school, almost all of whom want to dedicate themselves to the holy ministry. In addition over 20 notifications for next term have already come in, so that the enrollment will likely grow to 120. 52

Although the boast of being supported "exclusively" by the church may have been somewhat premature at the time, the announcement, that the school was fulfilling its major purpose and was supplying pastors, instilled confidence among the members of the synod's congregations.

That summer the synod met for its 21st convention. For the first time since the founding of Northwestern University there was real enthusiasm in the discussions about the school. Synod President and Chairman of the Board of Trustees Johannes Bading reported that the financial situation was improving. He also put in a good word for the faculty and their efforts, which exemplified the new spirit which many had for their school. Bading stated, "Though the teaching staff is smaller than any other similar institution, we are not inferior to the best of them in the extent of the field of instruction and in the results obtained; that is principally due to the self-sacrificing zeal of our professors." ⁵³

This enthusiasm for Northwestern was undoubtedly due to the number of potential workers being trained there. Bading happily reported that 58 students attended the German gymnasium during the previous year. Of that number 24 were members of the Wisconsin Synod and could be expected to be available to churches in future years. The other 34 students were members of the Missouri Synod who attended Northwestern via the reciprocal agreement drawn up in 1869. This agreement allowed Wisconsin Synod students to attend the seminary in St. Louis, Missouri, and Missouri Synod students to attend the preparatory school and college in Watertown. The seminary was no longer on the Watertown campus. The arrangement with the Missouri Synod would continue until 1878 when the seminary would move back to Wisconsin, but it would move to Milwaukee and not to Watertown.

By 1872 the three-phase program which Ernst had outlined had become an established fact. The basic set-up was and would continue to be the "Obergymnasium" or College Department which was the German-English gymnasium; a German-English "Untergymnasium" or Preparatory Department which provided the introductory phase of the gymnasium; and the English Academy which allowed students who were totally dependent on the English language to acquire the equivalent of a present-day high school education. Included in the Academy was another program which was often called the "Scientific Department." This allowed students to attend those gymnasial courses which were presented in English. It provided business courses in place of the classical language courses and other subjects

which were taught in German. Later this department would have another branch for teacher education, the so-called "Normal Department." The success of this three-headed program can be seen in the attendance numbers. By the mid-1870s and again by the turn of the century attendance numbered over 200 students.

During the meeting of the 1872 convention another milestone was marked. For the first time there is mention of an *Aktus-Feier*, a commencement. The Board of Trustees reported that Northwestern University was about to graduate its first class. The board resolved to grant all students who finished the regular classical course and passed the examination the degree of Bachelor of Arts "in accordance with the custom that prevails in our country." ⁵⁵ On July 2, 1872 Franz Pieper, John Bading, son of the synod president, Otto Hoyer, and Erdman Pankow received their degrees. Of this number only Pankow had received his entire education on the Watertown campus.

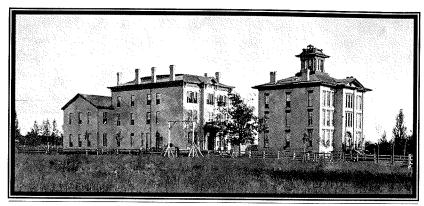
In June 1873, almost a year after the first graduation, the board resolved "that our graduates now pursuing their theological studies in the seminary at St. Louis may be given the 'Master's' degree if upon finishing their work in St. Louis they submit a thesis and dissertation in either German, or English, or Latin." The first recipient of this degree was John Bading, a member of the first college graduating class. Although he was pursuing a medical career, he was awarded the degree in 1875. Dr. Notz had been assigned the task of drawing up "a suitable diploma" for this degree. Hand been assigned the task of drawing up "a suitable diploma" for this degree. Boatlob Muehlhaeuser was awarded his M.A. upon presentation of a dissertation in Latin. Board minutes also record that this degree was awarded two additional times in the early 1890s to Joel Smith and Ole Felland.

The annual reports to the synod convention reported rapidly growing enrollments. But the increased enrollments, the very thing the synod wanted and needed, brought with it the expected challenges. More room was necessary if the work of the school was not to suffer. In 1874 convention delegates resolved "that the Board of Trustees should be empowered to rent a suitable house in the vicinity for admission of students, if necessary." Although a temporary solution, it allowed enrollment to continue to increase.

A longer term solution was instituted when a policy change lowered the number of non-Wisconsin Synod students on the campus. The 1869 agreement which brought Missouri Synod students to Watertown came to a friendly conclusion in 1874 when the majority of the Missouri Synod students were transferred. Ernst reported:

At the beginning of the 1874-75 school year a great change in the local school life occurred. The Lutheran Synod of Missouri cancelled its relationship with our school, and accordingly we lost Professor W. Stellhorn, after he had served well for five years at the institution. He left with about forty students to go to the Gymnasium of the Missouri Synod at Fort Wayne. ⁶¹

In December 1874 the space situation became critical. During the Christmas recess the wooden-frame dormitory was destroyed by fire. Built in 1868 to house 32



Northwestern Campus 1880

students, this structure had increased the on-campus dormitory space which was previously limited in the original Kaffeemuehle. The loss of the sixteen dormitory rooms⁶² made the on-campus housing shortage worse. Chairman Bading reported at the 1875 convention:

The most difficult blow, which dazed us in the course of the year, is the unfortunate fire during the night of December 29-30, which reduced our little institutional building into ashes. To this day the origin of the fire remains a mystery to us. But we are happy to state that there was no loss of life to bewail and that even a good share of the possessions of the students could be saved. ⁶³

The students were housed for the remainder of the year in rented facilities near the campus or in private homes. The solution to the lack of space was the construction of a new three-story brick building which was dedicated on September 1, 1875. It provided living space for the Inspector as well as 50-60 dormitory students. In addition it provided two large classrooms. Of course, the blessing of a new facility also brought with it the challenge of paying for it.

Twenty years later a second, similar crisis hit when the Kaffeemuehle was destroyed by fire. During a thunder storm a bolt of lightning struck the flagpole on the cupola of the old building. The 1894 fire left nothing but blackened walls. A history published on the 50^{th} anniversary of the school reported:

It was a sore trial, and if the men that saw so much of their work laid low by this turn of fate would have shown their dejection no one could have blamed them. But, as is often the case, the hour of need calls up resources that are unsuspected in the placid times of unbroken serenity. One short year passed and the synod had replaced the building with a modern structure erected at a cost of \$18,000. The new recitation hall in almost every way is superior to the old one if one considers the uses to which it is put, though the older students

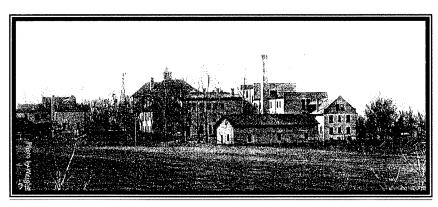
will not have it that any building can be quite as fine and splendid as the one which typified their alma mater. The new hall contains nine class rooms, the faculty room, the chemical and physical laboratories, the assembly hall and chapel on the third floor, and the library room, which has ceased to be inadequate to the increasing demands of the expanding library. ⁶⁴

But even that building was not enough. By the turn of the century growing enrollments once again demanded more space. In 1902 Ernst reported,

The number of students, I confess, has not grown much and in fact only in the Gymnasium, not in the Academy, in which there were several fewer students. In the Gymnasium there were 113, in the Academy 31, for a total of 144 students. To be sure this number could have been somewhat larger, if we had had more room in the school. ⁶⁵

Since no action was taken in 1902, the board presented a special report in 1903. The report outlined the need for more living and sleeping rooms, more dining space, and bath accommodations. ⁶⁶ In an attempt to alleviate the shortage of space, the board requested that the synod build a new dormitory and also build an addition to the dining hall. The synod responded by approving a program to retire old debt at the school and provide money for the new building projects. ⁶⁷ Although it took a reminder of the problem at the 1904 convention, a new dormitory was built by the fall of 1905.

One issue that proved troublesome was the repeated effort on the part of individuals within the synod to close the academy. Although Ernst had fulfilled the agreement that the academy should be self-supporting, there were constant complaints about the existence of the academy. Often the attacks were led by pastors who believed the academy lured students away from ministry to a course of study that was quicker and promised greater financial rewards than the ministry offered.



Northwestern Campus Pre-May 1911



Northwestern Band [Late 1890s]

Although graduates of the Academy often became lay leaders in congregations, the charge was made that these students were a bad moral influence on the ministerial students. The other argument in opposition to the Academy was that money could be saved, if the Academy was dropped.

After decades of charges and refutations, the Academy debate came to a head in the 1902 convention. Faced with overcrowded dormitories and classrooms, the board sent this memorial to the synod:

Since the Board has recognized that the Academy joined with the Gymnasium under the present circumstances of our school in Watertown is not beneficial, therefore the Board requests the honorable Synod that it allow [the Board] to handle the matter of the Academy as serves the best interests of the school, even if it should come to dissolving the Academy. ⁶⁸

The delegates responded by tabling the issue. They asked the board to make a more definite proposal at the next convention. Any such proposal should also be published in the *Gemeinde-Blatt* for wider consideration. ⁶⁹

The 1903 convention brought no resolution to the matter, since the board had been unable to reach a decision. Finally, at the 1904 convention the board reported, "After due consideration the Board recommends to the venerable Synod that the Academy not be removed, rather that it be left as it was for the benefit of the Synod." The board had studied the charges against the Academy and found them to be untrue. Moreover the faculty had urged the retention of the Academy for it benefited the synod. The synod in convention agreed and voted to continue the Academy.

In order to clear up any misunderstanding about the Academy and to prevent

future debate, Professor Albert Kuhn wrote a lengthy article for the *Gemeinde-Blatt* after the convention. He stressed that the Academy was self-supporting. He made the appeal that boys and girls should be allowed to continue their education within the confines of a Lutheran school, even if they were not preparing for the preaching or teaching ministries. ⁷³ This article, together with additional support from President Ernst, allowed the Academy to continue until area Lutheran high schools became available to take its place.

One additional item in the early history of the Watertown campus is deserving of attention. President Ernst recognized that some of the school's potential was being lost due to faulty preparation. Every grade school student who came to the academy did not receive an education which prepared him for entering even the first level of the gymnasium.

Teacher James R. Moeller in his essay on the development of parish education in the Wisconsin Synod noted the difficulties elementary education faced in these early years.

Deciding to have the school was one thing, putting it into operation was another. From the early records it can be learned that it was not easy to organize a church and school in the Wisconsin wilderness. Its management required the services of either a pastor or teacher, one with at least a limited amount of professional education. The synod records show for the years following 1860 that personnel seems to have been no problem to the growth because there was a steady increase in the number of schools.

In the early years the pastor, in addition to being the shepherd of the flock, was also the teacher of the school. This must have been a great deal of work for these men. As early as 1868 the president of the synod urged "with the scarcity



Northwestern Co-eds

After running into this problem for years, Ernst finally was able to help these students by adding a year to the program.

As early as 1897 President Ernst complained to the Board of Trustees that many boys were being admitted who could not do the work required of the Sexta or first level class. ⁷⁵ At that time already he urged the introduction of a preparatory class called "Septima." While the word itself indicates a "seventh" year of education, it actually was an eighth year because "Prima," the last level of the college program was taken in two years.

In 1899 a committee from the Board visited classes and reported that the students were weak in German. Once again Ernst called for the introduction of Septima, explaining that it was needed to help those boys who came poorly prepared. In 1901 nine students in the Sexta class were found to be deficient in one or more areas. To help them overcome their deficiency upper classmen were assigned to tutor them. It is information to strengthen his argument, Ernst placed the request for the introduction of a Septima class before the 1902 Wisconsin Synod convention. In addition he also asked for another professor whose primary responsibility would be this new class. After receiving the approval of the convention, the Septima class became a reality in September 1902. This arrangement lasted until 1916 when Septima was dropped. At that time it was felt the education received in the grade schools was improving. Only two students were in Septima that year and Ernst felt that they could be privately tutored and prepared for Sexta.

President Ernst's concern for his students did not blind him to their shortcomings. When necessary he was a hard disciplinarian. He was especially upset by the obnoxious behavior of some of the students. After an especially difficult period he informed the entire synod of his feelings:

We beg that people not send us half delinquent or wholly delinquent boys, for us to make pious preachers out of them. It doesn't work. Again and again we have to complain that our school is looked upon as a reform school for delinquent boys. Boys who amount to nothing at home cannot be straightened out here.⁷⁹

This issue came up repeatedly during these years. Ernst was convinced that such students were the majority of the school's dropouts and accounted for many who did not go on to the college and seminary.

By the 1920s Northwestern was fulfilling its mission. The Preparatory Depart-

ment was living up to its name. It was preparing and sending young men on to the College Department. In turn the college was sending men on to the seminary which was located in Wauwatosa and soon would be moving to Thiensville (later Mequon). The system envisioned by August Ernst in 1870 was working. Although there have been campus mergers and location changes along the way, that basic system remains in place today. Likewise the need for pastors and teachers remains today. In 1860 synodical officials had put the need for workers before the synod.

We need young people for service in the church and in schools from our congregations. Where appropriate, offer your children to the Lord for service in church and school and do not hinder their work, but rather pray that the Lord prepare for himself among your children willing workers and urge them into his service.⁸⁰

May we continue to present the need for workers to God's people and join in the prayer that the Lord would through our educational efforts prepare another generation of willing workers.

End Notes

- 1. This essay is based on a presentation Prof. Korthals gave to the WELS Historical Institute on the campus of Luther Preparatory School in Watertown on September 27, 2014.
- Synodical Convention. May 22-23, 1853. Unless otherwise noted, this and following quotations from the synodical proceedings will be taken from English translations by Dr. Arnold O. Lehmann as published in issues of the WELS Historical Institute Journal (hereafter, WHIJ). The volume and number will indicate the issue of the Journal. Here WELS HIJ, Volume 10, Number 1 (April 1992), p 6.
- 3. Proceedings of the Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin. June 18-24, 1859. WHIJ Volume 12, Number 2 (October 1994), p 9.
- 4. Proceedings 1861. WHIJ Volume 13, Number 2 (October 1995), p 16.
- 5. Pastor C. F. Goldammer, Pastor J. Muehlhaeuser, Pastor W. Streissguth, and Mr. D. Schwecke.
- 6. Verhandlungen der Elften Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, pp 25-26.
- 7. Verhandlungen der Zwoelften Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, pp 13-14.
- 8. Ibid.
- 9. Verhandlungen der Zwoelften Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 14.
- 10. Verhandlungen der Zwoelften Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 20.
- 11. Verhandlungen der Dreizehnten Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 9.
- 12. Ibid.

- 13. Ibid, pp 9-10.
- 14. Ibid, p 22. Also J. P. Koehler, The History of the Wisconsin Synod, p 89.
- 15. Verhandlungen der Vierzehnten Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 6.
- 16. Ibid, pp 19-21.
- 17. E. E. Kowalke, Centennial Story, p 31.
- 18. These wings were never added.
- 19. Koehler, *The History of the Wisconsin Synod*, p 119. Kowalke says the land was purchased on July 22, 1864 and ground was broken on August 10, 1864. Cf. *Centennial Story*, p 31.
- 20. Koehler, p 119.
- 21. Verhandlungen der Fuenfzehnten Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 5.
- 22. Ibid, pp 5ff.
- 23. Ibid, pp 8-13.
- 24. Ibid, pp 20-24.
- 25. This point of view changed dramatically by the end of the century when the supporters of the Watertown institution lamented: "Not a small number of churches have found in recent years that the colleges they have carefully nursed from infancy to a certain degree of maturity have tired of protecting the hand of their church and have cast their lot with the men of money who are more willing to support schools that can announce in their circulars: 'We are nonsectarian.'" (Hans Koehler-Moussa, "Our Colleges are Our Own," The Northwestern Lutheran, May 21, 1914, p 73.)
- 26. Gemeinde-Blatt, September 1, 1865, p 3.
- 27. Matthew 9: 37-38.
- 28. Gemeinde-Blatt, September 1, 1865, p 2.
- 29. Letter from Adam Martin to the Board of Trustees, dated July 17, 1865.
- 30. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Minutes of 1865, p 38. On March 21, 1867, the Wisconsin Legislature granted the school's charter after it agreed that Wisconsin University would be dropped in favor of Northwestern University.
- 31. Ibid, Meeting of November 1865.
- 32. Koehler, History of the Wisconsin Synod, p 123.
- 33. Verhandlungen der Achtzehnten Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, pp 17, 19, 27.
- 34. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meeting of 21 July 1868, p 148.
- 35. Ibid., Meeting of 24 November 1868, p 155.
- 36. Ibid., Meetings of April 1869, pp 164-165.
- 37. Verhandlungen der Neunzehnten Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 9.
- 38. Northwestern University, Catalogue of the 1869-1870 school year, p 111.
- 39. Kowalke, p 133.

- 40. Lewis Thompson is the "forgotten" president of Northwester, serving as president only during the 1869 1870 school year. His most memorable achievement was producing the school's first catalog.
- 41. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meeting of 2 June 1869.
- 42. Northwestern University, Catalogue of the 1869-1870 school year, pp XII XIV.
- 43. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meeting of 9 November 1869.
- 44. Lucy Maynard Salmon, "History in the German Gymnasia," in *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1897* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), p 76.
- 45. Juergen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1965), p 23.
- 46. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meeting of 4 January 1870.
- 47. A. F. Ernst, "Festrede, gehalten beim fuenfzwanzig-jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Anstalt zu Watertown, den 18. Juni 1890." Appended to Verhandlungen der Vierzigsten Versammlung der Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, pp 77-78.
- 48. August F. Ernst, Gemeinde-Blatt, December 1870, p 3.
- 49. Verhandlungen der Zwanzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 30.
- 50. Ibid., p 31.
- 51. The Northwestern University Catalogue of 1870-1871 lists six full-time faculty members. The Proceedings of the 1870 Convention of the Wisconsin Synod state that there were three German teachers who served in the gymnasium and two English teachers who taught in the Academy (p 26).
- 52. Gemeinde-Blatt, volume 6, number 9, 1 January 1871, p 34.
- 53. Verhandlungen der Einundzwanzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 31.
- 54. Ibid.
- 55. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meeting of June 1-4, 1872.
- 56. Ibid., Meeting of June 1873.
- 57. Ibid., Meetings of 1875, p 78.
- 58. Ibid., Meeting of June 22, 1878.
- 59. Ibid., Meetings of 1892. Quoted in Arthur Hoermann, *Unser Northwestern College, sein werden und wachsen* (Milwaukee, WI: Northwestern Publishing House, 1915), p 49.
- 60. Verhandlungen der Vierundzwanzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 48.
- 61. Jahres-Bericht des Gymnasiums der Evang. Luth. Synode von Wisconsin zu Watertown, Wis. fuer das Schuljahr 1875-76 (Milwaukee: Germania, 1876), p17.
- 62. Only 12 of the rooms actually housed students. The other four housed the In-

- spector and his family.
- 63. Verhandlungen der Zweiundfuenfzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 46.
- 64. Arthur Hoermann and Hans Koller Moussa. *Soli Deo Gloria*, 1865-1915. Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, p 61.
- 65. Verhandlungen der Zweiundfuenfzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 81.
- 66. Verhandlungen der Dreiundzwanzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 87.
- 67. Ibid., p 88.
- 68. Verhandlungen der Zweiundfuenfzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 83.
- 69. Ibid., p 84.
- 70. Verhandlungen der Vierundfuenfzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, pp 90-91.
- 71. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meeting 19 April 1904.
- 72. Verhandlungen der Vierundfuenfzigsten Jahresversammlung der deutschen Evangel.-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin, p 92.
- 73. Albert Kuhn, "Kennt Ihr Anstalt," Gemeinde-Blatt, August 1, 1904, pp 114-115.
- 74. James R. Moeller, "The Development of Wisconsin Synod Parish Education 1850-1890," WELS Historical Institute Journal, volume 8, number 1, p 24.
- 75. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meetings of 1897.
- 76. Northwestern University, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meetings of 1899, p 325.
- 77. Wisconsin Synod, *Verhandlungen 1902*, pp 82, 84. See also Erwin Ernst Kowalke, *Centennial Story, Northwestern College, 1865-1965* (Watertown, Wisconsin: Northwestern College, 1965), p 173.
- 78. Northwestern College, Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Meeting of 13 September 1916.
- 79. Gemeinde-Blatt, September 1873.
- 80. Ibid., September 1, 1865.

Sitz Diary: 1919 Trip to the Grand Canyon

by Pastor Victor H. Prange

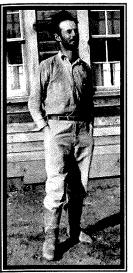
hen Pastor E. Arnold Sitz died in 1989, James Schaefer, editor of *The Northwestern Lutheran*, wrote of him, using his nickname "Tois" (NWL 9/1/89): "He lived through much of the WELS 20th century history and made some of it. He was very much a part of my life. . . My introduction to Tois was in 1956, when I was appointed to the synod's Committee on Constitutional Matters of which he was a longtime member. . . It was in those long hours that Tois and I cemented our friendship. He delivered long lectures on synod history and politics. It was an enjoyable but protracted experience."

Sitz's grandson Peter Prange described him this way (WELS Historical Institute Newsletter, July 2002): "E. Arnold Sitz was many things to many people. He was the first president of the Arizona-California District (1954-1966) and a member of the Church Union Committee during the uneasy days of the Synodical Conference's disintegration. He was a longtime, beloved pastor (48+ years at Grace, Tucson) and an Apache missionary. He was a father, husband and chum. A masterful storyteller, a bit of a rebellious spirit and a rugged individualist. Most notably, however, E. Arnold Sitz was a student of Wauwatosa, a student of the gospel."

He was also a person who for many years kept a detailed diary. Up to the end of 1920, he labeled his diary by volumes, ten in all. The 1st covered his early years, reporting his birth on August 27, 1893, in New York Mills, Minnesota, until the end of 1911. Volume 2 is an Oxford Notebook for the year 1912. Volumes 3-10 are in large black ledgers for the years 1913-1920. From then on his diary becomes more spotty, though with more detailed reports of important events.

Sitz was named after his grandfather, Erdmann Pankow (1818-1907), longtime pastor in Lebanon, Wisconsin, and well-known in his own right. Sitz never liked that first name Erdmann and so went by E. Arnold. His father August Sitz was born in Germany. When he came to America, he settled in the Ridgeville, Wisconsin, area before moving to New York Mills, Minnesota, where he first owned a hardware store and later became president of a bank. August is reported to have owned the first Cadillac in town which he purchased in 1912. In his diary his son Arnold often mentions going to Detroit Lakes to have the car serviced. August Sitz married two of Erdmann Pankow's daughters: Sophia first, and after her death, Anna. Northwestern College professor Alex Sitz was a son of his first marriage; Arnold, Dr. Martin Luther College Professor Herbert, and Erna, wife of Northwestern College Professor Theodore Binhammer, of his second marriage. In 1915, the Sitz family moved to Perham, Minnesota.

E. Arnold Sitz graduated from Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, then located in Wauwatosa, in 1917. He was assigned to Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Oshkosh, Wisconsin, a congregation which had broken off from the Ohio Synod and which shortly after assumed the name Martin Luther. Seminary classmates also received



E. Arnold Sitz

calls. William Beitz was assigned to Grace, Tucson, Arizona, and Henry Rosin to the Apache Mission where he served for many years at Peridot.

While serving in Oshkosh, Sitz was troubled by nervous exhaustion, and his doctor recommended that he resign. He did so effective May 1, 1918, and spent some time at his parents' home before deciding in November to go to Tucson at the urging of his classmate Bill Beitz. He soon got a job working on the Southern Pacific Railroad. Trains were a lifelong love for him. During this time he enjoyed the company of many former schoolmates who had been called to serve among the Apaches and the surrounding Arizona desert. Eventually these men petitioned the mission board to extend a call to him. Knowledge of this call to Globe, Arizona, came to him while he was on the trip to the Grand Canyon.

In the summer of 1919, before being installed in Globe, Sitz worked on a ranch in the East Fork area. He was installed as pastor of the congregation at Globe-Miami in

October and roomed with Henry Nitz who was missionary to the native Americans in the area. Sitz described in his diary a twenty-seven mile walk he took with Nitz on December 27, 1919. That would have been an interesting conversation to overhear! In later years the two of them were reunited on the COP when Nitz served as president of the Western Wisconsin District and Sitz of the Arizona-California District.

On the last day of 1919, Sitz wrote in his diary: "This is the last day of the most eventful year of my life. It has made a man of me. In one short year I have learned to love the West, to love Arizona, so that I shall, God willing, make it my home until death takes me to a fairer place." Arizona did remain home for Sitz.

His ministry in Globe did not last long because in March 1920 he was asked to go to Whiteriver to help out Ed Guenther who was sick. Later he served as a missionary at Carrizo Canyon, a site which US 60 now passes. In 1923 he was called to Grace, Tucson, to serve as teacher in the school and assistant pastor to Bill Beitz. The following year Beitz took a call to Rice Lake, Wisconsin, and Sitz became full-time pastor at Grace till he retired in 1972 at age 79.

During his early years in Arizona, Sitz was single. But he had his eye on Frieda Koehler, daughter of Prof. J.P. Koehler, seminary president. Near the end of 1920 he wrote Koehler asking permission to correspond with Frieda. After a month of uneasy waiting, Sitz finally recorded in his diary: "Yesterday a letter, of which I had really despaired, came from Prof. Koehler granting permission to correspond with Frieda. Coupled with the permission and the undeserved praise he accorded me for asking his permission and that coming from him of all men, it made me very happy." After several years of correspondence, the two finally married in 1925. And so were united the Pankow and Koehler families.

One of the more interesting portions of the Sitz diary is his record of a trip to the Grand Canyon by a group of Wisconsin Synod pastors and their families and four Missouri Synod pastors in June 1919. Prior to making this trip he found himself becoming more and more dissatisfied with work on the railroad. In a long entry on May 2, 1919, he asserts that "the railroadman's life is anything but ideal." He goes on to declare: "I shall soon be back in the ministry." On May 8 he reports on the Arizona pastoral conference which he attended including a list of names of those present. On May 10 he writes: "I have a great desire to go along with the crowd to Grand Canyon. . . It would perhaps mean that I would have to quit my job. However, if that should be the case, I think I'll let my job go and trust to the Lord to provide for another. He needs men in his fields right here in Arizona."

His entry on June 4 reported that his health was going downhill, and that he would like to make the trip to the Grand Canyon with fellow pastors. This led him to put in his 10 day notice of quitting his railroad job. On Sunday afternoon, June 8, he made his last working trip on the Southern Pacific. In a long entry he described



E. Arnold Sitz and Fred Hann

the switching at Maricopa and Gila and the scenic desert. He found it hard actually to quit. The pay was good (\$180-200 per month), and he liked his fellow workers but felt guilty for failing to witness to them.

The next morning Sitz and Mr. Fred Hann set out from Tucson in Hann's Ford for Rice, Arizona, where they would meet others who were making the Grand Canyon trip. Hann was one of the first members at Grace. In 1910 Missionary Gustav Harders had met with him and Mr. Henry

Jaastad leading to the first services in Tucson.

Sitz gives the names of all those making the trip in his diary entry for June 17. Fourteen adults and eight children were with the Wisconsin Synod group in addition to four pastors from the Missouri Synod. Following the order of Sitz's list, they were: William (Bill) Beitz, pastor at Grace, Tucson, his wife Trudy (Gertrude Kirchner), and baby Priscilla; Ed Guenther, missionary at East Fork and later Whiteriver, his wife Minnie (Knopp), and four children, Wynonah, Edgar, Roland, and Winifred; Immanuel Frey, pastor at Zion, Phoenix, his wife Elizabeth, and their three sons, Conrad, Immanuel (Dick), and Paul; Martin (Jim) Wehausen, missionary at East Fork, and his wife Ella; Henry Rosin (Raisins), missionary at Rice and later Peridot, and his mother who was visiting; Alfred Uplegger, missionary at Old San Carlos, and his sister Johanna; Fred Hann; and E. Arnold Sitz. The Missouri Synod pastors were John Sieck who served Zion, El Paso, TX; P. Kretzschmar, Immanuel, Las Vegas, NM; Walter Henry Meyer, St. Paul, Optimo, NM; and Carl Schmid of Immanuel, Albuquerque, NM

Sitz does not mention how many cars were used to carry 26 persons to the

Grand Canyon. In his entry for June 15th he mentions two cars which set off for Flagstaff. Later a third car came in to report that Mr. Hann's Ford had broken a spring. That makes four cars. One assumes that the four Missouri Synod pastors traveled in one car. Likely five or six cars made up the caravan headed for the Grand Canyon traveling dusty and rocky roads. Sitz's diary for June 9-22, 1919, follows. Words in brackets [] have been added.

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June 9, 1919 (Mon) - June 9th at 9:00 a.m. we set out by car for Rice, Mr. Hann's Ford being the convenience. The road over a spur of the Catalina through Oracle, one of Tucson's mountain resorts. Down an inclined wash into the San Pedro Valley. Beautiful mountain-hemmed valley whose acquaintance I had already made at Benson [AZ]. The road follows the valley through Mammoth, an interior mining camp, to Winkelmann on the Gila. From Winkelmann the road leads past Haydn into Box Canyon where the Gila River breaks through the hills of rock. The road is cut out of the face of the cliff sometimes 100s of feet above the rushing Gila waters; on the low shelf the Arizona Eastern [RR] finds its path. This was my first experience with a real mountain road, and I must say I'd have found it much more enjoyable if Mr. Hann had been a surer driver. He is not careless but he is unsafe: he lacks quick decision and action. So it was that I was pretty well on edge and when on one occasion he narrowly missed crashing into the rock wall of the canyon in one place and immediately thereafter as narrowly missed putting us over the brink into the river several hundred feet below -- there it was I determined I should do the driving whenever we again encountered bad mountain grades. And I did do all such driving thenceforward. That narrow escape happened near Christmas, the terminus of the Arizona Eastern and a beautiful mining camp on the side of the canvon.

After leaving Box Canyon we have to climb over the shoulder of the Pinals reaching an elevation of full 6,000 feet. After we had negotiated that, and while we were in the descent, we found that the brakes were failing on the car; also the clutch. We got down successfully and after having a bad time pushing and pulling to get the car out of a bad piece of the road at Cutter, we finally arrived at Rice after 9:00 p.m. meeting at Raisin's place [Henry Rosin], the [Immanuel] Freys, and Upleggers [Alfred and his sister].

June 10 (Tues) - The next day was grudgingly but necessarily given to the repair mainly of our car. The engine was cleaned, carburetor was cleaned, spark plugs replaced, new clutch and brake bands put in. The work took the major part of the day. I was surprised to see Al's knowledge and handiness with tools and in such company I myself had to show some sort of mechanical skill. I believed myself almost capable of repairing Fords now.

Towards evening we set out for Fort Apache. Cassadore Springs, 18 miles from Rice, offered our first real camping ground and a most beautiful one it certainly was. A fresh clean mountain stream flows down through a narrow canyon whose



Sitz and Traveling Party

floor is but a few rods wide but supports a fine greasewood and giant cottonwoods. A good night's rest with an ample supper and breakfast made us ready for the next day's journey.

June 11 (Wed) - Early the next morning we set out across the Natanes Plateau for Fort Apache. [Modern highway US 60 does not follow this route.] Not long and we were in one of Arizona's great pine forests. We had noon lunch at the Sawmill made famous by its being a place prominently mentioned in Harder's Jaalahn. Here we were 6,000 feet high. Upon leaving the Sawmill, the road leads uphill for quite a distance until suddenly the valley of the Black River is spread before you with glimpses into the Fort Apache and Cibicue country. Now it is down, down on a steep and winding and rocky mountain road until one reaches Black River Crossing. The crossing is made on a high bridge in a narrow part of a canyon. Again a sharp climb and descent on mountain roads of six miles and White River is crossed. A short climb and twist put us on a mesa near the post through which a wash wound its way. Two weeks previous to our coming a cloudburst had practically ruined that little stretch of country. We had to cross the wash no less than 12 times and the road led across the rocks of the wash just as the flood had left them. The afternoon's driving was the severest I had thus far done in my life.

A puncture delayed us a few minutes. What a glorious sight it was to make a turn in the road to see far away ahead of us across a great flat--Fort Apache. A neat looking group of white buildings nestled down in the valley of the White River. It makes the impression on one of being a most pleasant place to be out in the wilderness.

Going through the post we headed for East Fork, four miles further on where our friends Guenther and Wehausen were located. We arrived there just shortly before nightfall. Late in the evening the Missouri brethren from New Mexico and El Paso came: P. Kretzschmar, Meyer, Schmid, Sieck.

June 12 (Thurs) - The next morning was given over to a short conference in

which Meyer began an excellent paper on "conscience". After dinner some went sight seeing to the cliffs while the rest of us overhauled the cars. Jim's [Wehausen] wife is Ella Koske, who moved in our circles in Watertown when we were mixed up with Blaesius crowd. I was rather glad to see her again. However, my joy was somewhat saddened to learn that she and Mrs. Guenther do not live on the best of terms. The trip was to bear this out considerably. This very evening Ed [Guenther] came to where Bill [Beitz] and I lay under the stars of Arizona for the night and unburdened his heart about the matter. The trip and subsequent happenings show me that both are not a little to blame for the state of affairs: Jim's and Ed's wives.

June 13 (Fri) - After dinner we set out on our swing around the big Arizona scenic circuit. Crossing the ford, we struck out over the hills to Whiteriver, the Indian agency, four and a half miles north. The little town makes a neat and gladdening impression when one first sees it from the top of the hill overlooking the north fork of the White River. It lies far down at one's feet. We made a short stop here to become acquainted with the Indian agent: Mr. Davis, a fine gentleman.

From here we struck northward toward Holbrook. Always through forest. Several miles from the agency, we came to a place where a mountain stream had cut a deep, narrow canyon right through the rock of the mesa. On through the forest to Cooley's Ranch, an old landmark 9,000 feet high, thence to Pinetop, Lakeside, and Showlow, just outside of which latter place we camped for the night.

June 14 (Sat) - Early next day we were on our way to Holbrook. We left the forest at Shumway and struck out across a desert country of rolling nature. Snowflake (all Mormon settlements since Pinetop) made a pleasing impression on one because of its substantial brick houses. I have learned that town owes its name to two prominent Mormon families, Snow and Flake, and its existence to the historic massacre of Mt. Meadow in Utah; these Mormon gentlemen came down then into a complete wilderness to escape just punishment. At Snowflake we struck the new



Sitz Trip Map

Apache railroad that comes from Holbrook to the large sawmill constructed at Cooley's.

Holbrook was reached at noon, but before we had suffered a blowout. We beat around until 4:00 o'clock before we left for Winslow. Holbrook is a desert town on the Little Colorado and Santa Fe [RR] that owes its existence chiefly to its being a point of supply for much more fruitful country north and south. Another blowout two miles out of Holbrook. Although Mr. Hann had had his tires on two years and I am satisfied, had gotten 5,000 miles out of them, he could not understand why they

should blowout!

We reached Winslow between 6:00 and 7:00. It is a chief division point of the Santa Fe with a population of 4,000. Right on through to Meteor Crater, an immense hole in the earth, a mile across and 600 feet deep and said to be caused by a falling meteor. Here we stayed for the night, although we had planned on making Flagstaff in order to hold a morning service there, the next day, which was Sunday.

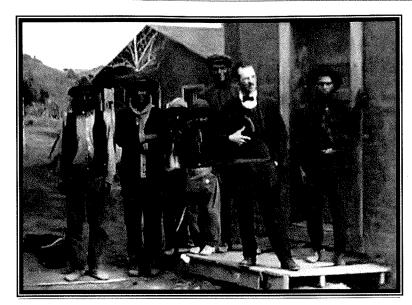
June 15 (Sun) - We set out again in the early morning. A few miles from the crater we crossed Canyon Diablo and not long after Canyon Padre, two rock cuts into the mesa. Not long and we were in cedars again heralding the approach of the pines of Coconino Forest. We made camp for dinner at the ranger station at Walnut Canyon. Here in a beautiful rocky canyon with sheer sides are to be found ancient cliff dwellings. They are rather small, but afford an excellent idea of the ancients' life. One could profitably spend a whole day here in looking at the wonders of the canyon.

After dinner two cars of us set out for Flagstaff, 12 miles away, leaving the others to follow at leisure to Cliffs where the road turns off to Grand Canyon and where we were to meet them. The drive from Walnut Canyon to Flagstaff is simply great. Good roads, grand forest, a winding little canyon which the road follows, the snowcapped San Francisco peaks almost continually in sight and close at hand. When we got to Flagstaff we looked up a Lutheran doctor located there, bought supplies, and were about to leave when one of the other cars came in with the intelligence that Daddy Hann had broken a spring on his car: to bring him out a new one pronto! Which Raisins and I did. But they had crossed the tracks at Cliffs and gone into the village, leaving no one to waylay us. Not knowing where they were, we drove the whole 12 miles to Walnut Canyon and then back to Cliffs. However, we were not at all sore, for we had Bill as company and the aforementioned beautiful scenery on all hands.

Flagstaff is a town I should like to make my home. It is snugly tucked away in the deep pine forest and to the north and east are the San Franciscos. All the beauty of the eastern pine forests is here with the grandeur of the mountains added. The peaks are the highest mountains in the state reaching 12,611 feet in San Francisco peak. Perpetual snow covers them. They stand so lone, like sentinels, towering out of the forested plateau. The different lines of vegetation were clearly marked when we passed them in the evening sun. Many points of scenic wonders are accessible from Flagstaff: the peaks, Walnut Canyon, bottomless pit, and even Grand Canyon itself. Here is also located a state normal [teacher-training] school.

After putting in Mr. Hann's front spring, we left Cliffs after supper for as far as we could conveniently get. In the rose light of the setting sun we wound our way around the San Francisco Mountains through the pines. We hit a fast piece of road and before we halted, we had left the pines behind and camped in the stunted cedars, 45 miles from the Canyon.

<u>June 16 (Mon)</u> - Not long after we were again on our way. Monday morning we struck into the outskirts of Tusayan Forest, which borders Grand Canyon on the south. 25 miles through that--another one of the many forest drives we made on



Pastor E. Arnold Sitz with Apaches

the trip--and at noon we had arrived at our destination: the Grand Canyon of the Colorado at Grand View.

What a stupendous sight! What awe-inspiring wonder of God's creation! We viewed one of the hundreds of side canyons first, catching but a glimpse of the real canyon a few minutes later when we drove down to Inspiration Point, I believe it is. Now what awe inspiring scene! To the right and far away a glimpse of the rushing Colorado far down. Further around to the right, the side canyon we had first seen with its rock sides in myriad colors, mostly of reddish hue. 13 miles across to the northern rim, that seems but a mile. And a lazy purple haze lying in the great chasm, filling it seemingly to the brim with its richness.

To the left, a jutting and detached rock stood out into the canyon on a pedestal. A little side trail led to it. I was first to discover it and first to crawl out on it. Hair-raising the look over its edge. A sheer drop of 1,000 feet! Far below could be seen pines and trees growing. It took 12 seconds for the sound of a dropped stone to reach our ears. Although the rock was but four feet wide and like distance separated it from the mainland and a misstep meant to be dashed into the abyss below, Raisins jumped it. It caused not a little talk and consequently also a little ill-feeling when he took exception to the talk. However, it soon blew over.

After a few hours at Grand View, we proceeded 13 miles down canyon to Grand Canyon Station where the Santa Fe strikes the canyon and Fred Harvey has built his great hotel, El Tobar. Here we went into camp for our stay at the Colorado. After a very late dinner that served also as supper, we held our deferred services, in which Bill [Beitz] and Ed [Guenther] preached. Then we all went up to see the beauties of the sunset in the canyon.

A fine view is had from the brink at El Tobar. About 3,000 feet down and before one can see where Bright Angel trail leads down and down and then across the plateau along a ravine. The rest camps built where the ravine widens into a patch of green look like specks. The green which looks like a lawn is a grove of trees, in fact. I did not tire of looking down on this spot of emerald from whatever place I could see it. The changes of color, every few minutes, as the sun proceeded with his preparation for slumber were astonishing, in truth, so rapid and detailed it was impossible to follow them. Finally night crept up from the depths of the canyon and slowly filled the canyon with his dark mantle covering one point after the other until finally all but the boldest points were hid from our sight. And then we also went to our rest like the sun, praising God for having shown us his might and glory in this bit of his creation.

June 17 (Tues) - Before sunrise most of the party had gone out to view the sun's reappearance from Yavapai Point, leaving Jim [Wehausen] and me, the latter still in the covers, to perform the less inspiring and more prosaic task of preparing breakfast for the hungry sightseers. After their return for breakfast--of which Jim and I saw but one pancake apiece for our services---Undank ist der Welt Lohn [ingratitude is the world's wage]--we had a conference. After its close an informal discussion took place among us on Sunday school and on acknowledging a Christian's faith who is affiliated with some other denomination. Da sind die Missourischen Brüder mit den Wisconsinen haben an einander geraten [There the Missourians and the Wisconsinites advised one another], not least among them being P. Kretzschmar and myself. We composed our differences, but not until after it had become clear that there was some cleavage. They are too doctrinaire, a result of their dogmatical training and therefore less free. Nevertheless, a princely group of fellows.

The afternoon was spent in sightseeing. The "Battleship", the "Temple"--we feasted our eyes on all these mountains of many colored rocks, the side canyons, all the myriads of formations. At 6:00 p.m. we attended a lecture with moving pictures of a 1,400 mile trip down the Colorado and through the canyon by Kolb brothers, who made the trip. At 9:00 p.m. bid Mrs. Rosin [Henry's mother] goodbye to go back east to Wisconsin for the summer. It was one of the pleasures of the trip to see with what fine love and respect Raisins treated his mother. She was his first concern, and that in the face of the fact that the girl he loves with all his heart was a member of the party, Johanna Uplegger, Al's sister. Nothing was too good for her; she was never neglected or left to her own devices. The Lord never overlooks such piety; it will be rewarded.

And that brings me to other shots. Henry confessed to me in conference in Tucson that he was in love with Miss Uplegger; also that she had refused his proffer. He is taking it like a man, though, and she is finding princely attention at his hand--something I could not do. At the same time I think his cause is not at all lost; she needs but realize her regard for him. I have told him so, also. I am glad to find myself his confidant as far as he confides in anyone.

A list of the names of the party may as well be appended here as not: Bill,

Trudy, and the baby; Ed Guenther, his wife, and four children; Frey of Phoenix, wife, and three children; Jim and wife, Raisins and his mother, Alfred Uplegger and his sister, Mr. Hann, and myself, not to forget Sieck, Kretzschmar, Meyer, and Schmid, of El Paso, Las Vegas NM, Optimo, and Albuquerque respectively.

Another item of personal interest is that while at Fort Apache, Jim had a letter from "Cholly" [Henry] Nitz saying that he had been called to Globe-Miami as Indian missionary, while I had been called to the same cities as white missionary. I was glad of the news as I was at sea as to my future course and means of securing a livelihood since leaving the Southern Pacific.

June 18 (Wed) - This morning early while the sun was in the rising, I went to watch the canyon react to its rays from Yavapi Point. A walk of two miles and an ever changing panorama as I went along the rim. It is a positive fact that each ten feet one goes, one sees things from a new angle and quite frequently the change is starling. I saw more while alone those two hours than I had ever seen before, leading me to believe that the best way to see the wonders of the Grand Canyon is alone.

None of our party made the trip down the trail into the depths. My intention is to come back some day and go down to the edge of the river.

At noon this day we broke camp to leave this wonderful place. The boys from New Mexico way left us to go back by way of Flagstaff, while we proceeded toward Williams. We found the road to Williams excellent despite the unfavorable report a California gentleman had made us on it. We struck Williams late in the evening. It is a sawmill and railroad town lying at the feet of Bill Williams Mountain (9,264). Here the rather hard traveling coupled with the regular short sleep each night began to show itself markedly in the disposition of the crowd. It was not like Tuesday night when we had a songfest in our camp lasting several hours, almost until midnight, and in which all had joined. It was the most enjoyable evening on the trip beyond doubt. Not so this next evening at Williams.

June 19 (Thurs) - A night's rest seemed to brighten up the spirits all around, and we struck out next morning for Ash Fork and Prescott. It is 1,500 feet down from Williams to Ash Fork, so we made good time those 20 miles. Ash Fork looks like a tiny hamlet when first seen several miles away and hundreds of feet below. Here is one of the largest depots and hotels I have seen in a small town, Fred Harvey, of course.

After leaving Ash Fork, we cut down through the plateau by means of a winding canyon out into the great Chino Valley. Here are found some of the most prosperous cattle ranches of the southwest. Crossing the valley we made a gradual ascent into Prescott. Prescott is a beautiful city of about 10,000. It is one of the oldest towns in the state.

June 20 (Fri) - We camped last night a few miles out of Prescott. Again the cloud of gloomy, restless, ill-humor, descended on the camp. Al lost his equilibrium because he had had to make the bed for Bill's and Jim's wives all during the trip, and it was getting to be too much. Although his outbreak was short-lived and sudden, the others seemed to have the smoldering kind of ill-humor.

Early this morning we set out for Phoenix on our last lap. The Beitzes and I were with Daddy Hann. Mountain roads, so I drove. We came through Humboldt and Mayer and via the Black Canyon road to the Salt River valley, taking lunch and rest on the banks of Agua Fria. From here on the car led the way as I knew Daddy Hann was anxious to make his son's place at Phoenix, I drove hard, leaving the others far behind. Coming down from the cool northern plateau and mountains, the desert heat from Agua Fria into the valley was almost intolerable. We were glad when we finally reached the Salt River valley, where the irrigation waters noticeably cooled the hot air.

Frey's house was topsy-turvy, for the owners were renovating it, thinking the family would not be back in several days.

<u>June 21 (Sat)</u> - We men folks slept outside; the women folk inside. It's pretty hot during the day: over 110°.

June 22 (Sun) - Bill and Trudy left last night via Ford for Tucson, Bill Hann accompanying his father. They drove by night in order to avoid the heat of the desert and arrived home at 5:00 a.m. I followed them by train and also preceded them home. They left at 6:00 p.m.; I at 9:30 p.m.; I arrived at 1:30 a.m., they at 5:00. I preached for Bill as this poor fellow was dead tired.



E. Arnold Sitz, before and after

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