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# Proceedings of the Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin

held in the church of the First Evangelical Lutheran Congregation  
in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin from May 31 to June 7, 1860 A.D.

Watertown  
Printed in the *Volkszeitungs* office  
1860

The majority of the members of the MINISTERIUM and the congregational delegates arrived in Fond du Lac on Thursday, May 31, 1860 for the revision of the synodical Constitution as was resolved at last year's synodical convention. They were cordially received by Pastor Boehner and his congregation. The revision of the Constitution was nearly completed by Saturday evening. Saturday evening the pastors and delegates in attendance attended the preparatory service for holy communion which was conducted by the local Pastor F. Boehner, preaching on Matthew 11:28. On Sunday, June 3, they celebrated the festival of the Holy Trinity together with the congregation. Pastor Fachtmann conducted the festival altar service and preached the synodical and festival sermon on I Cor. 3:9-15, after which Holy Communion was celebrated. In the afternoon, in a youth service, short addresses were given by the pastors present and in the evening Candidate von Schmidt preached on Romans 8:14. On the evenings of Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday services were likewise held. In the Wednesday evening service the festive ordination of Candidate Strube took place. On Monday, June 4, 1860 the regular proceedings and business matters of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin and other States began.

## First Session Monday, June 9, 9:00 a.m.

The members of the MINISTERIUM and the congregational delegates assembled at the above set time for the festive opening of the synod in the Presbyterian Church which was cordially granted them to use and which later on was purchased by the local First German Ev. Lutheran congregation. The Hon. president of the synod, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, opened the convention with a hymn and the reading of I John 1 using the liturgical order from the Pennsylvania *Agenda* [Service Book].

The role call of the members of the MINISTERIUM was taken with the following being present:

1. Pastor J. Muehlhaeuser, Milwaukee
2. Pastor C. Goldammer, Burlington
3. Pastor C. Koester, Caledonia
4. Pastor J. Conrad, Racine

5. Pastor J. Bading, Theresa
6. Pastor D. Huber, Prospect Hill
7. Pastor Ph. Koehler, Manitowoc
8. Pastor W. Streissguth, Milwaukee
9. Pastor G. Reim, Helenville
10. Pastor Ph. Sprengling, Newtonburg
11. Pastor G. Fachtmann, La Crosse
12. Pastor J.H. Roell, Richfield
13. Pastor C. Braun, Nenno
14. Pastor J. Hoffmann, Kenosha
15. Pastor F. Wald, Menasha

The following pastors were absent:

16. Pastor E. Sauer, Hermann
17. Pastor Chr. Stark, Platteville
18. Pastor F. Henike, Marshall, Mich.
19. Pastor C. Diehlmann, Montello
20. Pastor H. Duborg, Columbus
21. Pastor A. Rueter, Maple Grove

Of the certified and voting congregational delegates the following were present:

1. Mr. J. Waehler from the Ev. Lutheran St. Paul congregation, Lomira
2. Mr. J. Werner from the Ev. Lutheran St. Paul congregation, Wayne
3. Mr. G. Hahn from the Ev. Lutheran St. John congregation, Kilbournroad
4. Mr. N. Stophel from the Ev. Lutheran congregation, Racine
5. Mr. G. Sittel from the Ev. Lutheran congregation, New Berlin
6. Mr. Ph. Berker from the Ev. Lutheran congregation, Fond du Lac
7. Mr. M. Ziemer from the Grace Ev. Lutheran congregation, Milwaukee
8. Mr. H. Steinmann from the St. John Ev. Lutheran congregation, Milwaukee
9. Mr. Fr. Petz from the Ev. Lutheran congregation, La Crosse

The following advisory members were present and accepted:

- Pastor C.F. Boehner, Fond du Lac  
 Pastor Gausewitz, Poquette P.O.  
 Pastor L. Nietmann, Greenfield

Congregational delegates:

- J. Biedermann, Ev. Luth. Jakobi congregation, Theresa  
 S. Geiger, Ev. Luth. St. Peter congregation, Town Barthel

After this the Hon. President Muehlhaeuser gave his annual report.

### Annual Report of the President

Behold! I am coming soon. Rev. 3:11

In our Immanuel dear Brothers and Delegates representing the member congregations of the Ev. Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin.

The word of Jesus—Behold! I am coming soon—should be a word of comfort and reawakening for us during our tenth convention.

If we glance at the political situation in the world we see how the sea of nations is roaring, and how the clandestine fear of coming events is ruling the atmosphere. In the old fatherland one speaks of peace, and yet no one trusts the assurance of peace; for everywhere new powerful preparations for bloody war are being made.

If we gaze into the endless depth of perdition which prevails here and there in the life of people, where wickedness heaped upon wickedness, where unbelief, materialism, immorality, lying, cheating, murder and suicide are the order of the day, where unrighteousness takes the upper hand and love in many has grown cold, we are not surprised; for we know that this must all come before the Lord returns for the judgment. The greater the rage of Satan in seducing the people and the more that light separates itself from darkness in the dominion of the church, so much the more we lift our heads with a greater longing to await the speedy and richly comforting coming of Jesus. The agitating anathemas on the political and ecclesiastical horizon remind us how true are these words of our Lord: "They will put you out of the synagogue, in fact, a time is coming when anyone who kills you will think he is offering a service to God." [NIV]

"Split up! In that way you will rule." is the maxim of the devil. And with that, how much difficulty and misery hasn't been inflicted on the church. How does this outcry prevail: with us in the wide boundless wilderness, or with us in the narrow chamber, only Christ is with us anywhere. In the cloak of light the fanatics wage their warfare and take the little woman, the womanish spirit, captive and cast it in the fetters of error and spiritual pride.

While on the one hand the rupture within the church, the false spiritual chicanery, and indifference and indolence are the clear signs of the time, on the other hand however, for our comfort, the mighty works of the Holy Spirit in his church are not to be underestimated. Except for the time of the Apostles and the blessed period of the Reformation has there been a time when the stream of spiritual life might have flowed more forcefully by means of active witnesses of the truth than in our days. Our time is the time of awakening and invigoration before the face of the Lord, when Christ's church is blossoming and spreading itself in all directions. This encourages us toward the great hope: that Christ with his coming will vanquish all enemies and will conquer the world, sin and the devil until the salvation, power and kingdom of our God and the might of his Christ have become a reality.

My Brothers, the imminent coming of the Lord speaks to us a solemn word for examination of ourselves. Listen, soon the Lord will come and demand of us, his servants, a reckoning of how we as stewards of his mysteries have carried out our ministry in his congregation which he has bought with his own blood. Our assembling as a synod reminds us clearly that a year of labor in the vineyard of the Lord lies behind us, a year which is entered on the great record for which we as shepherds and pastors will have to give an account before the Archbishop above.

The words: "Behold! I am coming soon." are earnest words for us here on earth. Soon it will be disclosed, what and how we preached and lived; whether we prayed for our congregations, whether we labored, whether we were concerned about them in our

hearts day and night, and whether we took great pains to rescue their souls. The Apostle Paul said about himself: "I have served the Lord with humility and many tears." Did the spiritual death of so many souls in our congregations that were entrusted to us draw such tears and cause us to humble ourselves before God when we so often saw but little fruits of our labor? Are we clean of the blood of those who were under our spiritual care, but were lost? Are we preaching to live, or are we living to save the immortal dearly bought souls?

Our synod commits itself to the inspired word of the living God, and to the confessions of our dear Lutheran Church. We teach, preach, and administer the sacraments in such a manner that each of us can give witness to his congregation before God using the words of Paul: I have kept back nothing, but have showed you the counsel of God. [This quote of Paul is a corruption of Acts 20:20. Following the KJ version, the "why" is omitted as also "that was profitable unto you" and the final part of the verse. Muehlhaeuser added "the counsel of God."]

As watchmen on Zion's walls we must not remain silent until Jerusalem is freed. We must preach the word of God at the proper time; and at other times we should punish, threaten and admonish with all patience, and with doctrine. Brothers, because of the undeserved mercy and grace of God the angel of death again in this past year passed over our own workers of the gospel. How will it be in a year from now, and if the Lord will or will not let one or the other servant come here, no one knows.

Yet the Lord will come quickly not only for us laborers with the word, but also for our congregations. And you delegates present here, may the words: "Behold! I am coming soon." bring you comfort as well as consecrated discipline for yourselves and for your congregations, whom you are representing. You must also be our coworkers. You must pray, support and be concerned that the kingdom of God comes into our congregations, so that, when the Lord comes to us and you, you share with us the joy to meet our Lord when he appears, and that you hear from his own mouth the words: "Well done, good and faithful servant! You have been faithful with a few things, I will put you in charge of many things. Come and share your master's happiness." Matt. 25:21. [NIV]

Official acts of the past year have been many and varied, and I will now give the Hon. Synod a brief overview.

### **Pastorate Changes**

Pastor Chr. Stark received a call from the Ev. Luth. Congregation in Platteville to be their preacher. He accepted, and in September moved there with his family.

After Pastor Stark left Kenosha the congregation desired another preacher from our synod. I recommended Pastor Hoffmann to the congregation. He was elected and took over the duties there in October.

Pastor Fachtmann accepted the call to our congregation in La Crosse and Burr Oaks and moved there in August.

### **Arrival of New Workers**

In August Candidate Boehner, a student of the Basel Mission House, arrived here. Candidate Boehner was elected to succeed Pastor Fachtmann as preacher of our congregation in Fond du Lac. He was examined by the Northwest Conference on September 30 and ordained on October 2.

Candidate Nietmann was called by the congregation in Greenfield to be its pastor. He was ordained on October 5 in New Berlin by the Southern Conference. In November Candidates Gausewitz and Strube, students of the Barmer Mission House but sent here by the Langenberger Society, arrived here. Brother Gausewitz went to Pastor Koehler and Brother Strube to Pastor Reim where for some time each were to receive additional practical experience for their own pastoral proficiency. Under urgent circumstances it was necessary that I authorized Pastor Koehler and Pastor Sprengling to ordain Brother Gausewitz so that he could fill the position of the deposed Rueter in Maple Grove.

Various circumstances made it necessary that Candidate Strube, after staying with Pastor Reim for several months, go to Pastor Fachtmann for further instruction for the preaching ministry. This was done at the request of the Langenberger Society.

After Easter Candidate von Schmid, from Gettysburg, where he studied for a time, arrived to work in the circle of our synod with the recommendation of Dr. Schaeffer. Pastor Roell was gracious enough to take him in until his ordination by the synod and his placement in the field.

### **Departures from the Synod**

Soon after last year's convention Pastor Diehlmann requested his release from the synod. I granted his request.

Immediately after last year's convention Pastor Rueter received a call from the Maple Grove congregation. Soon after his departure from Columbus I received a letter from the church council in the name of the congregation asking for an investigation of alleged complaints against Rueter. I believed that I had to follow up on their request. Pastors Streissguth and Rueter's successor, Pastor Duburg, led the investigation. The report of this investigation and letters from Rueter and from the congregation are designated as number 4 [under correspondence]. I will submit these documents to the Hon. Synod for further disposition. These serious accusations and the result of further investigation, along with the fact that Pastor Rueter refused to comply and give an accounting caused me to discontinue scriptural admonition and to ask him to resign his position as soon as another preacher arrived. This he did.

### **Correspondence**

1. A request from the Ev. Luth. congregation in Platteville for a preacher.
2. A similar request for a preacher from the congregation in Kenosha.
3. The minutes of the Northwest Conference about the matter of Pastor Hoffmann and his congregation in Cedar Creek.
4. The investigation of Pastor Rueter and his congregation in Columbus.

5. Congregational matters of the congregation in Greenfield.
6. A matter concerning the congregation in Port Washington.
7. A letter from Pastor Gradmann.
8. A letter from the congregation in Lebanon.
9. A request for a pastor from St. Michael's congregation in Watertown.
10. A letter from Pastor Hoffmann about the unfortunate situation with the congregation in Cedar Creek.
11. A letter from Pastor Henike about his departure from his congregation in Niles and his arrival in Marshall, Michigan to serve the congregation there.
12. A request for a preacher from the council of the congregation in Niles.
13. A letter from Pastor Reim about the church situation in Watertown.
14. A letter to the president from our student Sieker in Gettysburg.
15. Correspondence from Pastor Ewert.
16. Pastor Wald and his place in Menasha and vicinity.
17. Correspondence from Teacher Kruhke about the church situation in and around Princeton.
18. Correspondence from Pastor Meiering in the name of the Langenberger Society.
19. Correspondence from the Ev. Society in Berlin.
20. a) Dr. Schaeffer in Germantown [PA.] about money matters.  
b) Dr. Mann, in the matter of the Mission and Education committees.
21. Request from the congregation in Beaver Dam for a preacher.
22. From Pastor Fachtmann, about ten acres of land for an orphanage and a place to build a church, offered by Mr. Winkelmann.
23. Correspondence from Mr. Meyer of Watertown about congregational matters.
24. A letter from Granville. After the disgraceful separation from our synod caused two years ago by Pastor Buehren and the establishment of a Presbyterian congregation in Granville, a major portion of those who remained true Lutherans turned to me for reuniting with us and for the sending of a preacher.
25. Certification of the examination of Candidate Boehner and his ordination in Pastor Roell's congregation.
26. Certification of the ordination of Candidate Gausewitz by Pastors Koehler and Sprengling plus the report and request of the establishment of a Northern Conference.
27. A letter of recommendation for Candidate von Schmid from Dr. Schaeffer.
28. A letter from Dr. Reynolds about the matter of the university in Springfield.
29. Proceedings from the Southern Conference.
30. Instruction for candidates
31. A copy of the letter of request to the Hon. Societies of Langenberg and Berlin.
32. A second copy, an answer to both of the previous societies.
33. A copy of the regulations of our synod's library.
34. Pastor Stark's written excuse plus a request-letter from the council of his congregation for membership into the synod.
35. A letter from Teacher Hass requesting ordination.

36. A request from St. Peter congregation in Milwaukee for membership in the synod together with a request for a preacher.
37. A letter from Pastor Spring from Michigan requesting a position.
38. A letter from St. Michael's congregation in Watertown.
39. A letter requesting membership in the synod from the Ev. Luth. congregation in Muskego.

### Miscellaneous

I have the pleasure of bringing to the synod the report that our committee's request to the Hon. Christian societies in Langenberg and Berlin was accepted with great interest. The communication from both societies must indeed obligate us to thank God who opened their hearts to hear, to understand, and to grant our request. The painstaking efforts of both Hon. societies and their agents were so successful that our library will amount to 500 classified volumes which were contributed by Christian friends and book-dealers in Germany. The arrival of the books can be expected sometime this summer. The regulations of our committee which were certified by the societies were approved over there. Now the regulations have to be revised in one point which I recommended to the synod for further discussion.

Also the need and advantage of a traveling-preacher program [*Reisepredigt*] was favorably received by both societies. The Hon. societies are endeavoring to find an apt man to send us to be our traveling-preacher. In case they find no capable or willing man, the two societies together will give \$200.00 for the traveling-preacher program as soon as it is determined that they can find no one. I also recommend this important topic to the synod for further discussion. I would hope that at the appropriate time the synod would draft a message of thanks to be sent to the two Hon. societies and to the many participating friends. I would also hope that a sincere thank you would be extended to the Hon. Synod of Pennsylvania for their gracious doubled support and that it be sent by our secretary to their mission and education committees.

At the appropriate time I together with the secretary will give you a report about our negotiations concerning the state university in Springfield, and I want to refer further handling of this important matter to the Hon. Synod.

In the interest of our synod I had to make the following trips:

- 1) To Pastor Bading, in order to attempt an amicable settlement in regard to his call to Watertown.
- 2) At the direction of the synod, to attend the convention of the Northern Synod of Illinois in Chicago about the matter of the university in Springfield.
- 3) To Maple Grove, about the matter of Rueter.
- 4) To Watertown, about the matter of the congregation there.

At my request, the secretary, Pastor Streissguth, made the following trips in the interest of the synod:

- 1) With me to Chicago to the above mentioned convention.
- 2) To Columbus, to attend a congregational meeting about Rueter.
- 3) To Menasha, Princeton, and Beaver Dam about congregational matters.

Since the terms of the synod's officers have expired, the synod will have to elect new officers.

In conclusion I am informing the Hon. Synod that I, in accordance with the resolution of last year's convention, have completed the history of our synod from its founding to the present, and I herewith turn it over to the synod. A look back at the small beginning and the blessed development obligates us to thank the Lord, who has so graciously helped us to the present day. Not to us, not to us, but to your name be the glory for your grace and truth.

*Johannes Muehlhaeuser, president*

### Election of Officers

When it came to the time for the election of officers, the synod recognized with painful regret that it would not be prudent to impose upon our Hon. president, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, the burdens of the presidency, because of his advanced years and because of increased business. Therefore it was:

Resolved that we regretfully see our current president leave his office.

Resolved that Pastors Streissguth, Fachtmann and Goldammer be appointed as a committee to report on the retirement of Pastor Muehlhaeuser.

Elected were:

President of the synod: Pastor Bading of Theresa, now of Watertown.

Secretary: Pastor Reim of Helenville.

Treasurer: Pastor C.F. Goldammer of Burlington.

They accordingly accepted their respective offices.

The following committees were appointed by the president to report on the matters at hand:

- 1) Excuses of absent pastors: Pastors Huber, Koester, Sprengling and Delegate Hahn.
- 2) Annual report of the president: Pastors Fachtmann, Streissguth and Goldammer.
- 3) Membership applications of pastors: Pastors Goldammer, Koester, Wald.
- 4) Examination of candidates: Pastors Fachtmann, Streissguth, Huber and Koehler.
- 5) Treasurer's report: Delegate Waehler, Pastors Sprengling and Hoffmann.
- 6) The university matter: Pastors Streissguth, Fachtmann and Koehler.
- 7) Vacant congregations: Pastors Roell, Koester and Konrad.
- 8) Congregations applying for membership: Delegates Werner and Stoffele and Pastor Braun.
- 9) The *Agenda* [Service Book] question: Pastors Fachtmann, Streissguth and Koehler.
- 10) The matter of Rueter and his congregation in Columbus: Delegate Steinmann, Pastors Koehler, Sprengling and Gausewitz.
- 11) Report on the matter of the congregation in Town of Polk: Pastors Koester, Sprengling and Delegate Petz.
- 12) Conference reports: Pastors Braun, Boehner and Koehler.

Resolved that the position of Senior of the MINISTERIUM be established. Resolved that Pastors W. Streissguth, Ph. Koehler, G. Fachtmann, and C. Goldammer be appointed as a committee to formulate the several paragraphs concerning the establishment of the position of Senior in the synod.

Resolved that the former president, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, be named Senior of the MINISTERIUM and be requested to assume the place of honor on the platform.

Resolved that the session be adjourned to 2:00p.m.

### Second Session Monday, 2:00 p.m.

Opened with a hymn, Psalm 23 and prayer by Pastor Koehler.

The committee assigned to formulate the paragraphs concerning the position of Senior reports:

1) The synod elects at no specific time a Senior of the MINISTERIUM, to which office such a person is to be elected, who, because of his age as well as of his valued experience, is in a position to present to the synod a worthy example.

2) The Senior of the MINISTERIUM is to take the seat of honor next to the president at all public sessions, and each time is accorded the honor which befits his age and office.

Resolved that these paragraphs concerning the position of Senior be adopted in this version.

The parochial reports were then handed in from which the following is a compilation:

[Cong=congregations, PrSt=preaching stations, Bap=baptisms, Con=confirmations, Com=communion partakers, Mar=marriages, F=funerals, PS=parochial schools, SS=Sunday schools, FM=heathen (foreign) missions, HM=home missions, EF=educational funds, ST=synodical treasury]

	Cong	Pr	Bap	Con	Com	Mar	F	PS	SS	FM	HM	EF	ST
Muehlhaeuser	2	0	140	20	340	18	18	1	1	\$50.00	15.00	10.00	4.51
Goldammer	2	1	39	0	224	4	1	0	2	0	1.50	0	3.00
Koester	2	0	36	18	329	1	4	2	2	6.16	0	5.74	3.20
Conrad	2	0	48	9	310	12	14	1	1	34.00	14.61	0	1.00
Koehler	2	1	104	10	250	13	10	1	0	0	2.00	0	1.70
Bading	2	0	45	20	333	8	4	1	1	42.16	0	12.65	2.00
Sauer	3	0	36	12	223	5	5	2	0	15.01	0	3.00	2.00
Stark	1	0	30	8	177	3	9	1	1	2.00	0	2.50	1.50
Huber	2	0	38	11	264	4	5	1	1	0	40.19	0	2.00
Streissguth	1	0	120	14	486	22	9	1	1	29.73	0	8.26	4.12
Reim	3	0	34	10	306	6	3	1	1	2.00	0	0	5.84
Sprengling	2	0	34	13	200	0	15	1	0	1.83	0	2.35	1.16
Roell	5	0	119	31	378	8	21	2	1	0	0	3.00	2.50
Fachtmann	4	5	46	28	235	7	6	2	2	0	0	4.00	5.34
Braun	3	0	18	7	120	7	6	1	0	0	0	0	1.89
Boehner	2	1	32	0	150	9	8	1	2	0	0	0	0
Wald	5	0	53	18	247	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
Hoffmann	2	0	9	6	162	0	1	1	2	3.54	0	0	1.00
Gausewitz	1	3	13	15	165	0	5	1	0	0	0	1.00	2.33
Nietmann	2	0	36	16	211	2	4	1	1	0.63	0	1.75	1.90

The following Ev. Lutheran congregations sought membership in our synod and were accepted:

- 1) The Ev. Lutheran St. John congregation, Newburg
- 2) The Ev. Lutheran St. Paul congregation, Muskego
- 3) The Ev. Lutheran St. Peter congregation, Milwaukee
- 4) The Ev. Lutheran congregation, Platteville; under the condition that the congregation's Constitution is sent to the president, and that nothing in it conflicts with the Constitution of our synod.
- 5) The Ev. Lutheran congregation in A[h]napee [Algoma]; with the condition that the congregation's resolution to join the synod and the congregation's Constitution subsequently be sent in.

The committee appointed to report on the retirement of Pastor Muehlhaeuser from the presidency gave the following report:

"On June 4 of this year our former president, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, declared that he, because of the annual increasing pressure on him in the administration of the synod's business, could no longer carry out the duties of the office of the president of our Ev. Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin—an office which had received God's blessings up to the present time. With deep regret all members of our synod heard and accepted his statement with which he remained firm in spite of all pleas. It is with deeply felt sorrow that we must yield to the wish of our president, and all members of our synod herewith extend our sincere thanks to our Hon. synodical president for his many years of faithful service in the synod and for its welfare—a service which has been blessed by the Lord. We herewith direct the request to our former synodical president, and hope with confidence, that he would support us also in the future with counsel and deed."

*G. Fachtmann, W. Streissguth, C. Goldammer, committee.*

Resolved: that this report be adopted as an expression of the sentiments of the synod and that the committee be released.

Resolved that the synod adjourn to 9:00 a.m. Tuesday.

### Third Session Tuesday, 9:00 a.m.

Opened with a hymn, Psalm and prayer by Pastor Nietmann.

The committee on excuses of absent pastors reports:

- 1) Pastor Hennike cannot be excused because he did not send in an excuse.
- 2) Pastor Sauer. The synod deeply regrets that he did not appear, and therefore censures him.
- 3) Pastor Stark is to be excused because of prevailing circumstances.
- 4) Pastor Duberg is to be excused because of illness.

Resolved: that the report be adopted.

After a discussion took place about the possibility and necessity of establishing our synod's tie with the university in Springfield, it was resolved:

Because of the prevailing confessional movement in both synods and the named university, that further negotiations be broken off and that the university committee be released.

On the basis of the investigation proceedings in the case of Mr. Rueter as well as on the basis of the oral statements of three members of the synod, the following was resolved:

1) that the conditional acceptance of Pastor Rueter into synod membership at the 1859 convention be rescinded.

2) that the exclusion of the former Pastor Rueter from the roster of our synod and his removal from office by the president of our synod be approved and ratified, and that it be made public that Rueter, to the painful regret of the members of our synod, be declared a man most unworthy for the preaching ministry.

The committee on the president's annual report reports:

"The committee takes the liberty to speak its general agreement with the views, wishes and hopes contained in the president's annual report. Especially do we recommend to the Hon. Synod that it approve all official acts contained therein, including the peaceful release of Pastor Diehlmann and the appropriate removal from office of Pastor Rueter.

We also recommend to the Hon. Synod that the following resolutions be adopted:

1) Resolved: that we must recognize the gracious good will granted us by our heavenly Master in the preservation of peace and brotherly unity, in the increase of our workers and in the expansion of our field.

2) Resolved: that our obligations of thanks to the societies of Langenberg and Berlin, to the Hon. Synod of Pennsylvania and its mission and education committees, and to all other patrons for their expressions of love are doubled and that we herewith express such thanks.

3) Resolved: that the Hon. Senior of our synod be herewith kindly requested to share with the synod his completed synodical history.

4) Resolved: That the recommendation of our president to appoint a committee for the publishing of our own *Agenda* for use by our pastors be urgently acted upon, such a project however to be carried out with careful planning.

5) Resolved: that our proposed synodical library is best recommended to our synod and its friends as an exceptionally important institute for edification, and that the significant efforts of our Hon. friends in Germany be recognized with great thanks."

*W. Streissguth, C. Koester, C. Goldammer, the committee.*

Resolved: that the report be accepted and the committee released.

Resolved: that Pastor Rueter's exclusion and removal from office be published in the three church periodicals—*The Lutheran Herald*, the *Lutheran Church-Messenger*, [*Kirchenboten*] and Pastor Brobst's *Lutheran Journal* [*Zeitschrift*].

Resolved: that the synod recommend the named church periodicals to its congregations as good and useful publications to read.

Resolved: that the session be adjourned to 3:00 p.m.



**Fourth Session**  
**Tuesday, 3:00 p.m.**

Opened with Psalm 110, a hymn and prayer by Pastor Huber.

The committee on the matter of the congregation in Town of Polk reports, and on the basis of this report a discussion will take place on what can be done in this congregation:

Resolved: that Pastor Fachtmann be requested to visit the congregation in Town of Polk and do all he can that will lead to peace, and then report the result to the president.

Resolved: that the Hon. President, Pastor Bading, because of family matters be given permission to go home.

Resolved: that the Senior, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, be named his substitute.

The publication of an *Agenda* was brought up for discussion and, after the need was recognized, it was

Resolved: that the synod publish an *Agenda* containing the Sunday worship service order and the various church acts.

Resolved: that each of the three conferences of our synod be instructed to draft a version of a complete *Agenda* and that these three copies be given to a committee consisting of Pastors Streissguth, Bading and Koester, who should then compile the most pertinent items from each version and send that to Pastor Fachtmann for his review.

Delegate Hahn was given permission to leave.

Resolved that the session be adjourned to 9:00 a.m. Wednesday

**Fifth Session**  
**Wednesday, 9:00 a.m.**

Opened with a hymn, Psalm 24 and prayer by Pastor Koester.

The minutes were read and by motion adopted.

Delegates Steinmann, Geiger and Werner were given permission to leave.

Resolved: that the Hon. Senior, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, be asked to share his written history of the synod.

The synod heard with great interest the history of the synod, its beginning, its development and its growth up to the present time. The countless examples of gracious aid, of mercy and faithfulness and of huge blessings bestowed by the Lord on our puny efforts were made evident before our very eyes. It fostered in us the deepest gratitude and awakened the joyful hope that he who has been so faithful to us up to the present time will be with us in the future. It also aroused in us a more joyous devotion to proclaim widely the word which he has laid into our hands.

Resolved: that the synod receive the presentation of its historical development and render its thanks to the Hon. Senior for the effort and care displayed in the compilation of this work.

Resolved: that the session be adjourned to 3:00 p.m.

**Sixth Session**  
**Wednesday, 3:00 p.m.**

Opened with a hymn and prayer by Pastor Wald.

The minutes of the fifth session were read and by resolution adopted. The correspondence between our synod and the Hon. Societies in Berlin and Langenberg concerning:

- 1) the placement of a traveling-preacher
  - 2) sending us candidates, and
  - 3) the establishment of a synodical library
- were read and discussed.

Resolved: to adjourn to 10:00 p.m.

**Seventh Session**  
**Wednesday, 10:00 p.m.**

Opened with prayer by Pastor Fachtmann.

The minutes of the sixth session were read and by resolution adopted.

A letter of thanks to the Hon. societies in Berlin and Langenberg was read and accepted.

Resolved: that the secretary be instructed to send such a letter of thanks together with an accompanying letter.

Resolved: that the regulations of the library be adopted together with the condition that an addendum from the committee be added which gives credit for the procurement of the library to the named societies.

Since the means were given us to engage a traveling-preacher, a discussion took place what person would be qualified to receive a call for that position.

Resolved: that the president and the Senior take up the matter of a traveling-preacher program and implement it.

Resolved: that each member of the MINISTERIUM and especially Brother Wald be asked to devote some of their time to this program, and that those who find themselves willing to do this be compensated for travel costs.

Resolved: that the Senior, Pastor Muehlhaeuser, be the synod's archivist.

Resolved: that 400 copies of this year's proceedings be printed.

Resolved: that the completion of the revision of synod's constitution be postponed to next year.

Resolved: that the Hon. president, Pastor Bading, determine in his best judgment the place for next year's synodical convention and that this then be made public by the secretary.

Resolved: that the session of synod be adjourned until the Saturday after Pentecost in 1861.

## MINISTERIAL SESSIONS

The periods between the sessions of the synod were used in part by committees to complete their reports and in part by the MINISTERIUM for ministerial sessions, in which in part current experiences were exchanged and in part matters which pertained to the synod were spoken to and discussed. The matters which came up for discussion in the various sessions of the MINISTERIUM were as follows:

### First Session

Opened with prayer by Pastor Koehler.

Pastors Nietmann, Gausewitz and Boehner requesting membership in the MINISTERIUM.

Resolved: that they be accepted.

Pastors Koehler, Sprengling and Gausewitz requested the MINISTERIUM to recognize the Northern Conference.

Resolved: that their request be granted.

Concerning Candidate von Schmidt—it was discussed whether he should be recommended for ordination.

Resolved: that the session be adjourned until 11:00 a.m. Tuesday.

### Second Session

Tuesday, 11:00 a.m.

Opened with prayer by Pastor Gausewitz.

The examination committee gave its report on the candidates after which the MINISTERIUM took up a discussion of this matter.

Resolved that the session be adjourned to 5:00 p.m.

### Third Session

Tuesday, 5:00 p.m.

Opened with prayer by Pastor Muehlhaeuser.

After a discussion took place about Candidate C. Wagner it was

Resolved: that Pastors Muehlhaeuser and Streissguth be asked to let Candidate Wagner preach in their churches during the course of the synodical year.

Resolved: that the session be adjourned to 1:30 p.m. Wednesday.

### Fourth Session

Wednesday, 1:30 p.m.

Opened with prayer by Pastor Muehlhaeuser.

Candidates Strube, Wagner and Hass presented short addresses.

Resolved: that Candidate Strube be ordained under the condition that for the time being he place himself under the tutelage of his neighboring preacher.

Resolved: that the MINISTERIUM for the time being refer Candidate von Schmidt to the Northwest Conference which should ordain him as soon as it sees feasible.

Resolved: that the session be adjourned to 7:00 a.m. Thursday.

### Fifth Session

Thursday, 7:00 a.m.

The minutes were read.

Resolved: that they be accepted.

Resolved: that the committee for the pastor's widow fund remain active, and be instructed to present a draft of a constitution for the same at next year's convention.

Resolved: that the MINISTERIUM adjourn its session to the first Thursday after Pentecost in 1861 A.D.

Helenville, August 1860

*G. Reim*, secretary

# WELS Pioneers in Apacheland

by William B. Kessel

## Prelude to Mission Work

In 1876 the American people celebrated the country's centennial birthday. For a full century the great experiment called democracy had prevailed and showed no signs of weakening. America was growing, unprecedented technological advances were commonplace, and dominant personalities captivated the attention and imagination of the world.

Between 1865 and 1900 the United States population more than doubled, from less than 36 million to more than 76 million people. In 1879 Thomas Alva Edison invented the electric light. In fact, between 1876 and 1900 he took out more than a thousand patents on items such as the storage battery, motion picture projector, and phonograph. In 1878 President Rutherford B. Hayes put Alexander Graham Bell's great invention, the telephone, in the White House. A dozen years later no fewer than 800,000 phones linked the people of America. Meanwhile steam powered locomotives belched acrid smoke across the length of the country, and Charles F. Dowd's brainchild known as "Standard Time" made it possible for passengers to be on time. There was money to be made. Andrew Carnegie made millions in steel, John D. Rockefeller built Standard Oil, J.P. Morgan became the titan of American finance, and shortly before the turn of the century Henry Ford completed his first automobile.

For many Americans, however, the closing decades of the 19th century were marred by uncertainty, fear and death. Southerners were trying to pick up the pieces and rebuild following the Civil War. Atrocities at Sand Creek, Camp Grant, Wounded Knee and dozens of equally obscure places punctuated the endemic wars between the Native Americans and Euro-Americans.

Meanwhile, far removed from that gaggle of humanity called New York, from the political scene of Washington, and the eastern power brokers and industrialists, was the peaceful farm community of Watertown, Wisconsin. There, in the centennial year of 1876, only 25 years after the founding of the church body, one week before the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the Wisconsin Synod was meeting in convention. Mission work among the American Indians was a main topic of conversation. Feelings ran high. Pastor Matter contended, "This is the worst of times to begin an Indian mission." For support of this thesis he pointed to the chronic Sioux Wars and noted that the Iowa Synod had decided to close its Indian mission. Many convention delegates, however, held the opposite view. They argued that the white man had created many of the so-called "Indian problems" and that it was time to begin mission work. Someone made a motion to begin Indian mission work immediately. Synod President John Bading called for the vote. It passed. The operational strategy was simple yet promising. A *Reisepredigt* (missionary-at-large) would follow the tracks of the recently built Union Pacific railroad establishing mission stations along the way.

The plan, however, died in its infancy. President Bading was forced to report to the 1877 convention that the project had completely floundered and had to be officially terminated (Fredrich 1992:79-80).

Six years later, in 1883, the Wisconsin Synod convention observed the 400th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther. The pastors and delegates were still committed to doing Indian mission work and, thus, resolved "to seek out a mission society that was both orthodox and zealous in its outreach and to channel the synodical mission offerings into its coffers (Johne and Wendland 1992:20). Synod President John Bading appointed five synodical leaders to find such a society.

Once again the plan failed to materialize. A year later the men reported that they were unable to find a suitable mission society.

Undaunted by the former setbacks, the 1884 convention instructed the committee to look for a potential mission field and missionaries from within the synod itself. Specifically they were to "look for young men of piety, willing and according to human judgment able to devote themselves to the service of the mission among the heathen" (Johne and Wendland 1992:20). The mission candidates were to receive special mission training in the synod's educational institutions, and this was to be paid for out of the mission offerings.

By 1889 three men were enlisted for this program—John Plocher, George Adascheck, and Paul Mayerhoff (Johne and Wendland 1992:20). Unfortunately they received no special mission training. As Fredrich (1992:99) notes, "The only difference between the prospective missionaries and other students at the synodical schools seems to have been that the former did not have to pay the customary fees."

The decision to approach the Apache with the Bible was actually the result of three converging factors: the Wisconsin Synod's determination to do mission work among American Indians, a favorable government policy, and a Presbyterian missionary's sage advice. In 1892 Lutheran Pastors Theodore Hartwig and O.H. Koch were sent to the southwestern United States with the task of finding a tribe of Indians "where no missionary of any denomination has yet set foot" (Centennial Committee 1951:232). As the men trekked through the Southwest they found that mission work was already being done among several tribes. This was consistent with government policy. In order to prepare the Indians for assimilation into Anglo culture, the government pursued a three-pronged program. First, the Indians were taught to be economically self-supporting through agriculture. Second, schools were to be opened and the children taught to read, write, and display "proper etiquette." Finally, the Indians were to be converted to Christianity (Spicer 1967). In Arizona Territory Hartwig and Koch happened to meet and interview a Presbyterian missionary, Charles Cook, who for some years had been working among the Pima Indians. Cook told the Lutherans that thus far no missions had been established among the Apaches. The Lutherans had heard enough. They submitted a report recommending mission work among the Apaches.

In October of 1893, two Lutheran pastors arrived at the San Carlos Apache reservation. One hundred years later the Wisconsin Synod celebrated a century of mission work. It is now time to chronicle and analyze the efforts of the Lutheran men and women who first faced the Apaches, who learned to cope in an alien environment,

who devised stratagems for doing mission work, who labored and built and, in some cases, died on the reservations. The period of pioneering mission work among the Apaches spans 33 years, 1893 through 1926, the first third of the mission century.

### Culture Shock

The term "culture shock" was coined by anthropologist Kalervo Oberg (1960). It refers to the psychological stress which often results when an individual suddenly finds himself or herself among a foreign people with a totally different culture. As one social scientist observed, the new arrival "tries to play the game of life with little or no understanding of the basic rules" (Ferraro 1992:99).

Culture shock is rooted in the mind and emotions. An individual so affected is on unfamiliar ground. He becomes confused about how to behave, surprised and even disgusted by some features of the new culture. He longs for familiar faces and things. The person often feels rejected by the people around him, experiences a loss of self-esteem and the ability to control the situation. Ultimately he may even begin to doubt his own cultural values when they are brought into question.

The victimized of culture shock may exhibit one or more symptoms including boredom, homesickness, withdrawal, fatigue, eating and drinking disorders, irritability, exaggerated cleanliness, marital and family tension and conflict, chauvinism, weeping, psychosomatic illnesses, hostility, and even a loss of ability to work effectively.

The early Wisconsin Synod missionaries to the Apaches neither understood nor were immune to culture shock. John Plocher and George Adascheck were the first missionaries to the Apaches. They arrived on the San Carlos reservation in 1893. In less than a year Adascheck returned to the east. The official reason for his departure was his inability to manage either the English or Apache language (Centennial Committee 1951:233). Unofficially, "He could not stand it there" (Mayerhoff 1938).

In 1896, unmarried, 26 years old, self-professed coward, Paul Mayerhoff, found himself on a stagecoach approaching San Carlos. The temperature was over 114 degrees. Cactus, greasewood, and mesquite constituted the native vegetation—a far cry from his native Wisconsin. Mayerhoff (1936a) concluded: "Why rob the Apaches of such a country!" The passengers of the stage were fed by a "Chinaman," and according to the missionary, the food had a "queer taste," a "funny nauseating taste." For a month he stayed with the WELS missionary at Peridot. Mayerhoff, however, remained terrified of the Apaches. The first time he took a long horseback ride, he fell off his horse in front of a group of Apaches. He was convinced they would kill him. They only laughed. Less than a month later he found himself along among the Apaches in his new mission field. He tried to communicate with the people but knew only a few dozen Apache words. Sign language was of no use. Mayerhoff (1936b) assessed the situation, "those who stopped to notice at all would give me a once-over and walk away as though they thought I was locoed to believe they could savy such gibberish. Contempt! And how!" At night, as he lay in his tent, the fledgling missionary's thoughts lay elsewhere. "Just now I believe I was thinking of home and dreaming of pleasant things far away in Wisconsin. I slept and dosed." The next morning Pastor Mayerhoff began visiting the people. He was disgusted by their lack of cleanliness and their taste for lice, and he felt invisible.

Nearby sits a buck brushing out his hair with a wisp of stiff grass. His squaw is exploring his scalp for those little friends that love such filthy retreats. His neighbor in the next camp is a cootie hunter, his shirt is off, he explores each seam for a delectable tidbit. Soap is good to eat, water good to drink. But today is not wash day. I step around from here to there. Does anyone notice me? Ask me my business? I feel that I'm watched. I'm just thin air to them apparently (Mayerhoff 1936b).



*John Plocher and Paul Mayerhoff*

In time Paul Mayerhoff became an effective missionary, but at this time he experienced the classic symptoms of culture shock. His case is not exceptional. Almost all the mission workers and their spouses have experienced varying degrees of such psychological stress. In September of 1920 Pastor Frederic Weindorf became the missionary teacher at Cibecue, a remote settlement on the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. In October, mission superintendent Edgar Guenther reported that he had recently visited the Weindorfs. "We all think very highly of Mrs. Weindorf who should be a great help to her husband in his work, and it did one good to see how content she is with her surroundings, isolated though they are. Unfortunately she is not in very good health. Let us not forget her in our prayers (E. Guenther 1920a). Her condition worsened. Consequently Superintendent Guenther and his family invited her to stay with them in Whiteriver. There, in familiar surroundings, she began to improve. She returned to Cibecue where her health once again deteriorated. In October of 1921 Guenther (1921a) reported to the mission board that he was convinced that her ailment was "largely imaginary, due to isolation." In retrospect she may well have been suffering from what is now called "culture shock." In May of 1923 Pastor Weindorf accepted a call to Pine Island, Minnesota.

The chronicle of the pastors and teachers who have served the Apaches for the past 100 years documents a high turn-over rate (Manthe 1994). Only occasionally are explanations given for their departures. One wonders how many victims were claimed by cross-cultural psychological stress.

### Life Among the Apaches

While many Midwesterners were sitting in their snug frame houses, sipping on coffee, and reading the morning newspaper under the light of an incandescent bulb, the pioneer missionaries to the Apaches were pitching their tents and trying to figure a way to survive the blistering heat of a San Carlos summer or the frozen temperatures of an East Fork winter. One might expect that parsonage construction was the missionary's first priority. Such, however, was not the case, and there were myriad reasons for this. First, many of the missionaries lacked the expertise and tools to build a house. Second, in many locations there were no local sawmills from which to procure lumber. Third, there were few roads to transport building materials. Fourth, the synod routinely failed to allocate sufficient "start-up" funds for such things as parsonages. Fifth, the missionaries were so overwhelmed by work that they were left with little discretionary time to build. The problem of finding permanent housing for missionaries persisted for decades. As late as 1921, for example, Pastor E. Arnold Sitz wrote that for almost six months he had been living in Carrizo in a tent (Sitz 1921a; 192b).

Once the missionaries did manage to build or find a parsonage, it was often woefully inadequate. In 1919 Missionary Guenther moved to Whiteriver. He described the accommodations:

The only house we could find was a small hut in which an Indian had lived for four years. After a lavish application of formaldehyde and other insect-killing means we dared to occupy the house. Mr. Knoop, in a hurry, glued (!) a little porch to the house which serves us as a bedroom. Kitchen and living room are tiny but the cracks in the roof supply the necessary fresh air (E. Guenther 1919a).

In addition, the house backed up to a river and was in jeopardy every time the river rose. The other missionaries had similar experiences. Pastor Henry C. Nitz in Globe had shingled his sleeping porch with tin cut from old coal oil cans. Edgar Guenther (1920c) responded, "A bachelor can dodge the leaky places in his sleeping compartments, but a woman can hardly be expected to make these lightning changes. His sleeping porch ought to be repaired." Meanwhile Pastor Henry Rosin's parsonage in Peridot needed reconstructing (E. Guenther 1920c) while Dr. Francis Uplegger in Rice had to cook his meals outside since he did not own a stove (E. Guenther 1920a). Finally, in the hot desert of Bylas, Missionary Gustav Schlegel lived in a garage room. Because of the stifling heat inside the "house," his pregnant wife could not stay with him and had to borrow money to travel to a cooler location where she spent several months (E. Guenther 1922a).

At least Schlegel was married. The mission board had a history of sending single pastors onto the reservations. This often led to problems, since few of the seminary graduates were confirmed bachelors. Living among the Apaches, the young missionaries had little opportunity to meet, court, and marry women of their choosing. One of the early missionaries among the White Mountain Apaches eventually succumbed to the temptations of the flesh and began living with an Apache woman. He was quietly dismissed from the ministry (M. Guenther 1972). After a few years of service among the Apaches, single missionaries were prime candidates for calls. Their turnover rate was high. Meanwhile, bachelor pastors tried to cope with culture shock and loneliness at the same time. Employing a somewhat ethereal description, Superintendent Guenther (who was married) comments on his visit to the single missionaries on the San Carlos Reservation. First, Guenther visited the two bachelor missionaries in Globe. As bedtime approached he overheard their conversation.

... Then their thoughts turn in common to the morrow, to the Chinaman who brings vegetables, to the Syrian who takes orders for groceries, to the "Liberty" butcher whose meat they cannot afford to buy, to their last month's salary already beyond recall. At this juncture the conversation lags, follows a mutual sigh, and all is quiet at the Mission.

The next morning we take the train for San Carlos. . . He [the local pastor] talks enthusiastically of the large mission field at his very door, of his trips to the friendly Indians at Bylas, of the services in his chapel, but—and then he sighs. Did we not hear that very sigh as a duet just the night before? On leaving we look inquiringly about. Apparently here is another who has not yet grasped the full significance of Gen. 2:18a. We hasten away to Peridot only to meet a fourth of the same classification (E. Guenther 1920d:72)!

The pioneer missionaries to the Apaches labored long and hard in a foreign land among people with an alien culture. They underwent hardships and loneliness. It is tempting to think of them as supermen fashioned after the myth of rugged mountain men and explorers. This image, however, is an illusion. The missionaries and their families were like everyone else, and they were not exempt from common burdens.

The Lutherans had come from the Midwest with its distinctive climate and elevation. Now, some were thrust into the searing desert while others labored in the high mountains. There they worked among people living in poverty, seriously ravaged by disease. The missionaries, their wives, and children had no special immunity from illness. The correspondence of the early missionaries often reads like a chronicle of physical suffering and pain. A few examples from the early days illustrate the point.

1899 Missionary John Plocher's wife and child were very ill. Plocher was forced to resign and accept a call to Wisconsin (Keiser 1922:137).

1907 Gustav Harders moved to Arizona (Globe) in an attempt to improve his health. Ten years later "his strength was utterly exhausted" and he died at age 53 (Anonymous 1917:71).

- 1913 Mrs. E. Edgar Guenther of East Fork became so ill that she had to go back to Wisconsin to recover (E. Guenther 1913).
- 1920 After tending to 400 boarding school children with influenza, Missionary Guenther contracted the disease. He was confined to bed for six weeks (Kessel 1987:19).
- 1920 Pastor Weindorf's wife became ill in Cibecue, and she stayed with the Guenthers in Whiteriver to recover. After returning to Cibecue she remained ill for another year (E. Guenther 1920a; 1921a).
- 1921 Pastor Sitz, who was living in a tent in Carrizo, became very ill and had to take a two month sick leave to recuperate (Sitz 1921a).
- 1922 H.C. Nitz was serving in Globe. His wife became ill and returned to her home in Watertown, Wisconsin, to recuperate (Nitz 1922a).
- 1923 Pastor Alfred Uplegger of San Carlos was unable to accomplish the work he desired during the summer because of tonsillitis and a heat-related fatigue (A. Uplegger 1923).
- 1924 The heat of Bylas did not agree with Mrs. Gustav Schlegel. In addition, she underwent surgery for an unspecified problem (E. Guenther 1924a; 1924b).
- 1924 Edgar Guenther of Whiteriver was confined to bed throughout January and much of February because of illness (E. Guenther 1924b).
- 1924 Pastor and Mrs. H.C. Nitz of East Fork spent June and July in Wisconsin because of Mrs. Nitz's poor health (Nitz 1924a).
- 1924 Missionaries Francis Uplegger of San Carlos and Henry Rosin of Peridot were in a car accident. Their vehicle ran off the road, rolled over twice, and came to rest in the bottom of a wash. Rosin was not injured but Uplegger suffered head and knee injuries (E. Guenther 1924c:7).
- 1924 Missionary Gustav Schlegel became ill shortly after Christmas. He had the grippe, tonsillitis and rheumatism (E. Guenther 1924c:7).
- 1925 Teacher and Missionary Arthur C. Krueger faced a double tragedy. His wife died in childbirth, and five weeks later his baby also died (E. Guenther, 1925a:8).
- 1925 Pastor Henry Rosin's wife suffered a chronic illness, and he considered taking a call to a different elevation where she might find relief (F. Uplegger 1925a).
- 1925 Pastor Alfred Uplegger was unable to work during July and August because of the effects of the San Carlos heat (Brockmann 1925).
- 1925 Mrs. Edgar Guenther became ill and returned to Wisconsin to recuperate. Doctors suspected that she had contracted tuberculosis. Meanwhile Pastor Guenther reported heart problems but said he felt better than he had in two years (E. Guenther 1925b).
- 1926 Pastor Schlegel of Bylas became deathly ill. He was unable to continue working (E. Guenther 1926a:7).

As a postscript, in 1926 Schlegel was forced to leave Arizona because of poor health (E. Guenther 1926b). Three years later Pastor Nitz was forced to resign because of his wife's poor health (E. Guenther 1929a:5-6).

If the missionaries were not immune to illness, neither were they exempted from frustrations. Perhaps the focus of much of their dissatisfaction came from inadequate

transportation while the root cause was pitifully low incomes and lack of general support.

The early missionaries often reminisced about their first experience on horseback. Paul Mayerhoff arrived among the Apaches in 1896. For four weeks he lived with missionary John Plocher in Peridot. During that time he learned to ride a horse. The first time he tried to make the hour long ride to the agency for mail and supplies he fell off his horse in front of a group of Apaches. They promptly helped him up but enjoyed a good laugh. Not long thereafter Mayerhoff made a 50 mile ride to his mission field at East Fork. He was so saddle sore he could barely walk (Mayerhoff 1936a).

Missionary Guenther likewise had a memorable horseback experience. One day as Guenther and the congregation were coming out of church they were met by a white man with a horse for sale. As Guenther attempted to mount the "pugnacious" beast it began to buck. The pastor ended up sitting behind the saddle but was not thrown. The horse ceased when Mrs. Guenther flashed her apron in the horse's face. "In spite of the ludicrous figure I must have presented to the congregation gathered about us my reputation as a horseman was established: 'He sure stuck, he sure stuck!'" (E. Guenther 1956:91).

Apart from the comical moments, the horse was an absolutely necessary tool for mission work. The early Apaches did not live in communities. Rather they lived in family clusters spread over a vast territory. Furthermore, they frequently moved during the year to take advantage of different food sources (Kessel 1976:30-35). The experience of the East Fork missionary was typical. In April of 1911 Pastor Guenther (1911) reported that church attendance had fallen significantly because many of the Apaches had left to brand their cattle and plant their crops. The next October he reported that again church attendance was down because many had left to gather mescal and acorns (E. Guenther 1912). As late as 1918 he reported that the summer church attendance was down because many Apaches had gone acorn picking (E. Guenther 1918a).

If the Apaches would not come to the missionary, the missionary had to go to the Apaches. And the horse was the early means of transportation. Unfortunately the early missionaries were not readily supplied with the animals they needed. Not infrequently they were forced to borrow mounts until they could purchase their own (E. Guenther 1911).

Things changed and yet stayed the same. Roads were built, cars became more commonplace, but the missionaries still lacked adequate transportation to visit the people. In 1919 Guenther reported to the mission board that the missionaries desperately needed cars (Fords) to call on the Apaches (E. Guenther 1919a). Vehicles were not forthcoming. The mission reports for the early 1920s trumpet a common theme: Guenther needed a car, Nitz needed a car, Schlegel needed a car. Funds were short, but the needs were great. In 1921, H.C. Nitz appealed to the readers of *The Northwestern Lutheran* to send money so he could purchase a car for the Globe mission (Nitz 1921a:327-330). In time they got their Fords. Nitz's automobile arrived just in time for an epidemic. He reported, "With the car I was enabled to reach camps that it would have been utterly impossible to reach without. The sick-bed offered splendid opportunity for the proclamation of the Gospel by tract and word of mouth" (Nitz 1922a). Meanwhile

Guenther was not so lucky. He wrote, "My old Ford which has long been waterlogged has now been drydocked for lack of funds to render her seaworthy. For this reason I am compelled to do all my campwork on horseback with the result that I cannot cover a third of the ground that I did formerly. . . ." (Pieper 1921a:393). A couple years later the Ford was working. Guenther picked up mission board member Paul Brockmann in McNary and drove him to Whiteriver. It was a ride Brockmann never forgot.

He is there with his car: car, did I say? Well, you simply have to go to Arizona to see such a specimen of a car. The top has been removed, whether piecemeal or all at once is hard to tell, at any rate, it is gone; the doors are wired firmly together to keep them shut and we found it a lot more convenient to enter the car by stepping over the doors than by untwisting the wires; the fenders give tell-tale evidence of sharp encounters. . . . Thinking of steep down grades, which one is apt to meet with in mountainous country, we asked the missionary whether his brakes are in good working order, whereupon he coolly informs us that he is not in the habit of having brakes on his car. . . . But although our lights were out half the time and we got stuck in a stretch of sand once we arrived safely in Whiteriver somewhat after midnight (Brockmann 1924a:278).

The problem was always money—not enough of it. Mission salaries did not meet meager existence levels much less cover unexpected expenses. In 1913 when Mrs. Guenther became ill, a white couple from a town off the reservation provided enough money so she could travel to Wisconsin to recover (E. Guenther 1913). In 1918 Uplegger, Rosin, Guenther and Zuberbier were unable to make ends meet on their salaries (E. Guenther 1918B, 1918c). In 1921 Arnold Sitz had used up all of his own money on church materials and hoped he would be reimbursed (1921b). In 1924 Gustav Schlegel was unable to survive on his salary. He was totally out of money even though he lived on an incredibly frugal budget (E. Guenther 1924b). In fact, he had gone \$965 in debt. The mission board wanted to know how he came to have such a large debt. He explained. He had to send his pregnant wife and their two children back east to have her baby, for the family had outgrown the old garage which they called a parsonage. Two years later his wife had to undergo surgery. The Schlegel's tightened their belts. They grew vegetables and bought a milk cow. Mrs. Schlegel rifled through the mission box clothes discarded by the Indians. For over two years they refrained from purchasing any clothing or furniture, and they bought only one book. But they did spend money. Gustav bought a car to do his work. He often bought oranges to give to infirm Apaches as he made his sick calls. Not infrequently he gave milk or sugar to his impoverished parishioners. So he borrowed from his parents and from a local trader. He did not know how much longer he could continue to live and do the Lord's work in Bylas (Schlegel 1924a).

### Mission Work

The seminary had taught them the Great Commission, Christian doctrine, how to preach, and how to teach. Their personal faiths supplied zeal, courage, and great expectations. They had learned what to do, but no one told them how to do it. This was

the Wisconsin Synod's first experience at foreign mission work. Mission strategies and policies would have to be developed by the men in the field, for there were no precedents to follow, no time honored methods.

No sooner did the pioneer missionaries arrive among the Apaches than they realized they could not communicate with the people. Western Apache is an inordinately difficult language for an outsider to learn. George Adascheck was one of the two original missionaries. He left the reservation within a year claiming that he was unable to learn Apache (Centennial Committee 1951:233). Paul Mayerhoff on the Fort Apache reservation fared much better. He was blessed with extraordinary language skills. In his eight years among the Indians he mastered the dialects of both reservations. The Smithsonian Institution considered him the authority on the language (Koehler 1970:199). Mayerhoff learned Apache well because he worked hard at it and spent much of his precious time on it. He filled ledger after ledger with Apache words and phrases. He composed his own English to Apache and Apache to English dictionary. He methodically constructed a phonology for this unwritten language and translated portions of *Luther's Small Catechism* into the language of the people (Mayerhoff 1896-1904; Keiser 1922:135, 137). After living among the Apaches for eight years and mastering their language Paul Mayerhoff accepted a call to Nebraska. Why did he leave? The reason or reasons are unclear. Several sources note that he asked to be relieved of his mission duties (Centennial Committee 1951:236; Fredrich 1922:98-100). Keiser (1922:139) felt that his heavy work load had ruined his health. John P. Koehler, who visited Mayerhoff in 1903, provides a tantalizing bit of information. Mayerhoff was becoming discouraged in his work. Koehler suggested to the mission board that the missionary should be employed as a tutor to help the other missionaries learn Apache as well as to translate portions of the Bible into Western Apache. The board rejected the idea as "impracticable" (Koehler 1970:201). A golden opportunity was lost.

In time other missionaries learned to speak Apache. Notable among them were Edgar Guenther, Alfred Uplegger and Francis Uplegger. The remainder of the early missionaries relied heavily on interpreters.

The effectiveness of the early missionaries was often inseparably linked to the abilities and commitment of the mission interpreters. The names of Jack Keyes, Lon Bullis, Rankin Rogers, and Tom Wycliffe stand out in bold relief amid the list of such men (Nitz 1962; Kessel 1979; Kessel ND). In the early days, a missionary would speak a simple sentence, pause, let the interpreter speak it in Apache, and then proceed. In time, as the interpreter sharpened his skills and grew in Christian knowledge and faith, the segments got longer. The missionary would speak for a few minutes and then the interpreters would translate. Occasionally an interpreter would assume the role of the preacher. Edgar Guenther (1956:90-91) recalled the first sermon he preached with the help of a seasoned interpreter.

After the hymn I stepped up with the interpreter Jack Keyes by my side. He began to translate sentence for sentence as I spoke. But when I mentioned the Prodigal's leaving home he continued right on, growing more eloquent with every sentence. The longer he spoke the more conspicuous and embarrassed I felt. I was at a loss to know whether I should stop him or just sit down. Finally

he came to an emphatic conclusion, wiped the perspiration from his face, turned to me and said, "Go ahead, I got to the fat calf."

Translating Biblical teachings into Apache was not an easy task, however. The Apaches had a "savior" deity by the name of Nayenaizanae. Interpreter Lon Bullis realized that to use this name for Jesus would be a tragic mistake (Bullis 1924:3-4). Then again, the interpreter had to use sound judgment in selecting the Apache word for "evil." Another day he used a different Apache word. He explained to missionary Francis Uplegger (1924) that it seemed right to use a stronger native word to convey the meaning.

Interpreters were more than translators. They often served as advisors to the missionaries. One day Pastor Guenther became exasperated by the local Apaches who continually stole things from him. He asked interpreter Jack Keyes to select a text (Bible story) which would address the situation and have an impact on the Apaches. Keyes selected the merciful Samaritan story (E. Guenther 1913). When not translating, the native workers were busy teaching the missionaries the Apache language and explaining Apache culture and customs.

The interpreters played a pivotal role in the early missions. Their manifest function was to serve as a communication bridge between the missionaries and the Apaches. In addition, however, they served an all important latent function. They were living demonstrations that Christianity was a religion for Apaches not just white men.

When the missionaries first stepped onto Apache soil they found a people who were deeply religious and thoroughly entrenched in their own native religion (Basso 1983:477-480; Kessel 1976:35-45; Kessel and Ferg 1987:109-152). Christianity was totally alien to their thought and culture. Mayerhoff (1936c) recalled, "We missionaries continually confronted the attitude among them [Apaches] that the white man's god was good for the white man and the Apache's gods were sufficient for their needs. The white man's god would not hear the Indian, while the Indians' gods could be persuaded to hear them and do according to their petitions." The Christian interpreters through their lives and testimony gave *prima facie* evidence that Jesus Christ was the God for Apaches too.

The missionaries found themselves in a precarious situation in the early years. If they directly confronted the Apache medicine men and condemned their religion they would be lumped together with government officials and military personnel whom the Apaches were convinced were sent to destroy them and their culture. Thus, it did not take the missionaries long to realize that such matters were best handled by the Apaches themselves. In 1916 a medicine man named P-1 began a religious cult movement not far from East Fork (Kessel 1976:112-141). Interpreter Jack Keyes not only refused to join the popular movement, but he boldly confronted P-1 and his followers. Guenther begged the mission board to commend Keys for this (E. Guenther 1916; 1918d). This was not an isolated case. In the spring of 1923 Pastor Edgar Guenther began publishing *The Apache Scout*, a periodical for Apache Christians. His strategy remained the same. Let Apaches speak out for Christianity. For example, Tom Wycliffe, who once had done many "evil things," became a Christian and interpreter for the East Fork mission (E. Guenther 1923a:6-7). Interpreter Lon Bullis (1924b:4-6) wrote an account of his own

conversion. A medicine man, Loco Jim, became a Christian (M. Guenther 1928:3-5). *The Apache Scout* also printed numerous accounts of Apache Christians who actually confronted their native religion and medicine men (Bullis 1924a; 1924c, D.Miles 1924; Nitz 1926; 1927). Meanwhile, first with subtlety and diplomacy and later with boldness, the missionaries and teachers themselves began to speak against the Apache religion in *The Apache Scout* (E. Guenther 1923b; F. Uplegger 1923a; E. Guenther 1923c; 1923d; 1924d; Davis 1924; Nitz 1924b; F. Uplegger 1925b; 1926; Schlegel 1926). All the Apaches, however, were not willing to give up their ways and beliefs without a fight.

Clearly the one event which most threatened the early mission was the rise of a religious cult headed by Silas John Edwards. Silas at one time had been an interpreter for Pastor Edgar Guenther and had been baptized by Pastor Sitz. Fascinated by the story of Moses and the brass serpent (Numbers 21) and himself a snake handler, Silas began holding Sunday curing and blessing ceremonies using live snakes (Kessel 1976:142-185). The impact of Silas' religious cult was immediately felt by all the missionaries (Nitz 1962:29-30). Soon reports were flooding in from all the mission stations. Silas was attracting large crowds and wooing Christians away from church in Whiteriver (E. Guenther 1921b), in Bylas (Nitz 1921b), in San Carlos (A. Uplegger 1921), and in Globe (Nitz 1921c). The missionaries had no choice but to actively oppose it. They were quick to point out that Silas' flagrant adulterous lifestyle was inconsistent with Apache or Christian religions (E. Guenther 1923e). In San Carlos, Pastor Francis Uplegger convinced a well-known Christian Apache and former medicine man to renounce the cult and the behavior of its leaders (F. Uplegger 1923c). Meanwhile the U.S. government grew concerned with what was happening. After meeting with reservation superintendents, missionaries and Indians, the Commissioner of the Department of the Interior's Office of Indian Affairs sent a letter to all Indians warning them against such dances and "handling poisonous snakes in your ceremonies" (Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1923). The missionaries grew more bold. On one occasion Pastor Arnold Uplegger attended one of Silas' Sunday meetings and publicly gave a speech denouncing the religion (A. Uplegger 1973). In Whiteriver Silas held a rally at the fair grounds. All the people were expected to bow down as he went by. A young boy from Pastor Guenther's Sunday School refused to bow down and started laughing at the idea. Soon many others joined in the ridicule (M. Guenther 1972b). Pastor Guenther, meanwhile, used *The Apache Scout* to good advantage. Whenever possible he printed articles written by Christian Apaches which exposed the evils of Apache cults (Bullis 1924a, 1924c; Miles 1924; Nitz 1926). Finally, the missionaries, and especially Henry C. Nitz, informed the members of the Wisconsin Synod of the situation through articles in *The Northwestern Lutheran* (Nitz 1920:136; 1921d:73; 1921e:250-251; 1921f:380; Pieper 1921a; Schlegel 1922:58; Nitz 1922b; E. Guenther 1922b:188).

Silas John Edwards' religion plagued the missionaries throughout the 1920s. It ceased to be such a problem in 1933, however. That year the medicine man was [falsely] accused of murdering his wife. He was found guilty and spent the next 17 years in jail (Kessel 1976:158-159).

Silas had been a Christian interpreter who had left the flock. His case, however, was the exception. Other native workers were diligent in their work and zealous for the



Gospel. It did not take the missionaries long to realize that because of their knowledge of the language and culture, Apache men themselves would make effective missionaries, teachers, and church leaders, and that they were the future of the church. More to the point, the Apaches wanted native workers and native missionaries (Keyes 1920:203; Bullis 1922:300; Brockmann 1924a:284). Mission Superintendent Edgar Guenther relentlessly promoted the goal of having Apache pastors and parochial teachers. As early as 1920 he began alerting the Wisconsin Synod to this possibility by publishing a letter which Jack Keyes wrote to him (E. Guenther 1920e). Even during the height of the Silas John Edwards religion, Guenther published a heartwrenching letter from another interpreter, Lon Bullis, who wanted his son to be a pastor and his daughter a teacher. Guenther concluded, "we must begin training natives who will eventually serve as full-fledged missionaries and pastors to their people." (E. Guenther 1922c:301). Meanwhile, back on the reservation, Guenther printed article after article in *The Apache Scout* about Apache Christians who were not afraid to witness to their faith and who served the Lord faithfully. Not infrequently he would include little news items and his earnest prayer. For example:

Wallace J. Johnson, Walson Duncan, and Ernest Victor did the interpreting for Pastor Meier since Christmas. They went with him to the camps and also interpreted the Sunday morning sermons. Wilson also daily helped Miss Davids teach the beginner's class. May this be the beginning of training native teachers and preachers (E. Guenther 1927a)!

For the most part Guenther's vision and pleas went unheeded, and the synod chose not to pursue the matter. The missionaries, nevertheless, felt that they might be able to achieve the goal of producing native workers through two institutions which were already in place—the parochial schools and orphanage.

The earliest missionaries to the Apaches soon realized that the best way to convert the Apaches was to begin with the children. They felt that children were not so ingrained in the Apache religion as their elders and would be able to adjust to Christianity. Thus the Lutherans opened schools as soon as possible. East Fork serves as an example. Missionary Guenther numbered about 1,000 Apaches in this area. He tried to reach them by holding church services, maintaining a parochial school, and visiting their camps. Clearly he geared the mission effort to the children. He had 32 children in the school. They, and a similar number of adults, attended Sunday worship. Guenther generally preached on a Biblical topic which he had taught to the children the previous week. Because of the press of his other duties he was only able to make camp calls one day a week (J.J. 1916a:62). Likewise Harders in Globe "was convinced that in order to do successful mission work among the Indians we must give the children a Christian education. He wanted a school" (Nitz 1921g:329). The situation was no different in Rice. A mission board member from the midwest visited the location and concluded "there is no reason in the world to disclaim our happy conviction that the Word of God taught these Apache children shall bear most promising fruits in due season, and that by the grace of God from these children a Christian generation will arise believing in the saving truths of the Gospel" (J.J. 1916b:45).

The parochial schools were considered to be the prime evangelism tools (E. Guenther 1922d:62a0). The missionaries, however, had to use virtually every means at their disposal to keep them operating. When Missionary Guenther arrived in East Fork in 1911 his first "assignment" was to reopen the mission school which had been closed for six years. He was expected to work out the details for himself, details such as—there were no equipment or furnishings, no books, no building, no teachers, no students, and no money for that matter. Not only that, but the nearby government school offered its pupils clothing and a noon meal. Guenther canvassed for students, remodeled the church into a classroom, scavenged lumber from a nearby sawmill and made desks and chairs. Meanwhile, his wife converted a room of the parsonage into a dining hall and became chief cook and dishwasher. She also sat behind her Oliver typewriter into the wee hours of the morning and pounded out school lessons. Guenther opened his school (Kessel 1987:12). Similar sacrifices were made elsewhere, for financial support from the synod was woefully inadequate. In response Pastor Guenther conceived a plan. Individuals and church societies through the Wisconsin Synod were asked to "adopt" one or more school children (E. Guenther 1920a; 1920b). An annual donation of \$25 to \$35 per year would help to feed a child noon meals, and provide him or her with needed school supplies and clothing (Pieper 1921b:63). The synod responded favorably (Pieper 1923a:393).

Along these same lines Pastor Guenther appealed to the members of the Wisconsin Synod at large to send Christmas gifts to the missions which the pastors and teachers distributed to the children of the schools and churches (E. Guenther 1919b; 1921c; 1923j; 1924h; E. Miles 1925; Nitz 1921d). This response was so overwhelming that Guenther often spent days, from sunup to sundown simply writing thank you letters (E. Guenther 1925e).

The Lutherans were disciplining, educating, clothing, and feeding the Apache children. Pastor Guenther wanted the synod to go one step further. He wanted to help the Apaches who were constantly victimized by disease. The epidemiological history of the Apaches during the early decades of the 20th century reads like a horror story. Whooping cough, measles, influenza, tuberculosis, spinal meningitis, trachoma, cholera infantum and waves of other diseases decimated the Apache population. In fact, the Apache death rate was four times greater than that of the United States as a whole (E. Guenther 1930:7). Babies were particularly vulnerable. Thus Guenther begged the mission board and the synod for medical help. This was a particularly sensitive topic for him. In 1913 he watched helplessly while "whooping cough, leading pneumonia by the hand, swept several hundred babies and young children off the Reservation" (E. Guenther 1929b:7-8). The next year he watched measles and lung inflammation claim another 40 lives in East Fork (E. Guenther 1914). Weeks later Guenther (1915) reported that a "choking cough" and pneumonia had arrived.

The misery of these poor people cannot be described. Sometimes three, four small children died on one and the same day; in many individual families as many as three or four were taken away by death. For instance, our Sadie lost two small brothers and two small sisters, and a third sister is still not out of danger.

On this occasion, Guenther begged for medicine from the Wisconsin Synod doctors in Milwaukee (E. Guenther 1915). It never arrived. In 1918 after hundreds of Apaches had died from influenza, he wrote to the head of the world mission board, "I would like to ask the Honorable Commission to look around for a Christian nurse willing to come up here [to the reservation] any time after receiving a telegram to take care of and comfort the sick" (E. Guenther 1918b). Four years later he was no less resolute in his desire. He requested a medical missionary for the Apache missions (Brockmann 1922). The synod, however, did not respond to Guenther's impassioned pleas. This was a bitter pill for the missionaries to swallow. In addition to their compassion for the Apaches, they firmly believed that by providing quality medical treatment they could win the hearts of the Indians away from the medicine men and facilitate the spread of the Gospel. An incident in 1919 was a case in point. Influenza struck the reservations killing 288 Apaches. Not only were the medicine men impotent to help, but many of them, too, became ill. Guenther (1919c) remembered the event.

The Indians, while viewing the sorry plight of their own helpers, were compelled by the very contrast to note how the living God had spared, not only the missionaries and their helpers, but also the Indian children that had been placed under their care, as well. Surely, it is not selfish to thank God for this contrast and to pray that it may ever remain a vivid recollection in the minds of the Indians!

Save the children from disease and death. Medicines and doctors were needed. Save the children unto eternal life. The Lutheran day schools were dedicated to this task. Furthermore, the missionaries believed that through the ranks of the day school children would one day come the native pastors, teachers, and church leaders (E. Guenther 1929a:6; J.J. 1916b:45). The same logic led to the establishment of another institution. In 1921 the synod had the chance to purchase the government day school at East Fork and turn it into a boarding school (E. Guenther 1921b). Again one of its main functions was to motivate and train Apaches to become church workers (E. Guenther 1922c:301; Bullis 1922).

At virtually the same time Guenther was promoting the idea of a boarding school he was advocating the establishment of an orphanage. First, it would satisfy "the Samaritan duty placed in our way by the many orphans left destitute on both reservations yearly" (E. Guenther 1920c). In addition, it would be a way of bringing the children to baptism and assuring students for the boarding school. In his eyes, then, the two institutions belonged together (E. Guenther 1920a). By 1923 the boarding school and orphanage were in operation at East Fork (Kessel 1987:20). Almost immediately, however, plans were made to move the institutions to Milk Ranch, a site near the present town of McNary. Here the synod had a chance to purchase several buildings and many acres. Henry C. Nitz (1922c) and E. Edgar Guenther (1923f) outlined nine reasons for moving the boarding school and orphanage.

1. They lacked adequate space at East Fork.
2. There were inevitable clashes of authority between the East Fork day school and boarding school personnel. A move would eliminate such difficulties.

3. The Apaches around East Fork were notorious for their immorality, gambling and drinking. Thus they presented constant temptations to the school children. At Milk Ranch many of the children would be away from such unsavory influences.
4. The East Fork boarding school and day school children mixed together and their different statuses made the situation awkward.
5. There was a sufficient wood supply at Milk Ranch for the school.
6. At Milk Ranch the Lutherans could procure their own supplies from nearby stores and avoid freight costs.
7. Milk Ranch was suitable for farming and dairy ranching which would supply food for the children.
8. Cooley (McNary) had an enormous Apache population and could be served by the pastor from nearby Milk Ranch.
9. The purchase of Milk Ranch would cost little more than the needed work at East Fork but in the end the Lutherans would end up with better facilities, equipment, and land.

For almost a year Guenther, Nitz, and the Wisconsin Synod worked feverishly and overcame almost every hurdle to purchase Milk Ranch. The government approved the sale. It remained only for the Apache chiefs to sign the document. Then the deal fell through. The chiefs refused to sign. Chief Alchesay, himself a Lutheran Christian, was primarily responsible for this action. Nitz (1923a) provided an explanation.

They said they appreciated our efforts in the Orphanage and Boarding School, but they did not want us to take the babies and pupils to such a cold climate. (The Milk Ranch is about 1,000 feet higher than East Fork . . .). Some who are in a position to know, claimed that Alchesay does not want any neighbors within ten miles of his camp. But the real reason for the adverse decision seems to be grounded in the superstition that the Milk Ranch is the fountain-head of all sickness on the Ft. Apache Reservation.

In a follow-up mission report Guenther (1923g) corrected Nitz's last statement. "The fact is that they consider Cooley to be the source of all sickness and they fear that the milk ranch because of its proximity to the former place would catch everything that is bred at Cooley." Either way the deal was off. Alchesay with purely altruistic motives and yet guided by superstition thwarted the plans. The missionaries were devastated. For the next several years they tried every way possible to move the boarding school from East Fork because of the pernicious influence of the nearby Apaches but to no avail. Meanwhile the orphanage suffered many shattering yet predictable blows. Often very ill babies were brought to the orphanage. Many died. It always hurt. *The Apache Scout* and mission reports kept the ledger. "Little Priscilla Joy died June 13 after an illness of only a few days . . . Little David, only four months old, died very suddenly July 20 . . . God took them to heaven because he loved them. Their little bodies now await the Resurrection Morning in our new East Fork Cemetery" (Nitz 1923b:7). And so the story went.

Meanwhile the Lutherans had matters to attend. The Roman Catholics were trying to gain a foothold among the Apaches. The Lutherans soon engaged them in an all-out denominational battle. The mission reports reveal the seriousness of the situation.

- 1918 The Lutherans beat the Catholics to Rice (E. Guenther 1918c).
- 1919 The Catholics had a priest on the government Board of Indian Commissioners who was wielding great leverage to give the Catholics special advantages among the Apaches (E. Guenther 1919a).
- 1920 The Catholics were building in Rice and gaining the upper hand (E. Guenther 1920a; 1920c).
- 1921 Guenther wanted to build in Whiteriver before the Catholics did (E. Guenther 1921b).
- 1922 The Lutherans and Catholics were competing for a stronghold in Cibecue (E. Guenther 1922a).
- 1922 A priest secretly baptized a boy under Guenther's care, and the child immediately died. A confrontation occurred between the clergymen. The Apaches asked Guenther to take the funeral (E. Guenther 1922e).
- 1922 Frances Uplegger reported that the Catholics were stealing children from his parish and taking them to the Catholic school in St. Johns (F. Uplegger 1922).
- 1923 The Catholics were moving into Bylas (A. Uplegger 1923).
- 1924 The Catholics dedicated churches in Bylas and Whiteriver (Schlegel 1924b; E. Guenther 1924e).

Meanwhile the Lutheran missionaries kept the members of the Wisconsin Synod closely apprised of the situation through numerous articles in *The Northwestern Lutheran* (Frey 1919; Nitz 1920; F. Uplegger 1921; E. Guenther 1921c; Frey 1921; E. Guenther 1922d; Bullis 1924d; Brockmann 1924a:282).

1920-1926 were pivotal years for the Apache missions. The boarding school and orphanage were established at East Fork. A parochial day school was started at Bylas. But the missionaries were hardly celebrating. There had been too many years of poor health, inadequate housing, overwork, and low salaries. Silas John Edwards' native religion was exacting its toll on the missions. The Milk Ranch deal fell through. Sickness was everywhere, orphans were dying. Finally, the Catholics posed a serious threat. Frustrated and anxious about many things, some of the missionaries accepted calls and left the reservations. Others, all too often, began to fight among themselves.

For the most part, the missionaries concentrated on reaching Apache children, but they often felt guilty about not spending sufficient time with the adults. Guenther cited the case of Martin Wehausen, a pastor and teacher at East Fork. "He is now constantly facing the self-accusation of not doing enough work in the school room and of neglecting pastoral care of his communicants, not to mention the need of regularly bringing the Gospel into the teepees" (E. Guenther 1923f). Because he was unable to free himself from the school and make camp calls, Wehausen resigned and left.

When pastors left the reservation, more often than not, they were replaced by recent seminary graduates. Some of the missionaries began to suspect that the placement committee was not sending them the cream of the crop. In 1923 Missionary Paul

Albrecht complained bitterly when the seminary and mission board sent candidate Erich LeHaine to Fort Apache (E. Guenther 1923h). As it turns out Guenther was very pleased with LaHaine's work.

By now even the seasoned missionaries had become embroiled in disputes. In 1922 Edgar Guenther resigned as Superintendent of the Indian Missions because of bitter remarks made against him and his wife by Francis Uplegger and others (E. Guenther 1922f). The synodical mission board refused to accept Guenther's resignation (F. Uplegger 1923b). Within a year Paul Albrecht tried to get LaHaine called to Minnesota and insinuated that Pastor Guenther was dishonest. For such remarks Albrecht was resoundingly censured (E. Guenther 1924f). Paul Brockmann, chairman of the Executive Committee of Missions, wrote a letter in 1924 to his friend Pastor Guenther. He confessed that he was tired and frustrated and planning to resign his position (Brockmann 1924b). He did not resign, however. Pastor Nitz and Mrs. Plumb of the orphanage became involved in a disagreement, and the latter threatened to resign. Pastor Guenther intervened and drew up guidelines for the supervision of the orphanage (Plumb 1925; E. Guenther 1925c; 1925d). Meanwhile both Nitz and Guenther were convinced that Melvin Croll, who took Martin Wehausen's place at East Fork, was a totally ineffective teacher (E. Guenther 1924g). Two years later Croll accepted a call to Wisconsin. Dozens of similar incidents occurred.

In time, however, the storms passed and a calm prevailed. The Silas John Edwards' religion decreased in popularity, the Catholics ceased to be a constant threat, the missionaries got their Fords, they moved into suitable parsonages and built churches, and tempers cooled. They had survived attacks from without and within. They managed to stay focused on the task at hand—to bring the Gospel to the Apaches. The renewed spirit of the missionaries was well illustrated in an article written in 1927 by Pastor Edgar Guenther for *The Northwestern Lutheran*. It is entitled *The Still Small Voice* and is here reprinted.

Missionaries are human. Because they are human the thermometer of their missionary optimism does not remain constant. Comes a time when they look complacently forward to a gradual rising temperature of religious growth in their field and the Lord in His unfathomable wisdom apparently dispels all with a sudden cross. — I say "apparently."

Then again when one sees his altar shattered, and hides in the cave of his despair, sharing the complaint of Elijah at Horeb: "I, even I only, am left," — then the same Lord is again at hand to reprove one's self-centered conceit by showing that He is not in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor the fire, but in the still small voice.

Your missionary having heard this still small voice not so long ago thought that the earnest reader might be interested in what it said to him. The former was hidden in his cave, which ordinarily serves as study, when he walked Sinew R. a sincere young Apache Christian. Sinew is a Scout at Fort Huachuca and had just returned home on a furlough. Sinew is an open-hearted boy and delights in telling the missionaries stories of his own people. After but a few words of introduction he was again under way:

"You remember my grandmother? Yes? Well she died the other day. Something funny happened in her life once. She went up on the mountains one day about ten years

ago to pack wood as she was accustomed to do. She believed in Jesus and she liked to pray. She would pray right out there in the woods or anywhere. She had learned that Jesus was coming back some day to judgment. That did not frighten her in the least. She thought much about that and always wanted to be ready when he called for her. Kneeling down to shoulder her wood she prayed again along these lines.

"Then before she was able to get up with the bundle on her shoulders she heard a whirring up in the sky that sounded like the noise of a harvesting machine. The sound would come nearer and grow into a roar and then grow fainter again. This happened several times. At last the thing that the sound came from circled over her head like a large bird. 'It's Jesus coming to get me,' she cried joyfully. 'How soon He has answered my prayers.' But now the object dropped gradually away from her and came to ground on the flat at Fort Apache. 'Now I must hurry to Him,' she said eagerly to herself. 'You bundle of wood stay where you are. I don't need you where I am going.'

"Arriving at camp she was told of the flying machine that had alighted at Fort Apache, the first one in these parts. This news did not disappoint her nearly as much as one would have expected. 'That's alright,' she said. 'He'll come back after me some other day.'

"Not long ago my grandmother died. You know sometimes when Indians are about to die they threaten to send evil spirits from the other side to make trouble for their enemies. When my grandmother knew that her end was near, she said, 'I am going to Jesus now. I have no hard feelings towards anyone. There are no evil spirits where Jesus lives. Therefore, nobody need be afraid that I will send any back from there.'

"Well,' continued Sinew, 'I must be off looking for a job because I do not wish to waste my furlough. Someday I will be back and tell you some more. Good bye.'"

"Truly," mused the missionary, "truly the Lord is not in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the still small voice. There are seven thousand in Israel which bowed not unto Baal and the Lord has his elect also in Apacheland."

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## † Edward Carl Fredrich II †

The Rev. Prof. Edward Carl Fredrich II, em., a charter member of the WELS Historical Institute, a frequent contributor to the Institute's *Journal*, and since 1990 a member of the editorial staff of the *Journal*, was called home by his Savior on March 2, 1995. The funeral services were held in St. Mark Lutheran Church, Watertown, Wisconsin on March 5.

He was born July 20, 1917 in Helenville, Wisconsin, where his father was pastor of one of the oldest congregations of the Wisconsin Synod. Here he attended the parochial school and continued his education in Watertown at Northwestern College's preparatory department, graduating from the college department in 1938. He was a graduate of Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, Mequon, Wisconsin in 1941, after which he served his Lord as educator and pastor for 50 years. 1941 to 1948 he served as instructor and principal (1945-48) at Winnebago Lutheran Academy, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. In 1948 he was called as pastor to Paul the Apostle Lutheran Church, Detroit, Michigan where he remained for six years. He returned to teaching in 1954 by serving as professor at Michigan Lutheran Seminary, Saginaw, Michigan, 1954-1964; at Dr. Martin Luther College, New Ulm, Minnesota, 1964-1970; and at Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, Mequon, Wisconsin, 1970-1991, at which time he began his retirement. His chief field of interest was history, primarily church history, but in particular Lutheran history. In 1994 he was awarded the "Distinguished Service Award" by the Lutheran Historical Conference in recognition of his efforts on behalf of Lutheranism and Lutheran history through research, writing, teaching, preservation of the Lutheran heritage, and partnership in the Lutheran Historical Conference.

He is survived by his widow, Elaine (Schultz), by four children, Edward Carl III, Christine, Hope and Joel, by nine grandchildren and by two sisters.

Professor Fredrich will be missed by the editor and staff of the *Journal*. His comments were most valuable in the publication of materials. His well-researched articles helped to preserve and restore historical facts and accounts of Wisconsin Synod Lutheranism. His last major contribution to Lutheran history was the publication of the history of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod from 1900 on, the date on which Prof. J.P. Koehler published his history of the synod from its inception to its 50th anniversary. Professor Fredrich's next project, if the Lord had permitted him to live, was a history of the Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America.

May the Lord strengthen and comfort the survivors with the words of Psalm 23, which was read at the funeral service.



## The Cover

On the front cover is printed the official seal of Northwestern College. WELS Historical Institute members who are members of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod probably realize why it is used for this issue of the *Journal*. Non-Wisconsin Synod members may not have heard of the action taken by the Wisconsin Synod at its 1993 convention. Northwestern College will cease to exist after this school year. In mid-1995 the college will be combined with Dr. Martin Luther College of New Ulm, Minnesota to form a new college—Martin Luther College—on the grounds of today's Dr. Martin Luther College in New Ulm. Naturally, expansion projects are in the process of being carried out.

Furthermore, Northwestern Preparatory School (in earlier years known as the Preparatory Department of Northwestern College) will be combined with Martin Luther Preparatory School of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin to form Luther Preparatory School. It will occupy the entire campus of the present Northwestern College and Northwestern Preparatory School in Watertown. Here also expansion projects are being completed. The old logos, colors, school songs, etc., will have seen their day and will be replaced.

In 1863 the Wisconsin Synod established an educational institution in Watertown, Wisconsin for the purpose of preparing men for the preaching ministry. This institution was the beginning of Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, now in Mequon (Thiensville), Wisconsin. After a brief hiatus during which the pastoral students were sent to the seminary in St. Louis, Missouri, the Wisconsin Synod seminary was reopened, but this time in Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. Almost 70 years ago it was moved to its present site. In 1865 the Wisconsin Synod called the Rev. Prof. Adam Martin to establish a college in Watertown for preparing students for the seminary studies. Although other courses and departments were added to the curriculum and later transferred elsewhere or dropped entirely, the chief purpose of the college always remained that which the early members of the synod established at the time of the founding of the institution.

For the past five years the preparation for the printing of the WELS Historical Institute *Journal*, as well as the printing itself, has been done by the college's printing office and shop. The editor, editorial staff, and the board of the Historical Institute extend great appreciation and thanks to the two persons—Mrs. Bonnie Kuerth and Mr. James Wendt—who so ably produced our publications.

The WELS Historical Institute was given formal approval by the synod in convention some eleven years ago to organize for the purpose of collecting and preserving historical data and artifacts that were related to the various periods of the existence of the Wisconsin Synod. For this purpose the Institute took over the former synodical archives which are now to be found in our Seminary's library building. These are available for researchers and students of history. A museum was also established when Salem Ev. Lutheran Church made its old church building available for that purpose. It is now known as Salem Landmark Church. The Institute itself receives no funds from the synod, although some funds are given to the archivist for part of the cost of preserving synodical data. Funds, especially for the museum, have been received from outside sources. The majority of the costs to maintain the work of the Institute comes from membership fees, and for this reason it is hoped that our membership can be increased in size. Membership fees are: \$10.00 for individuals; \$15.00 for a husband and wife; \$5.00 for a student; and \$25.00 for a congregation, school, library or corporation.

Board members are: Dr. James Kiecker, president; Prof. Alan Siggelkow, vice president; Dr. Erhard Opsahl, secretary; Pastor Curtis Jahn; Pastor Mark Jeske; Mr. Clarence Miller, Miss Charlotte Sampe; Dr. Thomas Ziebell. *Ex officio* — Professor Martin Westerhaus and Mr. Barry Washburn, treasurer

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