

Von Rohr: A Beloved Brother and Faithful Minister

By Richard D. Balge

Philipp Andreas von Rohr was received into membership with the Wisconsin Synod at the Watertown convention in 1877 on the basis of a colloquy. His admission brought the number of ordained men in the Synod to 80. The accession of his St. Martin's, Winona congregation brought the total of congregations in the Synod to 143. The congregation was admitted on condition that a questionable passage in its constitution be stricken. The report does not offer a clue as to what the questionable passage was. The newly received congregation and its pastor immediately invited the Synod to hold its next annual convention in Winona.ⁱ

The invitation of St. Matthew's in Milwaukee was accepted instead, but St. Martin's invitation was renewed and the Synod convened there in 1879. In that year, at that Synod, three pastors of von Rohr's former Buffalo fellowship followed him into Wisconsin. They were J. G. M. and H. Hillemann, father and son, and A. W. Keibel. St. Martin's *filiale* congregations at Lewiston and Wilson were also received into membership. A Mississippi Conference was formed and von Rohr was appointed its first visitor. A memorial proposing federation with the Minnesota Synod was presented. Von Rohr was a signatory of that proposal, along with President Bading, Professor Ernst and other leaders. The recently received member was elected a delegate to the Synodical Conference, which was to meet later that year. He was also chosen as alternate representative to visit the 1880 convention of the Minnesota Synod, where Wisconsin's thoughts on federation were to be explored.ⁱⁱ In 1880 he was appointed to a committee which was to develop a more suitable catechism.ⁱⁱⁱ

This resume of the first three years of his activity in the Synod suggests certain conclusions and raises certain questions about the man's origins, personality, gifts, doctrinal position and pastoral concerns. In examining and following up some of these clues to von Rohr the man, we can perhaps arrive at some fair estimate of his presidency.

I. He was Committed to Christian Education

His appointment to the catechism revision committee in 1880 was obviously not an effort to give him something to do to make him feel at home in the Synod. His aptitude and diligence in the area of education had already been demonstrated in his work at St. Martin's. He had opened the school himself, providing six children of his own when he did so. For four years he taught one hundred children at a time, until the congregation could afford to call a teacher. The original building was enlarged, and then two new schools were built during the years of his pastorate, one of them a branch to serve the West Side of the growing city and parish. He attributed the rapid and continuing growth of the congregation in large measure to this Christian day school.^{iv} He once exulted that the local Methodists had closed their school because all the youngsters were transferring to St. Martin's.^v He expressed the view that home and school must work in concert to carry out the education of Christian children.^{vi} He provided in his own congregation for a continuing program of Christian education (less formally structured) with his Young People's Society "Harmonia," which frequently remitted special gifts to the apple of von Rohr's eye: Northwestern University at Watertown.^{vii}

His own elementary education had been "limited and strict" in the western New York town of New Bergholz, where a strong pietistic element regarded skating and snowballing as evil excesses. The gospel ingredient in his early education he credited to his father, who was also his pastor. What we know of von Rohr's personality and pastoral concern suggests that his Winona schools partook more liberally of the evangelical spirit than did the schools of his own childhood. His teaching ministry actually began when he was still a seminarian, for he taught in the Christian day school in Buffalo, New York, during his last two years at Martin Luther College.

If this strong advocate and able practitioner of Christian education was not the inevitable choice to succeed President John Bading in 1889, there was at least some logic to his election. Bading left the "battle of the Bennett Law" to a younger man. How much the strategy and tactics used by the Synod in its battle reflected

the new president's spirit and approach we cannot say today. As a matter of fact, von Rohr was not elected to the *Agitationskommittee*, which was charged with contesting those features of the Wisconsin Public School Law which were inimical to—actually directed against—the parochial schools. Perhaps he was excluded from the committee for the simple reason that he was not a citizen of Wisconsin.

The mildest rendering of *die Agitation* we can offer is “lobbying.” We probably would not say today, as a church body, that “*We demand...a repeal, or at least...an amendment of this law.*”^{viii} The elements in the Bennett Law (so-named for its sponsor in the Assembly) which the synodical fathers found especially galling were the requirements that instruction be in the English language, that children not cross district lines to attend school, that terms coincide with the public school calendar, and that the curriculum include specific courses, such as United States history.^{ix}

The committee began its work, co-operated with the Wisconsin District of the Missouri Synod to gather statistics,^x reported in January of 1890 that the law was not being enforced—partly because “those who hate Germans and the Church have a bad conscience”^{xi}—and reported in March that some pressure was being applied in Milwaukee County after all.^{xii} On May 4, 740 lay Protestants from all over the state met in Milwaukee to register their protest against the law.^{xiii} The Committee reported to the Synod in 1890 at Watertown: “We declare that, without regard to previous party allegiance, we will vote only for the candidates who pledge themselves to work for the repeal of the Bennett Law.”^{xiv} The Synod re-elected the committee and resolved that every congregation should take a special offering for the purpose of continuing the fight.¹⁴

The Republican Party that summer called for modification of the school laws to meet the objections which had been raised. In a *Gemeinde-Blatt* article Dr. Notz commented: “Sand in the eyes!” “Ambiguities!” “Contradictions!” “May the Democrats do better!”^{xv} The Democrats “did better” in their platform, “did better” at the polls than they had for decades, and the law was repealed. In his presidential address in 1891, von Rohr spoke of the law as a chastening of God on a people who had not always properly appreciated their schools. He did not congratulate the Synod on its recent show of political force, but said: “(The Lord) has won us a victory.”^{xvi} He went on to say that the spirit which opposed our schools still lives: “It is the devil's hatred against the full gospel truth.” His words must have served as an antidote to vainglorying, a mild warning against reliance on political means to strive for spiritual ends, and a reminder that “the weapons of our warfare are not carnal.”

Our generation has often heard that “the Bennett Law didn't really amount to much.” It is entirely possible that it “didn't amount to much” just because the people against whom it was directed let their protest be heard and registered their dissent at the polling places. In that way—not because the Synod's methods and motives were above reproach—the repeal of the repressive school laws really was the Lord's victory and His way of preserving a great blessing for us to this day.

Von Rohr became president at a time of crisis in the Synod's educational program on the elementary level. This prepared and tempered him for the many educational crises that were to follow. The same convention which elected him to its highest administrative post also elected him to membership on the Institutional Board of Control. For the rest of his life he served, not *ex officio* but by election, either on this Board, which controlled the Synod's two schools of higher learning, or on the two separate successor boards, which were established for each school in 1899. His special love was for Northwestern University (as it was then called) at Watertown. He was not unappreciative of his own education at Buffalo, but felt that Northwestern's classical language training and liberal arts education was better suited to equip men for lifelong theological study. His close association with Bading and Ernst, perhaps an intuitive grasp of the Synod's situation and needs, his concern for the future ministry of the Synod—these put the institution at Watertown first in his reports and highest in his assignment of priorities. “As always we give first thought to our institutions. They are the focus of our synodical life.”^{xvii} He understood that the Synod's missions needed missionaries, that the congregations who would support missionaries needed a supply of able pastors who would show them the needs and opportunities.

And so he endorsed the 1891 appeal of the Seminary treasurer that congregations should send all or most of their mission offerings to the institutions, and all the ladies' mission collections should be remitted for

the same purpose.^{xviii} This was not the policy of a narrow and selfish man who failed to heed the Savior's Commission. This was the conscientious administrator who tried to be a good steward of monetary resources which could reach only so far. He believed that what the Synod had must be properly maintained before the Synod could expand and, perhaps, overextend itself.

Consider a few of the larger crises with which von Rohr and Bading, as Board chairman, had to deal. In 1894 the administration building at Watertown burned. It was replaced in less than one year, at a cost of \$18,000. In 1903, after the inspector had suffered a nervous breakdown and his temporary replacements lost control of the dormitory, Bading and von Rohr addressed the assembled student body in an attempt to restore order and revive morale. This has been called an initial instance of interference by the Board.^{xix} In fact, it can as well be regarded as a necessary act of fatherly and brotherly concern by two men who carried the welfare of the school in their hearts and took its concerns daily to the throne of grace. We do not think that they trampled on the president or the faculty of Northwestern by helping when help was critically needed.

In that same year 1903 it was reported to the Synod that Northwestern was in dire need of additional dormitory space. Building plans called for funds in the amount of \$25,000. Von Rohr had already personally raised \$7000!^{xx} In 1904, the Synod resolved to remove the price limit.^{xxi} "The actual cost of the building (1905 dormitory) and of improvements in other buildings was \$51,267... Von Rohr... and Mr. Graebner of Milwaukee ... pledged themselves to raise the excess over the sum fixed by the Synod."^{xxii} The dormitory, "home" to most present-day pastors of the Synod during their years in Watertown, was razed in 1974. President von Rohr was one of the featured speakers at its dedication, as he had been for most great events at Northwestern since 1890.

After he had already been stricken with the illness which would curtail his service and end his life on earth, President von Rohr volunteered to interest former students in the building of a gymnasium.^{xxiii} In 1908, with the president absent for the first time in all the years of his synodical membership, the Synod learned that the Board had authorized the faculty to co-operate with Milwaukee alumni to raise money for a gymnasium to replace the ancient *Turnhalle*. Von Rohr, of course, never saw the one building which remains on the campus as a fruit (in part) of his activity.

How the school remembered this man who was not an educational theorist of renown, not yet a classical scholar, is recorded in the 1915 anniversary book of Professor Arthur Hoermann, translated by Hans Koller Moussa: "Anyone that came to him with suggestions that were intended to benefit the college was sure of a hearing and sure of enthusiastic support, no matter how busy he was with the many things that took his time. That is the reason that the college reception room is adorned by a life-size oil painting of President von Rohr. This fitting tribute to his memory was made possible... by friends that appreciated his work..."^{xxiv}

The same 1889 Synod which elected the newcomer as president expressed the desirability of erecting a seminary plant befitting the high purpose of that school. In 1890 Professor Hoenecke accepted the call to serve the Seminary on a full time basis. The building in Wauwatosa was completed in 1903 and von Rohr preached for its dedication: "We have sought nothing else than (to serve the Lord), not our own honor, not the Synod's fame. With all loyal members of our precious Lutheran Church we seek only one thing: that among us God be honored and that His true Church be built up to the eternal glory of His holy name."^{xxv} In that same year, the Seminary faculty's rejection of a two-track (theoretical and practical) course had finally been endorsed by the Synod.^{xxvi} It would seem that von Rohr, a man of less formal education than many of his synodical co-workers, readily acquiesced in the decision to continue the Seminary in its single "scientific" program. Also in 1903, it was resolved to establish a theological periodical with Dr. Hoenecke as its editor. The first number appeared in January 1904.

Before closing this extended recall of von Rohr's involvement in the Synod's educational program, let us mention that during his administration Dr. Martin Luther College became the teacher seminary of the Joint Synod. Also, the first viable Lutheran high school within the Synod came into existence in Milwaukee, in great part through the efforts of von Rohr's fellow synodicals. An attempt had been made a generation earlier. In May of 1868 Wisconsin Synod members had formed a Lutheran High School Association and were joined by Missourians in October. But the venture failed in 1870.^{xxvii} Then, in 1903, members of the Seminary faculty, local pastors and teachers of the Synodical Conference, local women—all volunteers—opened and maintained a

high school. Today there are another ten such schools in various conferences and federations of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod.

What has been said concerning the man's commitment to Christian education is not to suggest that he was personally responsible for the survival of the Synod's schools, elementary through seminary. It is rather to record that he *took* the responsibility to work for their survival and welfare and growth. Again, it cannot be claimed that any part of our educational establishment bears his personal stamp. It is, however, a fact that his emphasis on the "mission institutions" was a constant reminder—even goad—to the Synod to ensure its own existence by training its own pastors and teachers and training them well.

II. He was Committed to the Larger Fellowship

A second aspect of his character suggested by a review of his first years in the Synod is that von Rohr was committed to finding and fostering fellowship with Lutherans beyond the confines of his own church body. Recall that he was chosen as alternate representative to discuss federation with Minnesota in 1880. He had come to Wisconsin's membership in the first place because of his desire to be part of a larger fellowship. He had been the second (and last) president of that faction of the "Buffalo" Synod which dissolved in 1875. We would not expect him to be separatistic in his relations with those who held to the same confession. Still, he joined Wisconsin just in that year when "the main items on the agenda were the state-synod and joint seminary proposals."^{xxviii} He must have understood that Wisconsin's future existence as an autonomous body was endangered by those proposals. He must have agreed that "bigger" is not intrinsically "better." He must have empathized with those in Wisconsin who resented the pressure (real or inferred) that Missouri was applying. He must have been one of those who saw a hope for Wisconsin's independence and continued existence in federation with Minnesota. In short, he could have joined Missouri but he didn't. May we conclude that, while he appreciated the larger fellowship of confessional brethren, he did not agree with those who thought size and uniformity and centralization are the best safeguards of confessional Lutheranism?

The hope expressed by both synods in 1881 that a joint convention of Wisconsin and Minnesota could be held in 1882 was fulfilled at La Crosse. The time was not ripe for formal union and no federation resulted that year. In 1885, von Rohr was again elected as a representative to visit the Minnesota Synod, and the following year the sister synods held concurrent conventions at St. John's Church in St. Paul, meeting jointly for the doctrinal portion of the agenda.

In view of his early involvement in the overtures to Minnesota, it is puzzling today to realize that von Rohr was not personally involved in the 1892 meetings which led to federation with Minnesota and Michigan in a Joint Synod. "In 1891 the presidents of Minnesota and Michigan, Albrecht and Lederer...consulted together about Michigan's entering the Synodical Conference fold by joining Wisconsin and Minnesota in another general body. Hence in August of the same year (representatives of the Michigan Synod) came to Watertown, Wis., for a conference with Albrecht and Prof. Ernst."^{xxix} The following spring (1892) representatives of the three synods met to draw up proposals for federation. The theological faculty, plus Ernst and Vice-President Bading, were present. Pastor Adelberg represented von Rohr. Two momentous meetings had been held, and one of the early proponents of federation—now president of the Wisconsin Synod—was absent from both! Had there been personality conflicts with the Minnesota men? Had von Rohr lost interest? Was he satisfied to leave the discussion in the hands of men whom he regarded as better theologians than himself? Did he resent the inclusion of Michigan? More tantalizing: would the federation have proceeded more smoothly, the Joint Synod gotten off to a better start, the bitter disagreement regarding Michigan Lutheran Seminary been avoided if he had personally taken part in the meetings? We shall never know.

We do know that in that summer's convention of the Wisconsin Synod he expressed confidence that the federation would be helpful in all of the church's work, "but especially the institutions."^{xxx} Wisconsin accepted the plan, which in its details called for most of the united and unifying agencies and efforts which benefit the Joint Synod today. That is, there was to be a single publishing house with one church paper, one theological journal, one school periodical, one annual (*Kalender*), and a single service book. Home missions were to be

carried on by the individual synods under the supervision of the Joint Synod. There was to be one seminary and one teachers' seminary. Michigan and Minnesota would each have a school for pre-theological training.

Praeses von Rohr was instructed to arrange the fall meeting in Milwaukee at which the Joint Synod was formed and which elected Professor Ernst as president. It was understood that the Michigan Synod would become part of the Synodical Conference. The *Gemeinde-Blatt* counted 400 congregations in the new Joint Synod.^{xxxix} In the following fall, von Rohr preached at the dedication of the new seminary building at Wauwatosa. He said: "From now on it will not serve the Wisconsin Synod alone, but also the sister synods now federated with us. We have tendered it to the Joint Synod and thereby demonstrated, with our joyful and willing sacrifice, how urgent it is for us to help our fellow believers and further the wonderful work of building God's Kingdom among them as well. I now transfer this institution to the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan."^{xxxix}

If Wisconsin thought it was making a sacrifice, there were those in the two smaller synods who felt they were being asked to sacrifice even more. A number of Minnesota congregations realigned themselves by joining Missouri. As events were to make clear, Michigan did not possess the internal unity to live up to the terms of its union with the Joint Synod. At the founding convention, Michigan expressed its determination to resume theological training at Saginaw and reported to its next "district" convention that the Joint Synod had found that acceptable.^{xxxix} But in its district convention Wisconsin expressed its dismay at this turn of events.^{xxxix} On July 17, 1894, a meeting was held in Winona between representatives of Minnesota and Wisconsin. President Boehner of Michigan excused his and his synod's absence from the meeting and assured the participants of Michigan's acquiescence in whatever was decided. No action was taken relative to Michigan Lutheran Seminary, but it was agreed that Dr. Martin Luther College would be the one teachers' seminary for the Joint Synod. All three synods would support it with their gifts and prayers, and the New Ulm school would receive half the proceeds of the *Gemeinde-Blatt* and Northwestern Publishing House.^{xxxv}

Von Rohr was a guest at the 1895 Michigan convention, which resolved to proceed with new construction at Saginaw.^{xxxvi} His words on the occasion are not recorded. We know that he delivered Wisconsin's counsel against continuing theological training at Saginaw.^{xxxvii} We also know that he did not carry the day, even while he did have some support among a minority of Michigan men.^{xxxviii}

But that minority was not official Michigan, and through the rest of that year a running battle raged in the pages of the *Synodal-Freund* and the *Gemeinde-Blatt* between Ernst and Boehner.^{xxxix}

In 1896, von Rohr had occasion to send a protest to President Boehner regarding a Michigan Synod pastor who was serving lodge members who had formerly belonged to the Wisconsin Synod congregation in Escanaba.^{xl} In July, in an open letter, he accused Boehner of publicly libeling the congregation in Ludington, with its pastor.^{xli} On July 16 Ernst and von Rohr filed formal charges against Boehner and his party with the president of the Synodical Conference, Bading. They alleged "unlutheran practice and on that account also unlutheran teaching" and promised to lay the specifics before the Synodical Conference and prove them. Bading informed Boehner, whose first response was that the action was premature. Boehner's second letter asked for a bill of particulars.^{xlii} In August the *Gemeinde-Blatt* published an open letter signed by Ernst, Bading, Gausewitz, Hoenecke and Knuth (the Synod's treasurer) and von Rohr. They declared that the fellowship with Boehner and his following was broken, and they declared their fellowship with eleven pastors whom Boehner had suspended.^{xliii}

Michigan failed to send delegates to the Synodical Conference that summer and that body named a committee to meet with the brethren, deal with the issues, and report their findings in the official papers of the constituent synods.^{xliiv} At its convention at Sturgis, the Michigan Synod withdrew from the Joint Synod and the Synodical Conference. It refused to meet with the Synodical Conference committee.^{xliv} The suspended minority met at Owosso on November 3–5 to declare its separation from the Michigan Synod and its continued affiliation with the Joint Synod and the Synodical Conference.

We see that von Rohr could not prevent the break with the Michigan majority. Indeed, he played an important role in bringing it to pass with his filing of formal charges. That did not mean he had lost interest in the larger fellowship. It was rather because he understood what fellowship is and when it becomes impossible to

sustain it. It was not that he loved the Joint Synod less but that he loved Lutheran doctrine and practice more. Indeed, what point was there in preserving a union where unity did not exist? What neither Bading (who was present at the meeting in Watertown which drew up the proposals for federation and was president of the Synodical Conference when it received Michigan) nor von Rohr could foresee was that Michigan would replace President Lederer with a man of Boehner's spirit. The problem was not one of procedure or of lack of confessional safeguards. It was one of failing to discern in time a spirit which was loose in Michigan.

By 1897 presidential reports and *Gemeinde-Blatt* notices gave evidence that pastors and teachers were frequently following calls from one district to another. At the same time, the Seminary was sending candidates to all three constituent synods. Both of these "cross-pollinating" factors helped further to consolidate the Joint Synod. The fact that so many of the Michigan minority accepted calls to Wisconsin probably helped to smooth the way for the free conference and re-establishment of fellowship within Michigan which occurred in 1906,^{xlvi} and for the return of the larger Michigan Synod to the Joint Synod in 1909, the summer after von Rohr's death.

For the first time in 1879 and regularly after 1890 von Rohr was elected as delegate to the Synodical Conference. The record does not show that he was in any way regarded as a theological leader in that wider grouping of confessional Lutherans. In 1894 it met at Winona and elected him to the commission for Lithuanian missions in the eastern United States.^{xlvii} Mixed conferences continued to meet regularly throughout Wisconsin during his presidency, and he respected Missouri's ministry in jurisdictional questions and disciplinary cases.^{xlviii}

With regard to the six Lutheran Intersynodical Conferences—the Free Conferences—held between 1903 and 1906, it must be reported that von Rohr did not participate. The Wauwatosa faculty and Dr. Ernst did, and it may well be that the aging and ailing and hard-of-hearing president knew that he could best use his talents in administering St. Martin's and the Synod and the Seminary and the Lithuanian missions and the Belle Plaine home. One might be inclined to speculate that his experience with the Michigan majority had soured him on efforts to find unity and achieve union. It is probably more fair to surmise that he did not think of himself as a theologian of the caliber of Wisconsin's participants. In that there would be no false humility but a realistic appreciation of the respective gifts God had given to them and to him. He may not even have been invited to participate.

III. He Was a Natural Leader

His leadership qualities must have been apparent from the day he first attended the Synod in 1877. He was elected to various positions of responsibility from the very beginning and in 1886 became vice-president. We cannot say today that Bading "tapped" him, but the president must have known when he declined reelection that the incumbent vice-president would have an advantage in the ensuing election. Koehler explained von Rohr's rise to eminence in this way: "...Being a man of the world, as it were, by virtue of his variegated career as a Buffalo Synod offspring, his relations with the Iowa seminary through his own disbanded small synod, his command of the English language and conversance with American affairs beyond the average pastor's ken, and the adaptability he possessed...all this endeared him to the rising younger element, whereas his middle age made him acceptable to the elders."^{xlix}

Not to be overlooked in an attempt to understand his leadership qualities are his physical size and strength. He was one of those people to whom other people must pay attention because of his sheer size. Older professors at Northwestern College in the 1940's smilingly recalled that he was a "giant" In his time Winona was a lumbering center and it has been written that he was "taller than any lumberman in town."^{li} A page of pen sketches by H. Ruhland shows him in profile: a round head, full beard, massive shoulders, receding hairline, twice the size of Hoenecke, who appears on the same page.^{li} The oil painting in the Northwestern College library is a front view of a large man, authoritative—a bank president perhaps or a railroad builder. On his father's side he was the descendant of one of the most ancient noble families of Mark Brandenburg. His mother, Margarethe Luetzel, was descended from Huguenots who fled France and settled in Magdeburg.

With physical size and noble bearing went a capacity for work. While he served the little congregation in Winona and for four years taught its burgeoning school, he also founded and served daughter congregations at Wilson and Hart until they were able to call pastors. He recalled later that “the work gave me joy.” During the same years that he presided over and administered the affairs of his adopted synod, St. Martin’s grew to be the largest Lutheran congregation in the state of Minnesota. The spirit of willingness to work hard and to delight in hard work he learned, in part, from Grabau at Buffalo: “His example had the influence on my entire life in the ministry (as on that of others), that we were very conscientious about our office and our activity in the same; and we never complained about too much work.” His observation should not be construed to mean that he failed to recognize that the motivation and strength came from another source.

If ever the Wisconsin Synod engaged in the cult of personality, it may have been in connection with this man. “*Unser von Rohr*” his successor Bergemann called him in the German funeral address, using that idiom of proprietary affection that cannot be translated to an American equivalent. “Getting to know him was the same as learning to love and esteem him, as feeling drawn to him.”^{liii} About 2,000 people stood in the street outside the packed church (where 1,500 were in attendance) during the funeral service on a cold, clear December day in Winona. Pastor Carl Gausewitz preached the English sermon: “When I first visited Winona, people who knew him, and they all knew him, pointed him out to me as one of the finest men in town... You could read (his life) like an open book. It would be remarkable indeed if you had not found some misprints. The very frankness of his manner makes it all the more remarkable that he, a sinful and faulty human being like the rest of us, should have been able to labor successfully in one field for so many years.” Even Professor Koehler, who wrote of the man’s limitations and who did not rate executive ability among the greater gifts of God to the church, acknowledged the rare character of the man. Twice he mentioned von Rohr’s openness to criticism, which Koehler himself probably offered on more than one occasion.^{liiii} He wrote of his hospitality and winning manner.^{liv} Again, he wrote of his open-mindedness and personal charm.^{lv} His biographer in the 1910 *Gemeinde-Blatt Kalender* said: “He was such a benevolent man that those who did not understand him mistook it for weakness.”

With all the natural gifts which the Creator gave him went a pastor’s heart which the Holy Ghost gave him. The many sermons which were printed in the *Gemeinde-Blatt* reveal a clear, simple, straightforward, pastoral style. His concern for the spiritual welfare of pastors and flocks found expression in the admonition that visitors should be more than trouble-shooters.^{lvi} In his opening sermon in 1897 he urged pastors and teachers, as well as laymen, to hold family devotions. He personally endorsed the memorial of the Mississippi Conference urging the early publication of devotional books for families.^{lvii} He once observed that “one easily forgets to reckon with souls because one would rather reckon with numbers.”^{lviii} The picture of the man as pastor and person which we have gained from his contemporaries, including Koehler, makes it very doubtful that the booklet of the erstwhile Pastor Brauel was anything but the product of a disturbed personality.^{lix}

IV. He Was a Tireless Administrator

Perhaps it is worth our time to survey some of the improvements in the Synod’s operation during the von Rohr years. While we do so, we should also remember that the most memorable thing he did as president of his former church body was to dissolve it. If the praeses was not the mind behind the administrative improvements, he was at least responsible for implementing them. He was in the chair when they were adopted. There were no essential changes in what the Synod really was in those years. Certainly it was not a time of confessional struggle or of establishing a doctrinal identity. This may be why we are writing about a virtually forgotten man. It should not be overlooked, however, that the Synod became something less of a ministerium during the von Rohr presidency. One of the things that had drawn him to Wisconsin was its congregational polity as opposed to the consistorial (practically episcopal) rule of Grabau.

The change was not immediate but gradual. As late as 1894 virtually every mention of a congregation was by the pastor’s name in possessive form rather than by the congregation’s proper name. Nevertheless, it was a committee of lay delegates that reported on the need for a new seminary plant in 1891. Another lay

committee undertook the location and feasibility studies.^{lx} The essay on *Hausgottesdienst* by Professor Hoenecke presented at the 1897 convention certainly was intended to appeal to the lay delegates. The same year a Ways and Means Committee of laymen prevailed on the Synod to elect a single treasurer for all its many individual accounts, and to have quarterly reports published in the *Gemeinde-Blatt*.^{lxi} The next year Ways and Means worked out an Order of Business for synodical conventions.^{lxii} From that time on there were more frequent acknowledgments of lay servants of the church, marking their anniversaries and deaths. In 1902 laymen persuaded the Synod to grant the president \$100 for personal expenses connected with his office.^{lxiii} In 1908, with von Rohr absent for the first time since 1877, the laymen caucused and asked for more representation on the Synod's convention floor committees. Their request was endorsed in a synodical resolution.^{lxiv}

That year 251 ordained men were serving the two educational institutions and 330 congregations. Of those congregations, 107 were not voting members of the Synod.^{lxv} It was still, to some extent, a ministerium. We are still learning in 1975 what it means that an important aspect of our ministerial work is to outfit the saints for *their* ministerial work.

In addition to the improvements initiated by lay delegates, there were other sound administrative changes made in those years. We take them for granted today, but they had to have an origin. Northwestern Publishing House was established in 1891. At the behest of the teachers' conference, the Synod resolved to require credentials from an educational institution before receiving men teachers as teacher members of the Synod.^{lxvi} The legislative charter of Northwestern at Watertown was revised, placing that school under the Synod's ownership and legal control for the first time since its founding thirty years before.^{lxvii} In 1897 the Synod itself was legally incorporated for the first time.^{lxviii} The present procedure for nominating professors, publishing the nominees' names and allowing time for protests or support was adopted.^{lxix} The annual November State Teachers' Convention was initiated in 1908. None of these things is of the essence in Kingdom work. They were, each in its way, helpful to those who "walk together" in a larger church body.

Available records and accounts suggest that the civilian chaplaincy of Pastor F. Eppling during the Spanish-American War was remarkably like the ministry to service personnel carried on by men of our Synod in subsequent wars. His congregation granted him a leave of absence for the duration. He accepted what the government would provide by way of transportation. For the rest he was supported by special congregational offerings. His ministry was to men of his own confession and not under government supervision as to its character or extent.^{lxx}

Before the von Rohr years and during most of them, the Synod operated on an incredibly meager budget. In fact, until 1895 nothing like a comprehensive synodical budget was offered. And then it was not a balanced budget. Anticipated receipts of \$24,350 would not meet the anticipated expenses of \$26,427.^{lxxi} A traditional source of income for the Synod and its agencies were the offerings taken at weddings, baptisms, and family gatherings. During von Rohr's third year in office 67 parishes contributed \$609.55 for synodical administration.^{lxxii} The financial auditors expressed joy when professors' salaries had been paid on time during an entire year.^{lxxiii} In 1895 the Synod asked for \$1.00 per communicant for the schools and missions.^{lxxiv}

The single treasury recommended by the Ways and Means Committee in 1897 made it possible to pay mission salaries promptly for the first time in many years.^{lxxv} But the replacement of the *Kaffeemuehle* at Watertown and the construction at Wauwatosa had left the Synod in debt, and the difficult word *Agitation* appears again in the Proceedings of 1899 (p 104). An *Agitationskommittee* was to move the people to strive for the retirement of the debt during the Jubilee Year of 1900. The committee did its work, and the people did respond, but at the Jubilee Synod it was reported that about \$31,000 remained to be paid.^{lxxvi}

If the sums involved seem small to us and the performance seems feeble, our perspective might be improved somewhat by the realization that in those days a large family could live on less than \$600 per annum.^{lxxvii} A parsonage could be rented (where that was necessary) for about \$100 a year.^{lxxviii} The means were limited and the ways of instructing in stewardship fell short, too. There is no evidence that proportionate giving, without reference to need or "fair share," received much attention in those years. The pragmatic solution was discovered in the work of Pastor Richard Siegler. As general collector from 1904 until 1908, he raised

\$80,510.64 from 62 congregations.^{lxxxix} Still, in the year of von Rohr's death, the debt remained at \$27,000,^{lxxx} just \$4000 less than in 1900.^{lxxxii} It had been necessary to build a dormitory at Watertown in 1905.

V. He Was Mission Minded

If von Rohr's attitude with regard to missions was somewhat ambivalent, we should keep those financial struggles and his overriding concern for the schools in mind. That he brought *filiale* congregations into the Synod's membership in 1879 bespeaks some personal interest in the extension of the Kingdom. That St. Martin's became the largest Lutheran congregation in Minnesota betokens some mission zeal. The Wisconsin Synod grew from 227 congregations to 330 during the years of his presidency. Eighty-five missions begun by the Wisconsin (not the Joint) Synod between 1889 and 1908 have survived as members of the Joint Synod today.^{lxxxiii} Gifts for home missions rose from \$1100 in 1889 to \$10,000 in 1908. The *Lutheran Cyclopedia* says: "... He is largely responsible for the development of the synod and its missions and institutions during his term of office."^{lxxxiii} *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*^{lxxxiv} does not know his name. Which has it right?

In his very first presidential report, von Rohr spoke of the importance of reaching out into new fields.^{lxxxv} At the time the *Reispredigt* efforts were concentrated on the Lake Superior region. These were continued for some years, and efforts were expanded to include Dane and Green Counties in south central Wisconsin. The Upper Michigan congregations were naturally affected by fluctuating in the mining and forest industries, and in 1894 the Synod directed its new Mission Superintendent Bendler to concentrate on the more populous areas in southeastern Wisconsin and northern Illinois.^{lxxxvi} The following year, for the first time, a board was appointed to assist the superintendent.^{lxxxvii} Another innovation was a home mission report form to be submitted by the missionaries. That year there were 55 stations being served by 18 pastors.^{lxxxviii} Pastor Bendler's Board asked for the Synod's most talented men to be placed in the city missions and observed that these missions needed resident pastors if they were to flourish.^{lxxxix} It is a fact that through all the years of urban and suburban mission growth in and around Milwaukee von Rohr expanded on Bading's institutional reports in his own report and simply mentioned that the missions report would be made at the proper time and by the proper persons.

Wisconsin gained an outpost in the Pacific-Northwest when Pastor Wolf of Tacoma applied for membership for himself and his congregation in 1895. In 1898 Bendler and von Rohr surveyed the west coast as far as Pasadena, whence a request for service had come. Their report is inconclusive and one suspects that the superintendent was anxious to undertake the mission in the West while the president was not. Very tentatively, the Board suggested trying out two or three missionaries at-large while continuing to support Tacoma. Tacoma continued to receive support, but nothing more was done for the Far West that year.^{xc} The next convention declined a request from a small congregation in Salt Lake City for support, noting that they had requested financial aid but not spiritual fellowship.^{xcii}

Candidate Robert Ave-Lallemant was assigned to a field in western Florida and eastern Alabama at the invitation of former Kenosha residents in 1906.^{xciii} The venture into the deep south was shortlived as far as Wisconsin was concerned. The Lithuanian field moved from Wisconsin to Joint Synod to Synodical Conference supervision. A congregation in Philadelphia which had belonged to the Synod was lost to Missouri when a list of pastoral nominees was delayed by von Rohr's last illness.^{xciii} Nebraska became a separate "district" within the Joint Synod in 1904, and so at the end of von Rohr's tenure Wisconsin was still very much confined to Wisconsin, except for Tacoma, the Upper Peninsula, Winona County, and northern Illinois. There were new fields, but they were not as distant as von Rohr seems to have had in mind in 1890.

Related to the mission effort and the Synod's growth is the matter of work in the English language. One often hears impatient criticism of the synodical fathers in this regard, but it could not have been easy for people who prayed and thought in German to preach and teach in English. It is one thing to order groceries in a language. It is another thing to communicate the gospel. Even among those who would have been willing there were those who could not. One who tried and did quite well was Philipp Andreas von Rohr, who had not been able to speak English until he was 12 years old. His address on the occasion of Northwestern's 25th Anniversary Celebration was printed in the 1890 proceedings. There are a few Germanisms, but they could not

have been too obtrusive to a Watertown, Wisconsin, audience in 1890. In his adopted tongue he presented for any Yankees or Irish who might be listening a clear statement on the *raison de etre* of Christian German language schools. In his presidential report of 1893 he asked the Synod if it were not time to establish an English-language chair at the Seminary.

The previous year his friend Gausewitz had begun to meet with the Epiphany Conference and Norwegian pastors seeking to foster preaching and teaching among their English-speaking countrymen.^{xciv} In 1897 von Rohr's friend from pre-synodical days, Reinhold Adelberg, filled the Joint Synod's English chair at Wauwatosa. This was at a time when Missourians who worked among English-speaking people were still compelled to exist as a separate synod.

Actually, Wisconsin was by no means wholehearted in regard to work in English. The first mission moneys voted for English work were to counteract the ministry of a General Council pastor in Kenosha. The solution was to pay part of an English Missourian's salary to serve Wisconsin Synod people who desired his services.^{xcv} In 1902 a special committee reported that during the course of the year they had carried on sufficient research to conclude that the time for English missionaries had not yet come, "since the English Lutherans in our congregations are still cared for in a satisfactory way...by our German pastors."^{xcvi}

If graduates of our Seminary were not fully prepared to work in the English language, they were even less prepared to work in the culture to which two of them were sent in 1893. Koehler's evaluation of the earliest beginnings in Apacheland is probably neither exaggerated nor unduly critical.^{xcvii} It was an undertaking of the Joint Synod and so it was not directly von Rohr's responsibility. Yet, any project of the Joint Synod in those years was largely dependent on the largest of the three sisters. And so Wisconsin's president must be included in Koehler's comment concerning "the lukewarm attitude of Synod's leadership that dreaded the added cost to the budget."^{xcviii} We know that he did dread the added cost, and we know why he did.

Reports on and from the Arizona field appeared in almost every issue of the *Gemeinde-Blatt*, beginning in 1893 before Adaschek and Plocher were ever sent.^{xcix} However, Wisconsin did not include the mission in Arizona in its annual report until 1898, five years after the beginning. It was done then at the behest of the Joint Synod.^c We think that President von Rohr was too honest to deceive himself that this Joint Synod undertaking was not Wisconsin's business. We think that he could not imagine where the support would come from. We think he remembered the 1891 proposal to start work in Japan, when mission receipts that year had totalled \$1366.78. We are sure he would be among the first to praise God for what He has accomplished in Apacheland and Japan since then.

VI. He Exercised Evangelical Discipline

The man came to us by colloquy. That had to mean that he was agreed with Wisconsin in doctrine and practice. With regard to church and ministry, he had been one of those who rejected Grabau's position. When his fractional faction of "Buffalo" dissolved in 1875, some of his brethren went to Missouri, some to Iowa, some back to Grabau. He himself was acquainted with the Fritschels of Iowa and visited the Madison, Wisconsin, convention of their synod in 1875. There he observed a lack of confessional clarity. His personal acquaintance with various Wisconsin Synod leaders, particularly Professor Ernst, finally drew him to Missouri's smaller sister.

His colloquy and his practice during the first years in Wisconsin's fellowship impressed Bading sufficiently to send him along on a visitation committee to Green Bay and DePere in 1882. Two years later he was appointed to a floor committee dealing with separate protests of laymen from Beaver Dam and St. John's, Milwaukee. After becoming president, the highest responsibility for discipline in his church body was his to exercise. He asked for help from the visitors; he got some, but not enough to suit him.^{ci} He hoped that visitors would undertake more responsibility for edifying and encouraging pastors and congregations before problems occurred. He looked for "preventive discipline" rather than "trouble-shooting." That it could not be done probably was not so much the result of negligence on the part of visitors or "ragged individualism" on the part of pastors and congregations as it was the physical impossibility of getting the job done along the lines prescribed in the synodical constitution.

During the von Rohr years the pages of the *Gemeinde-Blatt* carried many an article on the perennial problems of Catholicism, modernism, unionism. But the first practical problem in pastoral theology recorded in the official reports of his presidency had to do with tavern-keeping. With Professor Hoenecke as penman, Synod's ranking theologians delivered a truly Lutheran answer.^{cii}

Through the years a chronic and sometimes acute problem was the lodge. In 1893, the president reminded the brethren, on the basis of Nehemiah 4, that we are called to build and to fight.^{ciii} One of the things he had in mind was the practice of young missionaries who had made serious mistakes because they desired quick results.^{civ} Two years later, the Synod became more explicit, going on record to the effect that "... in the future when new congregations are gathered and founded under the jurisdiction of the Mission Board, a clean beginning is to be made with regard to the lodge. For experience teaches that in cases where this is not done, the existence of such congregations is seriously threatened."^{cv} The Escanaba congregation had been shattered by lodge members who resented and resisted discipline. Von Rohr reported in 1897 that, in another case, he had upheld a congregation's scriptural position in a lodge matter.^{cvi} His own Mississippi Conference submitted Richard Siegler's essay for publication in the *Gemeinde-Blatt*: "Unified Practice in Combatting the Lodge."^{cvii}

While combatting the leaven of the Pharisees in lodgery, von Rohr did not lose sight of the fact that the same leaven can work in an orthodox Lutheran synod. In a synod sermon he said: "... Lutheran Christians, deceived by their flesh, can come to this that they fall into a kind of justification by orthodoxy—just because they do have the pure doctrine. They lull themselves with it and even say to themselves, 'Isn't our situation much better than that of others?' And they fall into spiritual pride. They forget that all that has happened to them is by grace...."^{cviii}

Without knowing the man's manner or voice or mode of dealing with individuals—without knowing that from our own experience—can we venture the guess that he wanted his discipline to be a reflection of the way his father dealt with him? Concerning that remarkable man, Philipp Andreas wrote: "He was and remained my true friend and counselor, to whom I could tell and reveal all, and whose unvarying love was disturbed by nothing!" Much more has been written about Captain Heinrich than about Praeses Philipp, but those words of the son speak volumes concerning both of them. Another hint at what von Rohr wanted to be in his dealings with the brethren is found in his tribute to a departed brother pastor in 1892: "He had the soul of a true Nathanael, whole-heartedly committed to his ministry."^{cix} That that was the estimate placed by many brethren on the outsider who came to dwell in their tents is evident from the way in which they entrusted him with so much of the Synod's business for so long.

There are many fascinating details that cannot be included concerning the person, his antecedents, his living and dying. We have tried to select what was most relevant to an evaluation of his special contribution to the Synod. And he made a distinct contribution. For reasons that this writer understands no better now than he did before starting this study, von Rohr is something of a forgotten man in our Synod. He deserves better, if for no other reason than that for nineteen years he was God's servant to the Synod. We have tried to show that there are other reasons.

He was born at Buffalo, New York, on February 13, 1843. He died in Winona at 1:30 AM on December 22, 1908. The *Quartalschrift*, founded during his tenure, took no note of his passing, made no mention of his loss. It was a theological journal and it may be that von Rohr was not to be ranked among theologians. He was, in fact, the kind of theologian our seminary has always tried to produce: a student of the Holy Scriptures, faithful to the Confessions, widely read, conscious of an historical heritage, with a heart for people. In short, though he lacked what his Synod regards as a complete theological education, he was a fine practical theologian. He was what Paul called Tychicus (Eph 6:21) and what Gausewitz called him: "A beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord."

ⁱ The data and information in this paragraph is found in *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1877*.

ⁱⁱ For the entire paragraph, cf. *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1879*.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1880*, p 72.

^{iv} Except where otherwise indicated, biographical data comes from autobiographical notes of von Rohr published after his death with a biographical postscript in *Gemeindeblatt Kalender 1910*, published in Milwaukee by Northwestern Publishing House.

- ^v *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Gemeinde-Blatt*, XXXII, 1 (January 1, 1897). Hereafter, references will be indicated by *Gemeinde-Blatt* with appropriate volume, number and date.
- ^{vi} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXV, 21 (July 1, 1890).
- ^{vii} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXVII, 19 (June 1, 1892).
- ^{viii} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1889*, pp 59–63.
- ^{ix} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXIV, 22 (July 15, 1889).
- ^x *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXV, 1 (Sept. 1, 1889).
- ^{xi} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXV, 10 (Jan. 15, 1890).
- ^{xii} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXV, 14 (March 15, 1890).
- ^{xiii} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXV, 20 (June 15, 1890).
- ^{xiv} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1890*, p 69.
- ^{xv} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXVI, 1 (Sept. 1, 1890).
- ^{xvi} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1891*, p 9.
- ^{xvii} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1894*, p 13.
- ^{xviii} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1891*, p 48.
- ^{xix} J. P. Koehler, *History of the Wisconsin Synod*: St. Cloud, Minn.: The Protest'ant Conference, 1970), p 226. Hereafter references to this source will be given as *Koehler* with the appropriate page.
- ^{xx} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1903*, p 86.
- ^{xxi} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1904*, p 91.
- ^{xxii} E. E. Kowalke, *Centennial Story—Northwestern College 1865–1965* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1965), p 142. Hereafter references to this source will be given as *Kowalke* with the appropriate page.
- ^{xxiii} *Kowalke*, p 200.
- ^{xxiv} Arthur Hoermann, *Unser Northwestern College—Sein Werden und Wachsen*, Hans Koller Moussa, tr., published by a synodical committee, 1915.
- ^{xxv} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXVIII, 28 (Oct. 15, 1893).
- ^{xxvi} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1903*, p 108.
- ^{xxvii} Rev. C. Eissfeldt (from his reminiscences), “Our First College at Milwaukee,” *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, IV, 2 (July 1931), pp 34ff.
- ^{xxviii} David Schmiel, “State Synods and Geographic Parishes: The Abortive Movement of the 1870’s,” *CHIQ*, XXXVIII, 3 (October 1965), p 195.
- ^{xxix} *Koehler*, p 179.
- ^{xxx} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1892*, p 9.
- ^{xxxi} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXVIII, 23 (Aug. 1, 1893).
- ^{xxxii} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXVIII, 28 (Oct. 15, 1893).
- ^{xxxiii} *Verhandlungen der Ev-Lutherischen Synode von Michigan, 1894*, p 9. Hereafter this source will be referred to as *Michigan Proceedings*.
- ^{xxxiv} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1894*, p 81.
- ^{xxxv} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXIX, 15 (Sept. 1, 1894).
- ^{xxxvi} *Michigan Proceedings, 1895*, pp 5, 11.
- ^{xxxvii} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1895*, p 14.
- ^{xxxviii} *Michigan Proceedings, 1895*, p 23.
- ^{xxxix} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXX, 21 (Nov. 1, 1895).
- ^{xl} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1896*, p 78.
- ^{xli} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXXI, 13 (July 1, 1896).
- ^{xlii} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXXI, 21 (Nov. 1, 1896).
- ^{xliiii} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXXI, 15 (Aug. 1, 1896).
- ^{xliv} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXXI, 17 (Sept. 1, 1896).
- ^{xlvi} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXXI, 18 (Sept. 15, 1896).
- ^{xlvi} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XXXI, 24 (Dec. 15, 1896) and XXXI, 20 (Oct. 15, 1896).
- ^{xlvi} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XLI, 14 (July 15, 1906).
- ^{xlviii} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1890*, p 13; *1891*, p 64; *1897*, pp 19f, 114; *1906*, p 25; *1908*, p 32.
- ^{xlix} *Koehler*, p 184.
- ^l Philip von Rohr Sauer, Ph.D., “Elfrieda von Rohr Sauer: Pioneer Pastor’s Daughter, Devoted Minister’s Wife,” *CHIQ*, XXXIII, 2 (July 1960), p 34.
- ^{li} “Drawings by H. Ruhland,” *CHIQ*, III, 4 (January 1931), p 126.
- ^{lii} *Gemeinde-Blatt* XLIV, 2 (Jan. 15, 1909). Except where otherwise noted, details concerning the funeral and quotations from funeral sermons are from this source.
- ^{liii} *Koehler*, pp 184, 209.

- liv *Ibid.*, p 184.
- lv *Ibid.*, p 209.
- lvi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1891*, p 13.
- lvii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1901*, p 28.
- lviii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1898*, p 11.
- lix A. Brauel, *Was ich als Pastor in Amerika erlebt und gelitten habe und noch leide* (Milwaukee, 1904). Pastor Brauel had been disciplined by the Synod and had written this booklet in which he sought to vindicate himself by a personal attack on von Rohr.
- lx *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1891*, p 49. On the other hand the decision concerning site and procedure were to be ready for presentation at the October pastoral conference (l.c.).
- lxi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1897*, p 107.
- lxii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1898*, pp 84ff.
- lxiii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1902*, p 95.
- lxiv *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1908*, p 131.
- lxv *Statistical Report, 1908*.
- lxvi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1894*, p 83.
- lxvii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1896*, pp 94ff.
- lxviii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1897*, p 109.
- lxix *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1905*, p 104.
- lxx *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1899*, p 105.
- lxxi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1895*, p 72.
- lxxii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1892*, p 67.
- lxxiii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1893*, p 47.
- lxxiv *Gemeinde-Blatt XXX*, 14 (July 15, 1895).
- lxxv *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1898*, p 65.
- lxxvi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1900*, 69.
- lxxvii *Gemeinde-Blatt XXXV*, 4 (Feb. 15, 1900).
- lxxviii *Gemeinde-Blatt XXXVII*, 20 (Oct. 15, 1902).
- lxxix *Koehler*, p 230.
- lxxx *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1908*, p 107.
- lxxxi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1900*, p 69.
- lxxxii *Statistical Reports, 1889, 1908, 1974*.
- lxxxiii *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, Erwin L. Lueker, editor in chief (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954).
- lxxxiv *The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church*, Julius Bodensieck, ed. for The Lutheran World Federation, 3 vols. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1956).
- lxxxv *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1890*, p 10.
- lxxxvi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1894*, p 73.
- lxxxvii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1895*, p 59
- lxxxviii *Gemeinde-Blatt XXIX*, 14 (July 31, 1894).
- lxxxix *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1896*, pp 81, 85.
- xc *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1898*, pp 61–64.
- xc1 *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1899*, pp 89f.
- xcii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1906*, p 91.
- xciii *Koehler*, p 196.
- xciv *Gemeinde-Blatt XXVII*, 11 (Feb. 1, 1892) and XXVII, 22 (July 1, 1892).
- xcv *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1901*, p 89.
- xcvi *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1902*, p 85.
- xcvii *Koehler*, pp 198f.
- xcviii *Ibid.*, l.c..
- xcix *Gemeinde-Blatt XXVIII*, 11 (Feb. 1, 1893).
- c *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1898*, p 70.
- ci *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1891*, p 13.
- cii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1892*, p 72.
- ciii *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1893*, p 9.
- civ *Ibid.*, p 49.
- cv *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1895*, p 58.
- cvi *Gemeinde-Blatt XXXII*, 5 (March 1, 1897).
- cvii *Gemeinde-Blatt XXXVIII*, 12 (June 15, 1903).
- cviii *Gemeinde-Blatt XXX*, 15 (Aug. 1, 1895).

^{cix} *Wisconsin Proceedings, 1892*, p 12.