

IMMANUEL LUTHERAN COLLEGE
A Potential Gone Untapped

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About a mile from downtown Greensboro, North Carolina, on East Market Street, lie fourteen acres of what was once the campus of the largest Lutheran college and seminary in the United States for the training of black pastors and teachers. Here on ground now owned by North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University stood the buildings of Immanuel Lutheran College. For 58 years, from 1903-1961, Immanuel served the Synodical Conference by equipping candidates for the preaching and teaching ministries of the Negro (Colored) Missions. In addition, the institution provided the Mission with many young black lay people with a Christ-centered education based on the Bible and the Lutheran confessions. This paper gives an account of the history of Immanuel Lutheran College. It will discuss the events leading to the founding and the closing of the school, as well as the activities of the school during the years which intervened. This paper will also attempt to pinpoint some of the causes which led to the decline and the closing-down of the only seminary the Synodical Conference had for the training of its black ministers. With the recognition that "hindsight is better than foresight," it will attempt to demonstrate that Immanuel Lutheran College's potential for supplying the Negro Mission of the Synodical Conference with black pastors and teachers was never fully realized due to three major factors: 1) the lack of attention given the institution by the Synodical Conference, 2) the lack of support given by the congregations of the Negro Mission, and 3) the lack of dedication as well as the lack of unity of purpose shown by the majority of its faculty.

(At this point the reader might do well to note the system which this paper uses to document its sources. To assist the reader in any additional research related to this topic, information gleaned from the biennial Proceedings ("Verhandlungen" 1900-1930) of the Conventions of the Ev. Luth. Synodical Conference of North America (PSC) will be documented according to its year immediately after the exposition of that information in this paper. Information from all other sources will be documented with numbered footnotes.)

The Seeds of Immanuel Lutheran College

Shortly after the Synodical Conference was organized in 1872, its member synods recognized that a mission field ripe for harvest lay in the southeastern United States among the blacks. In 1877, the synodical body inaugurated its work in this field by sending its first missionary to Little Rock, Arkansas. This work was richly blessed by the Lord. By the turn of the century, the workers in this division of the Synodical Conference called the Negro Mission numbered 13 pastors and 9 parochial grade school teachers, including two black pastors and one black teacher (Proceedings of the Synodical Conference, 1902, p. 63).

While the Synodical Conference was steadily increasing its called workers in the Negro Mission by nearly one a year, this fell far short of satisfying the need for preachers and teachers of the Gospel. In 1900, out of the nine million blacks living in the United States, six million of them lived in the "Black Belt" extending from Virginia down through Texas, with the heaviest concentration of these people being in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi (PSC, 1902, p 58). The majority of these people were being served by con-artists masquerading as preachers. Booker T. Washington, the renowned black educator of Tuskegee Institute, described the southern clergy in the following way:

3/4's of the Baptist ministers and 2/3's of the Methodists are unfit, either mentally, or morally, or both, to preach the Gospel to anyone or to lead anyone. The preaching of the colored ministry is emotional in the highest degree, and the minister considers himself successful in proportion as he is able to set the people in all parts of the congregation to groaning, uttering wild screams, and jumping, and finally going into a trance. A large proportion of the church-members are just as ignorant of true Christianity as taught by Christ as any people in Africa, or Japan and just as much in need of missionary effort as those in foreign lands. (1)

The feeling developed in the Synodical Conference, especially among those pastors in the Negro Mission, that black pastors and teachers would be much more effective carriers of the Gospel to their people than whites. From 1895-1904, five black pastoral candidates graduated from Concordia-Springfield (2), but the white missionaries in the South felt a much larger number of blacks could be recruited for the ministry if a synodical training school were located closer to their homes in the South.

These were the convictions of a number of Missouri Synod ministers serving in the Negro Mission in Virginia and North Carolina who formed the Immanuel Conference in the interests of holding public doctrinal discussions and sharing ideas. At their first meeting in February, 1900, at Concord, North Carolina, they petitioned the Board of Missions of the Synodical Conference for the building of a "theologico-normal-industrial" college in the South. The Mission Board submitted this memorial to the Synodical Conference convention in Bay City, Michigan, in the summer of that same year. The opinion of the delegates was pretty evenly split over the request, so a decision on the matter was tabled until the 1902 convention. During the biennium, to acquaint the pastors and teachers with the project, the issue of the

construction of a synodical school for the training of black pastors and teachers was discussed in a series of articles in "Missionstaube," a monthly periodical featuring news from the Negro Mission. (3) At the 1902 Synodical Convention, a lively debate took place over whether a "full-fledged college and seminary" was needed to prepare black pastors and teachers. In the end, the Synodical Conference unanimously resolved to establish up to two preparatory institutions for the training of blacks. The convention left the carrying out of the particulars of this decision in the hands of the Mission Board (PSC 1904, p55). The Immanuel Conference didn't waste any time in notifying the Mission Board of its desires. In August, 1902, the Conference petitioned the Mission Board to open a temporary high school in the Grace Lutheran grade school building at Concord, North Carolina, fifteen miles northeast of Charlotte in the south-central part of the state. The first three calls extended by the Board were returned. Finally, in February, 1903, Rev. Nils Bakke of Charlotte, N.C., accepted the call to be the first teacher at the new institution. (4)

The Early Years: 1903-1925

Rev. Bakke, now Professor Bakke, opened Immanuel Lutheran Academy on March 2, 1903, less than a month after receiving the call. Five boys were enrolled that first day of classes. By the time classes let out in May, their number had swelled to eleven. When classes resumed the following fall for the first full school year in the history of the institution, 32 boys were enrolled for studies (PSC 1904, pp 64-65). These students were squeezed into the second story of the school house which served as the classroom

by day and the study and sleeping quarters by night for the out-of-town students. An old delapidated house behind the church was transformed into a kitchen and dining room. There one of the students took on the cooking duties as chef for which he received free board. (5) A student's paying his way like this is a reflection on the poverty among the student body. Only four could afford the monthly tuition of \$5.00 while not many more could contribute to the 10 cent/month charge to build up an inventory of library books. The Synodical Conference and even the professors a good share of the time absorbed the expenses for maintaining the school. Vegetables, fruits, and preserves were often donated by area congregations (PSC 1904 pp 64f).

Immanuel Lutheran Academy began its first full year of school in 1903 with the first two grades of high school. One additional grade was added each successive year so that by 1905 the high school department would have a full complement of four grades. Prof. N. Bakke as the only full-time teacher handled the brunt of the instruction, but he was assisted by Rev. J.P. Smith (pastor of Grace Lutheran Church) and the grade school teacher Henry Persson who taught a combined total of twelve periods a week. Beginning in 1904 continuing through the next two years, one St. Louis graduate a year was assigned to be a professor at Immanuel, bringing the number of men on the faculty to four at the beginning of the 1906-07 school year. (6) The curriculum for the first two high school grades was laid out as follows:

	A Class. (Unterrklasse.)	B Class. (Oberklasse.)
Catechism, Catechetics (both classes together)		3 hours a week.
Bible Reading and Exposition (both classes together).....		2 " "
Arithmetic.....	5 hours,	5 " "
German, Reading, and Grammar	5 "	5 " "
English Reading, Analysis, etc.	2½ "	2½ " "
History.....	2½ "	2½ " "
Grammar with Exercises	3 "	3 " "
Rhetoric.....		2½ " "
Physical Geography.....		1 hour "
Composition	1 hour,	1 " a month.
Geography (both classes together).....		5 hours a week.
Spelling and Dictation (both classes together).....		2½ " "
Music, vocal and instrumental (both classes together)	5	" "
	TOTAL: 56	" "

(PSC 1904 p 65)

This was a fairly rigorous schedule considering the sophomores (B Class) had 39 total class hours a week. In addition to classes, a literary club would meet every Friday evening to present speeches, debates, dialogs, declamations, and songs. Those musically inclined could play one of the four organs presented to the school (PSC 1904 p 65).

The 1904 convention of the Synodical Conference made two landmark decisions concerning Immanuel Lutheran Academy. The convention first of all resolved to offer a complete training at Immanuel for the full-time teaching ministry. This meant eventually opening up a college department at the school. The institution then gained the name which became its official title during its years of existence: Immanuel Lutheran College. The addition of the teacher's program also meant the lifting of the first year restriction which had allowed for the enrollment of males only. The Synodical Conference convention went against the prevailing philosophy that girls were academically inferior to

boys by resolving that "gifted Christian girls" also be admitted to the school. Some concern was voiced by Prof. Bakke over the potential for the occurrence of sexual sins among the mixed student body, but he found most of the the female students to be "serious Christian virgins." (PSC 1904 p 66). Many of these girls would become some of the first black grade school teachers in the Negro Mission.

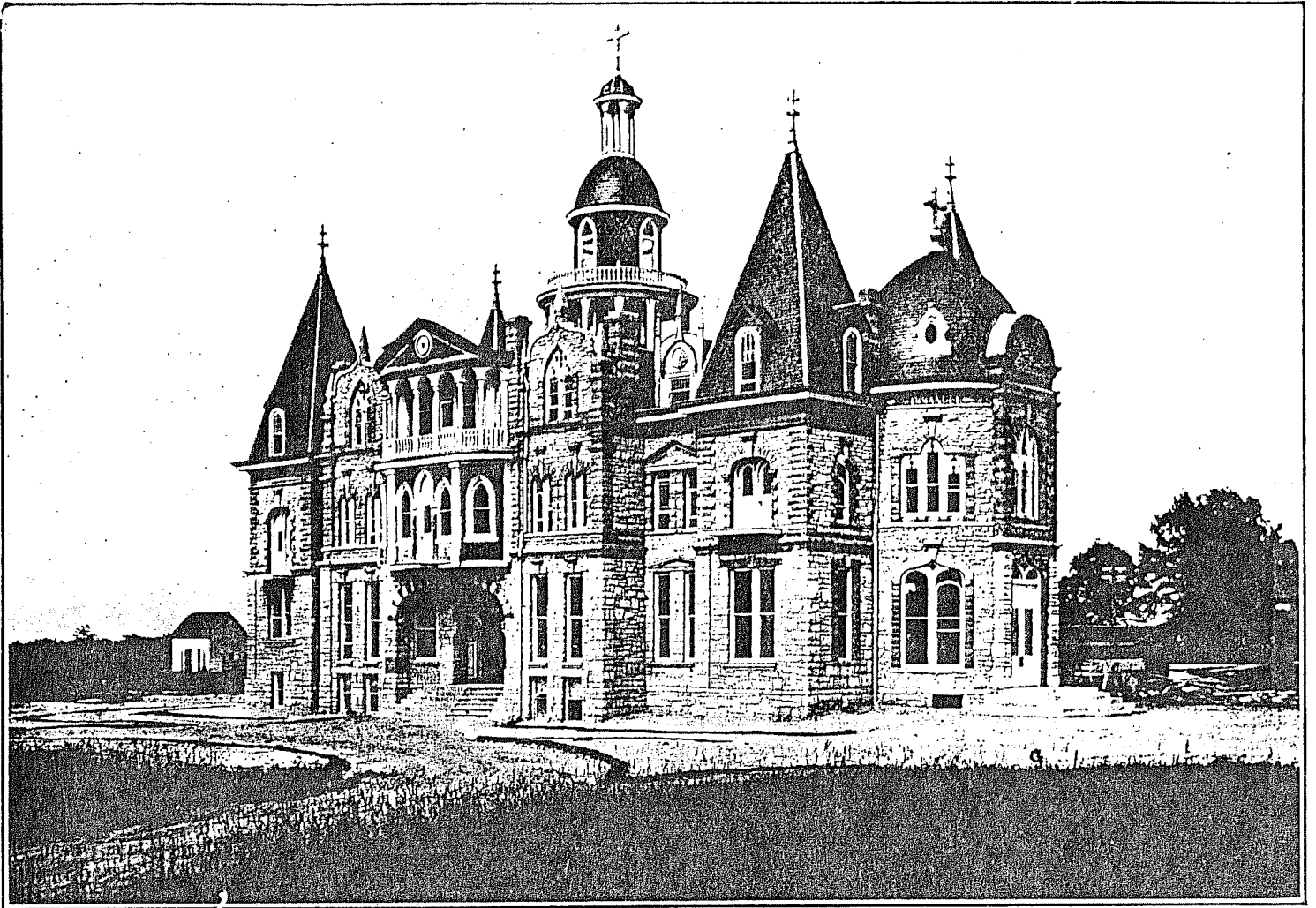
The Synodical Conference in convention in 1904 also appropriated \$10,000-\$15,000 for the purchase of land and the construction of a classroom/dorm building for Immanuel. The site for the instituion's campus was to be in Greensboro, North Carolina, 70 miles northeast of Concord where the school presently stood. A missionary of the Negro Mission already in Greensboro, Rev. John C. Schmidt, was the man through whom the Mission Board acted in purchasing the land. (7) A Mr. Garland Daniel, who owned fourteen and a half acres of what was once the Vanstory Farm, donated four of those acres to the school and sold the remaining ten and a half acres of the farm to the Mission Board at a very charitable price of \$3000. Construction of the building was scheduled to begin early in the spring of 1905 and was to be completed later that fall. (8)

During the summer of 1906, the faculty with the aid of some of the students, moved themselves together with the books and materials owned by the institution the 70 miles up the road to Greensboro. They were anticipating moving into their building that fall, but the building project was hindered by some serious delays. Construction did not begin until well into July, and the cornerstone of the new college building was not laid until

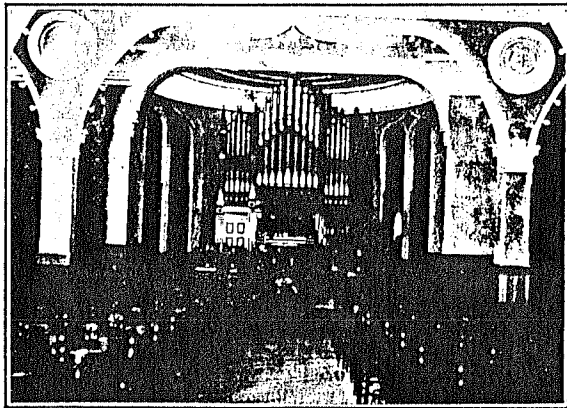
September. For the next two school terms, the institution was compelled to find temporary dwellings in Greensboro until the classroom building was completed. For the duration, a black man named Holly rented out two residences to the college to serve as the boys dorms (the girls from out of town had to find lodgings in private homes), administration building, and classrooms. The furnishings were spartan. Long tables were purchased to serve as desks and pieces of wax cloth were hung on the walls as blackboards (PSC 1906, p 50).

The faculty and students were relieved and excited when the new classroom building was dedicated on June 2, 1907. It was an impressive and beautiful structure with its many spires and a its beige Mt. Airy granite block. The building stood three stories high including a basement which served as the kitchen and dining hall. The first floor contained the administration office and classrooms, the second floor held classrooms only, and the third floor housed the boys' dorm rooms, a study area, and a small library. The building was also equipped with its own pipe organ. The final cost of the building was \$28,393.93, nearly double the amount appropriated for it. The resulting debt was a serious obstacle to the progress of Immanuel in the ensuing years, since the Synodical Conference was hesitant to allocate more money for essential maintenance and improvements while paying off the debt.

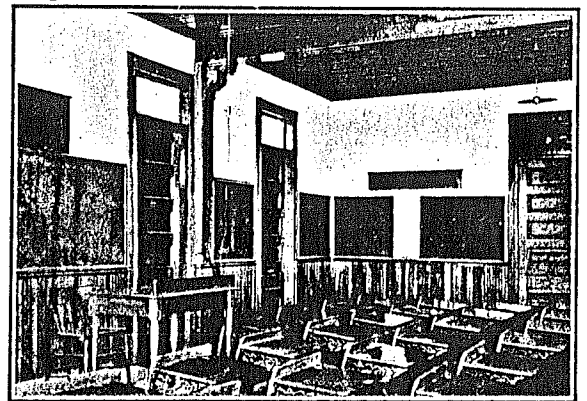
(9)



IMMANUEL COLLEGE, GREENSBORO, N. C.



The Chapel Pipe Organ



The Large Classroom

The heavy debt incurred by the classroom building did not prevent the construction of another building on campus. In 1911, a brick-veneer school house was erected at the cost of \$3,703.69. It was financed exclusively through the offerings of grade school children in the Negro Mission. (10) Here in the three large classrooms, an elementary education program was conducted for the area children. Mr. Frank Alston, the first graduate of the teachers' course, took charge of the upper grades while the seniors in the teachers' course at the college assisted him by instructing the lower grades. In this way the teacher candidates were able to do a fair amount of practice teaching. (11)

In 1906, the year before Immanuel Lutheran College moved into its new building, the first graduation in its history took place with the seniors of the high school department. That same year saw another first in the institution's history when the Synodical Conference added a complete practical theological course for students wishing to prepare for the full-time public ministry of the Negro Mission. Rev. J. P. Smith, who had taught part-time in the high school department while the school was in Concord, accepted the call to the theological department, joining Prof. Bakke already there. (12) The three departments now existing at Immanuel could be described as follows: 1) Senior High School--consisting of four years of study and accredited by the state. 2) Normal Department. Four years of high school and one year college work. 3) Theological Seminary. Three year course for pastoral candidates following four years of high school. The normal department was geared for the training of teachers and was eventually expanded to include three years of study after high

school. Many of the normal classes were conducted together with the seminary classes with the exception that the teacher candidates were not required to study Greek. This proved to be beneficial to the Negro Mission, because it was not uncommon for male teachers to conduct Sunday services at vacancies that periodically could not be served by the visiting pastor due to inclement weather or prohibitive distances. (12) The following is a listing of the courses for the academic year of 1917-18 at Immanuel Lutheran College.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Course of Studies

The course covers three years and embraces the following studies:

Pastoral Theology	Symbolics
Dogmatics	Catechetics
Isagogics	Greek N. T. Reading
Exegesis	Comparative Symbolics
Church History	German
Homiletics	Logic

TEACHERS' SEMINARY

This department is designed to prepare teachers for our parochial schools. The course is three years.

Exegesis	Methods of Teaching
Church History	School Management
Symbolics	History of Education
Isagogics	German
Catechetics	Logic
Mathematics	Practice Work in the Pri-
Comparative Symbolics	mary Department

ACADEMIC DEPARTMENT

This department is for those who have completed a Primary School. The course covers four years and embraces the following studies:

First Year

Religion	Composition
German	History, United States
Arithmetic	Geography
Penmanship	Latin
Drawing	English Grammar
Reading	

Second Year

Religion	General History
German	Latin
Arithmetic	Composition
Geography	Reading
English Grammar	

Third Year

Religion	Natural History
German	Latin
Literature	Arithmetic
Rhetoric	Algebra
General History	

Fourth Year

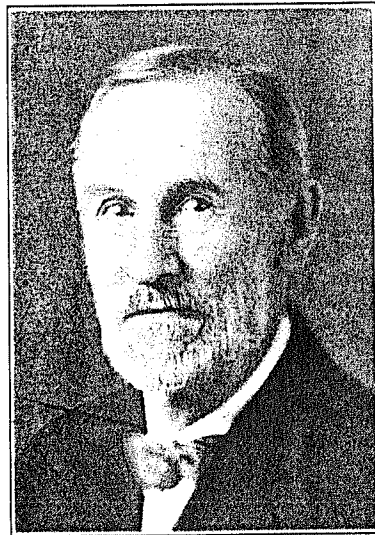
Religion	Mathematics
Latin	Rhetoric
Literature	German
General History	Natural Science

From Immanuel Lutheran College's beginning until 1925, nineteen full-time professors (not including those who served on a part-time basis) served the institution. Considering that on the average, only four faculty members served at a time, this indicates a rather fast turnover rate. Undoubtedly, this was a hindrance to both the academic situation and the continuity which existed from year to year. It also created vacuums within the departments which had to be filled by the remaining professors who were already overloaded with classes. Three professors of Immanuel during those early years stand out because of their faithful service. They also happen to be the first three

presidents of Immanuel. Listing them chronologically according to the years which they served as president, they are Prof. Nils Bakke (1903-1911), Prof. Frederick Berg (1911-1919), and Prof. John Philip Smith (1919-1925). What was noteworthy about these men is that all three were called directly into the Negro Missions as graduates and continued to serve most (in the case of two of them--all) of their ministries in the Negro Mission. Prof. Bakke was probably the most colorful of the three. He was known by the constituents of the Synodical Conference for his spirited and eloquent vocal support on the convention floor on behalf of Immanuel and the Negro Missions. He was also known for his solid frame and the courage he displayed by standing up to physical threats (PSC 1920, p 31).



Rev. N. J. Bakke in 1918.



Rev. Frederick Berg,



Prof. J. P. Smith.

For the year 1919, the teaching staff at Immanuel numbered five: four white professors, one black instructor, and one black matron. The grounds and school buildings were appraised at a value of \$53,000. The rather compact library room contained over 2500 books. There was some concern over the declining enrollment which had shrunk to 38 during the 1916-17 school year. The Mission Board tried to pinpoint causes of the problem, the main one being the fact that many of the normal courses were unappealing and impractical. Additional subjects like mechanical skills and gardening were included in the 1919 curriculum. The Mission Board also enlisted a synod agency to lend financial assistance to the students. The changes had the desired effect. The enrollment shot up to almost 100 in the fall of 1919. The abundance of students filled the boys' dorm and necessitated the re-opening of the girls dorm which was a small distance from the campus. (PSC 1920, pp 30-31)

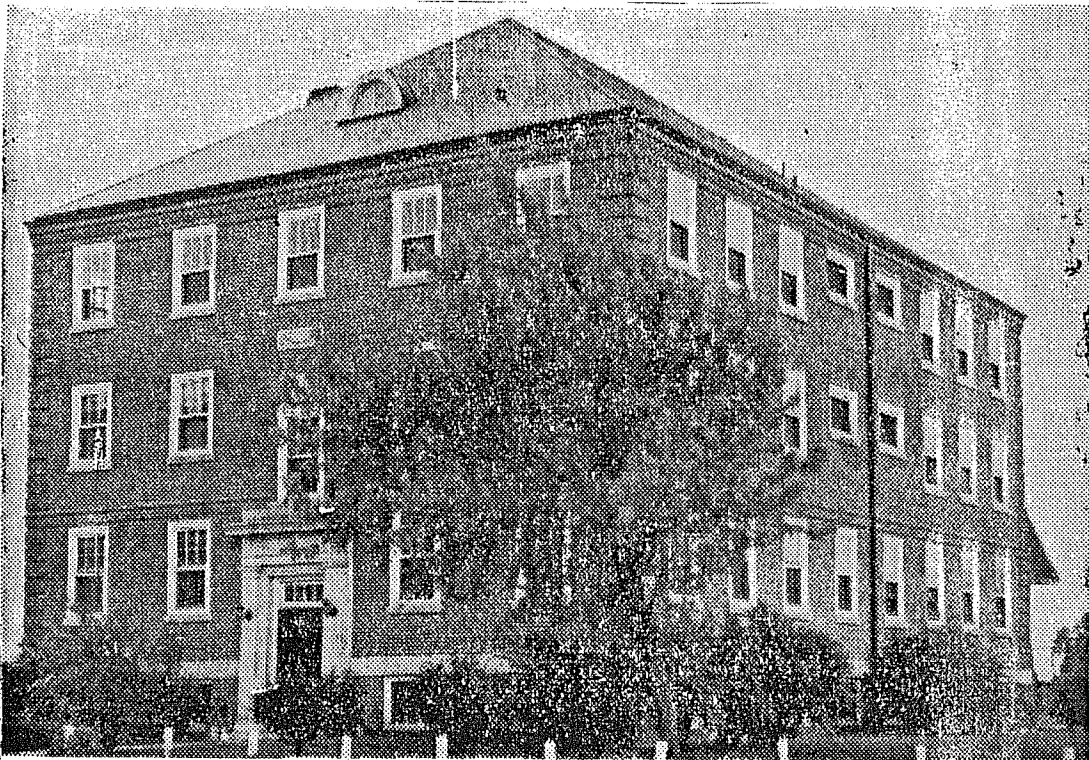
Immanuel Lutheran College during its early years was one of the finest institutions for blacks in the South. In 1910, the Booker T. Washington Party, a group of black leaders in the South, visited the school and classified it as "one of the best schools we have ever visited." Booker T. Washington himself also had glowing praise for the school. (PSC 1912, p 37) By 1925, the Negro Mission extended over fourteen states with over 5,000 baptized souls and an estimated population of 25,000 who had been influenced in some way by its work. (14) Immanuel facilitated in this work by supplying the field with sixteen of its 23 black pastors and an even greater number of teachers. A Lutheran pastor who was not a member of the Synodical Conference made this

observation: "The mission to the Negro under the management of your Board is accomplishing more for the Negro, both spiritually and socially, than any other agency." (15)

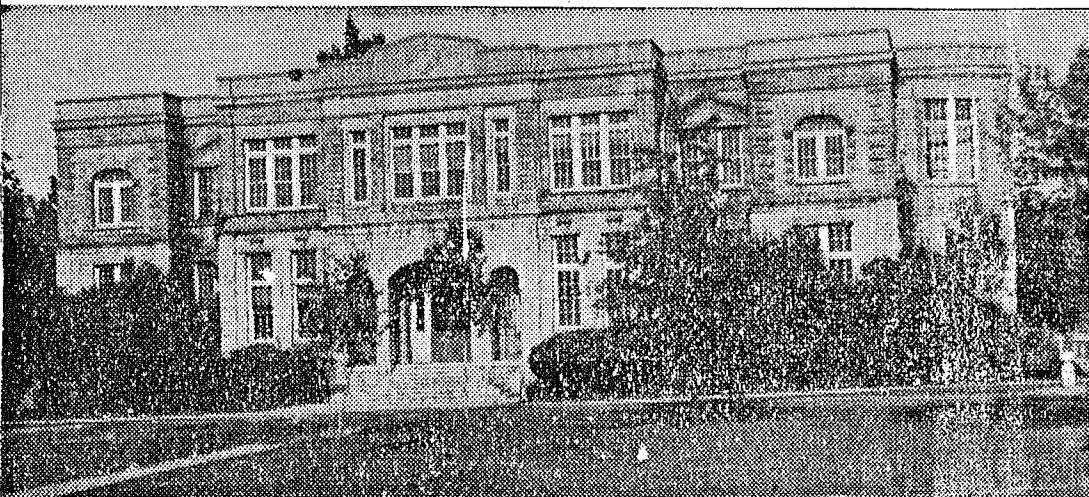
The Middle Years: 1926-1940

As the enrollment continued to increase during the 1920's, especially among the female students, the need for a girls dorm on campus became more and more apparent. Ever since the institution had moved onto their new grounds at Greensboro in 1907, the out of town girls had lived in a dorm residence some distance from the campus. During bad weather, they would often have to walk back and forth through the water and mud of the unpaved roads as many as four times a day for chapel, meals, and classes (PSC 1920, p. 32).. Finally, after the urgent pleas of the faculty, the Synodical Conference honored their request in 1927 and erected a girls dorm at a cost of \$48,019.70. The new girls' dorm on campus could accomodate 35 students and included an apartment for a woman matron. Four years later in 1931, a major renovation project was undertaken on the administration/classroom building and the elementary school building. The distinctive spires and cupola were sliced off the top of the administratin/classroom building and were replaced by a much more modern looking second story. In addition to classrooms and offices for the staff and president, this building also contained the chapel, library, and dorm rooms for 40 boys. The elementary school building was remodeled into a classroom and science building for the high school department. (The Primary Dept. of gradeschoolers was discontinued) The total cost of the renovation was \$36,457.57. The rehabilitation of the

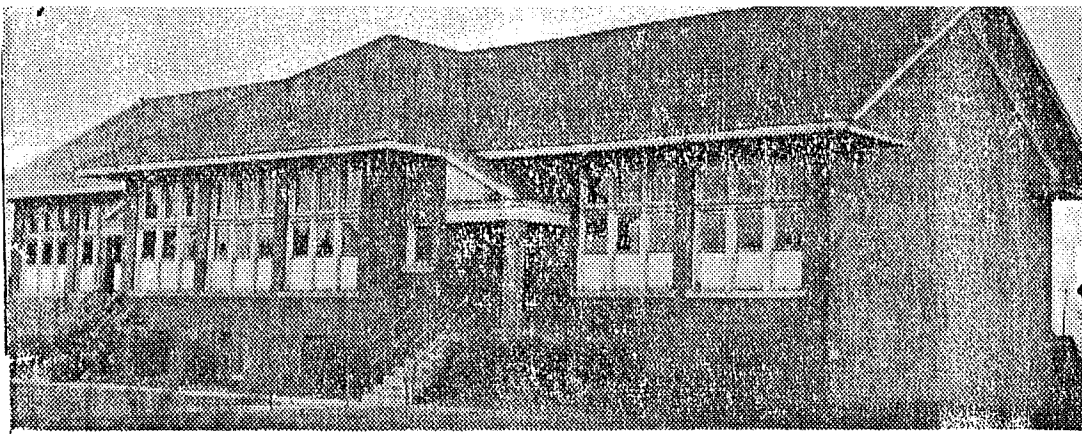
ad./classroom building effected by \$30,000 of the moneys was cited in the Synodical Conference Proceedings as "rather impractical in spite of the enormous outlay." (PSC 1944, p 70)



Girls' dormitory, Immanuel Lutheran college.



Main building and boys' dormitory at Immanuel Lutheran college.



Academic building, Immanuel Lutheran college.

By 1940, the faculty had grown to seven professors, two exclusively engaged in the seminary and five in the high school and normal departments. The faculty also included a black music teacher who conducted classes and lessons on a part-time basis.

OFFICERS OF ADMINISTRATION
AND INSTRUCTION

Dr. H. NauPresident
Professor W. H. KampschmidtTreasurer
Professor L. B. BuchheimerSecretary and Registrar

The REV. H. NAU, Ph. D.
Department of Modern Languages
The REV. L. B. BUCHHEIMER
Professor of Theology
The REV. WM. H. KAMPSCHMIDT, A. M.
Department of Social Science
The REV. H. MEIBOHM, A. B., Ed. B.
Department of Education
The REV. A. PENNEKAMP, A. M.
Department of English
PROF. HARRY KOONTZ, B. S.
Department of Science and Mathematics
MISS A. STANFORD, B. S.
Department of Home Economics
MRS. B. CAMPBELL
Instructor in Music
MRS. BESSIE REID
Matron

Administration was the responsibility of the three professors who served as president, treasurer, and secretary/registrar. The normal class load for each professor was a heavy one of 25 periods a week, which led the faculty to report to the Synodical Conference in 1938 that "some relief is becoming more and more

necessary." (PSC 1936, p 87) Conversely, the salaries of the professors were disproportionately lower than the salaries of professors of other synodical schools. (PSC 1932, p 18)

The increase in the quantity and quality of black secondary schools during the 1920's and 1930's necessitated some changes in Immanuel's curriculum in order for it to keep pace with the other institutions. In 1931, Immanuel opened a two-year Junior College program of general college work to parallel the existing Negro Missions teacher and pastoral programs, with which it also shared many of its classes. It was described as "both adequate and modern and at the same time Lutheran to the core." The second step that Immanuel took to remain competitive with other schools was to remain eligible for full accreditation for its college students by becoming a member of the Southern Association for Colleges and Secondary Schools. The membership requirements were a minimum enrollment of sixty students and a \$3000 annual membership fee. (PSC 1938, p 112)

The third step Immanuel took was really a continuation of "The Open Door Policy" that had already been going on for a years. "The Open Door Policy" was the practice of opening the doors of Immanuel to those who were not members of the Negro Mission churches of the Synodical Conference. These non-members and often non-Lutherans students were admitted not only because this afforded them the opportunity to hear God's Word, but also because these students provided Immanuel with an enrollment large enough to retain accreditation and with an additional source of tuition in order to decrease the cost of operation. These unconfirmed students were required to take an catechism instruction class in

addition to the religion classes which the all the students were required to attend. This practice was finally officially approved by the Synodical Conference of 1944. (PSC 1944, p 72)

As the college department underwent some changes, so also did the theological seminary of Immanuel. In the late twenties, another year was added to the seminary program in which the seminarians assisted pastors as vicars. The black seminarians would be called on now and then by the professors to preach at a local church where they were serving a vacancy. But the vicar year gave the pastoral candidates supervised experience in all the aspects of the public ministry with the exception of distributing the Lord's Supper. Often a vicar would be assigned as what was referred to as a "swingman," meaning that he would be assigned to a general area and be shifted around to whichever congregation had the greatest need of his services. Vicar year usually took place between the second and final year of seminary training. The assignments of both the vicars and graduates who had first been recommended by the faculty were made by the superintendant of the Negro Mission Field. (16)

During the 1920's there was a mass exodus of blacks from the South to the larger cities of the North where there was a promise of jobs and a higher standard of living. Immanuel Lutheran College's location seemed to be ideal because it stood half way between north and south. And yet, the majority of its student body continued to come from the areas surrounding Greensboro and the Deep South. In 1938, out of the 85 enrolled at Immanuel, 42 came from Greensboro, 13 from elsewhere in North Carolina, 14 from Alabama and 5 from Louisiana. Only six came from Northern cities. The most logical explanation for this is

that the Negro Mission's older congregations of the South had proportionately more Christian day schools which acted as feeder schools for Immanuel.

One of those students who came from out of state, was Henry Grigsby, presently pastor emeritus at Siloah Lutheran Church in Milwaukee. Pastor Grigsby grew up on a farm outside of Camden, Alabama, and attended the high school and college at Alabama Luther College, the other black school under the auspices of the Negro Mission Board located in Selma. He graduated and went on to enroll in the theological seminary at Greensboro as many of the college graduates of Luther did. He attended Immanuel from 1928-1931. Much of the following information comes from his memories of what his years at Immanuel were like. (17)

A typical week of classes for Pastor Grigsby and his fellow classmates in the seminary department could be broken down as follows (numerals indicate number of 45-minute class periods/week):

Doctrinal theology:	5	Church history:	3
Exegesis:	5	Symbolics:	2
Isagogics:	3	Practical missionary work:	2
Pastoral theology:	3	Practical work in	
Homiletics:	3	preaching & catechizing	
		& teaching Bible history:	5
		Total:	33

(cf. 18)

Although "Exegesis" is listed as one of the classes, no Hebrew was taught and very little Greek up until 1939. The language professors took a very paternalistic attitude towards the seminarians when they told them, "If you run into problems when you get out, contact us and we will provide you with the assistance you need in Greek." (19) The 1939-40 catalogue lists

both Greek and Hebrew exegesis, but it is very likely that these were two classes which fit under the categorization of "not all classes are offered each year."

(For purposes of comparison, the course schedules are listed below for each department in the school year of 1939-40)

The Theological Seminary

Admission: The Theological Seminary is open only to confirmed members of the Lutheran Church preparing for the office of the ministry in the Negro Mission of the Lutheran Synodical Conference.

Graduation from a standard high school and successful completion of the Junior College Course is required for admission.

The course of study includes all branches of theology necessary for a good theological education.

Not all courses are offered each year.

Numbers indicate the number of periods per week, each being 50 minutes in length, for 36 weeks.

FIRST YEAR

Systematic Theology 101—Doctrinal Theology I 3 hours
Exegetical Theology 201—Isagogics I 2 hours
Exegetical Theology 210—Exegesis and Hermeneutics, N.T. 4 hours
Exegetical Theology 220—Exegesis and Hermeneutics, O.T. 4 hours
Historical Theology 310—Church History I 3 hours
Historical Theology 301—Symbolics I 3 hours
Practical Theology 401—Homiletics I 3 hours

SECOND YEAR

Systematic Theology 102—Doctrinal Theology II 3 hours
Exegetical Theology 202—Isagogics II 2 hours
Exegetical Theology 211—Exegesis, New Testament 4 hours
Exegetical Theology 221—Exegesis, Old Testament 4 hours
Historical Theology 311—Church History II 3 hours
Historical Theology 302—Symbolics II 3 hours
Practical Theology 402—Homiletics II 2 hours
Practical Theology 410—Pastoral Theology 3 hours
Practical Theology 420—Liturgics and Hymnology 1 hour

THIRD YEAR

Systematic Theology 103—Doctrinal Theology III 3 hours
Exegetical Theology 212—Exegesis, New Testament 4 hours
Exegetical Theology 222—Exegesis, Old Testament 4 hours
Historical Theology 320—History of Missions 2 hours
Historical Theology 303—Comparative Symbolics 3 hours
Practical Theology 403—Homiletics III 2 hours
Practical Theology 411—Pastoral Theology 3 hours
Practical Theology 430—Evangelistics 1 hour
 All three classes combined one hour weekly Public Speaking.

The Junior College and Normal Department

The work of the Junior College, embracing the Freshman and Sophomore years, has been fully approved and is accredited by the North Carolina State Department of Education.

ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS

An *Application Blank* must be secured and filled out and returned to the president before September 1.

Applicants must at the same time forward a complete statement of their previous work and have a transcript of the records of their work sent to the registrar.

Sixteen units of standard high school work and graduation from an accredited school are required for admission.

The following subjects are required:

English	Foreign Language
History	Mathematics
Science	

Five units may be offered from the following electives:

History and Civics	Bible
Natural Sciences	Foreign Language
Home Economics	Mathematics
Music	Agriculture or Industrial Arts

COURSES REQUIRED FOR GRADUATION

A. The General College Course (Two Years)

Students intending to graduate or to continue college work leading to the A. B. or B. S. degree must complete during the first two years a total of 64 semester hours of work, distributed as follows:

	Sem. Hrs.
English Composition and Literature	12
Modern Languages	12
Natural Sciences	12
History	12
Mathematics	12
Physical Education	4
Religious Education	12
Electives	

B. Teachers Course

The Teachers Course is arranged to complete the first two years of the four years required for a N. C. Class A. Teachers' Certificate.



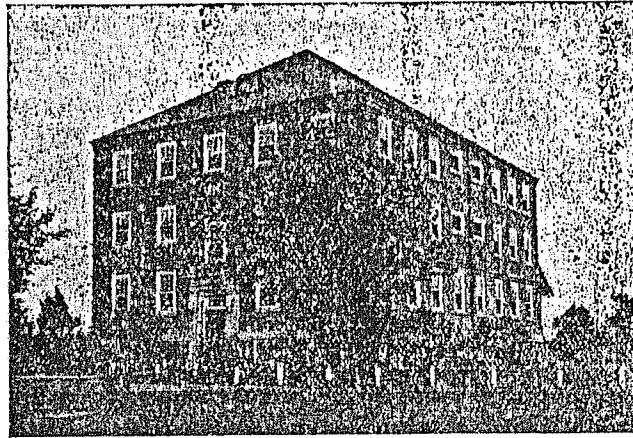
Dr. H. Nau, President.



Prof. Wm. Kampschmidt.

years (64 Sem. Hrs.) of the required work.

	Sem. Hrs.		Sem. Hrs.
English Composition		Grade Methods	6
and Literature	12	Classroom Management	3
Mathematics	6	Child Study	3
Natural Science	6	Geography	2
American History	6	Health Education	3
Electives	12	Physical Education	4
Religious Education	12		

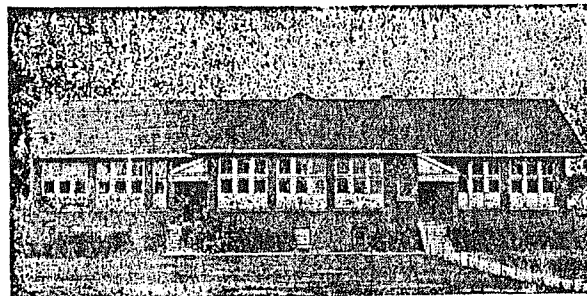


DORMITORY FOR WOMEN

C. The Lutheran Teachers Course (Two Years)

In addition to the courses listed above, students seeking to qualify for Lutheran Mission school work will be required to complete the following courses:

	Sem. Hrs.
Sunday School Methods	2
Catechetics and Bible History Teaching	2
Practice Teaching and Observation	60



High School and Science Laboratory

The Academic Department

The High School of Immanuel Lutheran College is accredited by the State of North Carolina, with a rating of IB, and by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Admission:—An *application blank* must be secured from the school and returned to the president by September 1st.

Freshmen:—Students first entering high school must present a certificate showing completion of the seventh grade.

Advanced Students:—Those who expect to enter a class above the Freshman class must present a list of the subjects for which they expect credit.

Graduation:—In order to graduate, a student must complete *sixteen units* of work, distributed as follows:

English	4	Foreign Languages	2
History	2	Science	2
Mathematics	2	Electives	4
Religious Education	2		

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

All courses are taught through both semesters, unless otherwise indicated, five periods per week, each being 50 minutes in length. for 36 weeks.

Each week day morning the first bell of the day would ring at 7:00 a.m. for everyone to get out of bed, wash up and get dressed. From 7:30-7:45 a.m. breakfast would be served in the basement of the administration/classroom building for all the students, boys and girls. At 7:45, the second bell would ring, signaling the time for each dorm student to head back to his room and clean up. The day of classes would begin at 8:30 a.m. with a chapel devotion led by one of the professors. Occasionally one of the seniors of the seminary department would be called on to lead the devotion. That could be a nerve-wracking experience for the senior, because the professor would not always notify him until he came to the chapel that morning. Pastor Grigsby commented, "When you got to be a senior, sometimes you'd hate to go to chapel." Class work consisted mainly of listening to the professor lecture with assignments being made in the class textbooks. Seniors were often called on in class to provide applications from their year of vicarship in connection with the subject being lectured on. Pastor Grigsby felt that the education he received at Immanuel was far superior to most other black institutions of his day because of its practical nature. "They (the professors) gave us a theory and at the same time they provided nails to hang it on. One of the things that they really pushed was that you learn something in the morning and then get out at night and practice what you learned." (20)

For the seminary department, classes let out at 2:00 p.m. The seminarians had free time until 7:30 in the evening when study hour began. The study rooms for the boys were located on the second floor where they slept. A small library was also located

here containing a high percentage of German and Latin books. The seminary students had a translating knowledge of those languages, but they still met with many difficulties trying to understand what they were reading. Study hour ran for two hours until 9:30 p.m., and then the campus students had a half hour to get ready for "lights out" at 10:00 p.m. No one was permitted to stay up any later.

Free time was spent by the students in a variety of ways. There were Bible classes, literary society, dramatic club, college paper, student chorus, boys' and girls' glee club, quartets, illustrated lectures, and an occasional motion picture. Students were free to wander around the 14 acres of the campus. This was especially popular during the spring when the azaleas and dogwoods were in full bloom. After receiving permission to leave campus, the students could also walk the sixteen blocks to downtown Greensboro where they could window shop or buy a soda if their budget allowed for it. On Friday nights, the college and seminary students would provide their own entertainment. There were always a few students who were talented players of the ukelele or "mouth-organs" (harmonicas). They would get together and play favorite songs which the others who had gathered could sing along with or clap to. Sometimes they would even lock arms and parade up and down the hallways or step around each other in square dances. For those students athletically inclined, there were the following organized sports, both interscholastic and intramural: basketball, baseball, soccer, tennis, volleyball, and track. Because of the small enrollment, the athletic teams would often have players from the high school, college, and seminary combined.

In order to be competitive, interscholastic games would match the Immanuel teams against smaller colleges or against area high schools. The professors never encouraged athletics, because of their shortage of time and the school's shortage of funds. (22)

While the girls had a new dormitory, the campus boys continued to sleep in the cramped quarters of the administration/classroom building (the renovation of 1931 wasn't a major improvement for the boys' rooms). Each room was shared by four boys and had four "cubby holes" in the wall where the boys slept. The boys took their meals in the dining area in the basement of that same building. They were encouraged to eat their fill, "so you didn't have any excuses when it came to the books." There were two cooks and one dietician who would prepare food which was regarded as very good.

In both the girls's dorm and the boys' living quarters, there was one adult in charge. During the 1920's and into the 1930's, these adults were a black married couple named Reid. Mrs. Reid's title was matron; her husband was known to the students as "Captain Reid." "Captain" was an appropriate title because he was a strict disciplinarian. Pastor Grigsby tells about his strictness,

When you came into the dining room and had gotten up late, and you had put your tie on and it was crooked, Captain Reid would be standing right there at the door. He'd be looking. He wouldn't say a word. He'd use that thumb (to say), "Go back, look at yourself." He wouldn't say what's wrong with you either. You gotta do that and come back. You'd have so many minutes inside to eat, so you only got four minutes left, whatever you could eat in four minutes, well okay!

Once a week Captain Reid would call the students together and talk

about their absences from class, their failures to arrive back on campus when they said they would, and their conduct in and out of the classroom. Then he would take the proper steps to correct any errant behavior. (23)

This strictness was also prevalent in the classroom. The relations between the sexes were watched very carefully. Pastor Grigsby speaks about passing notes in class.

You couldn't pass notes. They (the professors) kept an eye on it. They were worse than the fox and the rabbits. One fella wrote a note to a girl. They threw him out. The professor who was the prosecutor, he must have known more than he said, because he insisted that they expel him. The students finally got mad; there was no compromising, and so there was no getting along after that (with that teacher). On the whole conduct was very good. (24)

Another discipline the students were under was weekly maintenance of the dorms and grounds. The catalog of 1917 said, "Indoor and outdoor work is obligatory on all students. Students boarding in the college should be provided with overalls and a strong pair of work shoes." (25) Before Captain Reid and his wife took over as dorm managers, the professors would have to supervise the work of cleaning, fixing the furnaces, etc. since the college couldn't afford to employ regular janitors. During Captain Reid's years at the college, he and his wife would get the students out of bed on Saturday at 8:00 a.m. and tell them to get their work clothes on. Then they would watch the students carefully and note the shirkers. If a student neglected his duties on a regular basis, that student would not be invited to the Christmas or Easter banquets sponsored by the school for the students. (26)

Many of the students also worked at part-time jobs during their free hours at school as well as during their summer

vacations. People living in Greensboro soon learned that they could count on students from Immanuel to be responsible, honest, and to work hard. Students were always in demand, even though it was the era of the Depression. Townspeople would call up the office with odd jobs like housecleaning or yardwork. Then one of the professors would find a student whom he felt needed the money and would do a good job, and offer him the work. Many of the students paid their tuition and room and board this way since most were from families too poor to support them. If a student worked hard during the summer, he could expect to make as much as \$300. One summer between years of school, Pastor Grigsby worked as a waterboy for a railroad steel gang and made \$1.75 a day, which at that time was very good money. (27)

Attending Immanuel was a very big commitment for the students financially. Every cent was valuable during the lean depression years of the 1930's. Public high school education was free and did not require an expensive trip of sometimes hundreds of miles as was made by many Immanuel students. When a prospective Immanuel student or his parents looked at the following figures:

SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS

I. Theological Seminary and Junior College:	
A. Dormitory Students:	
First payment	\$ 30.00
Eight additional payments of \$16.00 each	128.00
	\$158.00
Total cost per year	
B. Day Students:	
First payment	\$ 14.00
Eight additional payments of \$6.00 each	48.00
	\$ 62.00
Total cost per year	
II. High School Department:	
A. Dormitory students:	
First payment	\$ 14.00
Eight additional payments of \$14.00 each	112.00
	126.00
Total cost per year	
B. Day Students:	
First payment	\$ 6.00
Eight additional payments of \$3.00 each	24.00
	\$ 30.00
Total cost per year	

they were often enough to scare that student away from enrolling at Immanuel. Therefore due to financial stringencies of the students, the Negro Mission lost untold numbers of pastors and teachers. The Synodical Conference often would pick up the tab for a student's room and board if he could pay his tuition, but this was not able to keep the enrollment from declining. In some of the darkest years of the Depression, the enrollment of Immanuel fell as low as 67 and 68 (1930-31 and 1932-33) and the numbers of graduates from the seminary to 2-3 a year. Gradually, as the economy made a comeback, so did the enrollment at Immanuel. During the late thirties, the student body consistently numbered in the 90's climbing to an even 100 in 1939-40. The high school enrollment remained low (in the 40's), but the enrollment of the college department aided by the addition of the new Junior College program climbed to new highs (also in the 40's). The seminary enrollment improved slightly by slipping up to an average of 8. A disturbing trend during those depression years was that the percentage of Lutherans at Immanuel plunged. By 1940, less than half the student body was Lutheran. (PSC 1936 p. 87f, & 1940 p. 58f)

The Closing Years: 1941-1961

1942 was the 65th year that the Negro Mission of the Synodical Conference had been in existence. In only the last fifteen years since the Mission's fiftieth anniversary, its membership had doubled. It had grown from 5516 souls and 3138 communicants in 1927, to 11,135 souls and 6507 communicants in 1942. While these numbers were encouraging, the numbers of black

teachers and pastors were not. Out of the 52 pastors serving in the Negro Mission, only 27 were black. Immanuel had been in existence for forty years and could only show a handful of pastors for their efforts. Within the Mission were also 39 black teachers and 9 black assistants or professors. This was not an overwhelming number either when you consider that Luther College at Selma, Alabama, also had a teacher's course.

Two major historical events in the United States contributed greatly to the disappointing numbers of pastors and teachers turned out by Immanuel Lutheran College: the Great Depression and World War II. The effects which the Great Depression had on the school were discussed in the previous section. Just when it seemed that Immanuel was coming back from the depressed thirties, it was again set back by the United States plunging into World War II during the forties. The war greatly depleted the numbers of male students enrolled at Immanuel. The reason for this is because the male college and seminary students did not make use of the exemption which they could have had from military service. Because of the racism in the United States, they feared that their taking an exemption for ministerial training would be looked upon as unpatriotically shirking their duty. So many would-be candidates for the preaching ministry (not only Lutheran) among the blacks were lost to the armed forces. (PSC 1946, p 113f) Dr. Nau, president of Immanuel during that time, remarked to the Synodical Conference in his report on the school, "The most discouraging thing is that we are striving to get somewhere, but we cannot." (PSC 1944, p. 75)

In 1942, the Synodical Conference in convention appointed a committee to give their analysis of the work in the Negro Mission, giving Immanuel Lutheran College special attention. In their "Review of Negro Missions of the Synodical Conference" submitted in 1944, the men on the committee made the following observations concerning Immanuel: 1) The number of seminarians who had graduated did not justify the cost of their training. From 1929-1942, Immanuel had graduated thirty theological students at an average expense of \$5800 per graduate. That was compared to average cost per graduate at St. Louis of \$171, at Ft. Wayne of \$214, and synod-wide of \$207. 2) The enrollment was again beginning to decline in spite of accreditation and the Open Door Policy. By the 1942-43 school year, the enrollment had dropped to 77. Immanuel was having a difficult time competing with the modern facilities and equipment of similar private and public schools. 3) The enrollment of Lutherans had fallen to new lows. In the 1942-43 student body, only 20 of the 77 students were members of the Negro Mission. The overwhelming majority of non-Lutherans (many unchurched) was having a bad effect on the morality and the once high academic level of the institution. 4) The Negro Mission lacked interest in and was not supporting Immanuel. Of the 79 congregations of the Negro Mission in 1942, only two were self-supporting and only 20% were paying for half of their pastor's salary. Therefore, the committee made these recommendations to the convention: 1) Immanuel Lutheran College be closed, 2) that its property and buildings be sold, 3) that the necessary steps be taken to care for the instructors, 4) that an appeal be made to the constituent synods of the Synodical

Conference to permit blacks to enter their colleges and seminaries. (PSC 1944, pp 76-81)

The preceding recommendations were the analysis of the majority of the Survey Committee. But in addition to the majority report, a report was also submitted by a minority of men on the Committee which recommended that Immanuel Lutheran College be kept open. Two of the seven men pointed to "underlying or basic difficulties" which the majority report failed to take into account. One of the "difficulties" which they referred to was the ongoing re-organization within the Synodical Conference which was incorporating the congregations and schools of the Negro Mission into the synodical districts in which they lay. In the flurry of activity surrounding this reorganization of the Negro Mission, the administration and affairs of Immanuel had gone untended by the Synodical Conference. Another "difficulty" of closing Immanuel which was cited by the minority report was that synodical schools would be very hesitant to open their doors to black candidates for the ministry. The two dissenters from the majority opinion concluded that "if the basic difficulties will be removed, Immanuel Lutheran College . . . may flourish for the well-being of the Church and of society as never before in its history." (PSC 1946, pp 39-40)

After hearing these recommendations, the Synodical Conference decided that it would be wise to table the matter of closing Immanuel Lutheran College until the 1946 convention. Over the next two years the recommendation of the minority report not to close Immanuel gained more and more support. By 1946, the Synodical Conference resolved to give Immanuel a chance to recover

from the lack of attention it had received during the incorporation of the Negro Mission into the synodical districts of the synodical districts of the LCMS. Its final course of action was reported in this way in the 1946 Proceedings:

D. Immanuel Lutheran College

a. Since the reorganization plan proposed (pp. 4 and 5 of this report) has been adopted;

b. Since there is a crying need of Negro church workers;

c. Since the General Conference and the Alumni Association have resolved to give Immanuel Lutheran College their wholehearted and unstinted moral and financial support;

Your Committee recommends

a. That Immanuel Lutheran College be given another opportunity to recruit ministerial students;

b. That all parties concerned concentrate on restoring Immanuel Lutheran College to the purpose of its founding, namely, providing pastors, teachers, and church workers;

c. That if, however, the efforts should fail to secure theological students for the seminary, the Synodical Conference at its next session earnestly consider this matter for final disposition.

Action by the Convention: The entire report was adopted.

(PSC 1946, p 47)

One of the parties that was mentioned above which was to restore Immanuel to its former purpose of training men and women for the preaching and teaching ministries was the newly formed College Board. For the first time in the history of Immanuel Lutheran College, it had a governing agency which would assist the president in a much more direct way than the Negro Mission Board ever had. The College Board was organized May 21st, 1947, and consisted of three whites (two pastors and one layman) and three blacks (two pastors and one layman). It set about immediately familiarizing itself with the administration of Immanuel and the special problems the institution had. (PSC 1948, pp 105f) Three firsts for Immanuel were initiated by the Board to get the institution back on its feet: 1) a business program was added to the curriculum of the Junior College to make that department more appealing, 2) a dean was called in January, 1949, to oversee

student life, and 3) the services of an accountant were acquired to set up the school's first operating budget. When the representatives from the State Department of Education along with representatives from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools evaluated Immanuel, they termed the instruction "superior." The chairman of the College Board who was the motivator of these improvements was Rev. G.E. Hageman of Charlottesville, Virginia. He served as chairman from 1948-1955 and exerted strong leadership. His successors as chairmen were the following: James Summers (1955-56), Paul Dannenfeldt (1956-59), and George Nauman (1959-61). Another man worthy of mention is the fourth president of Immanuel who worked hand in hand with Rev. Hageman. His name was Dr. H. Nau, and he served as president of Immanuel for 24 years from 1925-49. (PSC 1948, pp 114f, 1950 p 96) Dr. Nau and two other professors on the faculty, Professor Pennekamp and Professor Gehrke, had over 75 years of teaching at the university among the three of them in 1956. (PSC 1956, p 110)

The faith which the Synodical Conference had in the College Board and in the future of Immanuel was attested to by the appropriations it made for the construction of a new gym completed in 1956. In addition to the regulation-size basketball court and the stage, the new gym also contained accommodations for 46 students. The boys who had been in need of new dorm rooms for twenty years eagerly moved in. The cost was exceptionally low due to many voluntary efforts by the construction company and the donation of most of the furnishings. The hope was that this new structure would "attract more students desiring to dedicate

themselves to the full-time service of the Lord." (PSC 1956, p 111) Other new structures on campus were two buildings which were built by the government during World War II which were later purchased and moved to the north end of the grounds. One structure was equipped with modern kitchen appliances and served as a dining hall to replace the unsanitary dining hall in the basement of the ad./classroom building. The other government structure was used as a warehouse for storage. This appraisal was done of Immanuel's property in 1948 (note: this does not include the new gym):

Administration Building	\$ 75,000
Science Building	25,000
Girls' Dormitory	50,000
Three Faculty Houses	20,000
Dining Hall Building	20,000
Recreation Hall Building	15,000
Two Barracks Apartments	20,000
Warehouse	2,000
Land of Thirteen Acres Plus	30,000
Total Valuation	\$257,000

(PSC 1948, p 106)

Although Immanuel Lutheran College appeared to be a new and improved school in the 1950's from the facelift it had received, internally the institution continued to be plagued with the same problems which had threatened to bring about its closing down a decade before. The pastor-teacher program was still not cost-effective. In 1955, the operating expenses for the institution were \$55,000 while only five of each graduated to be pastors and teachers. This was still a price tag of over \$5000 per graduate for the ministry. (PSC 1956, p 110) The three pillars of Immanuel, the theological professors Pres. Kampschmidt (succeeded Dr. Nau and served as the last president from 1949-1961), Prof. Pennekamp, and Prof. Gehrke, were all of

retirement age and had all expressed the desire to retire. They no longer had the energy to stay in control of a school whose student body was becoming less and less Christian. Yet the College Board could not secure any replacements for them. There was also the problem of a majority of non-Lutherans at the school. The instructors who taught in the high school and college departments were rarely Lutheran. The percentage of Lutherans in the student body was still only about 20%. Only a few students attended church services. The reputation of the school in Greensboro had grown progressively worse because of the unChristian behavior of its students. Now and then the police even had to be called to deal with problems among the students on campus. (28)

The development which ultimately brought an end to Immanuel's already shaky existence was the civil rights movement for the blacks during the 1950's. The mid-fifties were the times in our nation's history of the fiery speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King, the huge protest marches, and the popular sit-ins by the blacks. The atmosphere in North Carolina and the rest of the South was heavy with racial tensions. The A. & T. State University campus adjacent to the Immanuel campus was the scene of demonstrations and sit-ins. In spite of the frenzied mood around them, the students on the Immanuel campus remained calm and relatively detached from the public protests. There were no demonstrations on campus. (29)

Although the students were not caught up in the movement for their civil rights, this was not an issue which could be ignored by the college. The aspect of the civil rights movement which

affected Immanuel directly was integration. For its entire history, Immanuel had been a school exclusively for the training of blacks. Now the institution was faced with the task of integrating if it wished to keep its doors open. This was expressed in a resolution brought before the Synodical Conference in 1954:

Resolution Concerning Schools of Higher Education

Memorial of the General Conference Held in Selma, Ala.,
June 8--10, 1954

WHEREAS, A chaotic condition among the peoples of the earth exists today, possibly without parallel in the history of the world, and is due to a very large extent to man's inhumanity to man; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the United States has on May 17, 1954, declared racial segregation in the public schools of the nation as unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, At least two national church bodies, namely, the Southern Presbyterian Church and the Southern Baptist Convention, have declared that henceforth no distinction shall be made "solely on the basis of race" in its program of higher education; and

WHEREAS, These conditions and happenings cause us to reflect on the status of our own Church and its educational institutions; and

WHEREAS, It is in keeping with both Christian principle and practice that educational facilities be available to people without racial considerations; therefore be it

Resolved, That we encourage the Lutheran Synodical Conference, through its Mission Board, to make it clear that its two institutions of higher learning, Immanuel Lutheran College of Greensboro, N. C., and Alabama Lutheran Academy and College at Selma, Ala., are intended for all students without racial considerations; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of General Conference be instructed to send copies of this resolution both to the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference and to the Secretary of the Synodical Conference Convention assembling at Detroit in August, to be included in the Book of Reports and Memorials to that body.

(Not signed. Sent by W. J. TERVALON
Asst. Secretary of General Conference)

(PSC 1954, pp 191f)

The College Board tried to downplay the effect which the integrating of schools would have on the destiny of Immanuel. The Board stated, "It is our belief that the question of integration as such will not affect us materially. We are definitely of the

opinion that it is neither wise nor expedient to close the theological department of Immanuel." (PSC 1956, p 111) Yet it had to face the reality that not integrating the school would give the institution a black mark among blacks. Efforts were undertaken synod wide to recruit white students who would attend Immanuel. But their efforts disappointingly yielded only one white enrollee. A major contributing factor to the failure of their efforts were a string of untimely deaths, vacancies, and illness among the faculty and board. In 1955, both Dean Lynn and Chairman of the Board Summers passed away, two men who had much to do with promoting the school. In that same year, Prof. Buls resigned and Pastor Pluan, a part-time instructor, accepted a call away from the area. To complicate matters even more, President Kampschmidt underwent surgery and suffered three successive heart attacks in the following year. Without these key men to lead the recruitment drive for white students, the effort was doomed to failure. (PSC 1956, p 110)

The Synodical Conference could see the handwriting on the wall. In 1956, three memorials were presented to the convention which called for the closing of Immanuel together with two other memorials calling for the purposes and policies of the institution to be restudied. The LCMS Board of Education was directed to make a study of both the Greensboro and Selma schools and to present their findings and make recommendations to the next convention of the Synodical Conference. (PSC 1956, p 113) The final recommendations of the Study Commission on Ministerial and Teacher Training were: to close down Immanuel no later than June 1961, to sell its property, and to transfer its high school and college

departments to Selma. The commission recommended that any black seminarians still at the school be absorbed by one of the theological seminaries of the Missouri Synod. It also promoted the hope that renewed efforts be made among the black constituency of the Synodical Conference for the recruitment of young men for the ministry. The official report and recommendations are listed below: (PSC 1960, pp 128-131)

Possible Solutions

The commission considered seriously the following possibilities:

Greensboro

1. Retain Immanuel Lutheran College in Greensboro as a high school, junior college, and theological seminary after an intensive program of revitalization and rehabilitation.
2. Retain the school as an academy and as a junior college.
3. Maintain the institution as a four-year high school and a four-year college.
4. Maintain Immanuel Lutheran College as a four-year college, a four-year high school, and a four-year theological seminary.

Selma

1. Maintain the school as a Synodical Conference high school and a junior college. Maintain an elementary school (kindergarten through eighth grade) as a central parish school.
2. Maintain the institution as a coeducational academy and junior college for the preparation of pastors and teachers.
3. Operate Selma as a predominantly Negro but nevertheless integrated school.
4. Maintain Selma as the only Synodical Conference institution, using the theological seminaries of the constituent synods for the training of pastors.

Other possibilities explored included:

1. The closer articulation of Greensboro Junior College and the high school at Selma.
2. Maintaining both schools but eliminating the theological department at Greensboro.
3. Closing the Greensboro school and permitting a new and integrated school of the Missouri Synod to serve the Southeast.

Analysis

Greensboro

As indicated above, the conclusions of the commission are based not only on its own observations but also upon the findings of commissions and individuals who previously surveyed the institutions under study.

It is apparent that the Greensboro institution has operated in a perpetual state of emergency. Under constant study, the institution and its future have never been certain and sure. This lack of reasonable certainty regarding the future has conditioned adversely the entire institution. Morale of staff and students leaves much to be desired.

The Synodical Conference has, moreover, never given the institution even the minimum support required for the operation of a second-class, much less a first-class school. In fact, the physical plants, salary schedules, libraries, and general conditions at Greensboro and Selma make it extremely difficult to understand how the staffs of these institutions could work with pleasure to themselves and profit to their students through the years. Both institutions stand as dismal monuments to the neglect, lack of vision, and stepchild approach of the supporting synods in the area of Negro education.

For particulars, the commission would refer to the surveys made by previous commissions and individuals. It would emphasize, however, that:

1. The institution at Greensboro is poorly equipped. For instance, it is wholly unrealistic to expect its existing library to serve a high school, a junior college, and a theological seminary. Even if the present library—in respect to physical size and acquisitions—were to serve a secondary school, its adequacy could still be justly questioned.

The entire physical plant presents a most depressing picture both to the layman and also to the professional educator.

2. The staff is inadequate. This inadequacy reflects itself particularly in the overloading of staff members and in the presence of non-Lutherans on the teaching faculty.

3. The curriculum is nonfunctional. Assuming that the Synodical Conference desires to maintain a triple-division, segregated institution at Greensboro, a diluted imitation of the curriculum offered at the preparatory schools and seminaries of the Synodical Conference would scarcely be the ideal for Greensboro.

4. The administration of the school is not clearly defined. Aside from the administrative officers at the institution, the school is supervised by a Board of Control (largely lacking in authority)

and the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference. This cumbersome, unrealistic, and even impractical division of authority has contributed in no small way—the commission believes—to bringing the institution to the point at which it finds itself today.

5. The school lacks a constituency. There are approximately twelve hundred Negro Lutherans in the general area served by the school. The commission would seriously question the need for a school generally and the need for a theological seminary particularly in that area.

6. The breakdown of the segregation pattern in American education, especially on the upper level, poses a serious problem for the Greensboro institution. The commission believes that the church cannot continue to operate what is in effect a segregated theological seminary. Since all the colleges and seminaries of the Synodical Conference are integrated, little if any reason exists for the continuance of Greensboro. Furthermore, the apparent and expressed preference of Negroes for study at an integrated seminary is an important factor in this consideration.

7. The number of church workers graduating from Greensboro does not justify the expense of operating the institution. A fraction of the operating cost of Greensboro would be sufficient to subsidize the travel and educational expenses of Greensboro's ministerial students at existing theological schools of the Synodical Conference.

8. The student body is largely non-Lutheran in denominational affiliation exclusive of the few enrolled in the theological department. The high school furnishes training primarily to non-Lutherans.

The commission recommends:

1. That effective not later than June 30, 1961, Immanuel Lutheran College in Greensboro be closed.
2. That the property (buildings, grounds, and equipment) be sold at the best price and as quickly as possible.
3. That the library be transferred to Alabama Lutheran Academy at Selma.
4. That the records of the institution be transferred to Selma.
5. That those faculty members with permanent tenure be honorably retired inasmuch as they are approaching or have passed the age of retirement. The commission would add — and it hopes that this statement will be interpreted as more than a pious platitude — that the work of these faithful men under adverse conditions is a testimony to their dedication.
6. That contractual agreements with those staff members on impermanent tenure be honored.
7. That all Negro pastors and teachers receive their terminal training in the existing institutions of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference.
8. That the existing schools of the Synodical Conference offer remedial instruction for those Negroes who have difficulty in keeping pace with their classes as a result of inadequate prior training, and that the cost of any such remedial instruction be subsidized by the Synodical Conference.
9. That a completely new plant be erected on the recently purchased property at Selma, and that additional acreage be purchased.
10. That the present property be sold and that the proceeds be used to erect on the new campus a high-level Christian day school with practice-teaching provisions.
11. That the Selma institution embrace a six-year program, four years of high school and two years of junior college, serving as a "feeder" institution for the existing colleges and seminaries of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference.
12. That the control of the institution be delegated to, and vested in, a newly created, six-man Board for Ministerial and Teacher Education rather than in the Missionary Board and the present Board of Control, and that this board — with staggered terms — be appointed by the *Praesidium* of the Synodical Conference within ninety days after the close of this convention, and that this board be directly responsible to the Synodical Conference.
13. That the Board for Ministerial and Teacher Training concern itself with an intensive recruitment program and the granting of scholarships and grants-in-aid to ministerial and teacher-training students, and that this board, in co-operation with the constituent synods, develop as soon as possible an orderly procedure for the placement of candidates.

REV. J. P. SCHAEFER, *Chairman*
DR. GEORGE J. BETO, *Secretary*
DR. GEORGE DOLAK
DR. ALFRED V. OVERN
DR. OSBORN T. SMALLWOOD
DR. SAM ROTH
DR. RICHARD BARDOLPH

In spite of the protests and urgent pleas of President Kampschmidt in a lengthy report to the Synodical Conference (cf. PSC 1960, pp 124-125) not to close down the school, the 1960 Synodical Conference convention meeting at Valparaiso adopted a resolution permanently closing Immanuel Lutheran College of Greensboro, North Carolina, on June 30, 1961. It's recommendations regarding the closing of the institution are best summed up by the report itself.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE 4C

After much prayerful and careful study of various printed and unprinted reports, memorials, and overtures (see *Reports and Memorials*, pp. 9-12; 71-87), and after many hours of discussion with members of the Study Commission and the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference, as well as other interested groups and individuals, relative to the future of our two educational institutions, your Committee respectfully begs leave to submit the following recommendations for your consideration and adoption:

Recommendation 1

Immanuel Lutheran College, Greensboro, N. C.

WHEREAS, It has become increasingly evident that despite the many and incalculable blessings showered upon our church by our gracious Lord through the medium of Immanuel Lutheran College in Greensboro, N. C., and despite the increasing and consecrated efforts of its president and theological faculty this school is no longer fulfilling our expectations; and

WHEREAS, The enrollment in this school is showing a constant decline, all three departments during the past school year having a total enrollment of but 72 students, of whom the greater majority are non-Lutheran; and

WHEREAS, There is no immediate prospect of enrolling new ministerial students after the close of the 1960-61 school year; therefore

We Recommend, in concurrence with the findings of the Study Commission, the Missionary Board of the Synodical Conference also agreeing thereto,

- 1) That Immanuel Lutheran College be permanently closed effective June 30, 1961;
- 2) That the property (buildings, grounds, and equipment) be sold at the best possible price;
- 3) That the library and the records of this institution be transferred to Alabama Lutheran Academy and College at Selma;
- 4) That upon completion of the 1960-61 school year the three faculty members with permanent tenure be honorably retired;
- 5) That contractual agreements with staff members on impermanent tenure be honored in cases where they extend beyond June 30, 1961;
- 6) That prospective Negro pastors thereafter receive their terminal ministerial training in the existing institutions of the constituent synods of the Synodical Conference.

Action of the convention: On motion of Prof. O. E. Sohn, seconded by Mr. Eugene Riewe, this resolution was adopted.

(PSC 1960, 137-139)

The closing of Immanuel in 1961 was not met with any large protests from within the Synodical Conference or from the student body of the school. A few of the students planned to transfer to Selma. Most of the others had made provisions to attend one of the public schools in the Greensboro area. The last class of seven seminarians graduated in 1961, ironically one of the largest classes ever. There were no seminary students in the first three years so there were none to transfer to other synodical seminaries. The property of Immanuel College was sold to the State of North Carolina in March, 1963, for \$250,000, and was incorporated into the campus of A. & T. State University. A tabulation of the transaction appears below:

IMMANUEL LUTHERAN COLLEGE		
Greensboro, North Carolina		
Sold to the State of North Carolina		\$250,000.00
Less:		
Commission and Closing Costs		
Commission — North Carolina National Bank	\$ 10,000.00	
Documentary stamps and fees	735.68	
Appraisal and Survey	600.00	
		11,335.68
Total Net Cash		\$238,664.32
<i>Distribution of Net Cash</i>	1960—1961	
	Rate	Amount
3/20/63 No. 11917 The Lutheran Church — Mo.		
Synod	85.19%	\$203,318.13
3/20/63 No. 11918 Wisconsin Ev. Lutheran Synod	13.45%	32,100.35
3/20/63 No. 11919 Synod of Ev. Lutheran Churches		
(Slovak)83%	1,980.92
3/20/63 No. 11920 Ev. Lutheran Synod		
(Norwegian)53%	1,264.92
	100.00%	\$238,664.32
Total Expenditures		\$238,664.32

(PSC 1964, p 55)

When looking back at the history of Immanuel Lutheran College, different observations could be made. One might be that Immanuel was a successful attempt to enroll blacks in the preaching and teaching ministries. Another could be completely opposite and say that Immanuel was a white elephant that never came close to the goals which were envisioned for it. Immanuel Lutheran College was not a dismal failure. Yes, it was expensive to maintain, but it turned out scores of black pastors and teachers, and uncountable numbers of Christian lay people, whose effect could be seen in the mushrooming increase of members in the Negro Mission. And yet, as we look back, we can see that there was room for improvement (as there always is) when it came to the number of graduates trained for the pastoral and teachers ministries. Without trying to lay blame on any one party, we can pinpoint some factors which prevented Immanuel from reaching its potential for supplying the Negro Mission of the Synodical Conference with black ministers and teachers.

Lack of Interest in the School Shown By the Synodical Conference

Certainly the Synodical Conference cannot be faulted for the amount of financial assistance it gave to Immanuel during the schools existence. Year after year thousands of dollars was poured into the operating and building budgets almost exclusively by the Synodical Conference. Immanuel owed its existence year after year to the financial support of the Synodical Conference. Yet we can pinpoint the basic problem when we observe that often that money went unaccounted for until 1947 when the institution had an operating budget for the first time in its history. This testifies to one underlying problem which hindered the school:

the lack of interest on the part of the Synodical Conference in the affairs of Immanuel.

This lack of interest in Immanuel on the part of the Synodical Conference was born out in a number of ways. One was its failure to appoint a board to directly oversee the administration of the institution. Until 1947, the Negro Mission Board was in charge of the affairs of Immanuel. Rarely did these men visit the school or take a direct decision-making role in the activities on the Greensboro campus. As a result, the faculty drifted from its main objective of recruiting and training young men and women for the public ministry. Essential improvements in the physical condition of the buildings or in the curriculum were neglected for years in spite of urgent pleas from the faculty that something be done. This would result in the delapidated appearance of buildings or sometimes atrocious living conditions for the dorm students. Lack of heat during the winter caused severe colds for both students and professors. The lack of housing on campus for professors often taxed the professors with excessive transit time. This inattention, in turn, "was reflected in a sort of pessimism on the part of the faculty." (30) On the part of the students, it was often reflected in a declining enrollment.

The constituency of the Synodical Conference cannot be blamed for blatantly ignoring Immanuel. It must be remembered that during the later years of the Immanuel's existence, a great deal of attention was focused on the doctrinal controversies brewing among the synodical bodies composing the Synodical Conference. This undoubtedly drew much needed attention away from Immanuel.

Another reason for the Synodical Conference's lack of attention was the racism which existed within its ranks. At Immanuel there was rarely if ever conscious attempts to discriminate against the black student body by the professors. Pastor Grigsby commented, "There never was a whisper (of racism) at our time. (The professors) wouldn't have tolerated it." But at the synod level, the case was different. President Nau told Pastor Grigsby in a private conversation that many times he had to battle it out with synod officials over a few crumbs to keep the school operating. Pastor Grigsby experienced the racism of the Synodical Conference in a personal way just a week before his enrollment in the seminary.

When we left Luther College (Selma, Alabama, 1928), three of us were supposed to have gone to St. Louis. We would have been the first blacks attending Concordia. A contributor in Texas heard about it. This person was a heavy contributor in the synod. He contributed \$20,000 a year. He wouldn't have it. Superintendent Smith said we couldn't afford to lose his contribution. "That means you can't go to St. Louis." That was just a week before we were supposed to leave Alabama. They scrambled around to find where we could go. They checked Springfield. They checked Seward. They were both "full." They checked Immanuel (and found) they could squeeze and make room. (31)

Not only did the students feel the cold effects of inattention by the Synodical Conference, but the faculty was also a victim. As was mentioned previously, the professors lacked the proper housing facilities. For a time no houses were provided for the professors on campus. When three houses were eventually built, professors and their families sometimes had to double up in a dwelling designed for only one family. (PSC 1920, p 31)

Throughout the history of the school, salaries of the professors and instructors were much lower than comparable salaries of

teachers in other synodical schools. (PSC 1936, p 87) These factors contributed to a hesitancy to accept a call to Immanuel or to stay for an extended period of time after accepting a call to the institution.

Finally, the lack of attention concerning Immanuel Lutheran College on the part of the Synodical Conference could be seen in its assumption that blacks would not be hindered from attending synodical secondary schools once Immanuel was closed. One problem which prevented blacks from attending was the distance. Immanuel had been located in Greensboro which was less than 500 miles away from 70% of the churches in the Negro Mission. (PSC 1934, p 93) Its location was also important in that it was in the South where culture was pretty much the same as in Alabama or Georgia. Synodical seminaries and colleges at St. Louis, Springfield, and Fort Wayne, were a 1000 mile trip for young men from North Carolina and also included a trip to the unfamiliar North.

The other problem which prevented blacks from attending other synodical schools once Immanuel was closed was a racist attitude among the white students of those institutions. One example of this was the implications often made that blacks were mentally inferior. Homer Diggs, a 1959 graduate of Luther College at Selma, was told in a rather rude tone of voice prior to his enrolling at Concordia Luth. Seminary at Ft. Wayne, "If you come to Fort Wayne, you're going to take Greek, buddy," implying that foreign languages would be too difficult for him. (32) The students that did attend synodical schools "had a story to tell in the summer. When they told their story, the others wouldn't attend." The stories they would tell would be of professors never

warming up to them; of blacks being treated by the student body as second rate citizens; of white students who would be incredulous over the fact that there was once a training school in the LCMS for blacks. (33) The closing of Immanuel stifled the regular flow of black workers into the Synodical Conference. Prof. Buls, a former professor of Immanuel, commented sadly on the closing of Immanuel, "I felt that if we closed the seminary, we would cease to train black ministers. This has proved true. We have not trained a sufficient number of black pastors to replace those who have died." (34)

Lack of Support Given Immanuel Lutheran College by Congregations of the Negro Mission

The white churches and constituents of the Synodical Conference cannot bear the sole responsibility for keeping Immanuel Lutheran College from reaching its potential. The people of the Negro Mission could also have done more to foster the training of black pastors and teachers at Immanuel. The pastoral ministry was not a popular profession among young blacks. Many of the Baptist and Methodist preachers they knew only took advantage of the people they served. Pastor Grigsby reminisces, "I never dreamed of being a minister. In fact, I hated them." And yet, the Lord in his mysterious ways, led Pastor Grigsby to go on to study for the ministry through his contacts with teachers and pastors in the Lutheran elementary and secondary schools. Parents and workers in the Negro Mission did not encourage their young people enough to attend these schools, especially the Christian day schools, where God could work the will to study for the ministry from early on.

Probably the main factor discouraging black students from enrolling and parents from sending their children to the Lutheran schools of the Negro Mission including Immanuel was their poverty. Attending a school like Immanuel required a solid summer of work and a fair amount of labor during the school year. Even then, students were faced with the prospect of sinking into debt. If black congregations had encouraged their students interested in studying for the ministry by providing scholarships, more students could have been persuaded to attend Immanuel. Granted, times were tough during the Depression years, yet it wouldn't have taken alot of money. Just a few dollars could have been a sign to the student that his people were solidly behind him. Pastor Grigsby related the following story showing the difference a little encouragement could make:

I had an offer to be a professional baseball player. (Pastor Grigsby was a standout pitcher for Immanuel from 1928-31) My senior year I had an offer to play for the Kansas City Monarchs (a black baseball team whom Satchel Page played for) A scout came by our campus and had me throw some balls. He had me hold a baseball and he says, "Man, look at those hands." He painted a picture where I could see my name in lights. I would have taken it, but then I thought about the people back home at Selma. There was a superintendant of the field (by the name of Smith). Smith I really idolized. Smith was instrumental in me being at Greensboro. Every Christmas and holiday, Smith would send me five dollars of three dollars. He would be disappointed for me to take this contract. I couldn't do it. So when I decided, I told the scout, "My pastor is instrumental in my being in Greensboro, and he would be disappointed." (36)

This kind of support from families and pastors of those students attending Lutheran gradeschools as well as institutions like Immanuel could have boosted the enrollment of Immanuel Lutheran College and in the process kept Immanuel from being closed down by the Synodical Conference.

The Lack of Dedication and Unity of Purpose Among the Majority of the Immanuel Faculty

The third factor which kept Immanuel from reaching its potential as a supplier of black pastors and teachers could be found in the faculty. It must first of all be noted that Immanuel Lutheran College had some of the most dedicated men in all of the Synodical Conference serve on its faculty. Names come to mind like Bakke, Berg, Beck (William), Smith, Nau, Kampschmidt, Gehrke, and Pennekamp. As has been noted already in this paper, being a professor at Immanuel meant making some big sacrifices. This was especially true in the early years of the institution. Coming to Greensboro meant not only a meager salary without a housing allowance, but it also could mean hostility from whites who disliked a professor teaching at an all-black school. (37) Being a professor also meant a good deal of hard work. Since there was often either a skeleton staff or no staff at all, a professor's duties might include purchasing textbooks, supervising the kitchen and dining hall, and directing campus work crews. All this was in addition to an overload teaching schedule of 25 periods or more a week. (PSC 1906, p 56) That's why the dedication of those professors who stayed for more than a few years was so remarkable.

The difference that was made by dedicated professors like this started in the classroom and flowed into many other aspects of the student's life. Pastor Grigsby spoke about this, "Ours (theological education at Immanuel compared to other black seminaries) was superior to theirs because their instructors didn't have what ours had. The instructors we had instructed us with vision." The seminarians were required to take home

economics so they could care for themselves if not married.

Students who had trouble with public speaking were encouraged to participate on a debating team which competed against high caliber white universities. The basketball team that showed promise was given uniforms to make them feel like "champions." Outside activities were arranged with Bennett College and Chapel Hill to give the college and seminary students a chance to recreate and develop good social conduct.

The problem was that there were not enough of these professors who were so dedicated to their work and the welfare of the students. The turnover rate of professors was high. After only a few years, many professors would accept a call back into a white congregation where the work was less hectic. This would create vacancies on the faculty and make it necessary either for a professor who was already overloaded with classes to take the vacated class, or for a student or outside instructor to teach the class. No matter who ended up teaching the class, the quality of teaching would suffer because of lack of preparation time or lack of experience. In this way Immanuel's quality of education fell behind that of other schools and became a much less desirable place for those blacks looking for the best education they could receive. (PSC 1938, p 111)

The other major problem among the faculty that hindered Immanuel was the faculty's lack of unity of purpose. Immanuel Lutheran College had been founded by the Synodical Conference for the chief purpose of "providing a liberal and practical training for Lutheran young men who intend to enter the ministry or engage in missionary school work, and for gifted girls who desire to

enter the service of the Lutheran Church as Christian school teachers." As the years went by, the faculty was distracted from this main purpose by its plan to also use the institution as a training school for Lutheran lay people and as a mission arm. The faculty were very lax on asking for some kind of a commitment to consider the preaching or teaching ministries. They became more and more eager to implement the Open Door Policy and let in as many non-Lutherans as possible. Gradually they became dependent on the tuition of these extra students to finance the operating expenses of the school. By 1939, they had changed the emphasis on the purpose of Immanuel by adding the phrase (our double purpose is to prepare young men and women to be pastors and teachers) "and to offer to Negro youth in general an opportunity to receive a higher education under distinctively Lutheran Christian influences and principles." (40) The effect this had on the attitude of the faculty was for them to become competitive with other schools and to ask for the purchase of materials that were never intended as part of the curriculum. It also brought in a larger and larger enrollment of non-Lutheran students who were a disruptive influence on the pre-ministerial students morally, academically, and financially. In the closing years of the institution, one of the professors who was teaching there at the time called it "a really wicked place. It even happened that the high school students on one occasion had Prof. Kampschmidt backed up to the blackboard with switchblades." (41)

Due to conditions as bad as this, it was probably for the best that Greensboro was closed down in 1961. But one wonders whether Immanuel Luther College could have gone on operating if

the mistakes which impeded its progress had been recognized and corrected in time. No matter what the answer is to that question, the history of Immanuel Lutheran College still stands as a tribute to the earnest endeavors of those early pioneers of the Synodical Conference to bring the light of the Gospel to the American blacks. It stands as monument to the achievements of the many black young men and women whom God had filled with a zealousness for serving him. And it serves as a guide for the Christian education of both whites and blacks today.

Endnotes

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3. Ibid., p. 84.
4. Ibid., pp. 85f.
5. Bakke, Nils. Our Colored Mission. St. Louis: Concordia Publ. House, 1914, p. 79.
6. Drewes, p. 86.
7. Bakke, pp. 81f.
8. "Another College Located Here." Greensboro Record. July 13, 1904.
9. Drewes, p. 88.
10. Ibid.
11. Bakke, pp. 82f.
12. Drewes, p. 88.
13. Statistical Yearbook of the Ev. Luth. Synod of Missouri Ohio, and Other States: 1919. St. Louis: Concordia Publ. House, 1920, p.124.
14. Drewes, pp. 107f.
15. Ibid., p 75.
16. Grigsby, Henry. Taped Interview by Jonathan Kuske: "Immanuel Lutheran College." Milwaukee, March 19, 1988.
17. Ibid.
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19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Catalog of Immanuel Lutheran College: 1939-1940. Greensboro Greensboro Printing Co., 1939, p. 3.
22. Grigsby.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Catalogue of Immanuel Lutheran College: 1917-1918. Greensboro: Greensboro Printing Co., 1917, p. 12.
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27. Ibid.
28. Werre, Alvin. Taped Interview by Jonathan Kuske: "Immanuel Lutheran College." Dakota, Minnesota; April 8, 1988.
29. Diggs, Homer. Taped Interview by Richard Norris: "The Black Mission." Ft. Wayne; March 24, 1983.
30. Buls, Harold. Taped Interview by Richard Norris: "The Black Mission." Ft. Wayne; March 23, 1983.
31. Grigsby.
32. Diggs.
33. Grigsby.
34. Buls.
35. Grigsby.
36. Ibid.
37. Drewes, p. 75.
38. Grigsby.
39. Catalogue of 1917-1918, p. 4.
40. Catalog of 1939-1940, p. 2.
41. Werre.

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