

The W.E.L.S. Change
From German to English:
The When and Why

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INTRODUCTION

Martin Luther had profound respect and appreciation for language. He once remarked that "among all the works or gifts of God the most outstanding is the faculty of speech, for by this activity alone man is set apart from all animals"(1). The fact that no other creature in the world had this ability was proof to Luther that "the word is of a most exalted nature."2 One need not look far to find ample proof for these thoughts of Luther in the sheer number of volumes which flowed from the pen in his gifted hand. No other single author has left such a significant and influenced mark upon human culture as Luther(3).

Luther's appreciation and respect for language was not, however, restricted merely to his own "Muttersprache", German. He valued highly his training and adeptness in the language of the church, Latin, especially after his trip to Rome in 1511 when he found that many of the average Italian priests could not even use Latin to communicate(4)! Latin was the international language of church scholars, and Luther found his ability to use it well an indispensable tool for his theological studies and work. But again, he didn't stop there. When Reuchlin's "Rudimenta" of Hebrew came out in 1506, Luther soon set to the task of learning Hebrew also(5). He found this skill to be invaluable in his studies and lectures on the Psalms, as well as all the Old Testament books in which he worked. His knowledge and study of Greek did not increase until later, when J. Lang and Melancton (a profficient Greek scholar himself) began to acquaint Luther more fully with this language. When Erasmus' Greek New Testament came out in 1516, Luther again immersed himself in the New Testament's original language in order to draw from it all he could. These skills in language enabled Luther to produce the badly-needed New Testament translation (1521) and the Old Testament translation (1530) into German for which even the secular world has often thanked and praised Luther.

But mere skill in language was not, for Luther, the main thing. Melanchthon, unlike Luther, saw language skill as a sign of a true intellectual, a person of laudable reasoning ability. To Luther it was merely a tool, necessary for the one all-important goal of understanding of Scripture. Of Hebrew, Luther said: "Without this language there can be no understanding of Scripture"(6). Luther credits the languages as the means which the Holy Spirit uses to bring the Gospel to mankind, thereby encouraging:

"Let us, then, foster the languages as zealously as we love the Gospel. For it is not meaningless that God caused His Scripture to be written in these two languages only... The languages, therefore, which God did not despise but chose above all others for His Word we, too, ought to honor above all others..."(7).

To Luther it was of utmost importance that any true preacher, and especially any true and exact theologian, must be conversant in Hebrew and Greek in order to do any proper interpretation and independent work with Scripture. He maintained that without such skill, one could not properly "dispute with" and refute "those who quote it (Scripture) falsely"(8). As a result, he insisted that "there must always be such 'prophets' in Christendom, men who treat and expound Scripture and are also fit to engage in theological controversy"(9). For Luther, the languages were the necessary keys to sound, accurate, scriptural theology.

Perhaps it could be said that the early leaders of the Wisconsin Synod saw no incongruity in placing German right alongside Greek and Hebrew as the necessary keys to sound, accurate, scriptural theology. For the Wisconsin Synod held tenaciously to its German heritage and language use, being one of the last American Lutheran synods to make the change over to English. Was it purely a matter of "stubborn German pride" that the members and leaders of the Wisconsin Synod held out so long against "Americanization"?! Or was it a result of Wisconsin's "rugged individualism"? What factors led to the long insistence upon preserving the German language, and, then, also what factors led to the final changeover from German to

English in the Wisconsin Synod? This is indeed a significant chapter in Wisconsin Synod history, one on which little has ever been done in any detail or scale. It is the intent of this paper to initiate a study of the language change in the Wisconsin Synod, in order to lay the ground work for further study later on. This is not to be, by any means, a definitive nor exhaustive treatment of the subject, but only a general overview. This paper will seek to present the main contributing factors to the change, as well as a better idea of the time of that change. Further study as to the impact of this change upon individual congregations, specific areas and districts, as well as the influence rendered by rural versus urban congregations upon this change will be left to others.

II. BACKGROUND TO THE QUESTION

In order to appreciate the significance and the difficulty of the change from German to English in the Wisconsin Synod, one must bear in mind the main features which characterized the Wisconsin Synod in its early years. (When the title "Wisconsin Synod" is used in this paper, the author is not singling out the original Wisconsin Synod as distinguished from the Minnesota or Michigan Synods. He is rather treating all the constituent, historical parts of the present-day WELS as a unit.) Without going into great detail, one must remember that the origins of the Wisconsin Synod began with German immigrants from Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, and other places, mostly Old Lutherans fleeing the forced unionistic practices of Prussia under Frederick William III(10) from 1839 onward. A large influx of these German Lutherans made their way from New York to Wisconsin, settling in various places in and around the Milwaukee area (Kirchhayn, Cedarburg, Lebanon, etc.).

So large was this influx that in 1843 alone, the "government reports show that

fifty to sixty thousand immigrants, mostly Germans, came over the Erie Canal"(11). This vast resource of German Lutherans began to organize into congregations, which then needed pastors to carry on the work of shepherding this shepherdless flock. Seeing the need in the new frontier, German mission societies began forming in Germany, which sent missionaries to attend to the needs of the immigrants in America. As a result of the work of three missionaries of the Langenberg Mission Society, the "First German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Wisconsin" was organized on December 8, 1849.

Following the organization of this Wisconsin Synod, pastors and missionaries were still in high demand, since the fledgling synod could not generate enough men to fill its own needs. The Synod continued to rely heavily on manpower sent over to America through the German mission societies. The original three organizers of the Wisconsin Synod (Muehlhauser, Weinmann and Wrede) were all emissaries from these societies, as were many other prominent figures in early Wisconsin Synod history (Bading, Adolf Hoenecke, A.F. Ernst among others)(12). Although it was abundantly clear by this arrangement that the Wisconsin Synod was in essence a "mission synod" of the German societies, yet because of the large number of German immigrants to the U.S. and the small number of pastors available from the German mission societies to serve them, the Wisconsin Synod could not rely on that source of pastors for very long. It soon became necessary for the Wisconsin Synod to begin training its own men, in its own seminary. In 1863, John Bading set out for Europe to raise money for this ambitious project. At the same time, work had already begun on a seminary in Watertown. This would set the stage for a more independent and self-sustaining Wisconsin Synod in the near future. In as early as 1867, this came into reality when the Langenberg and Berlin societies severed their ties and lines of support to the Wisconsin Synod as a result of Wisconsin's hard line on unionistic principles in those societies(13). This forced the fresh, new

Wisconsin Synod to stand on its own feet, as well as to seek out the fellowship of other American synods.

What must be kept in mind, though, is the pattern that had been established already at the beginning of Wisconsin Synod's formation. Unlike Missouri or Ohio or many of the other American Lutheran synods, the Wisconsin Synod was born out of the desire to serve German Lutherans who had emmigrated from Germany to the "Land of promise", not specifically to establish a new religious community. There seems to have been a whole different attitude and purpose within the Wisconsin Synod. The Wisconsin Synod had been organized out of a desire to better serve those German immigrants in Wisconsin who had no church home, who needed the services of a pastor or missionary. The idea that Wisconsin was a mission field seems to have prevailed for a long time within the synod, whether consciously or unconsciously. For this reason, the Wisconsin Synod was hard at work within itself, trying to find and minister to those groups of German Lutherans who had settled in the Midwest. It was never really the intent of those involved in the formation of the Wisconsin Synod to establish a full-blown, autonomous, structured church body, as with other American synods. Wisconsin men were content, and overwhelmingly occupied, with serving the growing needs of their own people. Mission outreach to the early Wisconsin Synod men meant forming new congregations elsewhere in the Midwest among other German immigrants(14).

As a result of this inner struggle and desire to serve its own people and other German immigrants, the Wisconsin Synod retained its use of the mother tongue of German. Perhaps without realizing it, the early Wisconsin Synod pastors were following the modern-day principle of mission work which dictates that such work must be done in the language of the people. Due largely to the fact that most, if not all, of the early pastors were German themselves, serving German immigrants, they only naturally persisted in using the German language. The people had learned

the Scriptural truths from Luther's Bible, they had been instructed in a German confirmation class, and thus cherished their German background and heritage. August Pieper noted:

"Es war ganz selbstverständlich und durch alle damaligen Behaltnisse gegeben, dass unsere deutschen Vorvater, die mit dem lutherischen Evangelium herüberkamen und zum Teil deutsche Gemeinden mit herberbrachten, das Evangelium deutsche predigten und aus der ungeheuren deutschen Einwanderung der 50er bis 80er Jahre eine rein deutsche Kirche schufen"(15).

(That is, it was only natural for our German forefathers to establish and preserve a purely German church body since they brought along the Lutheran Gospel, preached and taught in German.)

To the early Wisconsin Synod people there seemed to be no real reason to pick up and use the English language, since the whole Lutheran doctrine and practice was in German. Luther was a German, the Bible was German, all of Luther's precious works were in German, and besides, they were Germans! Why change a good thing?! Coupled with that was this underlying devotion and appreciation for the use of and study of the Bible in its original texts, which seems to have carried over to Luther's writings, not least of which was his Bible translation(16). Serving the German immigrants with their familiar German Scriptures and Lutheran (= German!) doctrine in German was only natural! It was a matter of pride, pride in the achievements of Luther, of the German thinkers and philosophers and in the German culture itself(17). And above all, it was based upon a deep-seated devotion, allegiance and pride in the German language itself:

"Aber die deutsche Sprache (wir reden immer von der Lutherschen deutschen, wie sie in seiner deutschen Bibel, Katechismen, seinen ubrigen Schriften vorliegt und Sprache der lutherischen Theologie und Kirche geworden ist, - nicht von der modernen deutschen theologischen und kirchlichen ungeistlichen Hurensprache) ist ein besseres Vehikel des Evangeliums als jede andre moderne Kultursprache"(18).

As Pieper states, there is no other language which better conveys the message of

the Gospel than German! With that kind of sentiment and devotion, it would indeed be long and hard before German would leave the Wisconsin Synod as its "Muttersprache fur Unterricht." After all, it was not just the language, it was a matter of confessional stand also! These were German Lutherans, who still appreciated and could operate with Luther's own language. Any "Americanization" or "Anglicizing" of the Wisconsin Synod was viewed as a possible attack on the strict confessionalism and pure Gospel dedication which characterized this synod(19).

III. WINDS OF CHANGE

However, a changeover was inevitable. After all, no matter how devoted these Lutherans were to their roots, they still could not escape the fact that they were living in America now, where the "official" language of the land was English. Certainly the great blessing of religious freedom had enabled the Wisconsin Synod to maintain German as its "Kirchensprache" and also to establish many congregations which could use German in this way(20). But this did not carry over into an area of the Wisconsin Synod which it also prized very highly: its Day Schools. It was here that the first real push began to change over from German to English.

The Wisconsin Synod was devoted to Christian education "from the very start"(21). Since many of the pastors taught school themselves due to the shortage of teachers, and since the congregations were German, it was natural that instruction in the schools was also in German. For a while this continued to be the pattern, especially as long as there was a constant influx of German immigrants to strengthen and maintain the need for German(22). When a greater number of teachers began coming "on line" from the Synod's training facilities at Watertown and New Ulm, the complexion of the Christian educational system began to change. By 1870 already there was a teachers' conference established which began setting education

"in the direction it would have to take in an English-speaking country"(23). Thus the first real significant "drive" to incorporate English into the Wisconsin Synod came from the schools, where more "American" subjects were taught using English textbooks(24). But even though the "secular" classes were taught in English, the pattern still remained that all religious instruction was done in German(25). Because of this, a generation or so after the Wisconsin Synod was founded, the Synod began producing a generation of bilingual members, who used English in their daily lives but who still appreciated and cherished their German religious training.

There was, however, a powerful outside force which signalled those in the Wisconsin Synod that they would not be able to hold on to their cherished German language forever. In 1889, a political issue was raised which directly affected our schools and could possibly affect our churches. It was called the Bennett Law, introduced into the Wisconsin assembly, which would have required that "as a part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing and arithmetic and United States history (be taught) in the English language"(26). The impact of such a law, if enacted, would have been devastating. Recognizing this bill as "a covert attack upon personal liberty and freedom of speech," our German Lutherans rallied together to defeat the bill(27). But the warning had been sounded, the trend was set: German was on the way out, brought about both by internal and external forces.

This trend began to be noted in the Joint Synod Convention reports also. In the Proceedings of the 1897 Convention, a lonely column in the "Parochialbericht" (the statistical summary of the work being done by each church of the Joint Synod) began to appear which took note of the number of Christian Day Schools which used English as the medium of learning. In 1897, 94 out of 228 (41%) Christian Day Schools used English. In 1899, 96 out of 259 (37%); and in 1901, 106 out of 295 (35%) were listed as using English in their instruction(28). Thus, at the turn of the century, about 40% of the Synod's Day Schools were using English on a regular

basis as the medium of teaching and learning. Why such a statistic for only these three years? Perhaps we can't say for sure, but it must have been of concern or interest to some within the Synod to know how many Day Schools were using English regularly. Nevertheless, it does at least reveal a general idea about the complexion of the elementary education of the Wisconsin Synod during this time.

It would seem as though the Synod's secondary schools were also able to take this inevitable changeover in stride. Although catalogs for NWC and DMLC are presently unavailable before about 1911, it would appear that a definite pattern of instruction had already been established which assumed the bilingual abilities of its students coming from Christian Day Schools. For instance, the 1911-12 catalog states in its introduction: "The English and German languages are the media of instruction, the course being so arranged as to give the students a complete mastery of both"(29). In the description of the various courses offered in the Collegiate program, there are some occasional clues as to the use of German in the instructions as well. In the Latin department it was stated: "Translation into idiomatic German is insisted upon, and frequent written translations are required"(30). This would seem to indicate that at least in the Latin class, German was the dominant language being used. An even more significant insight is given in the description of the German course. The description states:

"The aims and means in this department are the same as those in the English department. ...The fact that the majority of its students, being of German parentage, enter the Preparatory Department of the Institution with both a reading, writing, and speaking knowledge of German, has enabled the School to build up its German department, so that a student who has finished the course ought to master the language and have the most important works of German writers. In addition...each member...is required to prepare and deliver an original oration each scholastic year"(31).

Here, especially, it is revealed that the secondary level education system assumed as natural that the student had come with a predominantly German background, with

the ability to work in the German language.

The N.W.C. History department course description reveals some valuable information about the whole curriculum in general. The leading statement says: "It is the aim of this department to impart as thorough a familiarity with the leading facts of history as that acquired in a good German Gymnasium." In actuality, the whole curriculum, not just the History course, was patterned after the German Gymnasium model. A qualification quickly followed the above statement: "This does not imply, however, that American and English history is neglected." Apparently the school did not want to leave the impression that only German or European history was taught in this department! The textbooks and method of instruction followed that of the German gymnasium, coupled with a library which contained "all the standard historical reference works, both in the English and the German languages"(32). This was not just a matter of information about the books to be found in the library, but it reveals an assumption that the students could and would use reference works from either language with equal ability. Finally, it was also noted that "the medium of instruction in American and English history is the English language, while in all the other courses (in the History department) German is spoken"(33). Thus, German was not just a subject at NWC, but, as the introduction had stated above, it was the medium of instruction. (Even the Chemistry class had as its goal to place "especial stress...on nomenclature in both English and German.")(34)

Perhaps it should be noted here also that this NWC catalog of 1911-12 was written in English. This may not seem to be a real significant observation until one realizes this was 1911! The college itself was still using German quite extensively in its instruction, but the image it portrayed through its catalog was that it was a truly English, an American college. This in itself indicates the realization at the college that German was quickly losing its prominence as the

"Synod's language." Further telltale changes in the NWC catalog will be presented later.

The records from DMLC are much more scarce, since the college catalogs are only available consecutively from 1911-12 through 1918-19. The next available catalog is for the year 1937-38. The only information gleaned from these early catalogs was that parts of them were written in German (mainly the course listings, with little course descriptions being given, unlike the NWC pattern), while other parts were in English. But perhaps this indicates something about DMLC at this time also: their catalog was perhaps geared for an audience which was assumed to be more fully bilingual, so that they weren't trying to attract a more predominantly English audience. After all, NWC was still functioning with a broader purpose than just to train pre-ministerial candidates. It was trying to attract students to its normal and business curriculums, without the emphasis on the languages. DMLC had the one purpose ever since 1892 to train teachers for the Wisconsin Synod. It could still address the more restrictive audience within the Synod which was mostly bilingual. Although unsubstantiated, the bilingual aspect of the early DMLC catalogs may convey the conclusion that instruction there was also bilingual, similar to what was the case at NWC. Further investigation would prove whether this assumption is correct or not.

The pattern at Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary seemed to be a bit more rigid in the earlier years. A simple survey of the Seminary catalogs reveals that they were written in German from 1878 through the year 1918-19. (For two years, 1917-18 and 1918-19, there were two catalogs produced: one in German, one in English). Apparently it was taken for granted that the instruction at the Seminary was German. It wasn't until the 1913-14 catalog of the Seminary that a small paragraph entitled "Englische Unterricht" was added to the Seminary curriculum summary which stated that the English language would be used for "dogmatic oral and written

recitation" as designated in the curriculum summary. It was also noted that beginning the following year, 1914-15, a portion of the work in the Catechism department would be done in the English language. Finally, every Seminarian in the upper class was required to produce and present an English sermon to the assembled student body. Critical comments from the student body concerning the English sermon and the English catechism lesson were "naturally to be made in the English language also"(35). From this whole paragraph, the impression is left that German was indeed the official language used at the Seminary, and that now (1913-14!) only a few specific classes were to introduce the use of English as an "innovation", as if the Seminary were now "branching out" into the world of English! In fact, that is exactly what was happening.

Here it should be noted that these were indeed the early breezes of change in the dominance of the German language over the English. Things were beginning to happen which would eventually lead to a greater use of English. Obviously none of these changes were overly dramatic or impressive, but when taken together, they show a gradual tendency or leaning toward a greater use and stress upon English. The training institutions and the Synod at large were at least beginning to move in that direction--even if it was only slowly.

There were some early voices from within the Synod which spoke of the impending changeover also. In an unpretentious way, August Pieper made a few comments about the change in 1904, in the very first issue of the Theologische Quartalschrift, the Seminary's official theological journal. The comments came in conjunction with a book review on an early edition of Luther's works in English. One gets the impression that such a major change as one's language did not bother Pieper too greatly. He remarks in a matter-of-fact way: "Unsere deutsch-lutherische Kirche in diesem Lande geht uber kurz oder lang ins Englische uber." In fact, it seemed to be a matter of pride that the Wisconsin Synod should

move over into English, since, Pieper remarked, "wir Deutsche sind!" -- we're German! And in fact, "Der Deutsche lernt gern und leicht eine fremde Sprache"(36)--a German can easily and quite well learn a foreign language! Thus it was no big deal whether the change was made now or much later -- we're Germans, we can do it any time! In fact, Pieper maintained that because they were Germans, once they set their minds to it, these people would be able to speak English sooner and better than an American who had been trained in English! "Das kommt eben von der grundlicheren Art des Deutschen"(37)--that comes from a basic skill belonging to a German! But Pieper also noted that this was not a matter for the Church to decide. After all, the Church comes through the preaching of the Gospel. And if it comes down to this, Pieper said, that the majority of the people can understand the Gospel better in English, then we will serve the Gospel in English. But, he said, this must be done carefully and "mit Verstand" -- with understanding. Otherwise, the change could result in losing our very Christianity, not because of the language change, per se but because of a neglect, disregard and misunderstanding of the whole matter. He cites the example of Muhlenberg and the New York Mininsterium, which, in its rush to change over into English, neglected its doctrinal position in favor of changing over to the new language, resulting in a pietistic, rationalistic "Lutheranism", all for the sake of a more "elegant English"(38). Thus it was Pieper's sound advice to go slowly on the issue, always giving careful consideration to the needs of the people, never compromising doctrine for the sake of making a quicker changeover. Such inconsiderate action would only draw the Synod closer to the Reformed sects, away from the pure, Lutheran Church. It was up to the individual pastors to move cautiously, providing good, English, Lutheran sermons and literature to those who desired it, always steering clear of "quick-fix" remedies offered by other outside sources. Here also it might benefit the picture of Pieper to note a comment made by Prof. E.C. Fredrich in his

introduction to the English translation of Pieper's Jesaias II:

"What would Pieper say about an English translation of his commentary? For one thing, he recognized the necessity of English preaching and teaching and writing for a Lutheran church body in our land and century. On the other hand, Professor Pieper would not have accepted the English version of Jesaias II without some strong objections. He would question why pastors would need a translation. It was his firm conviction that any Lutheran pastor and any Lutheran seminary student, to be worthy of the name, would have to have a reading knowledge of the language of Luther"(39).

Another early voice concerning the necessity and desirability of the changeover came from John Schaller, another Seminary giant. Schaller came to the Wauwatosa Seminary of the Wisconsin Synod in 1908 with an outstanding command of the English language. This was a rare ability for a theologian at that time, not only in the Wisconsin Synod, but also in the Missouri Synod. In the introduction to Schaller's Biblical Christology, Loren Schaller remarks that "because English was almost a foreign language among Lutherans in St. Louis, the faculty often asked 'Hans' Schaller to do the honors when an English speaker was required"(40). But Schaller's importance as an early voice was not due just to his command of English, but his uncanny foresight and timely sense to act upon it. He didn't wallow in the glory that he had an almost enviable edge over the other two theologians at the Seminary at that time (Pieper and Koehler), but rather put that gift to work in producing what was to be a daring step forward in the progress of change from German to English. Late in the year of 1918, Schaller came out with the first installment of what was to be an English Dogmatics. Once completed, it would be the first orthodox, Lutheran Dogmatics published in America in English. However, this was not to be, since "an all-wise Lord willed otherwise"(41) when Schaller died on Feb. 7, 1920. But again, the trend was beginning to appear in ever clearer fashion that the Wisconsin Synod was moving into its "English age."

Progress was becoming evident also on the Synod level toward a greater

awareness of the need for English. Although very few and far between, some indications of an undercurrent of the change surfaced in the early Synod proceedings. The earliest such indication came in a memorial offered in the 1913 Joint Synod Convention proceedings which recommended that the "Gemeinde Blatt", the Wisconsin Synod's official church magazine, be converted from a German to an English paper "as soon as possible"(42). Presumably this was to begin filling a need among the predominantly English-speaking members of the Wisconsin Synod. However, the memorial did not propose a method for this, whether this new "Gemeinde Blatt" was to replace the German one, or was to be an English translation in addition to the original German one!

But it seems that this resolution did, in fact, spark a response within the Synod to produce an English magazine for the Wisconsin Synod. In 1917 resolutions were made and passed designating the publication and timing arrangement of the Northwestern Lutheran(43). This was indeed an important step for the Wisconsin Synod -- an English church publication for laymen of the Synod. To some, this step may have seemed too bold for the Wisconsin Synod to take at this time, however. For, in the 1919 proceedings, a proposal was made to combine the "Gemeinde Blatt" and the "Northwestern Lutheran" into a single, bilingual paper in order to better serve our "German-English" families(44). Other proposals were also made, seeking to put at least the same statistical reports and similar articles in both papers. Each of these proposals shows an ever-increasing desire to have more of the Synod's materials produced in English.

As a result of this increased desire for English in the Synod, a special committee was appointed to investigate the situation, its report being given in the 1919 Joint Synod Proceedings. The findings of the committee revealed that although the older members of the Synod, for the most part, still relied heavily on the German, yet it was an inescapable fact that more and more of the younger people

could no longer understand a sermon preached in German(45). Some of them could, apparently, still follow a German sermon, but only those who had had German confirmation instruction. But there were fewer and fewer of those young people every year. A greater concern to the committee lay in the results of this trend. They recognized the fact that this ever-dwindling supply of German-speaking members would soon result in a very significant loss: a loss of good German literature, "die Frucht von vier Jahrhunderten;" the loss of the "magnificent, incomparable Luther Bible"; all the beautiful German chorales and songs would be lost; and yes, the loss of the great German language itself, the original language of Lutheran Christianity, taking with it all of Luther's and the Lutheran theologians' writings. This was the fear that arose from the impending change. As a result, the committee presented six concluding statements, the jist of them being: a)

the change into English is inevitable; b) the Gospel must still be preached, and done so in the language which is still best understood; c) every effort should be made by pastors and teachers to continue to use the German wherever necessary, and to study in German the theology of the Lutheran Church so as to better appreciate its doctrines; and, d) to allow no state the power to allow or forbid the use of any language in the church or the schools(46). This clearly shows that the breezes of change were now progressing toward more foceful winds.

IV. THE PERIOD OF CHANGE: 1918-1935

Up until the latter part of the second decade of the 1900's, the language change in the Wisconsin Synod had been a relatively peaceful, easy-going process. Most people probably knew it was coming, knew it was inevitable, but it seems no one was going to make any big fuss about it one way or the other. The dramatic turning point came abruptly in 1918 -- not the reorganization of the Joint Synod in

to the WELS, but the end of World War I. This was history in the making, with the members and leaders of the Wisconsin Synod carrying out this tremendous change. No longer would it be a slow, steady, easy-going process -- from here on in, it was to be a seemingly unguided, haphazard, almost catastrophic change. The impetus would be the almost incomprehensible, inflammatory, even abusive propaganda and anti-German sentiment of post-war America. A few examples will show this quite clearly.

The Quartalschrift was keenly aware of the propaganda being disseminated throughout the country during those early post-war years. It did not hesitate to reprint a number of the editorial remarks of some, in order to show not only how foolish and unreasonable they were, but also to inform and warn the Synod's pastors of the tension and persecution arising from such propaganda. Persecution of Christians in the United States in the 20th Century?! Yes indeed! It was born out of a justifiable resentment against the warlords of Imperialistic Germany, allowed to spill over into an unjustifiable, insatiable rage against anything even remotely "German" back in America. One can only imagine the fears and uncertainty which such propaganda generated. The October 1918 issue of the Quartalschrift reprinted an editorial from The Western Teacher entitled "What Shall we do with the Germans?"(47) In it were such biting statements as "it is no discredit to be a German - it is merely a misfortune..."; the "third class of Germans in America include those 'who favored the teaching of German in the schools' -- should they be kept on the proscription lists?"; "give them a chance to repent" and to "renounce Germanism"; and "let us make it as easy as may be for them and their children to forget they were Germans," especially by "dropping their German names." The editor actually recommended that German family names and even given-names be dropped or changed in order to put an end to any trace of German heritage among "Americans"! He also encouraged:

"Let us make it easy for those who may have been on the border line but who now see the light to come across and be Americans. By eliminating the German language, discouraging the marriage of Germans with Germans and permitting the transmission of family names through non-German mothers, we may in one generation wipe out Germanism in America, kultur will disappear, and the Germans will be exterminated by thoroughly humane methods. They will simply lose their identity. The best way to snuff out the Germans is to give them a chance to be good Americans"(48).

In the January, 1919 issue of the Quartalschrift, a compendium was made by August Pieper of similar inflammatory and abusive editorials and propaganda in an article entitled "Woher der Wind weht." One editorial had noted that "Governor Harding, of Iowa, recently issued a proclamation whereby only English is to be spoken in public throughout the state." Even the political leaders promoted this anti-German sentiment. Again from an editorial in The Western Teacher:

"We think a plan of eliminating the German that would work better than the Governor's proclamation would be to make the privilege of conversing in German a matter license...

"In Milwaukee, a patriotic organization requested the authorities in a parochial school to drop the German and use English as the medium of instruction. The reply was that the teaching of religion would suffer in efficiency unless the German language were used! ...What funny fellows the Boches be"(49).

Other such statements also were heard which would burn in a German- Lutheran's ears:

"No one will deny that the English language is always used when anyone is 100 percent American; is always used when one is intensely patriotic; is always used in expressing abhorrence of the treachery, butchery, and debauchery of the Huns. It is equally undeniable that all treacherous tricksters champion the use of German in schools and elsewhere. ...it does not seem necessary to protect their frail nerves by protecting the use of a language which is more serviceable to traitors than to patriots"(50).

These and many other editorials adequately emphasize that this was a period of intense and bitter criticism of anything and anyone who was, or was connected with anything, German.

But this anti-German sentiment was seen as more than just a threat against the use of the German language within the Synod. It was also seen as a very real

threat against a most treasured blessing of American citizenship: religious freedom. John Schaller took note of this in an article entitled "Religious Freedom Endangered," published in the April, 1919 issue of the Quartalschrift. He noted that public opinion at the time was advocating "one country, one people, one language, one church, one God"(51). Schaller viewed this as a direct direct attack upon the First Amendment and saw in it a demand by the people to establish by law "an 'American' church to which every citizen must belong by virtue of loyalty and patriotism--or by police coercion." To him, the present anti-German, pro-American sentiment was indeed a serious threat against the Church. Especially dangerous was the accompanying attacks against the schools, Schaller noted, when:

"...just now the excitement and general feeling of insecurity affords this hostility an opportunity which is not to be slighted. The attack is conveniently and effectively masked as an effort at Americanization"(52).

And this attack would indeed come against even religious instruction:

"...the laws which they (the leaders of the campaign against German) propose usually make it a serious misdemeanor to teach anything, including religion, of course, in any other than the English language. ...Who will prevent the supervising officials to oust all religious instruction from all schools under the plea that the entire school time is needed for Americanization purposes? ...it is quite another thing to face the proposition that the people of the United States shall henceforth consider it a crime to preach or teach the Gospel of Jesus Christ in any other than the English language"(53).

August Pieper also took note of this terrifying cruelty upon German Lutherans in his commentary on Isaiah, published in 1919. In commenting on the religious oppression and persecution of Israel while in captivity in Babylon, Pieper compares Israel's suffering to what was then a very present-day reality, in the section on Isa. 59:15--

"There was a striking parallel to it in our own country during World War I, when persons suspected of pro-German sympathies were flagrantly abused, and that with the sanction of the government. ...We Christians, who thought that our

guaranteed freedom of religion protected us against any possible persecution because of our faith in Christ, have now learned by experience that no form of government, no law, no constitution, and no authority can protect us against persecution, Matthew 10; John 16. The only escape lies in denial. Will we persevere, like Jeremiah?"(54).

Anyone who lived through those early post-war years knew all too well that this propaganda was indeed a very strong impetus to leave the German language behind as quickly as possible.

John Schaller also made reference to this "rude interference of a misguided public opinion" on the subject of the language change in his preface to his Biblical Christology, written in late 1918. He commented:

"Recent occurrences have shocked us into a realization of the fact that many of our fellow citizens were hostile to the German Lutheran Church because they knew nothing whatever of its true character"(55).

It would seem from this that Schaller recognized an extra acute attack upon the Wisconsin Synod because of its persisting dedication to the use of the German language in its work. But he also saw this persecution as an opportunity:

"We owe it to such persons (those who don't understand German), as well as to the millions of our fellow citizens who have never even heard the gospel, to leave the comparative seclusion resulting from our use of the German language, and to enter upon a wider field of mission endeavor"(56).

Thus for Schaller, the "time of persecution" was not a time for lamenting the demise of our beloved German language, but an opportunity and impetus offered by God to put ourselves and our God-given resources to work in order to branch out, even to come out of our self-produced cocoon of the German language, and bring the cherished Lutheran Gospel to our fellow Americans. It wasn't an oppression, it was a challenge!

And the response came quickly. In the Synodical proceedings the changes began to appear already in 1919:

a) A special column is added to the "Parochialbericht" of the 1919 Synodical proceedings which recorded the ratio of German to English services(57).

b) In the 1921 proceedings, a report on a local visitation of our Christian Day Schools revealed that out of 60 schools visited, 33 have religious instruction in both German and English; 18 in German only; and 9 in English only(58).

c) In the 1923 proceedings, a request was made to have at least an English summary of the Synodical reports published(59). Up until then, all the proceedings had been in German only.

d) In the 1925 proceedings, a resolution was made to produce an English Bible History Book(60); to appoint a committee to determine the need for a new English hymnal(61); to produce a short German/English catechism(62); and to put the Synodical business reports in the Gemeinde Blatt and the Northwestern Lutheran to save money, since the cost of the Synod's work in German and English was already so high(63). This report was, however, presented only in German!

e) In the 1927 proceedings, a personal memorial was given which proposed: "3. To designate English as the official language of the Synod"(64). This memorial was rejected, and the report was presented in both an English and a German version.

f) Beginning with the 1927 proceedings, it is noted that the proceedings are published in both a German and an English version, except if certain reports were presented in English, then the German version of the proceedings preserved the English and did not translate back into German. The English is, however, a translation. This continues until 1935.

g) In the 1935 proceedings, it is noted that "the

proceedings are published in the English language, with a narrative report in the German language appended"(65). From 1935 to 1941, only a few reports and an occasional conference paper were in German. After the 1941 convention there was no more mention of the proceedings being published "in the English language" as in the 1935 proceedings.

The separate district proceedings followed much the same pattern chronologically, most of them moving toward an all-English report by the early 1930's. The one notable exception was the Nebraska District which had published its proceedings completely in German up until 1926 (no mixing of German and English reports at all!). Suddenly, the 1928 convention proceedings were all English, which continued thereafter, except for an occasional report in German in the 1930 through 1936 convention proceedings.

Of even greater interest at this time was the introduction of "the 3 questions" in the statistical report of each Synodical proceeding from 1921 to 1927 (See Appendix A). The "3 questions" were to find out: a) how often an English worship service was conducted; b) how often an English communion service was offered, and c) in which language confirmation or religious instructions were given. Although the records are not complete, nor is it evident the number of members who attend German vs. English services, a pattern is still quite visible from what is available. The statistics from 1921 show at least a minor dominance (37%) of the once-a-month practice for English services with only 14% of the congregations conducting all their services in English. Already by 1923, the twice-a-month practice has taken the lead (38%) and the number of congregations with all English services has also increased (18%). This pattern continues to grow in the next two convention years, 1925 and 1927, after which the statistics are no longer kept. But the significance lies even in the fact that such statistics were being kept at

all during this time. Maybe someone simply wanted to preserve this bit of information for posterity. Whatever the reason was, there must have been a real awareness of a dramatic change going on at this time within the Synod concerning the language question.

What about other responses? What other evidence was there of this greater movement toward changing to English? A survey of the NWC catalogs during this time shows that various comments in the course descriptions expressing that the German language was the medium of instruction were either changed or dropped between 1924 and 1930(66). The quite significant statement in the German course description, noting the German parentage and familiarity with the language of most of the students, was also dropped, but not until the 1936-37 catalog. The corresponding catalogs from DMLC for this time period were unavailable, all of them missing after 1918-19 through 1936-37.

The Seminary catalogs are, however, available, and quite interesting. As was noted earlier, a record of the catalogs from 1878 through 1918-19 were all in German, with the addition of an equivalent English catalog in each of the two years 1917-18 and 1918-19. From the year 1919-20 on up to the present, the catalogs were strictly in English. Of perhaps more interest is the following:

a) The paragraph, "Englischer Unterricht", introduced in the course description of the 1913-14, was dropped altogether in 1918-19.

b) The comment that seminarians were to submit both an English sermon (Senior class) and a German sermon (Middle class), begun back in the 1908-09 catalog, remained until the 1943-44 catalog!

c) The Catechetics requirement that one English, one German catechesis be submitted, begun in 1916-17, was dropped sometime

after 1935-36 and before 1943-44.

d) In the 1949-50 catalog, it was still required that one German sermon be written, although it did not have to be delivered orally.

e) From 1954-55 through 1969-70, the Homiletics course description stated: "Those with a sufficient working knowledge of German are encouraged to do several sermons in that language"(67). After that, there was no more mention of German work.

Our Synodical publications show an interesting pattern also. Appendix B, which shows the available subscription statistics for the Gemeinde Blatt and the Northwestern Lutheran, although regrettably missing the crucial years between 1912 and 1934, does show a dramatic loss of subscriptions to the Gemeinde Blatt from 1911 (13,000 subs.) and 1935 (4652 subs.). It can also be seen that the Northwestern Lutheran did not see a very impressive growth until the early 50's, having only a very slow, steady growth from 1935 through 1946. (These figures, however, do not reveal any contributing factors at all. They also do not reveal anything about the percentage or the makeup of the subscribing membership in relationship to the whole Synod.)

Of greater interest is, perhaps, the Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly, originally published as the Theologische Quartalschrift, begun by A. Pieper in 1904. This journal was completely German until and including 1918, with the exception of a few English book reviews on English books. In the 1919 issue of the Quartalschrift, the first all-English article was published, written by Herm. E. Meyer on "Why not the Sunday School Alone?" In that year, three other English articles were also published. All the rest were in German. In April, 1920, the second and last installment of Schaller's English Dogmatics was published, due to his death on Feb.

7 of that same year. The title of this article was "The Nature, Origin and Effects of Saving Faith." This was the last year, until 1935, for any articles to be written in English (and this during the period of greatest change from German to English!). From 1935 to 1945, generally about half of the articles are in English. The year 1946 was the first year when all the articles were in English and the last year for the German subheadings in the index. 1947 saw the first use of the subtitle "Theological Quarterly"; in 1960, this became the official title of the journal, yet retaining "Theologische Quartalschrift" as a subtitle. 1967 was the last year for this German subtitle. Thus the Quarterly was a long-time holdout for the German language in an official Synod publication.

It is interesting to note that it wasn't until 1938 that the Theologische Quartalschrift published its first article in translation. Up until then, it was assumed that the reader could handle whichever language an article was written in, either German or English. Apparently in the late 30's it was felt that some of the early literary gems were being neglected and their beautiful truths lost to the mostly-English speaking generation that was now "taking over" within the Synod. The first article to be translated from German to English was a beautiful sermon by Adolf Hoenecke, "A Christmas Sermon", translated by Werner Franzmann(68). This "innovation" continued for another year, as Franzmann continued to translate a number of Hoenecke's original German sermons.

This need for books and articles in English was signaled a half dozen years earlier by Professor A. Zich of the Seminary. Zich, along with Schaller of a decade and a half earlier, had been instrumental in making progress at the Seminary toward a wider use of English by submitting a number of articles to the Quartalschrift in English. One such article was entitled "On the need of More Lutheran Books in English," published in the October, 1932 issue of the Quartalschrift. In the article, Zich points to contributing cause for the

persistence of German within the Synod:

"...the struggles of the church in setting forth the fine distinctions of theological research in the matter of predestination and election, during the long dispute on these questions, seemed to be of interest to and fit to be grasped only by our fellow Christians of German extraction. ...The English speaking public, it seemed to us, was neither interested nor could it understand our viewpoint. ...At any rate, our fathers of the church either would or could not voice their beliefs in the tongue of the land"(69).

(The Election Controversy was dominant in 1877 through about 1885 in the Synodical Conference.)

Zich also makes the remark that "this public was only too readily identified in our view as being so thoroughly saturated with Calvinistic doctrine that any attempt to win them to our standard was deemed hopeless"(70). According to Zich's feeling for the prevailing sentiment within the Wisconsin Synod, we really didn't want to "go English" because we felt it wasn't worth it, that no one really cared "out there" for what we had to say, and because we were too busy doing internal work! But Zich also saw that it was now the very obligation of the Wisconsin Synod to shift its emphasis to English, so that our unique confessional Lutheranism could be presented to the English speaking public which was then being saturated with all sorts of confusing sects(71). The problem that the Synod faced, however, was that there were as yet few good theological works available to aid this work. The ability to think and write in English was there, which was a big step toward producing these much-needed books, even if "we have not, as a rule, mastered the peculiar idiom of the English language"(72). But the time and effort to do this kind of original work in English was lacking. Zich noted that the pastors were too busy supplying the needs of their congregations, and the Seminary professors were too busy with their class ~~class~~ duties to spend the time on research and writing.

And "it is not only in these evil days of depression that our teachers at the colleges and seminaries are in straitened financial circumstances, rather is this a chronic condition (even) in so-called prosperous times"(73). In order to fill this need for quality theological literature from our Synod, some changes needed to be made--and soon!--less akin to our use of language as to our whole attitude toward the world and the role we played in it. It seems this had been largely ignored up to this time.

V. ANALYSIS AND COMMENT

What does all this show? Why spend so much time on a seemingly so distant and insignificant shift in our Wisconsin Synod? Precisely because it does seem so distant, so insignificant, when in fact it was NOT insignificant to many churches who struggled terribly with the language question. Congregations were torn apart, schools were closed or in danger of closing(74), not to mention the many pastors and teachers called upon to function in two languages for much and even all of their ministries, simply because the shift was so complex and difficult. It would be of great interest to this author, and others, to find out how various individual congregations handled the change and how long it took.

Why the change? As has been shown, it was begun in the schools, simply because it was no longer feasible to teach strictly in German. It was a calm, easy-going change, almost unnoticed, until certain outside forces influenced it in a very strong, immediate way, not the least of which was World War I. But regardless of those big pushes, this was America, where the people spoke, wrote, lived, and breathed English. Except in the Wisconsin Synod! It was inevitable that English would one day become the language of the Synod.

But why did it take so long?! Why didn't it occur at the very start, when the

Synod was formed? ↗

After all, those people realized they were in English-speaking America. Why hang on to the old "mother tongue?" One thing that can certainly be said for the Wisconsin Synod in this respect, is that it was not because it didn't want to associate with other synods in America. After all, the Wisconsin Synod made many advances toward fellowship with other Lutheran bodies through the General Council, the General Synod, and the Synodical Conference. The Wisconsin Synod was not, therefore, a secluded, isolated, shy little synod, afraid to show its face to others. It was, however, deeply concerned with making every effort to meet the spiritual needs of its own members, unconcerned about the appearance which this exclusive use of German to accomplish this goal gave to others outside the Synod. The servants of the Word recognized the fact that faith and one's confessional stand were very personal things, which could not be legislated. There was a profound respect for Paul's injunction to avoid putting anything in a person's way which might cause him to stumble. If it could be such a thing as a person's language, a pastor would do everything to avoid even this stumbling block to the person's faith. "Rugged individualism" really does not seem to be such a major factor in the language question as was the dedication to the needs of a people who loved the German language.

It is interesting to note that others recognized this need from outside the Synod also, especially during that exceedingly difficult and trying time right after World War I. In the compendium of editorials compiled by August Pieper cited above, one particular editorial from The Nebraska State Journal showed an uncanny understanding of the difficulty of making such a monumental change, especially in the area of one's religious beliefs:

"A person's language is part of his life. Without language a man is but an animal. After a certain early age men cannot adapt themselves perfectly to a new language. When old age has come, they can hardly at all gain even a fair use of a foreign

tongue. To deny an old person his native tongue is the next thing to taking his life. This is particularly true of the language of religion. ... The language of religion cannot be (translated), in any effective sense. ... Words of the same definition in another language cannot take the place of words which owe their force to lifelong experience and association"(75).

And this was back in 1919! It pretty well sums up a realization which seemed to exist within the Wisconsin Synod, that one cannot simply give up the language which taught him the most significant lessons of his life--his redemption through Jesus Christ. For the Wisconsin Synod member, this was especially acute because he had something solid and valuable to cling to--the pure Gospel, God's precious Word. Such a treasure could never be entrusted to a strange, coarse, dull medium as English!

As Schaller had noted, the change would have come regardless of the influence of World War I, though maybe not as quickly. In spite of the War's influence, the change was still not all that abrupt. The Wisconsin Synod put out perhaps two or more generations of pastors and teachers who took it as matter of course that they would have to operate in two languages. There are still a few hold-outs for the old German services even to this very day, in Benton Harbor, MI and Kirchhayn, WI. The long-standing desire to serve the people on the inside, regardless of the impression given to those on the outside, along with the struggle and determination just to maintain its own existence, seems to characterize the Synod to this day, as it has from the beginning. Our strict confessional stand on Scripture has resulted in keeping our size down, as well as maintaining a very critical and hesitant attitude toward any change, including that of the language. All of these things, as well as a deep appreciation of and desire to preserve the original idiom of our founding father, Luther, contributed to a lengthy, strenuous period of change.

What lessons can be learned from such a deeply significant period of our Wisconsin Synod history? If nothing else, we can better appreciate the struggles

and pains of our ancestors, who strove valiantly to keep such a monumental thing as a language change from also changing our stand on sola scriptura, sola gratia, sola fide. Dangerous pitfalls had been spotted in other denominations, and, by God's grace alone, were avoided in the Wisconsin Synod by continuing to simply preach the Gospel, irregardless of the language necessary to accomplish this. lesson and also implement it in its foreign mission work of the recent past, where the people's language is used to preach the Gospel, not the "preacher's language!" And perhaps Luther's words can again steer us for the future:

"Indeed it is proper to train youth in many languages; for who knows how God can use them in times to come. This was...the method of the Holy Spirit at the beginning. He did not wait until all the world came to Jerusalem to study Hebrew, but He gave manifold tongues for the office of the ministry"(76).

May we continue to observe and not forget this advice of Luther--to continue supplying our ministers with whatever tools they may need to bring the precious message of Christ to all who will listen! But may we also, by God's grace, never place greater emphasis on learning languages (other than the biblical and church languages) than on the all-important proclamation of the Gospel.

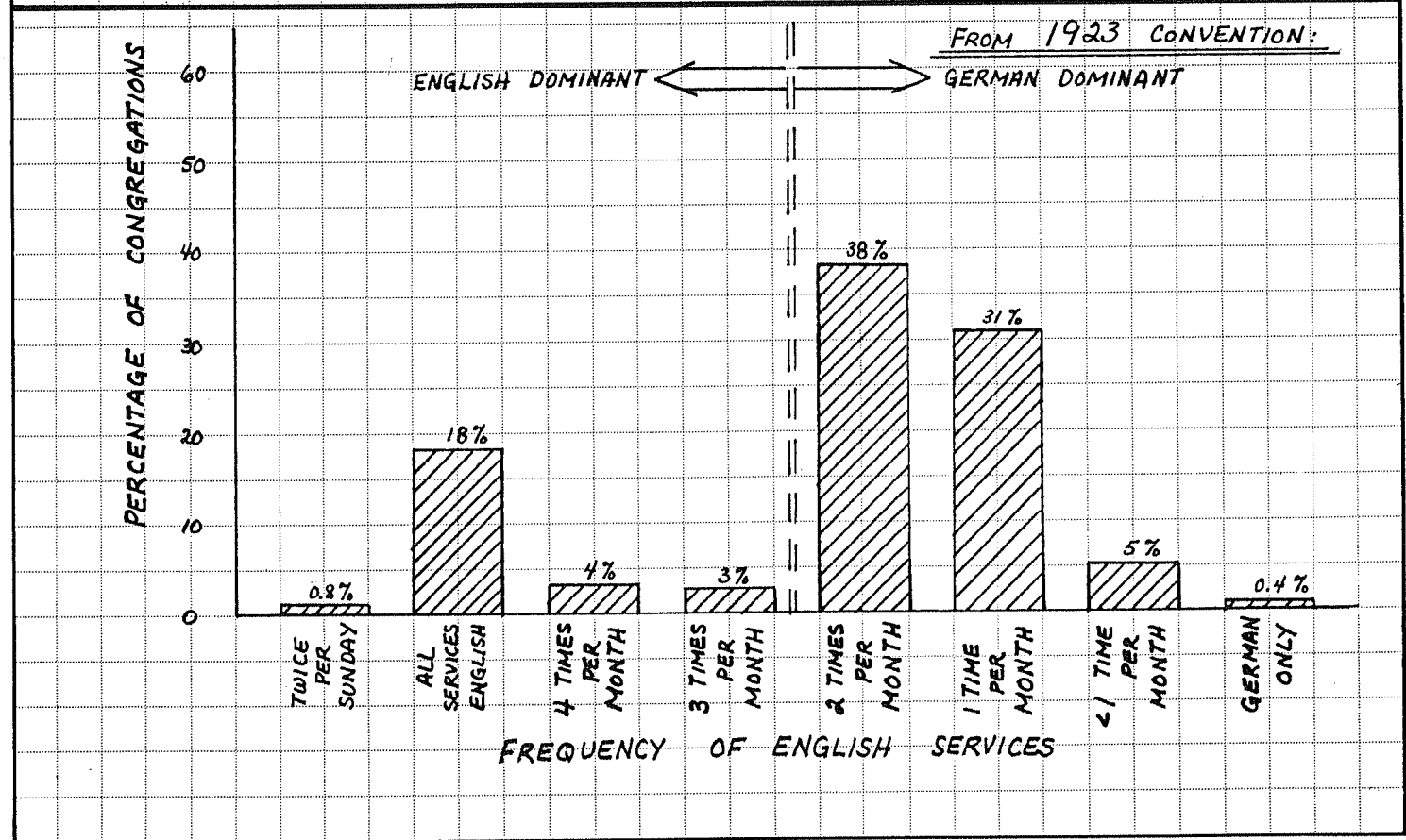
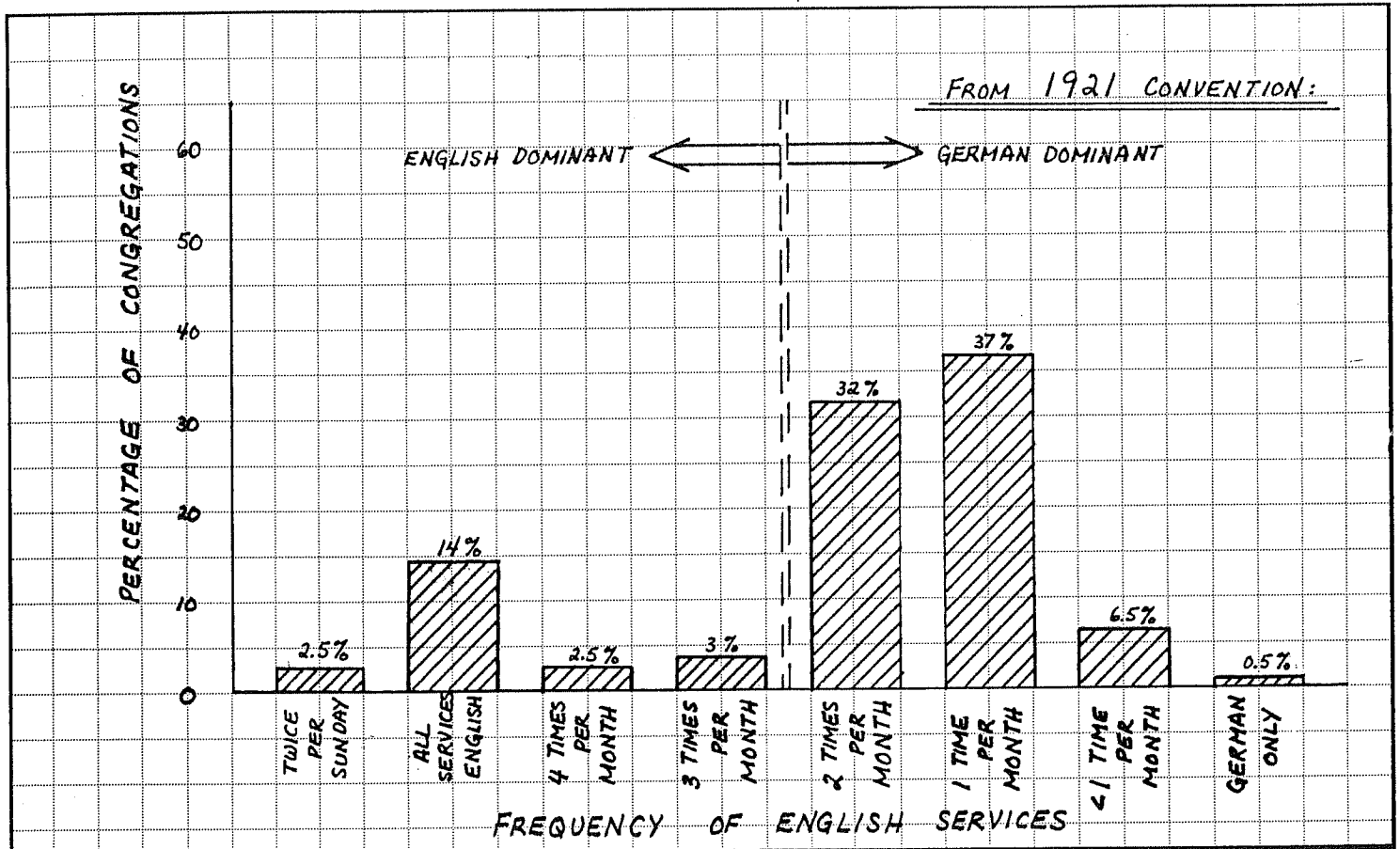
APPENDIX A

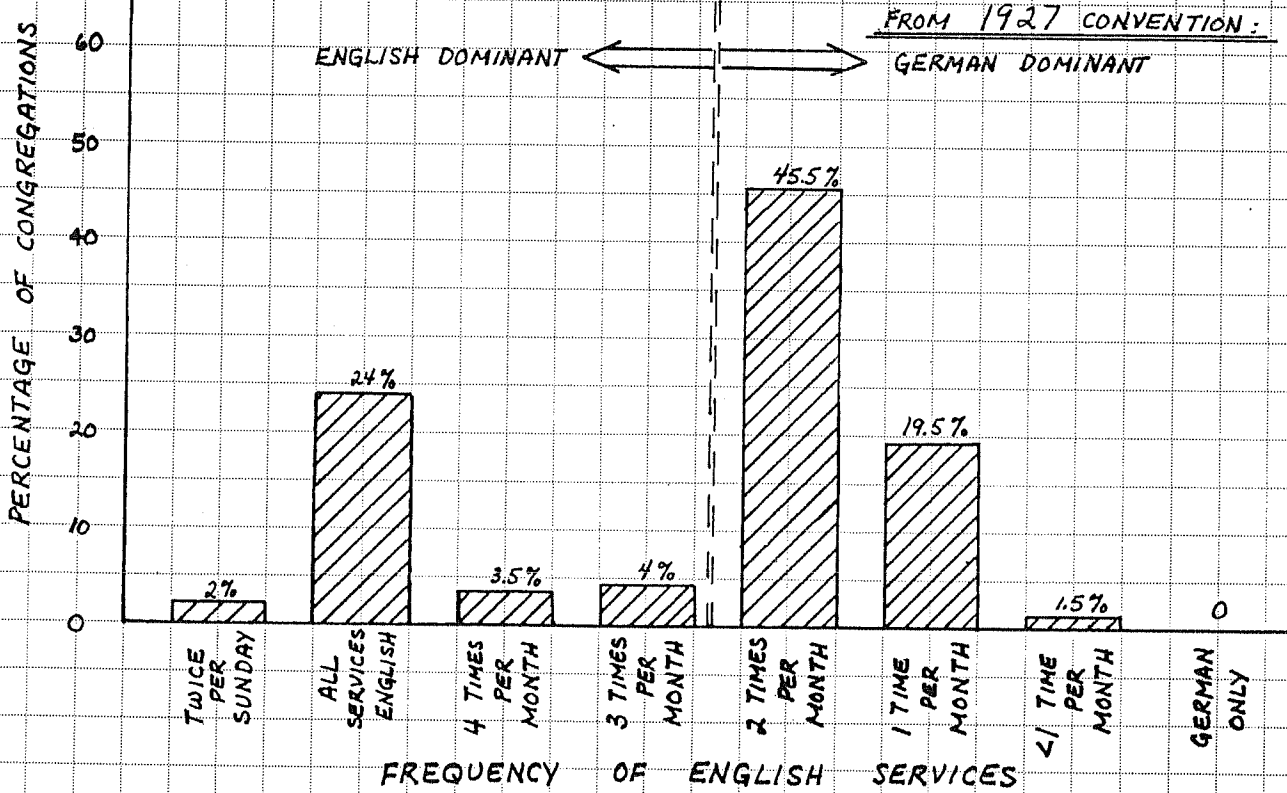
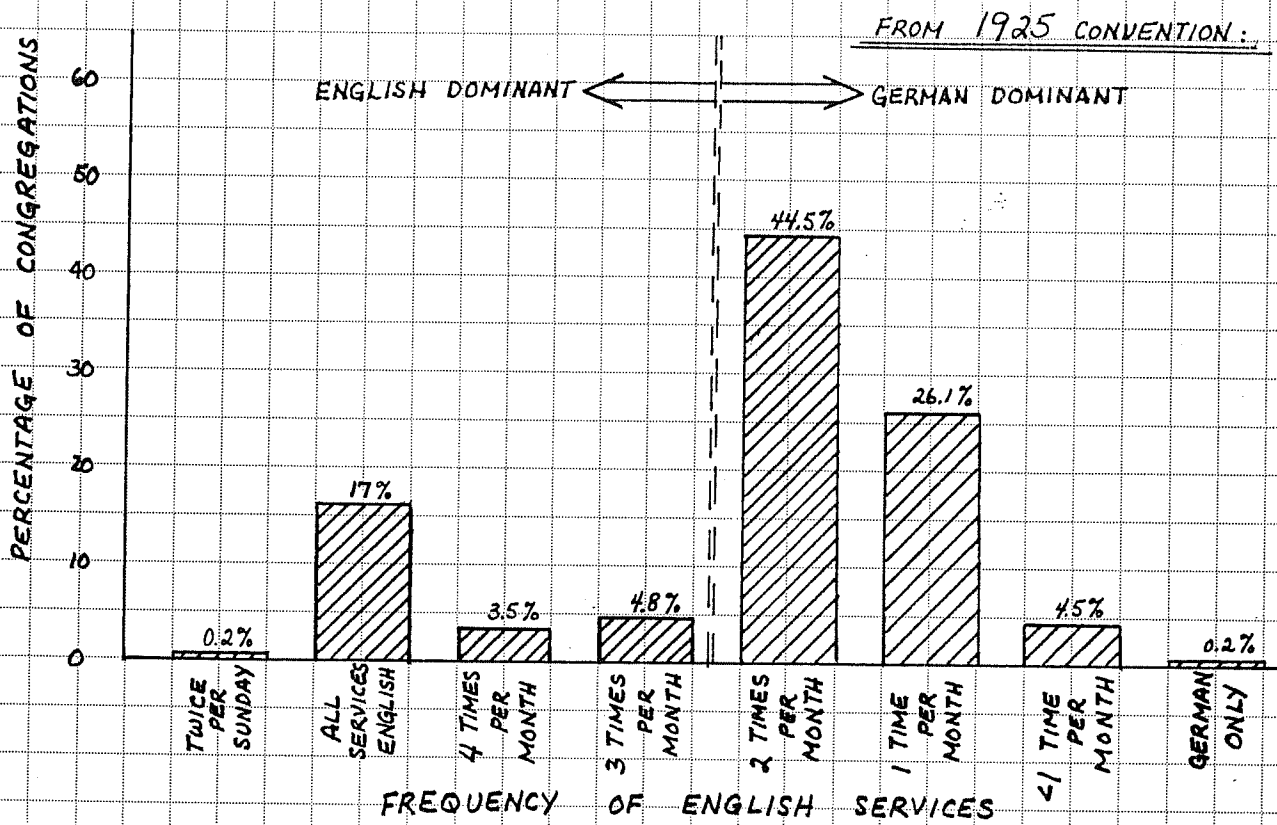
The following four histograms were compiled from the statistical reports of the Joint Synod convention proceedings of 1921, 1923, 1925, and 1927. Three questions were asked of every congregation of the Synod, having to do with the use of English in the regular Sunday service, and the Communion Service and Catechetical Instruction. The following histograms were formulated by totalling responses given to the first question concerning the regular Sunday service. From left to right, the bars progress from all English services through one or fewer times per month for an English service, to the final column on the far right which shows the percentage of congregations who still conducted all their services in German.

The significance of the information in these histograms is not so much in one specific year or in the amount of the percent of any one category. What is of greatest significance is the pattern which is seen across the whole time span from 1921 through 1927. It should be observed that there is a very definite decrease in the frequency of German services, along with an increase in the English services. Notice especially the change in the bar graph of "2 Times per Month" and "1 Time per Month".

What does not show on these histograms is the number of members who attended each service. Thus, although the frequency of English services per month can give an approximate and quite general picture of the changeover, it does not show a very accurate, detailed account of what is happening.

Just as a note of information, for the year 1921: 60% of the congregations reported these statistics; for 1923: 67%; for 1925: 78%; and for 1927: 81% reported.





APPENDIX B

YEAR	GEMEINDE BLATT	NORTHWESTERN LUTHERAN	JUNIOR- NWL	GERMAN	
				YES	WORK: NO
1901	9200	—	—	—	—
1903	9210	—	—	—	—
1905	10,500	—	—	—	—
1907	10,597	—	—	—	—
1909	11,750	—	—	—	—
1911	13,000	—	—	—	—
1935	4652	3589	6022	—	—
1936	4340	3842	3248	—	—
1937	—	—	—	—	—
1938	—	—	—	—	—
1939	3822	4111	5710	—	—
1940	3729	4945	5662	* 73% work in English	
1941	3466	5518	5384	—	—
1942	3421	7334	5617	* 85% work in English	
1943	—	—	—	—	—
1944	—	—	—	—	—
1945	—	—	—	—	—
1946	2908	8704	6311	359	436
1947	—	—	—	—	—
1948	—	—	—	—	—
1949	—	—	—	—	—
1950	2263	12,101	8387	290	537
1951	—	—	—	—	—
1952	2013	14,034	10,439	261	574
1953	—	—	—	—	—
1954	1726	21,280	11,603	230	620
1955	1545	21,021	13,221	215	638
1956	1497	22,242	7849	198	657
1957	—	—	—	—	—
1958	—	—	—	—	—
1959	714	13,527	7849	124	584
1960	967	18,019	11,523	—	—
1961	1176	19,400	8473	—	—

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- 1). Plass, Vol. 2, p. 727, #2264
- 2). *ibid.*
- 3). Plass, Vol. 2, p. 727, footnote #1.
- 4). Plass, Vol. 2, p. 728, footnote #5.
- 5). Plass, Vol. 2, p. 729, footnote #6.
- 6). Plass, Vol. 2, p. 730, #2272
- 7). Plass, Vol. 2, p. 731, #2273
- 8). Plass, Vol. 2, p. 732, #2275
- 9). *ibid.*
- 10). Fry, pp. 159-160
- 11). Fry, p. 160
- 12). Fry, pp. 161-167
- 13). Fry, p. 162, par. 5
- 14). Fry, p. 166, par. 10
- 15). Pieper, "Ubergang...", p. 234
- 16). Pieper, "Uberhang...", pp. 250 and 254
- 17). Pieper, "Ubergang...", pp. 250-252, 248
- 18). Pieper, "Ubergang...", p. 253
- 19). Pieper, "Ubergang...", p. 240
- 20). Pieper, "Ubergang...", pp. 234-235
- 21). Fry, p. 165, par. 9
- 22). Pieper, "Ubergang...", p. 235
- 23). Fry, p. 165
- 24). Pieper, "Ubergang...", p. 235
- 25). *ibid.*
- 26). Fry, p. 166

- 27). *ibid.*
- 28). Joint Synodical Reports, 1897-1901, pp.
- 29). Northwestern College Catalog, 1911-12, p. 5
- 30). N.W.C. Catalog, 1911-12, p. 23
- 31). N.W.C. Catalog, 1911-12, p. 26
- 32). N.W.C. Catalog, 1911-12, p. 28
- 33). *ibid.*
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- 35). Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Catalog, 1913-14, p. 8
- 36). Theologische Quartalschrift, 1904, p. 47
- 37). *ibid.*
- 38). Theologische Quartalschrift, 1904, p. 48
- 39). Isaiah II, pp. 11,12
- 40). Schaller, Biblical Christology, p. 10
- 41). Schaller, Biblical Christology, p. 11
- 42). Joint Synodical Proceedings, 1913, p. 70
- 43). Jnt. Syn. Proc., 1917, pp. 71,72
- 44). Jnt. Syn. Proc., 1919, pp. 176-177
- 45). Jnt. Syn. Proc., 1919, p. 105
- 46). Jnt. Syn. Proc., 1919, pp. 105-106
- 47). Theologische Quartalschrift, Oct. 1918, pp. 299-300
- 48). Theol. Quart., Oct. 1918, p. 300
- 49). Theol. Quart., Jan. 1919, p. 69
- 50). *ibid.*
- 51). Theol. Quart., April 1919, p. 92
- 52). Theol. Quart., April 1919, p. 97
- 53). Theol. Quart., April 1919, pp. 98,99
- 54). Pieper, Isaiah II, pp. 560-561

- 55). Schaller, Biblical Christology, p. 15
- 56). Schaller, Biblical Christology, p. 16
- 57). Synodical Proceedings, 1919; see the "Parochialbericht" at the end of the report
- 58). Synodical Proceedings, 1921, pp. 81ff
- 59). Synodical Proceedings, 1923, p. 114, #32
- 60). Synodical Proceedings, 1925, p. 130, #37.1
- 61). Synodical Proceedings, 1925, p. 131, #38.2
- 62). Synodical Proceedings, 1925, p. 131, #39.1
- 63). Synodical Proceedings, 1925, p. 132, #40
- 64). Synodical Proceedings, 1927, p. 66
- 65). Synodical Proceedings, 1935, on the inside cover of the Proceedings booklet
- 66). See the N.W.C Catalogs for the years 1924-25 through 1930-31 under "Collegiate Department," the Latin, History and Natural Sciences courses.
- 67). See Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Catalogs for the years 1954-55 through 1969-70 under Homiletics
- 68). Theologische Quartalschrift, 1938
- 69). Theol. Quart., Oct. 1932, p. 252
- 70). *ibid.*
- 71). Theol. Quart., Oct. 1932, p. 253
- 72). Theol. Quart., Oct. 1932, p. 254
- 73). Theol. Quart., Oct. 1932, p. 256
- 74). St. Jacobi Messenger, Jan. 1949, pp. 1,2
- 75). Theol. Quart., Jan. 1919, p. 1
- 76). Plass, p. 728, #2267

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