THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN MINNESOTA WITH A SKETCH OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of Minnesota

by

MRS. ESTHER ABBETMEYER SELKE

in

Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the

Degree of

Master of Arts.

1927

Northwestern Lutheran. vol 16, no 16, Aug. 4, 1929

"But you have certainly heard the Bible read in church?"

"I have never been to church. Sunday was always our holiday. We got into that way in Paris. We went to all the places of amusement, but never to church. I have never thought much about the Bible. I never supposed it contained such beautiful things. I wish I had known it before!"

She begged the nurse to read again the prayer in the Sermon on the Mount that was so new to her — "Our Father Which art in Heaven." She passed away, saying until her last breath, "I wish I had known it before!"

— "News Bulletin."

---

† DR. CARL ABBETMEYER †

Again the Lord has laid His mighty hand heavily upon us and taken from among us a laborer in His vineyard, a man upon whose labors in our midst, we had placed great hopes. On the sixteenth of June Dr. Carl Abbetmeyer, after a brief illness, was called to his reward.

Dr. Carl Abbetmeyer was born near Botenteich, Hannover, Germany, on August 19, 1867, son of Carl Abbetmeyer and Mary nee Bosse. In 1873 he came to America with his parents. The family found their first home in this country at Courtland, Minn., but moved to Nicolette, Minn., the following year. In this town the deceased received his first schooling. After his confirmation he entered our Northwestern College. He left college in 1888 to teach for some months at Kirchhayn, Wis. In the fall of the same year the deceased entered our Theological Seminary at Wauwatosa to prepare for the ministry. After he had finished his studies at the Seminary, he received a call as pastor from the Lutheran congregation at East Farmington, Wis. From East Farmington he was called to St. Paul, Minn., and from there to Baltimore, Maryland. While at St. Paul the deceased attended the University of Minnesota and while at Baltimore the Johns Hopkins University. From the University of Minnesota he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. From Baltimore Dr. Abbetmeyer was called to the professorship of English at Concordia College, St. Paul, where he taught with faithful service for 18 years. The last year of his life Dr. Abbetmeyer held a professorship in the English Department at Valparaiso University. In the spring of this year he was called to our Northwestern College and arrived in Watertown on commencement day, June 13th, full of enthusiasm for the work which he believed God had assigned for him there. Dr. Abbetmeyer served the Lutheran Church not only as a pastor and teacher, but also as an author and compiler of Lutheran literature. Some of his works are: The Pastor in the Sickroom. Sermons on the Catechism. A Prayer Book. Lutheran Forms for Sacred Acts. He was also the compiler of our Liturgy and Agenda. For a number of years he was editor of Young Lutherans Magazine. On June 14, 1888, Dr. Abbetmeyer was joined in marriage to Mathilda Meckelburg at Lowell, Wis. There were five children, four daughters and one son. This son died in his infancy.

On June 28th Dr. Abbetmeyer was taken ill with a severe attack of pneumonia. And after suffering for about three weeks, the Lord delivered him from all evil on Tuesday, July 16th. His is survived by his wife, four daughters: Mrs. Elmer Weck of Chicago, Mrs. Karl Hauser of Milwaukee, Mrs. Arthur Selke of Dickinson, No. Dak., and Miss Mildred Abbetmeyer of Milwaukee, three sons-in-law, five grandchildren, and one sister, Mrs. Fred Kannenberg.

The funeral was held on July 19th. After the services at the home, at which Rev. J. Klingmann officiated, there was an English sermon by Rev. J. Klingmann and a German sermon by Rev. G. Bergemann at St. Mark's Lutheran Church. The interment was at Oak Hill Cemetery at Watertown.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth. Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors, and their works do follow them.

DEDICATION OF NEW SEMINARY AT THIENSVILLE

With the sanction of two members of the local committee of the Seminary Board, in whose hands the arrangement of all details for the dedication festival rests, we direct the attention of our readers to the following:

1. The dedication day is the Sunday of Synod, August 18th; services will be held in the morning and in the afternoon; to insure a good attendance in the morning service, congregations of Milwaukee and vicinity are requested to drop their usual worship in their home churches and to repair to Thiensville.
2. Those proposing to spend the day at the seminary grounds are to provide themselves with the necessary lunch, as only coffee and light refreshments will there be offered for sale.
3. Printed programs for the festivities will be distributed at the grounds.
4. A choir of about five hundred voices will sing in both services.
5. The offering of the day will be devoted to the Seminary Building Fund.
6. The location: County Trunk M passes the north gate of the seminary grounds shortly before it meets Highway 57 (traveling from west to east): Highway 57 leads directly through Thiensville. when you have reached the heart of the place turn west up the hill to enter the south approach to the seminary grounds.

Translated and adapted by G

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I. IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA.

1. The Minnesota Country, its Exploration and Acquisition.
2. First Rush of Immigrants, 1855-1857, mainly along the Mississippi and in the Big Woods.
   Immigration slack, 1857-1865, on account of the financial panic of 1857, the Civil War, the Sioux Uprising.
3. Renewed Settlement.
   Homestead Law, 1862; Sioux removed to Dakota; campaign of publicity; railroads after 1870; improved machinery.
   Increased immigration, 1865-1870; immigration heavy in early seventies.
   Setbacks: Money panic of 1873; grasshoppers, 1873-1877.
   Immigration heavy beginning with 1878 and in the eighties.

CHAPTER II. SURVEY OF LUTHERAN SYNODS.

1. The General Synod.
2. The General Council.
3. The Joint Synod of Ohio.
4. The Buffalo Synod.
5. The Missouri Synod.
6. The Synod of Iowa.
7. The Wisconsin Synod.
8. The Synodical Conference.
9. The Synod of the West and the Indianapolis Synod.

CHAPTER III. THE FIRST COMERS.

More or less independent of synodical connection.
1855: Wm. Thomson (English) in Rice County.
F. W. Wier in St. Paul, in Dakota and Washington Counties.
Matthew Mallinson (English) at Mount Vernon, Winona County.
1856: Albrecht Brandt at Town Hart, Winona County.
L. F. E. Krause at Winona.

CHAPTER IV. TWO EXPLORERS. 1856.

Representatives of Synodical Bodies.
1. W. A. Passavant of the General Synod, interested in an English Lutheran church in St. Paul.
2. Ferdinand Sievers of the Missouri Synod makes

preparations for a Chippewa Indian mission north of Crow Wing and visits numerous settlements with a view to establishing churches; organizes congregation at Minneapolis.

CHAPTER V. THE MISSOURI SYNOD, 1857-1862.

Missouri follows up Sievers's field work.

1. German preachers in Carver, Hennepin, and Sibley counties, very confessional, very active.
2. Chippewa Mission at Gabitaweegama (Cloeter).

CHAPTER VI. THE MINNESOTA SYNOD, 1857-1862.

Passavant of the General Synod finds a man for St. Paul.

1. Father Heyer had been the first American Lutheran missionary to India.
2. Father Heyer as Wier's successor at Trinity in St. Paul.
3. Father Heyer fails in uniting all Lutheran nationalities of Minnesota into a Synod of Minnesota, 1858.
   German Synod of Minnesota founded 1860.
4. The founders of the Minnesota Synod (Heyer, Wier, Blumer, Brandt, Hallinson, Thomson) were a heterogeneous group.

CHAPTER VII. THE MINNESOTA SYNOD, 1862-1870.

1. 1862-1866.
   Heyer mostly absent; Fachtmann, secretary and leader, favors union with the Wisconsin Synod and imports preachers from unionistic institutions of Germany. The Synod outnumbers the Missourians almost two to one by 1867, but is not considered truly Lutheran by the latter.
2. Survey, 1855-1866.
   Territory chiefly along the Mississippi and in the Big Woods, no farther West than Mc Leod and Redwood counties.
3. 1867-1870.
   Sieker, the new president, urges union with Missouri. The Minnesota Synod quits the General Synod and later the General Council. Fachtmann is excluded.

CHAPTER VIII. THE BUFFALO SYNOD, 1862-1870.

1. Wier leaves the Minnesota Synod and with Krause and two others organizes the Concordia Synod, which is short-lived.
2. Krause leaves Minnesota in 1864, and Wier again joins the Buffalo Synod in 1869.

CHAPTER IX. THE MISSOURI SYNOD, 1862-1870.

Missouri drives a wedge between the Minnesota Synod positions by occupying the hinterland in the delta between the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers(Goodhue,Rice,Steele counties),gets a foothold in St.Paul,and spreads into Washington,Winona, Nicollet,Le Sueur,and Faribault counties.

CHAPTER X. THE MISSOURI SYNOD,1870-X.

Missouri,after an agreement to respect each other's fields,recognizes the orthodoxy of the Minnesota Synod and then inaugurates an extensive forward movement,outflanking Minnesota north(Vetter) and south(Ahner,Mueller,Schulze,et al.) of the Minnesota Valley.

CHAPTER XI. THE MINNESOTA SYNOD,1870-X.

The Synod inactive as to mission work.
Agitation to join Missouri.
Kuhn president,1876;renewed missionary activity.
Boettcher extends Minnesota's narrow domain into Dakota,1878-1891.
Martin Luther College and Seminary at New Ulm,1884.
1892,organization of the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota,Michigan,and other States.
A number of pastors leave to join Missouri.

CHAPTER XII. THE BUFFALO SYNOD, 1870-X.

Only six congregations.
1."Lohmensville",Washington County(Wier and his successors.
2.Waltham,Mower County.
3.Brainerd,Princeton,and St.Paul.

CHAPTER XIII. THE IOWA SYNOD,1870-X.

Iowa entered Minnesota since 1865(M.Reck)through the southern part of the state.

CHAPTER XIV. THE JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO,1882-X.

The Ohio Synod established itself in Minnesota since 1882 on account of the Election controversy. Its gains were derived from the Minnesota Synod rather than from the Missouri Synod.

SUMMARY.

MAP

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APPENDIX

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN MINNESOTA WITH A SKETCH OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

INTRODUCTION.

The present paper aims to trace the beginnings of the German Lutheran churches in Minnesota and to give a brief survey of their development. It is the first attempt to sketch the beginnings from the sources available and also the first to present a survey of all the German Lutheran synods by parallel treatment.

For the better understanding of the inception and growth of these churches as determined by the Minnesota environment, and of their differences as to character and method in consequence of different doctrinal attitudes, it has been thought advisable to preface the story proper with a chapter on immigration to Minnesota and especially German settlement in the state, and with another on the Lutheran Synods that by their initiative, support, or other relation were connected with the establishment of the German Lutheran churches in Minnesota.

As the first four preachers to be connected later with German Lutheran synods-- all either farming preachers or preaching farmers-- came to Minnesota before there was any concerted effort to establish Lutheran churches in the state, and as the fifth was, it would seem, a free lance, -all five will be presented in a chapter on the First Comers. The chapter on Two Explorers introduces two men whose reconnoitering of the Territory led to official action. The chapters following deal mainly with the es-

tablishment of the Synod of Minnesota under the auspices of the General Synod, with the organization of the Missouri Synod congregation in the state, and with the rivalry and ultimate relations of these two bodies. Parallel to these two major synods, the development of the minor synods is traced in the order of their beginnings, first that of the Buffalo Synod, then that of the Iowa Synod, and lastly that of the Ohio Synod.

The paper ends with a summary showing the present strength of the German Synods (now, of course, largely English) at work in Minnesota.

CHAPTER I.

IMMIGRATION IN MINNESOTA

1. The Minnesota Country, its Exploration and Acquisition.

The march of occupation from the Atlantic seaboard could be westward only. Westward the first settlers moved toward the Appalachians, westward across these mountains, westward across the plains of the Middle West, westward across the Mississippi and across the Rockies to the Pacific coast; but it was not until two hundred years after the coming of the "Mayflower" that white men made a beginning of occupation in Minnesota by the erection of Fort Snelling.

By virtue of these visits, in the seventeenth century, of French traders, adventurers, and priests, - of Groseilliers and Radisson,[1] Joliet and Marquette,[2] Duluth,[3] Hennepin,[4] Le Sueur of Blue Earth copper mine fame,[5] and others, what is now Minnesota east of the Mississippi was considered as belonging to New France.

1) Warren Upham, in Minnesota Historical Collections, (St. Paul, 1905), X, Part 2, pp. 449-594. But W. W. Folwell, A History of Minnesota, (3 vols., St. Paul, 1921-1926) I, pp. 7-14, is sceptical.
2) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, p. 19.
3) Ibid, I, p. 23.
4) Ibid, I, pp. 27-30.
5) Ibid, I, pp. 402.

In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris at the conclusion of the French and Indian wars, it became a part of the British Empire,[6] and remained such until the treaty of 1783, when it passed into the possession of Virginia.[7] Having been ceded in 1784 by Virginia to the United States, it was later merged into the Northwest Territory and came under the Ordinance of 1787.[8] By the Louisiana Purchase, 1803, also the whole area of Minnesota west of the Mississippi became American soil.[9]

This territory was still held by the aborigines by right of occupancy. It was part of the domain of the great Siouan people, whom the first white men found in possession of the Mississippi Valley "from its head to the Arkansas River, and from Lake Michigan to the Rockies",[10] but whom the Chippewa, or Ojibway, supplied earlier with steel knife and musket, were beginning to push westward.[11]

As the Sioux were attached to the British and British traders still flourished in Sioux country, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was sent in 1805 to secure permission from the Sioux nation to erect military posts and trading houses, and the Sioux nation granted the the

6) Ibid., I, p. 64.
7) Ibid., I, p. 69.
8) Ibid., I, p. 70
9) Ibid., I, pp. 79f.
10) Ibid., I, p. 79.
11) Ibid., I, p. 80.

United States two reservations, one "nine miles square at the mouth of the river St.Croix, also, from below the confluence of the Mississippi and the St.Pater's, up the Mississippi, to include the falls of St.Anthony, extending nine miles on each side of the river".[12] This arrangement, however, did not prevent many of the Sioux from fighting on the British side during the War of 1812.[13]

After the erection of Fort Snelling, 1819 and 1820,[14] American influence became paramount. The American Fur Company gradually obtained the monopoly of the Indian trade.[15] The steamboat came and brought tourists, missionaries, and explorers.[16] The pioneer farmers of Minnesota were Swiss families who since 1821 came from the Selkirk colony and squatted near Fort Snelling.[17]

Two treaties negotiated with Chippewa and Sioux in 1837 and ratified in 1838 "made white man's country of the large delta between the St.Croix and the Mississippi, extending northward to include the south parts of Crow Wing and Aitkins counties and the north part of Pine county".[18] This delta, being Crawford County, Michigan, since 1818, Crawford County, Wisconsin, since 1836,

12) Ibid., I, p.93.
13) Ibid., I, pp.100f.
14) Ibid., I, pp.137f.
15) Ibid., I, p.161.
16) Ibid., I, pp.114ff., 170-212.
17) Ibid., I, pp.216ff.
18) Ibid., I, pp.159f.

and St.Croix County,Wisconsin,since 1840,[19] with a population of 351,[20] was now open for exploitation and settlement Squatters removed from the Fort Snelling reservation settled in 1840 not far from Pierre Parrant's whiskey shack on the site of St.Paul.[21] Point Douglas at the lower point of the delta had a post office since 1840.[22] To manufacture lumber out of timber from the forests along the upper St.Croix,sawmills were started at Marine in 1840,at Stillwater in 1844,[23] and at St.Anthony in 1848.[24] There was no more than a bare beginning of agriculture,on the Washington County prairie abutting on Lake St.Croix.[25] It was not indeed until 1847 that the general land office began surveys west of the St.Croix and in the summer of 1848 offered land for sale at St.Croix Falls.[26]

In 1849 the Territory of Minnesota was organized,[27] including all of Dakota up to the Missouri,and Alexander Ramsey of Pennsylvania commissioned governor.[28] "A dozen framed houses,not all completed,and some eight or ten small log buildings with bark roofs,constituted the capital of the new territory",with a population of

19) Ibid.,I,p.231.
20) Ibid.,I,p.351.
21) Ibid.,I,pp.219,223.
22) Ibid.,I,p.224.
23) Ibid.,I,p.227.
24) Ibid.,I,p.239.
25) Ibid.,I,p.230.
26) Ibid.,I,p.225.
27) Ibid.,I,p.246.
28) Ibid.,I,p.248.

250 or 300 inhabitants,[29] but the population of the Territory grew rapidly. In 1849, all the area of Minnesota had 3,814 inhabitants "without the soldiers";[30] in 1850, it had 6,077, of whom, counting only heads of families and unmarried adults, seventy-five were Germans; fifty in Washington County, twenty-one in Ramsey, and four in Wabasha County.[31]

Governor Ramsey's chief concern was to open to settlement the lands of the Sioux west of the Mississippi River. This area had since 1834 belonged to the Territory of Michigan, since 1836 to that of Wisconsin, and since 1838 to that of Iowa.[32] The opening of the "Suland" was on everybody's lips, and in the summer of 1851 Governor Ramsey and the Honorable Luke Lea of Mississippi, Commissione of Indian affairs, negotiated with the Sioux chiefs the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Pilot Knob, which, in return for certain annuities, restricted the Sioux bands to a reservation along both sides of the upper Minnesota River and opened up for settlement the extensive domain west of the Mississippi.[33] The only break in this domain was the small reservation on the Blue Earth River, where the Winnebago lived from 1855 to 1863.[34] The northern limit of the domain was the dividing line of 1825 between

29) Ibid., I, p.250.
30) Ibid., I, p.351.
31) Census of 1850.
32) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, p.486.
33) Ibid., I, pp.266-304.
34) Ibid., I, pp.310-321.

Chippewa and Sioux, which ran roughly from a point on the St. Croix near Stillwater northwestward through St. Cloud and Otter Tail Lake to the Red River. The Chippewa lands were opened to the miner and the lumberman by treaties in 1854 and 1855, and to settlers by other treaties in 1863 and 1866.[35]

The newly opened "Suland", where until then "no sound, save that of wild beast and wilder men, broke the stillness of the awful solitude",[36] was a vast tract of fertile woodland and prairie; and the Mississippi with its tributaries, the St. Croix and the Minnesota (St. Peter's) was the principal avenue of approach. Only the southwestern part of the state and a narrow strip along the Red River were prairie. The northwestern two-thirds of the state was forest, pine in the north, hard wood in the south. The immigrant, leaving the steamer at some landing (La Crosse, Winona, Reed's Landing, Red Wing, Hastings) and ~~turned~~ traveling inland, would find the delta west of the Mississippi and south of the Minnesota, except what was called the "Big Woods", generally rolling prairies and table lands of fertile soil, dotted with lakes, groves, and belts of timber.[37] The Big Woods constituted a conspicuous feature of the country and drew a very large part of the early immigration. The Big Woods was a tract of hard timber

35) Ibid., I, pp. 305ff. See Map opposite p. 324.
36) (H. J. Colburn), Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants, being the first and second Prize Essays awarded by the Board of Examiners etc. (St. Paul, 1866), p. 5.
37) J. W. McClung, Minnesota as it is in 1870. (St. Paul, 1870), p. 13.

more than one hundred miles in length and from fiftern to forty in breadth, beginning near Crow Wing, fringing the western bank of the Mississippi, then crossing the Minnesota nearly at right angle, and reaching down to the valley of the Blue Earth. It embraced an area of about four to five thousand square miles, four-fifths of which were north of the Minnesota River. Its western line passed about eight miles west of Henderson and then crossed McLeod and Meeker counties diagonally. It was broken here and there by prairies, abounded in lakes, and embraced some of the richest arable land in the Northwest.[38] Beyond the Big Woods lay the prairie, diversified here and there, except in the southwest, by occasional groves and narrow borders of timber along the streams.[39]

38) Ibid., pp.14,17.
Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants, p.17.
According to Upham, the border ran ~~xxxxx~~ from about Fergus Falls southeasterly through Douglas, Stearns, McLeod, and Sibley counties and along the Minnesota to Mankato and South Bend; thence easterly by Janesville, Waterville, and Morristown to Faribault; thence northerly back to Minneapolis and Anoka, the loop inclosing Wright, Carver, Scott, and LeSueur counties with parts of adjacent counties, the area known as the Big Woods, and passing thence easterly through Ramsey and Washington counties to Stillwater and into Wisconsin.--Minnesota in Three Centuries, I, p.69.

39) Upham, in Lucius F. Hubbard and Return I. Holcombe, Minnesota in Three Centuries (4 vols., Mankato, 1908), I, p.70.

2. First Rush of Immigrants.

In the meantime, the great migration from the East had been sweeping over the broad areas of the Middle West and since 1840 had been augmented by thousands upon thousands of immigrants,* who crowded into the northern cities, or pressed on into the great agricultural region of the Northwest"[1]. But the "Suland" was not yet ready to receive them. The treaties were not in full operation till February 24, 1853. The Sioux moved tardily and reluctantly to their reservation. As the pre-emption laws permitted occupation of surveyed lands only and surveys west of the Mississippi were not begun until 1853, it was 1855 when the first lands were offered for sale, namely,- 1,178,603 acres in the southeastern corner of the state, in Houston County.[2] Some of the more eager and adventurous spirits, however, crowded into the new lands before they were surveyed and offered for sale, the Government later adjusting the squatters' claims.[3] In the spring of 1855 an unprecedented flood of immigration poured into Minnesota. In St. Paul, people had to encamp in the streets

1) Woodrow Wilson, Division and Reunion, (New York, 1910), p.163.
2) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, pp. 353ff.
George M. Stephenson, Political History of the Public Lands, 1840-1862, (Boston, 1917), p. 211.
3) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, pp. 354-356.
It was as squatters that Hans Mattson and his friends settled in Goodhue County in 1853. Hans Mattson, (The Story of an Emigrant, (St. Paul, 1908), p. 47), and C.H. Sprengeler and Heinrich Stoeckmann at Hamburg in Carver County March, 1854 (Geschichte der Emmanuels-Gemeinde zu Hamburg, (St. Paul, 1917), p. 7), five months before the pre-emption of unsurveyed lands was legalized. (Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, p. 356.)

because the hotels were overcrowded.[4] The rush continued into 1856 and 1857. "The immigrant wagon wended its way over bluff and prairie; the wharves were crowded with boats loaded with newcomers..... hardly had the fires in the wigwam of the red man died out, when the smoke was seen curling up from the cabin of his Caucasian successor. Villages suddenly expanded into cities; towns sprang up on the water-courses".[5]

Shakopee, Traverse des Sioux, Kasota, and Mankato in the Minnesota Valley and the Rollingstone Valley near Winona were among the first settlements.[6] Mankato was started in 1852, LeSueur in 1853, St. Peter and Faribault in 1854.[7] At Hastings a settlement of about ten buildings was begun in 1854, Alexis Bailly being one of the original town proprietors.[8] Henderson was incorporated in 1855.[9] New Ulm was founded in the same year by the "Chicago Landverein".[10]

The agricultural immigrants either went inland from the Mississippi landings, such as Wabasha's Prairie (Winona), Reed's Landing, Red Wing, Hastings, and many others, or, going up the Minnesota, settled in the Big Woods

4) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, p. 359.
5) Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants, p. 8.
6) H. Kirk, Illustrated History of Minnesota and St. Paul. (St. Paul, 1857), pp. 116f.
7) G. C. Tanner, History of the Diocese of Minnesota, 1857-1907 (St. Paul, 1909), p. 18.
8) Ibid., pp. 129, 135.
9) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, p. 379.
10) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode (St. Louis, 1910), p. 163

Numerous reasons are given why the settlers hugged the woods. The prairies were farther away, unsurveyed, too remote from markets, too near the Indians; they were often swept by prairie fires and in winter by fierce winds; and they contained little or no timber for fuel or building. In the Big Woods the settler had shelter and usually regarded his woodland soil as superior to prairie soil on account of its ability to produce heavy timber.[11]

The increase in population was highly gratifying. In 1850, the Territory had had nine counties with a total of 6,077 inhabitants; in 1854, there were twenty-three counties with a population of 32,000; in 1855, thirty six counties with 40,000; in 1856, forty-two counties with 100,000; and in 1857, sixty-three counties with 150,037 inhabitants.[12) & 13)]

After the seven fat years from 1850 to 1857, Minnesota experienced approximately seven relatively lean years from 1857 to 1865. The first setback came in 1857. There had been feverish speculation in town-site in 1856 and in the spring and summer of 1857. Money loaned at three per cent a month and invested in real estate brought fortunes over night. Then in August, 1857, came the financial panic,[14] with money emptied out of the

11) Folwell, History of Minnesota, III, p.62; II, p.344.
12) Ibid., I, p.360.
13) The Census of 1857 has not been available for this study.
14) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, pp.362-364.
Stephenson, Political History of the Public Lands, pp.231f, 100.

Territory, banks closing, merchants suspending, lots valueless, and everybody in debt.[14] St. Paul fell off almost half.[15] Immigration became practically unnoticeable.[16] The decennial Census of 1860 showed a total population of 172,023, including 2,369 Indians, an increase since 1857 of only 7,00 a year.[17] The crop of 1858 was nearly a total failure.[18] The Civil War had a further depressing effect,[19] and the Sioux Uprising of 1863 practically depopulated the frontier counties, and, although military posts along the frontier protected returning settlers and the Sioux were driven far into Dakota,[20] kept immigration at bay by the lingering fear of the Sioux.

Germans were among the heaviest sufferers in the Indian outbreak as the counties nearest the reservation were most strongly German. Germans[21] had come in

15) Folwell, History of Minnesota, I, p. 364
16) Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants, p. 9: "Immigration almost entirely ceased".
17) Folwell, History of Minnesota, II, p. 64
18) Wabasha County Herald, May 21, 1859, from Minnesotian.
19) The Civil War, for example, kept Germans from emigrating. ---A. R. Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History, (Philadelphia, 1923), p. 218.
20) Folwell, History of Minnesota, II, pp. 243ff.; 265 ff.
21) A very large percentage of the Europeans coming to our shores were Germans. While from the beginning of the Revolutionary War to the War of 1812 German immigration had been meager, and those that came up to 1852 had been largely intellectuals and political refugees, the German exodus after 1852 "assumed the proportions of a stampede". (Geo. M. Stephenson, A History of American Immigration, (New York, 1926), p. 43). "Up to 1850 the German immigrants were outnumbered by the Irish, but in every subsequent decade to the close of the century the Germans were the most numerous". (Ibid., p. 42). And the greater portion of the agriculturalists, small tradesmen, mechanics, and common laborers who with their families made up these vast numbers seeking to improve their conditions of living (Ibid., p. 43) were Lutherans. (Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History, p. 150

large numbers ever since the opening of the "Suland".

In 1850, there were in the Territory seventy-five German heads of families and unmarried adults; in 1860, according to the U.S. Census of that year, there were 18,400 souls of them, outnumbering every other immigrant nationality.[22]

22) Folwell, History of Minnesota, II, p.64, note 12.

SUMMARIES.

The total number of Germans in Minnesota, counted by heads of families, young men over 21, and unattached women, was 7,564 in 1860.

According to the German principalities from which they had come, these totaled up as followed:-

Prussians	2,443	32.2 %	of all Germans in State
Bavarians	682	9.00%	" " "
Hanoverians	647	8.5 %	" " "
Badensians	535	7.1 %	" " "
Swiss	487	6.4 %	" " "
Wuertembergers	450	6.0 %	" " "
Hessians	343	4.5 %	" " "
Luxemburgers	281	3.7 %	" " "
Saxons	273	3.5 %	" " "
Germans	844	11.1 %	" " "
From minor states	579	8.0 %	" " "
	7,564	100.0 %	

The Germans were distributed through the counties about as follows, naming the predominant types:-

Ramsey	979	Prussians, Bavarians	12.5 %	of Germans in state
Carver	841	" "	11.1 "	"
Stearns	742	" "	10.0 "	"
Scott	426	" Luxemburgers	5.5 "	"
Sibley	389	" Hanoverians	5.3 "	"
Brown	378	" Wuertembergers	5.0 "	"
Le Sueur	374	" Swiss	5.0 "	"
Wabasha	372	Hanoverians, Prussians	4.9 "	"
Washington	360	Prussians, Swiss	4.8 "	"
Nicollet	348	Prussians, Bavarians	4.6 "	"
Goodhue	314	Prussians, Hanoverians	4.1 "	"
Dakota	310	" Badensians, Lux.	4.1 "	"
Houston	258	" Bavarians	3.3 "	"
Blue Earth	241	" "	3.1 "	"
Wright	225	" "	2.9 "	"
Rice	193	Hanoverians, Hessians	2.5 "	"
Hennepin	188	Prussians, Badensians	2.5 "	"
Winona	150	Pruss., Bav., Saxons	2.0 "	"
Other Co's	476	naming the predominant types:	6.8 "	"
	7,564		100.0 "	

As to distribution, a survey of the Census of 1860 shows a strong concentration of Germans, in the order of frequency, in Ramsey, Carver, and Stearns [23] counties; rather strong in about the same numbers in Scott, Sibley, Brown, Le Sueur, Nicollet, Wabasha, and Washington counties; fairly strong in Goodhue, Dakota, Houston, Blue Earth, Wright, [24] Rice, Hennepin, and Winona counties; and a more or less thin sprinkling of Germans in Olmsted, Fillmore, McLeod, Steele, Dodge, Waseca, Chisago, Freeborn, Mower, Faribault, Anoka, Todd, ~~Pine, Kanabec, Lake, Isanti, Renville, St. Louis, Mille Lacs, Sherburne,~~ Benton, Otter Tail, Douglas, Morrison, Carlton, Mahnomin, Polk, Breckenridge, Nobles, Jackson, Cass, Crow Wing, and Monongalia; none in Aitkin, Becker, Buchanan, Itasca, Kandiyohi, Martin, Murray, Pembina, Pierce, Pipestone, Rock, and Toombs counties.

---

23) In 1859 Bishop Kemper preached at Neenah, a settlement of German Lutherans near St. Cloud, and confirmed two persons. (Tanner, History of the Diocese of Minnesota, p. 186.)

24) There was an old Yankee settlement at Rockford on the Crow River, where a Mr. Benner had a general store. The earliest German settler near Rockford was one Harff, a Catholic, from Indiana. He drew after him Wm. and Jacob Vollbrecht, millers, who started Hanover. Adam Hohenstein, a Hessian farm hand in Illinois, hearing of Harff, worked his way up on a steamboat to Minneapolis in 1858. Then, although land was to be had in plenty on the prairie near Minneapolis, he walked out with his pack through the heavy timber to Harff's. He soon had a claim and started to work, and others followed. Hearing of the arrival of settlers in Stillwater from Posen, Germany, he went there and came back with Caroline Glaser as his wife. Money was scarce when the War came, and Adam and his friend George Florida obtained a little cash by washing ginseng roots for Mr. Benner at probably 25 cents a week. Corn bread was the principal fare, but deer and other game werea abundant. When the backwoods men were drafted towards the end of the war, Adam joined the army as a baker; but he also had a musket, which is still in the possession of his son, Aug. H. Hohenstein of St. Paul. While George Florida in time built a dam, a flour mill, a saw mill, and a woolen mill at Rockford, Adam Hohenstein became a successful farmer and one of the mainstays of the congregation at Greenwood. (Told by Aug. H. Hohenstein.)

The survey shows the general distribution of the major groups and also the large preponderance of Prussians over all others of German extraction. Bavarians seem to come next, followed closely by Hanoverians, and then by Badensians, Swiss, Wuertembergers, Hessians, Luxenburgers, and Saxons. The value of the survey is impaired, however, by the fact that the schedules of the 1860 Census are not all available, those for Cottonwood and Meeker counties being entirely missing, most of that for Hennepin, part of that for Wabasha, and about half of that for Winona county. Then also in many cases they make no distinctions between immigrants from the different states of the "Vaterland" and tag them all simply as "Germans". Moreover, whatever may be inferred as to larger groups, there is no clue to the religious persuasion of individual persons, because not every Bavarian is a Catholic, not every Badensian or Wuertenberger or Alsatian has a Zwinglian bias, and not every Prussian or Hanoverian or Mecklenburger is a Lutheran. In some cases the Census is ludicrously inaccurate, as in the case of three of the founders of the Minnesota Synod, Wm. Thomson of Owatonna being listed, perhaps on the basis of local associations of his, as a Baptist clergyman; Adam Blumer (called Plummer) of Shakopee as a P.E. clergyman; and Albrecht Brandt of Frank Hill, Winona Co., whom even the Missourians called "lieber Bruder", as a Unitarian clergyman. But in general the Census shows, what is clear also from the location of the German Lutheran churches, that the Germans, like the other early settlers, hugged the Big Woods, contributed their share of industrious labor in converting the forest into arable land, and endured no small portion of the hardships resulting from the Sioux Outbreak.

3. Renewed Settlement.

After the years of depression, the times gradually began to mend.[1] Immigration had never entirely ceased. The collapse of speculation after the panic had in a measure benefited agriculture. Former speculators turned to farming,[2] and land prices became normal. Land was placed almost entirely beyond the reach of the speculator[2] by the Homestead Law,[3] which was approved May 20,1862.[4] The lure of free land was so great that it overcame even the fear of the Indian;[5] and with the retirement of the Sioux into Dakota, the frontier became increasingly safe from year to year. To encourage immigration, the State inaugurated a campaign of publicity[6] (Hans Mattson being sent to invite Scandinavians), which before long was also adopted by the churches.[7] "The mowing and reaping machines, the high-powered threshing machine, and many improved implements and vehicles made it possible to plant and harvest crops from an expanding acreage".[8] The extension of rail-

1) The Nobsaha County Herald, May 28,1859, encouraged its readers by quoting from the La Crescent Banner the news that "a great many" emigrant wagons had passed through bound principally for Freeborn and Faribault counties; and again, June 11,1859, repeated from the Rochester Free Press the report that "twelve 'prairie schooners' passed through our city yesterday".
2) Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants, p.9.
3) Ibid., p.37; also Stephenson, Political History of the Public Lands, pp.98f, 113, 126, 166, 201, 227, 243-245.
4) Folwell, History of Minnesota, II, p.331.
5) One German family settled eight miles west of Henderson during the Indian uprising.
6) Folwell, History of Minn., III, pp.1, 19.
7) Lutheraner, June 1, 1860, pp.146-148.
8) Folwell, History of Minn., III, p.344.

roads was at least a fond expectation.[9] From 1863 to 1865 immigration was steadily increasing, no fewer than 9,529 homestead entries being made in these years.[10] A state census taken in 1865 showed a population of 250,099, an increase of 45 per cent over the total of 1860 and owing to the Civil War no doubt largely American.[11] Settlement was reaching out beyond the Big Woods, in the Otter Tail district, to the Red River, and in the southwestern part of the state; but the great body of the people still lived in the twenty southeastern counties.[12][13]

From 1865 to 1870 the population increased "at a still higher ratio".[14] Still by 1870 "the area of settlement had not greatly extended since the census of 1860. The main body of the population still resided east of the fourth principal meridian and south of the sixth standard parallel--roughly, east of New Ulm and south of St.Cloud".[15] In the western part of the counties on the Dakota line from Traverse County to the Iowa line, sections had not been surveyed; and practically the

9) Even in 1865 Sievers spoke of railroad building.--Luth.erminer, Sept.9, 1865, pp.14-15.
10) Folwell, l.c., II, p.331.
11) Ibid., II, p.344.
12) Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants, p.39.
13) Folwell, l.c., III, p.3.
14) Ibid., III, p.1.
Medlung, Minnesota as it is in 1870, pp.267f., quotes from the St.Peter Tribune, June, 1869: "The ferry at St.Peter is crowded from morning till night with goods and chattels of the newcomers, and the roads leading west and north are lined with vehicles and stock bound for the upper country.-The Faribault stage, on its return trip, passed over two hundred 'movers' ' wagons coming in this direction.....Of course St.Peter does not witness it all".
15) Folwell, l.c., III, pp.59f.

entire upper part of the state north of Mille Lacs was surveyed only in part or not at all.[16] The federal census of 1870 showed a total population of 439,706, of whom 100,697 were foreign born. Of German immigrants there were 48,457; but the Scandinavians now outnumbered them by almost 10,000.[17] According to statistics compiled by J.W. McClung[18] for the different counties, the order of counties relative to German population would be about as follows: Carver, Stearns, Hennepin, Ramsey, Goodhue, Winona, Blue Earth, Dakota, Scott, Le Sueur, Rice, Nicollet, Wabasha, Brown, Houston, Wright, Olmsted, Washington, Sibley, Steele, Dodge, Faribault(?), Fillmore; and with fewer than 1,000: Benton, Chisago, Freeborn, Isanti, Jackson, Kandiyohi, Martin, McLeod, Meeker, Mille Lacs, Mower, Morrison, Otter Tail, Sherburne, Waseca, Watonwan. He finds Irish and Germans predominating in Dakota, Ramsey, Scott, Le Sueur, Goodhue, Hennepin, Wabasha, Wright, Waseca, Rice, Winona, and Houston counties; and Germans in Carver, Brown, Blue Earth, and Nicollet.[19] Of Lutheran churches he counts seventy-nine congregations, nearly 6,000 members, and forty-three German and two English ministers.[20]

After 1870, a factor to be counted in was the railroad. Its development had been slow and discouraging. In 1873 the immigrant could travel by rail from La Cres-

16) Ibid., III, map facing p.60.
17) Ibid., III, p.59.
18) Minnesota as it is in 1870, pp.193-276.
19) Ibid., p.24.
20) Ibid., p.189.

cent to St.Paul,from Winona to New Ulm,from Chicago or Milwaukee to St.Paul,from St.Paul to Breckenridge or Duluth,and from Duluth to Moorhead.The railroad now had not only caught up with the settler,but was beginning to go in advance of him.[21]

---

21)Governor Ramsey's dream in 1863 was "a great New Orleans and Minnesota Railroad",and in the same year the Territorial legislature responded with seven railroad charters.The Minnesota and Northwestern,planned to run fromDubuque to the head of Lake Superior,failed of securing a land grant by reason of what was considered its devious methods.(Folwell,l.c.,I,pp.327-330.)When Congress on March 3,1857,made a generous land grant for Minnesota railroads,it contemplated one line from St.Paul to Pembina;one(Minnesota and Pacific)from St.Paul to Breckenridge;One(Southern Minnesota)from St.Paul up the Minnesota valley to about Mankato and then southwest;one from Winona to St.Peter and on west;one from La Crescent up the Root River valley to Rochester;and one(Minnesota and Cedar Valley)from St.Paul south through Faribault to the Iowa line. It was a grand scheme,formed in the boom period.On May 20,1857,the Minnesota legislature assumed the administration of the liberal grant placed into its trust.Then came the financial panic.The companies being unable to raise the money for the initial work necessary to secure the land,the Minnesota legislature issued "Minnesota State Railroad Bonds"--"the five million loan --to assist the companies.As these bonds were absorbed by the contractors "doubtless much below par" and the companies had no other assets,work soon ceased,and the State of Minnesota eventually paid for its own bonds and took over the railroad properties.(Ibid.,II,pp.37-58;62; 328.) In 1861,the legislature released the foreclosed properties on condition that mileage should at once be extended.The St.Paul and Pacific,successor to the Minnesota and Pacific,in 1862 laid track from St.Paul to St. Anthony.Several companies were active,and at the close of 1865 the total mileage was 210.(Ibid.,II,pp.329-330.) The first road to connect St.Paul with the East was the Minnesota Central through Faribault and Iowa in 1864. (Minnesota in Three Centuries,IV,pp.357f.) By 1870 the total mileage had been brought up to 750.In 1870,the road from St.Paul to Duluth was completed.In 1871,the main line of the St.Paul and Pacific(now the Great Northern)reached Breckenridge,and the "River Division" of the Milwaukee and St.Paul was built from St.Paul to Winona, being extended the next year to La Crescent.In 1872,the Northern Pacific connected Duluth with Moorhead on the Red River. The Southern Minnesota(now the Omaha),which had been open since Nov.16,1865,from Mendota to Winkopee

While the railroads offered transportation and markets, impro ed farm machinery, such as the sulky plow, the large seeder, the harvester and self-binding reaper, made farming on a large scale possible and the prairie desirable.[22]

Immigration was heavy in the early seventies. An enumeration in 1875 gave the population as 597,407, of whom 67,030 had come from Germany or Austria.[23] The population, still mainly located between and along the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, was filling up the counties south of Faribault and Mankato, scattering thinly through the southwestern counties, moving along the north bank of the upper Minnesota, and reaching out northwestward along, and north of, the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad to Otter Tail and beyond.[24]

The money panic of 1873 was a blow to both business and agriculture. Railroads were unable to continue building; farmers had hardly any market for their produce and found the cost of transportation high; and there was a general stagnation of industry.[25] On top of this came the grasshopper scourge from 1873 to 1877.

Nov. 19, 1866, to Belle Plaine, in 1869 to Lake Crystal (Ibid., IV, p. 353), reached Winnebago in 1872. The Winona and St. Peter was prolonged to the Minnesota River in 1872 and later to New Ulm and beyond. (Folwell, l.c., III, pp. 60f; Minnesota in Three Centuries, IV, pp. 337-373; Stephenson, Political History of the Public Lands, p. 134.

22) Folwell, l.c., III, p. 65; Minn. in Three Cent., IV, p. 390.
23) Folwell, l.c., III, p. 73.
24) Ibid., map facing p. 74.
25) Ibid., III, pp. 52-55; 72; 126; 141.

Beginning their devastations in some thirteen southwestern counties, the grasshoppers, or locusts, spread from from year to year until they threatened the entire state leaving destitution and suffering behind them. Various devices to destroy them having mainly failed, a frost in the spring of 1877 finally put an end to the plague, and a bounteous harvest led to a slow revival of business.[26]

With confidence in Minnesota restored, immigration again set in, being especially heavy in 1878.[27] Immigration from Germany was not heavy from 1877 to 1879,[28] but great from the older states. The Census of 1880 showed a population of 780,773, an increase of 77.6 per cent over that of 1870.[29] Germans numbered 66,592. During the eighties German Protestant immigration was especially strong.[30] By the time of the World War, the number of inhabitants of German or Austrian derivation had reached nearly 500,000, so that they constituted one-fourth of the population of the state.[31]

---

26) Ibid., III, pp.93-111; Minnesota in Three Centuries, IV, pp.107-116.

27) "In the spring of 1878 a sort of migration of tribes seemed in progress up here. Everywhere one saw 'movers' and again 'movers' crawling along the highways and traveling north and west".--Rev. J. Krueger, writing from the Crookston neighborhood in Lutheraner, Jan.1, 1881, p.5.

28) Lutheraner, Aug.15, 1879, p.126.

29) Folwell, l.c., III, pp.139f.

30) Ebenezer: Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century (Ed. by W.H.T. Dau, St.Louis, 1922), p.338.

31) Folwell, l.c., III, p.558.

CHAPTER II.

SURVEY OF LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

The Lutheran church bodies that took in hand, encouraged, or in some way influenced German Lutheran churches in Minnesota are the General Synod, the General Council, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Missouri Synod, the Wisconsin Synod, the Iowa Synod, and the Buffalo Synod.

The oldest general body, that is, a union or confederation of synods, is the General Synod, organized in 1820. The Joint Synod of Ohio dates its synodical existance from 1818. The Buffalo Synod was organized in 1845, Missouri in 1847, Wisconsin in 1849, Iowa in 1854, and the General Coucil in 1867.

1. THE GENERAL SYNOD.

A great flood of German Lutheran immigrants came to America in the first half of the eighteenth century,[1] Palatine refugees to the Hudson and the Schoharie,[2] persecuted Salzburgers to Georgia,[3] and other large numbers to Pennsylvania.[4] Henry Melchior Muehlenberg "the patriarch

1) G. M. Stephenson, A History of Immigration 1820-1924 (1926) p.44.
2) J.L.Neve, Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Luth.Kirche Amerikas (Burlington,Iowa,1904), pp.26ff.
A.R.Wentz, The Lutheran Church in American History,p.31.
3) Wentz, l.c.,pp.41ff.;Neve, l.c.,pp.29ff.
4) Wentz, l.c.,pp.45ff.;Neve, l.c.,pp.33ff.

of the Lutheran Church in America", in 1748 became the founder of the "Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and adjacent states," the first Lutheran synod in America.[5]

In 1786, the second synod, that of New York, was formed. When during and after the Revolutionary War hardy pioneers crossed the Alleghanies and in the succeeding years spread through Ohio and Kentucky into the Middle West, Lutheran families were among the first of them.[6] Synods soon came to be formed in various places. In 1803 the Synod of North Carolina (the mother of all the Southern synods) was organized in 1818, the Synod of Ohio in 1820, the Synod of Maryland and Virginia and the Synod of Tennessee.[7]

In Germany, the period of pietism had been followed by rationalism, "which broke down the points of distinction between the Lutherans and Reformed churches, whose theology and life more and more lost their specific significance."[8] German rationalism found its way also to America, especially into the New York Ministerium and into English-speaking congregations.[9] Chiefly in these latter by the beginning of the nineteenth century, no doubt owing mainly to the cessation of German immigration,[10] a pronounced tendency was developing toward an "American Lutheranism", an approximation

5) Wentz, l.c., pp. 41ff.; Neve, l.c., pp. 37ff.
6) Wentz, l.c., pp. 68.
7) Neve, l.c., pp. 46ff.
8) New International Encyclopedia, 1926 Edition, Art. "Lutheranism"
9) Wentz, l.c., pp. 95 ff.; Neve, l.c., p. 51.
10) Stephenson, A History of Immigration, p. 43

to the ideals and methods of Puritanic English-speaking churches.[11] English Lutherans showed impatience at the slowness of the Germans to adopt English in public worship.[12] German Lutherans clung to German as a barrier against rationalism and not infrequently preferred association with believing Reformed to that with rationalistic Lutherans. The Lutheran churches, therefore, lacked cohesion. The great variety of groupings threatened a drifting apart of Lutheran synods. To counterbalance this tendency and create a bond of union, the Pennsylvania Ministerium took the initiative in bringing about the first general body of synods by the organization, in 1820, of the General Synod aiming at the union of all Lutherans.[13]

Four synods met to form a general body: Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, and Maryland and Virginia.[14] But both the Tennessee Synod, a staunch upholder of the Confessions, and the Synod of Ohio remained aloof.[15] The New York Ministerium withdrew at once, and the Pennsylvania Ministerium soon thereafter.[16] And so, as the Constitution contained no doctrinal plank, the new body, according to

11) Wentz, l.c., pp. 95ff.; Neve, l.c., pp. 58ff.; G. J. Fritschel, Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Amerika, (Gueterloh, 1896), pp. 35ff.
12). Wentz, l.c., pp. 102f.
13). Wentz, l.c., pp. 106ff., Neve, l.c., p. 52.
14) Wentz, l.c., p. 107.
15) Neve, l.c., p. 52.
16) Neve, l.c. p. 53.

Graebner, was neither Evangelical Lutheran nor a General Synod.[17]

In the course of years the following synods joined: 1824, the West Pennsylvania Synod; 1831, the Hartwick Synod; 1835, the South Carolina Synod; 1837, the returning New York Ministerium; 1841, the English District of Ohio, now the East Ohio Synod; 1843, the East Pennsylvania Synod and the Alleghany Synod; 1845, the Miami Synod; 1848, the Illinois Synod, the Wittenberg Synod, and the Olive Branch Synod; 1853, the returning Pennsylvania Synod, the Texas Synod, the North Illinois Synod, and the Pittsburgh Synod (Passavant); 1857, the North Indiana Synod, the South Illinois Synod, the English Synod of Iowa; 1859, the Melanchton Synod; 1864, the Franckean Synod, a very liberal body, the admission of which resulted in the founding of the General Council).[18]

Through the churches of this General Synod, beginning with the later "twenties", swept the excitement of revivalism.[19]

17) A.L. Graebner, Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Amerika, (St. Louis, Mo., 1892), I Teil, p. 713.

18) Neve, l.c., pp. 53f; Wentz, l.c., p. 139, gives Miami in 1844 and Wittenberg in 1847.
The East Ohio Synod was originally the first English district established by the Joint Synod of Ohio and was organized at Somerset, Ohio, November 6, 1836, as the "Synod and Ministerium of the English Lutheran Churches in Ohio and Adjacent States", with the Augsburg Confession as its "unalterable symbol". But in 1840 it severed its connection with the Joint Synod of Ohio and in 1841 joined the General Synod. In 1855 it was oneoof the Synods adopting the Definite Synodical Platform". In 1858 it changed its name to East Ohio Synod and in 1868 adopted the doctrinal basis of the General Synod. It inaugurated the establishment of Wittenberg College.--Jacobs and Haas, The Lutheran Cyclopedia, (New York, 1911), Article, "Synods". See G.A. Peter and William Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio u.a. Staaten, Columbus, Ohio, 1900) pp. 62f; 72f; 80.

19) Wentz, l.c., pp. 166-178.

A large number of ministers adopted the "new measures" of revivalism as a means of adding members to their flocks, considering an emotional experience, "vital religion", of greater importance than knowledge of doctrine and neglecting the old Lutheran method of catechetical instruction.[20] S.S.Schmucker, of the General Synod seminary at Gettysburg, and M.Kurtz, editor of the "Lutheran Observer", were outstanding advocates both of the "new measures" and of the adaptation of the Lutheran Confessions to the supposed needs of "American Lutheranism".[21] In the meantime, however, the testimony of the confessional Tennessee Synod, closer study of the Confessions, and, somewhat later, contact with Wyneken, Walther, and Grabau led to a confessional reaction.[22] The tradition of the Augsburg Confession had, of course, never been altogether dead. At Gettysburg, since 1825, the fundamental doctrines of the Bible were to be taught as they are found in the Augsburg Confessions. The professors were held to believe the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Catechisms a brief and correct exposition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God. Already in 1829 the General Synod had adopted a constitution for the district synods which in the form of ordination required belief in the

20) Neve, l.c., pp.56ff.; Fritschel, l.c., II, pp50ff.; G.H. Gerberding, Life and Letters of W.A.Passavant, D.D., (Greenville, Pa., 1906), pp. 78ff.
21) Fritschel, l.c., II, pp.52ff.
22) Neve, l.c., p.59. See "Missouri Synod" for Wyneken and Walther; "Buffalo Synod" for Grabau.

Augsburg Confession as being "substantially correct" in teaching the fundamental doctrine of the divine Word, and in 1835 it added a paragraph to its constitution requiring of joining synods adherence to "the fundamental doctrines" of the Bible as taught by our Church".[23] In particular, Charles Porterfield Krauth led towards conservative Lutheranism, and he was ably seconded by men like Dr. Morris, C.J. Schaeffer, W.J. Mann, W.A. Passavant, and others. The "new measures" men held up as a bugaboo the exclusiveness and intolerance of Missouri with its polemics against even Loehe.[24] For years there was carried on an animated controversy between the two parties in the Synod. In 1855 appeared a small pamphlet called "Definite Synodical Platform" and later acknowledged by Schmucker as his production.[25] "It affirmed", says Jacobs, "that Luther and his associates changed their opinions on subjects treated in the Augsburg Confession and 'seven years later taught purer views in the Smalcald Articles'. It professed to specify the doctrines in the Augsburg Confession that should be retained, and those which should be rejected. Accordingly, it formally repudiated the following errors which it claimed were in the Augsburg Confession, viz., the

23) Neve, l.c., pp. 67ff.
24) Neve, l.c., p. 60.
25) H.E. Jacobs, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States. (New York, 1900), p. 426.

approval of the ceremonies of the mass, private confession and absolution, denial of a divine obligation of a Christian Sabbath, baptismal regeneration, and the real presence of the body and blood of the Savior in the eucharist." [26] The aim of the "Platform" seems to have been to exclude the conservatives from the Synod, but actually it led to a controversy that brought out the strength of the conservative wing of the Synod. [27] It also served throughout the country to give prominence to the Augsburg Confession, one of the results being a series of free conferences from 1866 to 1869. [28]

This was the situation in the General Synod when in 1867 at the instance of W.A. Passavant, the Synod sent "Father" Heyer to Minnesota.

Later the General Synod accepted the Augsburg Confession, nothing more, nothing less; but it continued alter and pulpit fellowship with non-Lutherans. [29] In 1917, together with the General Council and the United Synod of the South, which had been independent since the Civil War, it organized The United Lutheran Church in America on a confessional basis. [30]

2. THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

When in 1853 the Pennsylvania Ministerium joined the General Synod, it instructed its delegates to withdraw in the event of unconstitutional procedure on the part of

26) Ibid., p. 424.
27) Ibid., p. 425.
28) Ibid., p. 428.
29) Neve, l.c. pp. 71ff.
30) Wentz, l.c., pp. 320

the General Synod. These did so when, contrary to General Synod resolutions, the Franckean Synod in 1864 was admitted without a confessional declaration. The General Synod having made its requirements more specific, a delegation again appeared from Pennsylvania in 1866, but the chair would not recognize it, hoping Pennsylvania would drop the clause of 1853 and apply anew for membership. When the convention sustained the chair, the Pennsylvania delegation withdrew for good. A few weeks later the Pennsylvania Ministerium issued a call for a Union of Lutheran Synods on the basis of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. At a preliminary convention of this General Council at Reading, Pennsylvania, in December, 1866, thirteen synods, among them Minnesota (C.F.Heyer), were represented. At the first regular convention, Fort Wayne, Indiana, November 20-26, 1867, there were present the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the New York Ministerium, the English Synod of Ohio, the Pittsburgh Synod (Passavant), the Synod of Wisconsin, the Synod of Iowa, the English District of Ohio, the Synod of Michigan, the Scandinavian Augustana Synod, the Synod of Minnesota, the Synod of Canada, the Synod of Indiana, and the Joint Synod of Ohio.

The Joint Synod of Ohio requested a declaration as to the attitude of the Council on "four points", viz., chiliasm, altar and pulpit fellowship, and secret societies. On the three last points it was joined by Iowa. As the Council was not ready to make a declaration, the Joint

Synod of Ohio retired, and Iowa retained only a friendly, advisory connection with the Council. After the Pittsburgh Convention, 1868, Wisconsin retired. In 1869 the Minnesota delegate (Sieker) desired information as to the Council's "Four Points"; and in 1870 he again requested an interpretation. The reply not being considered acceptable, the Minnesota Synod also withdrew from the Council. In 1870 Dr. Krauth stated the rule of the Council to be:- "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran pastors; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants". At Akron, in 1872, certain concessions at the conscientious discretion of pastors were considered advisable; but at Galesburg, 1875, only Krauth's rule was adopted. This Galesburg Rule has been much debated, and there have been both strict and loose constructionists. As this later history of the General Council does not concern us, it will suffice to repeat that in 1917 the Council also entered the United Lutheran Church in America.[1]

1) Wentz,l.c., pp.187ff.; 283ff.;330; Neve,l.c.,pp 87-101; Proceedings of the Conventions of the General Council, 1866-1870.

3. THE JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO.

With the Pennsylvania Ministerium organized in 1748, the New York Ministerium in 1786, and the North Carolina Synod in 1803, the Joint Synod was fourth in 1818. Already in 1812 eleven pioneer German pastors, eight in Ohio, three in Western Pennsylvania, too far out on the frontier to travel to the conventions of the Mother Synod, had met in conference. They continued to meet annually until on September 14, 1818, at Somerset, Perry County, Pennsylvania, they(by that time seventeen) organized the synod later known as the Joint Synod of Ohio. It was a synod of Missionaries and a missionary synod. Its doctrinal position and its practice originally were not different from that of the General Synod. As elsewhere, so in this synod the transition from German to English presented difficulties. Its first English District withdrew and joined the General Synod, becoming later the East Ohio Synod. While this latter Synod in 1855 adopted the"Definite Platform", the Joint Synod itself, under the lead of men like Lehmann and Loy, grew more and more confessional. In 1867 it refrained from joining the General Council because of difference on the "Four Points," and in 1872 it joined the Synodical Conference, from which it withdrew again in protest of the Missouri teaching on the doctrine of Election (Synod at Wheeling, West Virginia, September 8-13, 1881). In 1882,

thirteen pastors who had also withdrawn from other synods of the Synodical Conference applied for membership in Joint Synod and were received as a new Northwestern District; and it was this district that carried on work in Minnesota until Minnesota organized its own district in 1891.[1]

1) C. Spielmann, Abriss der Geschichte der Evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten, in einfacher darstellung von ihren ersten Anfaengen bis zum Jahre 1845.(Columbus, Ohio. 1850)
F.A. Peter and Wm.Schmidt, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten.
Neve,l.c., pp.140-145.
Wentz,l.c.,pp. 98ff. and passim.

4. THE BUFFALO SYNOD.

The Buffalo Synod was a synod of immigrants who had left Germany in order to be free in America to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. In Germany, "the nineteenth century opened with a deep religious feeling that was opposed to the shallowness of rationalism. It is notable for two movements whose conflict makes the history of the century. First came the effort of Frederick William III to unite the Lutheran and Reformed churches into one state church under one system of government. This is the Prussian Union, or Protestant Imperial Church in Germany, in which the Reformed Church as a body almost disappeared, while Lutheranism has been modified by Reformed leaven. The Union went into effect in Prussia and Nassau in 1817, in Hesse in 1823, and in Anhalt-Dessau in 1827.

"The other movement was a revival of sound Lutheranism, on the basis of its confessions, inaugurated by Claus Harms, who published ninety-five theses on'a translation from 1817 to 1817' .It was a trumpet blast against rationalism and against the new Union. Lutheran Free churches, or Old Lutherans, arose in various provinces, as non-conformists, treated harshly at first, but gradually tolerated. Among their theologians were Vilmar and Sartorius. Locke in 1848, when in the storms of that day the relations between state and church threatened to

collapse, wrote his Proposal of a Union of Lutherans for Apostolic Life, hoping vainly to organize a church independent of the state. Loehe, with Walther, became the leader of nineteenth century German Lutheran colonization in the Middle West of the United States."[1)]

The leader of the movement that led to the organization of the Buffalo Synod, later also the leader of that synod, was Rev. J.A.A.Grabau, born March 14, 1804, in Magdeburg, Prussia. He became pastor of a Union church in Erfurt and there was influenced by L.F.E. Krause (pastor of a Silesian congregation and member of the Breslau Synod, who was imprisoned at Erfurt as a nonconformist) to enter upon a course of resistance to the state church. Before long he was himself deposed and imprisoned for branding the introduction of the Union Agenda as a violation of the Constitution. In 1839 with about one thousand souls he came to America, where some of his late adherents remained in or near Buffalo and others went to Wisconsin, there, others following, establishing congregations at Milwaukee, Freistatt, Kirchhayn, and Watertown. In 1845, a synod was organized at Milwaukee by four pastors, Grabau and von Rohr of Buffalo, Kindermann of Kirchhayn, and Krause of Freistatt and Milwaukee. Already in 1840 Grabau had issued a "Hirtenbrief"(Pastoral Letter) in which, to

1) New International Encyclopedia, Art. "Lutheranism.

warn the congregations against hireling preachers, he set forth the following principles: A pastor not called in accordance with the "Kirchenordnungen" (Rituals and Regulations) of the Lutheran Church has no right to pronounce absolution; and if he does administer communion, the congregation receives only bread and wine. Ordination, he declared, was commanded by God, and by it, through the laying on of hands, the holy office was conferred with all its rights and powers. A pastor must be called with the cooperation of the synodical ministry, under no circumstances by the congregation alone. The power of excommunication resides in the pastor, not in the congregation. The congregation must obey the pastor in all things not contrary to the Word of God. The Lutheran Church, having the pure Word and Sacraments, is the Church of Christ; outside of it there are "Rotten" ("Rotten", factions).

Graben submitted the "Hirtenbrief" to the Missourians for their opinion, and in their reply (being, as they said, burned children from their experiences with Stephan)[2] they ventured to warn him against hierarchical tendencies. A "Refutation" from Graben followed and so on; and when Krause of Freistatt had excommunicated a portion of his Milwaukee and Freistatt charges and Missouri entered the Wisconsin field, a period of bitter controversy ensued between the two conservative synods that should have

2) For Stephan, see "The Missouri Synod", p. 41

been united. In 1843 Grabau and von Rohr went to Germany to lay their cause before "the Church". But in the long controversy Missouri won out, and after a "Colloquy" in 1866 eleven Buffalo pastors withdrew and joined Missouri. The Synod was on the brink of extinction; but it recovered, and at the time of Grabau's death in 1879 it had almost regained its former strength. In accordance with his conception of the Church and the Ministerial office, Grabau had been called "Senior Ministerii", but in its constitution of 1886 the Synod adopted the term "President". The Synod still emphasizes ordination. It is, of course, strictly confessional; and private confession[3] until recently was practised in its congregations.[4]

Two of the first founders of German Lutheran churches in Minnesota (F.W.Wier and the above mentioned L.F.F. Krause) had been members of the Buffalo Synod.

3) In "General confession", as practised by other Lutheran bodies in preparation for communion, the pastor reads a form of confession to the kneeling congregation. In "private confession" each person recites the confession to the pastor, who then pronounces the absolution.

4) Neve, l.c., pp.112-114, 154f.; Wentz, l,c., pp, 156ff.

5. THE MISSOURI SYNOD.

The first of the founders of the Missouri Synod to arrive in America was Candidate F. Wyneken, who, after studying at Goettingen and Halle, had traveled in France and Italy and been Rector of a Latin school at Bremervoerde near Hanover. Reading of the dire need of pastors in America, he felt in conscience bound to devote himself to the cause of the scattered Lutherans there. Appointed by the Pennsylvania Ministerium, he did strenuous mission work, taking charge, in the fall of 1838, of the vacant congregation at Fort Wayne, Indiana. In 1841 he was back in Germany on account of throat trouble and there issued a pamphlet, "The distress of the German Lutherans in North America". This ringing appeal found immediate response. Societies were formed to collect money for America, and Pfarrer Loehe of Neuendettelsau set out to organize aid and train pastors for the American Lutherans. The first two of his students, whom he had sent out to be teachers, in New York met Professor Winkler, who had been called to the seminary of the Joint Synod of Ohio at Columbus, and followed him. Soon Loehe sent others to the same synod, among them Siehler, a university graduate, who became Wyneken's successor at Fort Wayne when the latter was called to Baltimore. In 1844 Siehler and the Loehe men, ten in all, left the Joint Synod, and Loehe planned to have an independent synod organized on a strictly confessional basis. In 1845, Loehe sent other mission-

aries together with the numerous colonists to Michigan, where they founded the Franconian colonies, Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, Frankenlust, and Frankenhilf, and Loehe established a seminary for training teachers. Among the ministers serving there was A. Craemer, who took charge of the Chippewa Indian Mission established by Loehe and later of the Missouri seminary at Springfield, Illinois. Others were Baierlein, Hattstaedt, and later the pastors Deindoerfer and Grossmann, who became the founders of the Iowa Synod.[1]

In the meantime an important movement had begun in Missouri. Under the lead of Martin Stephan, pastor of a Bohemian church in Dresden, a colony of some seven hundred had in 1839 come to America to escape the unionism and rationalism prevailing in Germany. They had settled in St. Louis and in Perry County, Missouri. Stephan had claimed episcopal honors, and his followers (including six clergymen, ten candidates, four teachers, and some lawyers and physicians) had accorded them. They believed, as did Graban, in a sort of episcopal, presbyteral succession continued through ordination by the laying on of hands. After the bishop had been found guilty of immoral conduct and had been deposed, the flock was in despair, be-

1) Meyer, l.c., pp. 107 ff.; Ebenezer, pp. 52 ff.; 78 ff.; Encyclopedia Americana, "Lutheran Church in America."

cause, with their ideas of Church and ordination, every one was in doubt whether they really and rightfully possessed the holy office, and many counseled return to Germany, where they could again be part and parcel of the Church. It was then that one of them, C.F.W. Walther, a highly gifted, frail, and courteous young minister, began to search the Scriptures as well as the Confessions and the dogmaticians of the Church to discover a way out of the distressing situation. His studies showed him that the Lutheran church was congregational and not hierarchical. The real Church, he found, was not any visible church organization, but the communion of saints, all true believers in Christ, and in a sense every local congregation that has the preaching of the true Word of God and the administration of the Sacraments as they were instituted. Hence the immigrant Saxons were a true church. The office of the ministry was nothing more than the duty and privilege of administering the means of grace, Word and Sacrament, a duty and privilege shared by all true Christians and conferred by them, for public and orderly exercise upon a capable minister properly called by a congregation. The case was clear; the local congregation was everything; bishops, synods, and the like were nothing. Thus the difficulties of the Saxons were solved, and they organized their church work on the basis of Walther's solution, the principles of pure Scriptural doctrine and a polity of congregational rights.[2] These Saxons had desired

2) Neve, l.c., pp. 102-107; Lutheraner, Aug. 25, 1857 (Walther's story). pp. 1-2.

very much to join hands with Grabau, but had found an insuperable obstacle in the latter's exalted views of ministerial authority, in which they recognized the unwelcome features of the "Stephenism" they had just ploughed off. The confessional looseness of the General Synod prevented them from affiliating with that body.

In 1844, Walther, called as pastor to St. Louis, began the publication of the "Lutheraner" as a mouthpiece of true, confessional Lutheranism. This paper became the means of bringing together the men of like spirit. Sichler's heart leaped with joy when the first number of the "Lutheraner" got into his hands, and he was not slow in recommending it. Wyneken exclaimed: "Thank God, there are yet other Lutherans in America". In 1845 Wyneken withdrew from the General Synod. The Lochеans sent a delegation headed by Sichler to confer with Walther in regard to the forming of a synod. In July, 1846, representatives of the Lochеans and the Saxons met at Fort Wayne and discussed a constitution drafted by Walther, and, April 26-May 6, 1847, Lochеans and Saxons and Wyneken organized the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States". In the meantime, according to the plan of Loehe, Sichler in October, 1846, had opened a seminary at Fort Wayne, Indiana. Loehe was not in entire accord with the constitution of the new synod, wishing a more distinguished position reserved for its president. He also desired that the ministers and the officers of the synod have more to say in the calling

of pastors; and he had his doubts as to the equal footing of lay delegates at synod meetings. In the controversy between Missouri and Buffalo, which entered upon a stage of great vehemence owing to a decision rendered by the Synod at its very first convention in the case of L.F.E.Krause of Freistatt, Wisconsin, Loehe leaned towards Grabau. He also desired influence in the direction of the church work he had established in America. The result was a break between Missouri and Loehe, which led to the organization of the German Synod of Iowa in 1854. 3)

Some of the causes of the phenomenal growth of the Missouri Synod were: a large number of pastors to begin with, a constant supply of pastors either by Loehe or by the two theological seminaries, an exceptionally large percentage of university-bred men, a platform of strict confessionalism, a constitution regulating all the details of church work from the outset, the backing of the church in Germany, heavy immigration, and large congregations in the leading cities. The slogan of "congregational rights" would prove acceptable to laymen. Possession of the "pure doctrine" gave the "Missourians" (a name first applied to them by Grabau of Buffalo) assurance and confidence that the best authority was on their side, the Word of God. Thus with the feeling of "God is with us" and a marvelous <u>esprit de corps</u> they advanced like an army with banners, and the man at the

3) Neve, l.c., pp. 115ff.; <u>Ebenezer</u>, pp. 41ff.; 140ff.

loneliest outpost felt himself one of a host.[4]

6. THE SYNOD OF IOWA.

The father of the Iowa Synod was Pastor William Loehe of Neuendettelsau, who in response to Wyneken's appeal had sent preachers to America and had cooperated with Missouri for a number of years. But when in 1854, owing to doctrinal and other differences, Loehe's cooperation with the Missouri Synod ceased, two of his adherents, George Grossman, who had been directing Loehe's Teacher's Seminary at Saginaw City, Michigan, and John Deindoerfer, who had been a pastor in the Missouri Synod, moved to Iowa, where, with S. Fritschel and M. Schueller, on August 24, 1854, they organized the Iowa Synod in the parsonage at St. Sebald, Iowa. In 1856 it had nine pastors; in 1865, fifty-two; in 1873, one hundred pastors and one hundred and forty-three congregations. In 1875 some twenty pastors withdrew and joined Missouri and Wisconsin.

The Synod, accepting all the confessions of the Lutheran Church as a correct statement of doctrine, maintains that differing opinions on matters not, or not clearly, taught in Scripture may be tolerated.

A merger of the Iowa and Buffalo synods with the Joint of Ohio as The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of America is at present under discussion.[1]

4) Wentz, l.c., pp. 151-165; Fritschel, l.c. pp. 255ff.; Neve, l.c., pp. 11f.

1) Neve, l.c., pp. 146-154; Wentz, l.c., pp. 157ff. Johannes Deindoerfer, Geschichte der Evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Iowa und anderen Staaten, (Chicago, Ill., 1897).

7. THE WISCONSIN SYNOD.

The Wisconsin Synod was organized under the lead of Pastor Muehlhaeuser December 8,1849,at Milwaukee,Wisconsin, and found a wide field among the North German immigrants in Wisconsin. It drew its pastors from Barmen (Langenfelder Verein) and from the Berlin Verein, both Union societies.President Bading,an exponent of outspoken Lutheranism,and Professor Koenecke became the leaders, and more and more the Wisconsin Synod became confessionally like Missouri.By its declarations against the Union it lost the support of the Berlin and Barmen societies.It joined the General Council,but withdrew in 1868 on account of the "Four Points".In 1872 it took part in the organization of the Synodical Conference,of which it is still a member.In the Election controversy also it stood by Missouri.It always maintained friendly relations with the Minnesota Synod and in 1892,together with Minnesota and Michigan,organized the Joint Synod of Wisconsin,Minnesota,Michigan,and Other States.[1]

8. THE SYNODICAL CONFERENCE.

The Synodical Conference is a confederation of the most conservative Lutheran synods in the United States,which was organized in 1872 by the union of the

1)Meve,l.c.,pp.132 ff.;
J.Ph.Koehler,Geschichte der Allg.Evang.Luth.Synode von Wisconsin and anderen Staaten,1.Band(Milwaukee,Wis.,1925).

Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Norwegian, and Ohio (Joint) Synods. The Illinois Synod was absorbed by Missouri. The Conference at present embraces the Missouri Synod; the Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, and Other States; the Slovak Synod; and the Norwegian Synod of the American Ev.-Luth. Church (a minority of approximately fifty members opposed to the Norwegian merger of 1917). All the constituent synods retain their individual organizations, and the only cooperative enterprise is the work among the negroes.[1]

9. THE SYNOD OF THE WEST AND THE INDIANAPOLIS SYNOD.

The Indianapolis Synod was a short-lived synod in Indiana 1846-1859. The influence of the Henkels in the Tennessee Synod, as opponents of General Synod doctrinal indifference, had been felt in Indiana. By 1835, however, the "Generalists" were pressing the "Henkelites" hard. These, on August 15, 1835, organized the Synod of Indiana; and the "Generalists", on October 5 of the same year, organized the Synod of the West with ambitious aims of forming an American Lutheran Church that was to embrace all Protestant America. The Synod of the West was

---

1) Neve, l.c., p. 102; Wenta, l.c., pp. 289f.

unionistic and revivalistic, and that of Iniana came to be ravaged by Universalism and Campbellism. In 1846, the Synod of the West was divided into that of Illinois and that of the Southwest. It was then that several of its German ppstors, some from Gossner's Institute and some from Leipzig, "met in Indianapolis in 1846 and 1847 for mutual interests, enlightenment, and encourggement, and in 1848 organized the Synod of Indianapolis. This was a German body and grew rapidly. But in a few years it came in contact with the Missourians, who absorbed quite a respectable portion of its pastors and churches. The remnant continued under their organization and eventually became merged into the Southern District of the Joint Synod of Ohio" in 1859.[1] F.W. Wier and Albrecht Brandt, two Minnesota pioneers, had been connected with one or both of these synods.

1) Martin L. Wagner, The Chicago Synod and Its Antecedents, (Waverly, Iowa, 1909), pp. 55ff.; 69; 71; 74; 355ff.; 104.
Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Ohio Synode, p. 154

CHAPTER III. THE FIRST COMERS.

Three Lutheran pastors came to Minnesota in 1855,and two more in 1856. The first one was William Thomson,who came from Ohio and landed at Hastings about the middle of April,1855. He was the first Lutheran preacher in Minnesota to officiate in English exclusively;and as he was supported by the Home Missionary Society,more was probably expected than he actually accomplished. The second was F.W.Wier,who came from New York and arrived in St.Paul the middle of July,1855. He was the first German Lutheran pastor,and the founder of the three oldest German Lutheran churches,in the state. The third one was Matthew Mallinson,also apparently of New York,who must have reached Mount Vernon township,Winona County,before October 20,1855. The fourth one was Albrecht Brandt,who came to Town Hart,Winona County,in 1856. All four came in the first rush of immigration after the opening of the "Suland",all four took to farming,and all four became charter members of the Minnesota Synod. The last of the five,L.F.E.Krause,one of the four founders of the Buffalo Synod,spent four years of his checkered career in Winona between 1856 and 1864.

1.William Thomson.

William Thomson was born at Taneytown,Maryland April 29,1812. He had learnt the trade of house-building in New York and then,having been converted and also married,had taken a private course of theological studies

under the supervision of Rev. William Adams Wadsworth, a Lutheran minister, at Canton, Ohio. Ordained at Bethlehem, Ohio, October 7, 1845, at the age of thirty-three, he had for ten years served congregations in Stark and Columbiana counties and at Rostrever, Pennsylvania, being a member of the East Ohio Synod and, like that synod, having "no difficulty in fraternizing with all orthodox denominations". About April 1, 1855, with his family and a portion of his charge, he took steamboat at Wellsville, Ohio, and after a tedious voyage of about sixteen days was with them set ashore at midnight at Hastings, Minnesota. His first official duty in Minnesota was to bury two lady members of his party, one having died the night of their arrival in the store of Mr. Baily (probably Alexis Bailly), who, the hotel keeper refusing, had taken them in out of the rain. Mr. Thomson first settled near Cannon City in Rice County, but early in May, 1856, exchanging his pre-emption rights for an ox-team, a farm wagon, a cow and a calf, and $75 in cash, moved with this outfit to Prairieville, near Owatonna, and took possession of the southeast quarter, section 20, township 107, range 20, on which he erected a claim-shanty.

The Home Missionary Society gave him the first year $100, and he appears to have begun his missionary labors as soon as he became settled in Rice County. He organized the first English Lutheran congregation in the State in the house of Honorable J.C. Ide at East Prairieville in June, 1855; and through the courtesy of

Colonel Ide, who was a visitor to the Territorial legislature in 1855, he had his credentials filed in the office of a Mr. Hoch, at Mendota, and afterwards at Owatonna. His credentials appearing on page one of "Credentials", he thought himself "among the first in that line". On account of the intense cold of the winter of 1855-1856 his congregation at East Prairieville left for other parts. For want of a nucleus of Lutherans he preached frequently for other denominations, in one case even admitting members to the church and administering communion. He was in demand for funeral sermons, and perhaps for other occasions officiated at Cannon City, Norway, Dodge County; Ryota, Olmsted County; Washington, Fillmore County; Borrence's and Beardsley's, Rice County; Berlin, Hastings' schoolhouse and Fitzsimmons' schoolhouse, and also Havana and Tiffany's schoolhouse. At these places he seems to have had non-Lutheran groups, but they added sixty dollars to the one hundred dollars he received from the Missionary Society the first year and probably later yield d additional perquisites.[1]

The Census of 1860 lists Willian Thomson as a Baptist clergyman born in Maryland and forty-eight years of age. His personal estate is valued at five hundred fifteen dollars, not a small amount at the time; his real estate consisting of thirty acres of improved and two hundred and ten of

1) "Reminiscence and Biography" by Rev. Wm. Thomson in History of Steele County (Chicago, Union Publishing Co., 1887) pp. 143-148.

unimproved land, is valued at $3,000; his store of implements, at $65; and his stock--two horses, three milch cows, two working oxen, four other cattle, and eleven swine--at $350, not counting two hundred bushels of Indian corn.[2]

2. Friedrich Wilhelm Wier.

Friedrich Wilhelm Wier, who come to Minnesota only three months later than Thomson, was a conservative of the Buffalo Synod type with crotchets of his own. He was almost the same age as Thomson, having been born September 1, 1812, at Tangermuende, Brandenburg, Germany. He had studied theology with Pastor Gossner in Berlin with a view to going as a missionary to India. Instead of going so, however, he emigrated with his wife to America in 1841 and first served a number of congregations near Weisburg, Dearborn County, Indiana.[1] Coming from the Union State Church of Germany, he was originally unionistic rather than Lutheran. In Indiana he seems first to have belonged to the Indiana Synod and later to the Indianapolis Synod. It is probable that in association with the conservative Indianapolis Synod men Wier advanced toward a stricter Lutheranism. As, however, the Indiana charge could no longer support him and he and his family had always suffered great privations there, he in 1849 accepted a call to Rochester, New York, to a congregation financed by the "Protestantische Gesellschaft". He felt

2) Census of 1850.
1) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 56; 221.

free to do so because that society had permitted him to stand strictly on the Lutheran Confessions,and he introduced these in the congregation. On becoming acquainted with the Buffalo Synod and having had pointed out to him the questionable propriety of his position as an appointee of an un-Lutheran society,he canceled his connection with the Society,with the result that,as the congregation needed the aid of the Society,he was without means of support.[2]

From Rochester,Wier attended as a guest the Third Convention of the Buffalo Synod in 1851; in the fall of that year he was present at a church dedication at Berghols and Wallman,New York,and wrote an enthusiastic report of it for Number 7 of the "Informatorium", the new Buffalo church paper,of which he at once became a subscriber. On November 30,1851,he was installed at Martinsville,New York,by Pastor Grabau,the Senior Ministerii of the Buffalo Synod. As early as 1852,however,he aroused dissension in his congregation by [illegible] teaching that it was divinely commanded to abstain from blood(Acts 15:20,29;Lev.3:17).When it was pointed out to him that the Augsburg Confession called the direction regarding the eating of blood a "human ordinance",he declared that he had broken his promise to preach in accordance with the Confessions,but still maintained his

2)Letter of February 12,1927,from E.Denef,historian of the Buffalo Synod. Denef thinks it probable that Wier joined the Immanuel Synod in Indiana;but the Immanuel Synod was not organized until 1875(Jacobs and Haas, Lutheran Cyclopedia,"Immanuel Synod").See Chapter II,9

view,with this concession that,as the Augustana permitted the eating of blood,henceforth no one was to judge the other whether he ate blood or not.[2]

At Martinsville,the youngest of his six children was born on November 4,1854.[3] Shortly after that,his first wife, no doubt worn out by hardships,privations, and worries,would seem to have died.In 1855,on account of some dissatisfaction or other,he left Martinsville and also the Buffalo Synod.[4]

Then Wier turned his eyes toward the West.Shortly before setting out for Minnesota,he married on June 14,1855, the widow Caroline Barbara Rosine Maertens, whose experiences are set against the background of early Buffalo Synod history.Mrs.Maertens had felt the buffetings of ill fortune and no doubt,with her twelve-year-old daughter,hoped to find at least a home with the widowed preacher in distant Minnesota.Born June 16,1811, at Anklam in Pomerania,she had in 1839 married Carl Maertens and with him and six children in 1843 emigrated with Pastor Ehrenstroem[5] to America.During the voyage,

3)Kirchen-Buch der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen St.Paulus -Gemeinde in Washington County,Minnesota,pp.84-87. This is Wier's old Church Book,the oldest German Lutheran church record in the state,having been begun by Wier in St. John's at Baytown in 1855 and being still used by Rev. A. Haseley,pastor of the Buffal Synod church at Lake Elmo,which originally also was called St.John's,but was renamed St. Paul's in 1892.

4)Letter of Dobof,February 12,1927.

5)Pastor Ehrenstroem was the leader of a congregation of Lutherans chiefly from the Uckermark and Pomerania,who emigrated in the summer of 1843 to America,where they hoped to be able to live and worship according to their Lutheran faith without molestation.Ehren-

on the "Maritana" her seventh child was born and received emergency baptism from the father. Six of the seven children died either aboard ship or in New York, where her husband also died. At last she met Wier and came with him to Minnesota.[6]

---

stroem being still in prison, they crossed the ocean in four or five ships without him, planning to go on to Wisconsin. Grabau and von Rohr, however, induced many of them to settle near Buffalo. When Ehrenstroem arrived in October, 1844, he was displeased at the change of plan and preached against Grabau as being a false prophet. But he himself soon did strange things. He began to reject and to burn the symbolical books, the Weimar Bible, and other Lutheran writings; caused prayer conventicles to be held every night in his congregation at four places which he inspected by turns; and refused to administer communion until all should be converted up to his standard. The greater part of the congregation soon considering him in error, he had only a few adherents left. Rejecting all translations of the Bible, he demanded that his followers must understand the Bible in the original languages and to this end instructed them in Greek. Eventually he undertook to perform signs and wonders among them; and when he failed in this, he lost faith in the truth of Scripture and Christianity, deserted his little flock, and threw himself again into a life of worldliness. He was reported to have ended miserably in a California hospital. His congregation finally accepted as their pastor the former "Hauptmann" (Captain) von Rohr, who had come to America with Grabau in 1839 and in Buffalo had taught school and studied theology with Grabau.--F.W.C. Hanser, Nehrung fuer das Informatorium (Buffalo, 1860), p.11.

6) Kirchen-Buch (Lake Elmo), p.147.
After her death, September 22, 1850, Wier wrote in the Kirchen-Buch: "The morning of her life was dark, the noonday hot, the evening mild. Gratias Deo!" (p.147). Her daughter Elisabeth, born on the ocean in 1845, became the wife of Gerd Busch of Washington County and died in 1896 (p.153).

About the middle of July,1855,Wier arrived with his family in St.Paul,at the time when newcomers were encamping in the streets for lack of hotel accommodations. He held his first service in an English Episcopal church on the seventh Sunday after Trinity,July 22,1855. Three days later,on July 25,a congregation was organized and Wier called as pastor. In the third service,August 5,a child was to be baptised. Since the Episcopal minister refused the use of his church for a Lutheran baptism this service was held in the Court House. Later the services were held in a schoolhouse on what was then Fort Street. The congregation was incorporated September 14, 1855,under the name "Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde U.A.C. von St.Paul,Minnesota".[7] In St.Paul,Wier also heard of the German settlement at Baytown,Washington County,near Stillwater,the first of whom,chiefly from Baden,Germany,had come in 1851. On August 17,1855,on a borrowed horse he rode out to the German settlement and on August 19 held his first service in the house of Albert Boese. Soon thereafter St. John's Church of Baytown was organized,the date of organization being the end of August or the beginning of September. Wier's first baptism for Baytown is re-

7) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode,pp.221-223.
8) Ibid.,pp.59-60. Haase here says that Wier served the congregation about a year. Schroedel(Ibid.,p.222) says Wier served St.John's of Baytown alternately with Trinity in St.Paul for two years,and this seems the more probable as Blumer did nor serve the congregation until 1858. See later.

corded for September 2,1855, in the Lake Elmo Church Book. The congregation purchased about two acres of church property,and this is located on the St.Paul-Stillwater road beyond Lake Elmo about two miles and a half from Stillwater.Wier served the congregation a year or two in the house of Albert Boese,and then a division occurred.[8]

Of Wier and the condition of his church in St.Paul we obtain a glimpse from the report of Ferdinand Sievers,[9] a Missouri Lutheran pastor,who visited St.Paul in August,1856,preached to the congregation,and had conferences both with Wier and his people.The congregation, according to Sievers,was still a very feeble affair, lacked solid organization,and was not free from un-Lutheran practice.Wier,unable to make both ends meet in St.Paul with his large family,had shortly before Sievers's visit purchased a farm of one hundred and sixty acres seven miles from town[10] and was living on it,being surrounded by a number of Lutheran families,whom he mainly served,while he had contracted to preach for the St.Paul people every other Sunday.Precisely how long Wier's connection with Trinity(Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde) lasted it seems impossible to determine.According to

9)Lutheraner,February 24,1857,pp.109-111.
10)Near Inver Grove in Dakota County.The people were mainly High Germans,chiefly Bavarians from Indiana.

"Father" Heyer, Wier preached every three weeks in the Court House "etc" and for various reasons resigned.[11] Wier, coming during the rush season of immigration, secured a farm and has to his credit the founding of three of the oldest congregations in Minnesota still existing, viz., old Trinity of St. Paul, later Heyer's church; St. John's at Baytown in Washington County; and Emanuel's near Inver Grove in Dakota County.

3. Matthew Mallinson.

Land office records show Matthew Mallinson among the first to claim land in Mount Vernon township, Winona County. He is listed as Mathew Mallinson(Malmson) and filed for land on October 20, 1855.[1] At the first town meeting, May 11, 1858, he was elected overseer of the poor.[1] Only two churches are mentioned for Mount Vernon, one Methodist Episcopal, the other Catholic.[2] He may have preached in the Methodist Episcopal church. We have information that "religious services were held as early as 1856 by Elder Mallinson" at Minneiska, Wabasha County[3]

11) Heyer, Wier's successor at Trinity, has the following brief entry in the Trinity Kirchen-Buch: "Pastor F. W. Wier war der erste lutherische Pastor in St. Paul. Er kam im Jahr 1858 vom Staat New York nach Minnesota, und hielt alle drei Wochen Gottesdienst in Courthouse etc. Verschiedener Ursachen wegen legte Pastor Wier sein Amt in St. Paul nieder". --Kirchen-Buch der Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde zu St. Paul. (This is Heyer's old church book and begins in 1857.)

1) History of Winona County, Minnesota. Compiled by Curtiss-Wedge (2 vols. Chicago, 1913), II, p. 553.
2) History of Winona and Olmsted Counties (Chicago, H. H. Hill, 1883), p. 598.
3) History of Wabasha County, p. 933.

In 1857 and 1858 his address is given as Whitewater, Wabasha County, and from 1859 to 1967 as Minneiska, Wabasha County. From the Census of 1860 we learn that Matthew Mallinson owned one hundred and fifty acres of unimproved land and ten acres of improved land, which together had a value of five hundred dollars. His farming implements and machinery were worth fifty dollars. Besides that, he owned a horse, three milch cows, two working oxen, two other cattle, and two swine, valued at two hundred dollars in all, and also twenty-five bushels of wheat, twenty bushels of oats, and forty bushels of Indian corn.[5] The Census of 1870 lists him as seventy years of age and born in England.[6] As his wife and one sone were born in New Jersey, and an older son was born in Canada, he no doubt had lived in these places. He possibly married in New Jersey, moved to Canada, and returned to New Jersey. Or it is possible that he came as a widower with one son from Canada and married again in New Jersey. His second son's name was J. Wesley; and if any inference is permitted from this name, it would seem that Mallinson had Methodistic connections or leanings. From Brobst's Kalender for 1855

5) Eighth Census. Agriculture 1860, Minnesota. Schedule 4, p.1. Mount Vernon, County of Winona. Population schedule for Mount Vernon not available.

6) Census of 1870.

we learn that Mallinson had been stationed near the lead mining country of Ancram, Columbia County, New York, probably the year before his coming to Minnesota. By 1870 L. D. Mallinson (thirty two years of age and married) was running a farm of his own of about the same description and value as the father's in 1860; J. Wesley was working another, probably the home farm slightly enlarged, with twenty-five acres improved, one hundred forty unimproved, and thirty-five acres of woodland valued at one thousand dollars.

4. ALBRECHT BRANDT.

Albrecht Brandt arrived on his farm in Town Hart, Winona County, in 1856 with a small group of settlers and "with a large herd of cattle"[1] He was a Bavarian and at the time of his arrival in Minnesota fifty-five years of age and had a large family.[2] He had been a licenced lay preacher in Indiana and had belonged to the Synod of the West.[3] No doubt in Indiana he had also joined the Indianapolis Synod.[4] Later he served as licenced preacher in Randolph County, Illinois.[5] After Krause had started

1) History of Winona and Olmsted Counties, p607.
2) Census of 1860, Schedule 1, Town Hart, Winona County lists him as a Unitarian clergyman, 59 years of age and born in Bavaria.
3) Rev. Otto C. Schultz, pastor in Town Hart, after the death on January 11, 1927, of the last of Albrecht Brandt's sons, in going over the old pastor's theological books, found a license which shows him to have in 1840 belonged to the Synod of the West. The following is a copy of the license.

"Evang'l. Lutheran Synod of the West.

"Be it known, to all to whom these presents shall come, that Rev'd. Albrecht Brand is deemed competent by the Ministerium, to perform the duties of a candidate of the Gospel Ministry, and as such, is authorized to perform all the Actus Ministeriales, in the County of Franklin, State of Indiana until the next meeting of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West.

As Witness, we hereunto subscribe our names, and affix the seal of the Ministerium. Done at Lutheran Chapel Church, Harrison County, this 9th day of June 1840.

Huntersville, Indiana — Daniel Scherer, President
E. M. Olmstead, Secretary."

4) N. Norelius, De Svenska Lutersks Församlingarnas, (Rock Island, Illinois, 1890), pp. 840-846.
5) Letter of Rev. Otto C. Schulze, March 2, 1927.

St.Martin's congregation in Winona in 1856 and left it the year after,Brandt occasionally served that church.[6] He seems to have served as a lay preacher for a time also at Town Hart,but eye trouble was one of the reasons that led him to resign.[7] In the winter of 1861,while he was counted by [illegible] "Father" Meyer as a member of the Minnesota Synod,he wrote to Professor Craemer of Springfield or to Professor Walther of St.Louis as an old friend of the Missouri Synod for a preacher in Town Hart,and as a result Grupe of Pepin County Wisconsin,went there in 1862.[8]

5.Lebrecht Friedrich Hiregott Krause.

Of the early men who came to Minnesota,L.F.H. Krause was beyond doubt the most gifted. He landed in Winona in the spring of 1856 "after a considerable period of wanderings".[1] Krause had been,not only one of the founders of the Buffalo Synod,but in one respect its father.[2] He was a Silesian,and as a candidate of theology he had been one of the founders of the Breslau Synod,in 1834.[3] As a nonconformist he was exiled from Silesia and imprisoned at Erfurt

6) 1856-1906. 50-Jaehriges Jubilaeum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen St.Martins-Gemeinde zu Winona,Minnesota.(Milwaukee, 1906),p.7.
7) Lutheraner,April 30,1862,p.150.
8) St.John's Messenger(Town Hart,Winona County,April,1926).
1) 1856-1906. 50-Jaehriges Jubilaeum,p.7.
2) Letter of Denef,Feb.12,1927.
3) "When the 'Union' was introduced into the Prussian province of Silesia,a number of pastors and congregations withdrew from the state church and formed the 'Breslau Synod'.This synod constituted for its government an'Ober-Kirchen-Kollegium'(Supreme Church College).Professor Huschke,of the University of Breslau,became the leader of the synod,and as chief of said 'Supreme Church College', clothed with 'episcopal' powers,claimed such authority in the government of the Church as a divine right".-Lutheran Cyclopedia,Art."Immanuel Synod".

where Grabau was pastor of a Union church and by his meeting with Krause was led to take up the fight against the Union. Krause was a superior mind,but an unfortunately constituted character,the inconsistencies of whose conduct may perhaps be in part explained by his melancholy,moody disposition arising from physical ailments such as eye trouble.[2] Already in 1838 he had sought contact with the Saxons(Stephan),but had failed.[2] In 1838,his Silesian congregation sent him ahead to America to select land for them,although he had preferred Australia. When the congregation reached Hamburg in the spring of 1839,its representatives had entered into negotiations with an Australian company,and some of the congregation decided for Australia,others for America. At this juncture Pastor J.A.A.Grabau arrived with his band of Saxon and Pomeranian Lutherans,bent on going to America. He advised the Silesian congregation,on account of their negotiations(which in reality had not led to anything binding),to go to Australia. He also excluded from fellowship those that demurred and denied them communion. In all, seventy-three of these,in advance of Grabau,took passage for New York and came to Buffalo,where Krause gave them communion and promised to arrange matters with Grabau. Some families went on to Illinois,some to Milwaukee and the wooded country near it,and others remained in Buffalo.[4]

4) "Der Bann der Schlesier" in Nothwehrblatt...Redigiert von Friederich Lochner,Luth. Pastor. Erste bis dritte Folge(Milwaukee,1857-1859),pp.57-60;65,66;73,74;81,82; 89-91.This was a publication suggested and named by Professor C.F.W.Walther as a means of defense against Buffalo when he found it inexpedient to handle this controversial matter in the Lutheraner.--See Walther's Briefe(2 vols.,St.Louis,1915-1916),I,pp.104,108f.

When Grabau arrived, Krause, already sick and tired of America, sailed back to Silesia. On Christmas Eve, 1839, he was again imprisoned. Feeling himself abandoned by his Lutheran brethren, who did not visit him, he lost heart and, again associating with Union pastors, caused the imprisonment of Lutheran pastors, while, of course, he was himself set at liberty. Soon, however, his conscience awoke. He repented and in a humble petition appealed to the Breslau Synod (May, 1840).[2] The Breslau people received him back as a member of the Church, but declined giving him an appointment, advising him to return to America, where he could hold office without offence.[2] Grabau then sent him traveling money and a call, but stipulated that Krause must recognize the exclusion of the Silesians.[4] For Grabau had refused communion to the demurring Silesians, now in Buffalo, and called them a "Rotte" (that is, not members of the Christian Church).[4] The negotiations these families carried on with Grabau ended in their excommunication, and the letter of excommunication sent them under date of September 12, 1841, was signed by Grabau and Krause.[4]

That same fall Krause accepted a call to Freistatt and Milwaukee, Wisconsin.[5] At Freistatt he came in

5) The settlers there had not had a minister and had temporarily engaged the services of a school teacher to serve them with Word and Sacrament. As differences of opinion had arisen as to the situation, it was partly to allay these that Grabau by the end of 1840 had issued his "Hirtenbrief". (See Chapter II, "Buffalo Synod".) The farmers agreed with the "Hirtenbrief"; those in Milwaukee were critical.--Lutheraner, "Beilage zu No. 10, Jahrgang 9", Jan. 4, 1853, pp. 9-12.

contact with the Norwegian Lutherans and, "in the presence of A.Hansen, S.Bakke, Even Hegg, and 'Kirke-forstandere i Freystat' ", on October 18, 1843, examined and ordained Reverend Claus Lauritz Clausen,[6] the first Norwegian Lutheran minister in the first Norwegian settlement in Wisconsin,[7] the Norwegian congregation in Racine and Muskeego counties. In Krause's charge in the summer of 1845 the Synod of Buffalo was organized by Grabau, Krause, Kindermann, and von Rohr.[8]

At Freistatt and Milwaukee, Krause by unwise ministerial action provoked a tempest[9] that rent his congregations and, by creating another opening for Missouri into the Wisconsin field, added fire to the prolonged controversy between Missouri and Buffalo concerning the Church and the ministerial office. At Freistatt in 1845 he excommunicated

6) J.A.Bergh, Den Norsk lutherske Kirke i Amerika (Minneapolis, 1914), pp.16,17.--This note I owe to the courtesy of Dr. Carl M.Weswig of Luther Theological Seminary, St.Anthony Park, St.Paul.

7) "This Mr.Clausen was a Dane. He had intended to become a foreign missionary, but the pious pastor Schrender of Christiania had persuaded him to go and labor as a schoolteacher among the destitute Norwegians in Muskeego. Arriving in 1843, he found them without a minister, church, sermons or sacraments. They implored him to become their pastor. This he was unwilling to do without being regularly examined and ordained. He therefore applied to the German Lutheran pastor, L.F.E.Krause, who was laboring among the Germans near Milwaukee".--Gerberding, Life and Letters of W.A.Passavant, p.204.

8) In 1843 another group of Lutherans had arrived with Pastor Kindermann and settled, some near Watertown, some at Kirchhayn north of Freistatt and east of Cedarburg, Kindermann being stationed at Kirchhayn. Lake Elmo and Waltham, Minnesota, settlers came in part from these congregations.-The Missourians had already in 1844 sent Candidate Geyer to serve a part of the Watertown flock, and on account of this "Geyer case" they were not invited to attend the first Buffalo convention, Buffalo refusing to discuss doctrinal differences until that case was settled. --Lutheraner, see 5).

9) "Bald hatte er hier den tollsten Sturm, zum Teil selbstverschuldet durch unkluges Handeln".--Denef's Letter.

as an adherent of Ehrenstroem a member who, though offering to discuss matters with him, had refused to answer Krause's citation to come and be instructed; and also two recent arrivals for expressing surprise at the vituperative language used by him in the pulpit.[10] That same year he became involved in trouble with his Milwaukee congregation, which had been sending a conveyance for him when he did not get a chance to ride in for services with them. To have his own team for this work, he submitted to them a plan to raise $90 by having every one of one hundred and fifty communicants contribute three cents a week for twenty weeks. When the congregation, unable to agree, offered to have him brought in by a good team every six weeks, he declared their resolution an infringement of his office and all those who had taken part in it excluded from communion until they had publicly begged pardon for their sin. The result was a division, a "Rotte", at both Freistatt and Milwaukee. These applied to the Missouri Synod convened for organization in Chicago, 1847, for an opinion on their case and soon after received a Missouri pastor,[11] and the war between the two synods, with the cry of "Rotte" on one side and of "Papenzerei" (popery) on the other, was on in earnest.

10) Lutheraner, "Beilage zu No.10, Jahrgang 9", Jan.4, 1853, pp.9-12.--Fuerbringer, in this contribution, speaks of Krause (as compared with Grabau and Kindermann) as "scheinbar der unbeugsamste unter den drei, wiewohl auch der geistig ueberlegenere", l.c., p.11.

11) Lutheraner, "Beilage zu No.8, Jahrgang 9", Dec.7, 1853, pp. 1-4.
Erster Synodalbericht der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten vom Jahre 1847, pp.11-13.

His congregation being tired of him, Krause accepted a call to Martinsville, New York, where again he managed to find trouble both with his congregation and his Senior, Grabau, so that in 1850 he severed his connection with his congregation and synod, thinking of returning to Wisconsin or going back to Germany.[12] He received a call, however, from a congregation near Detroit, Michigan, and applied to Missouri to be installed. To qualify himself for admission into Missouri, he in a colloquy with Missouri recanted his former errors concerning the ministerial office and, acknowledging his fault, made his peace with the Missouri congregations at Freistatt, Kirchhayn, and Milwaukee, and was installed by Pastor Schaller.[13] He was present at the next synodical meeting, but there is no record of his being received as a member.[14] It was in vain that he fulminated against his former Buffalo friends, who had now excommunicated him, two brochures: "Priesterherrschaft and Seelenknechtschaft" (Priest Rule and Enslavement of Souls) and "Das entdeckte Geheimniss der Bosheit" (The Mystery of Iniquity Discovered). Missouri did not receive him.[15] It is readily seen that the role of probationer assigned him by the aloofness of Missouri deeply galled the morose, sensi-

12) Denef's Letter.
13) 5. Synodalbericht der Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri etc. vom Jahre 1851, p. 6. Engelmann's Kalender 1853; Kosatka: Roseville, Mich.
14) 6. Synodalbericht etc. 1852, p. 4
In 7. Synodalbericht etc. 1853, Krause is not mentioned.
15) Notwehrblatt, p. 14; Lehre und Wehre, June, 1856, p. 189

The number of members with whom Krause organized St. Martin's Church in Winona was very small. The congregation purchased a piece of property on Fifth Street for one hundred and thirty dollars and erected on it a little church, thirteen by eighteen, which was dedicated on the first Sunday in Advent, 1856. Krause remained only a year and then (not interested in Minnesota farms) returned to New York.[19] [20]

Schriftchen erhobenen Beschuldigungen gegen die P. Grabau, Rohr u. Winkler als Verdaechtigungen u. Verunglimpfung dieser 'Diener Christi', die Milwaukier Gemeinde aber als eine "Rotte", die Trennung der Milwaukeer u. Freistaetter von seiner Seelsorge als eine "rottische Absetzung" u. das 'Gutachten' unserer Synode, dem gegenueber er sich eben 1850 vor unserer Gemeinde schuldig gegeben, nun als 'das boese Thun der missourischen Synode in Chicago' erklaert hatte; -nachdem er also diese 8 Stadien durchlaufen hat, sitzt er hinten in Minnesota, wo er eine zweijaehrige Probezeit als 'Katechet' bestehen soll, um die Aufnahme ins 'Hochwuerdige Ministerium wieder zu erlangen'!" -Nothwehrblatt, May, 1857. pp. 14f.

19) 1856-1906. 50-Jaehriges Jubilaeum der St. Martins-Gemeinde zu Winona, p. 7.

20) Lehre und Wehre, 1859, p. 349, reports Krause as having accepted a call to Pekin, Illinois, and become "at last" a member of the Illinois Synod.

~~54~~ 10

Finished

CHAPTER IV~~I~~.
TWO EXPLORERS.

The year 1856, the year of the great rush into "Suland", marks the real beginning of aggressive mission work in Minnesota so far as German churches are concerned. In the latter part of August or the beginning of September two Lutheran ministers were in St. Paul ~~x~~ in the interest of Lutheran missions. The one, for want of ample funds, had walked up from La Crosse;[1] the other had traveled commodiously by steamer to Red Wing and to St. Paul. The one was a strict Missourian; the other, though a conservative, yet a Lutheran of the General Synod. The one cast just a brief glance at the beauties of nature about him; the other was a man of affairs who looked also into land-warrants, perhaps the most popular reading of the time. The one sought acquaintance with a few Germans of the town; the other established contact with Sibley and Ramsey and other leaders of the community. They may have passed each other in the streets of Red Wing or St. Paul, ~~but one was~~ each unaware of the other's presence. Had they met, they probably would have had in common not much more than a common zeal to extend the Master's kingdom. The one was Rev. Ferd. Sievers of Frankenlust, Michigan, who had been sent by the Missouri Synod to investigate the advisability of establishing a mission among the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota and to look up openings for mission work among the German Lutherans. The other was Rev. W. A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who was interested in the establishment of an English Lutheran church in St. Paul.

1. W. A. Passavant.

The importance of Passavant's visit lies not so much in what he accomplished at the time as rather in the interest in Minnesota aroused or strengthened in him, which later led to the establishment of the Minnesoat Synod. His visit to Minnesota is perhaps best described in his own words. He writes:-

1) Ebenezer, p. 333.

openings for mission work among the German Lutherans. The other was Rev.A.A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who was interested in the establishment of an English Lutheran church in St. Paul.

1. W. A. Passavant.

The importance of Passavant's visit lies not so much in what he accupplished at the time as rather in the interest in Minnesota aroused or strengthened in him, which later led to the establishment of the Minnesota Synod. His visit to Minnesota is perhaps best described in his own words. He writes:-

"The sun shone brightly after the rain, and poured over mount and vale and stream a flood of mellow light, as our steamer came in sight of St.Paul.The first view of the city with the dew and freshness of youth upon it, was truly enchanting.It was finely located upon the west bank of the Mississippi,and although the houses are scattered over nearly two miles of bluff and plain,it appeared from our boat like an old and compact town.

"As we remained in St.Paul for eight days,including two Sabbaths,we had an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with its inhabitants, its resources and its prospects.....

"After thus taking the bearings of the city from different points,and spending some time visiting the suburbs and studying the genius of the place,we came to the conclusion,that the most effective way of doing something for

the cause of Christ and His Church in the Territory, was to commence in this its natural center. Accordingly, after visiting the Honorable Mr. Sibley, at Mendota, and securing his cooperation, which was generously given, we determined, in humble reliance upon the divine aid, to secure a lot for an English Lutheran church as near as possible to the center of the city. We were, however, several years too late to obtain such a site as a gift, although two lots were offered us by owners of land on the edge of the city, on condition, however, that the proposed church should be erected on them. As there was therefor no alternative left but to raise the necessary sum by subscription among the citizens, we spent several weary days in this self-denying work, and although many who it was thought would have favored the enterprise were, unfortunately for us, absent, from the city, twelve gentlemen generously subscribed one hundred dollars each towards the lots, and another, with a truly liberal spirit, presented us with a deed for three acres of ground on a beautiful lake, a mile from the city with the permission either to sell them for a church, or use them hereafter as a site for an orphan house. Had not our time been so limited, this sum might easily have been raised to two thousand dollars, but our engagements at home required a speedy return, and after making arrangements to have the list continued, we devoted the remainder of the time to a selection of a suitable site for the church. Two locations were especially preferred, on account

of their central and commanding position, both being near the State House, and one immediately facing it; but the owners of both were in other parts of the Territory, and we were obliged to defer the actual purchase of one or the other, until their return. In this connection, we cannot omit returning our grateful acknowledgments to the Hon. W.H. Sibley, ex-Governor Ramsey, Messrs. Oaks, Berkey, Mc Kenty, Rohrer, and Levering, who in many ways manifested their interest and warmly co-operated in this undertaking.

"If it be asked whether we found any or many of our English members in St. Paul, we must confess that with the exception of one lady, the daughter of one of our ministers in eastern Pennsylvania, and a few persons whose sympathies are with the Lutheran Church, but who are not members, we found none. There are, no doubt a few of our people here, as in every other western city, but we are certain that so soon as a missionary is on the ground, (which we hope will be in the early Spring) there will be numerous immigrations of our people from the East to this promising place. In addition to those who may immigrate here, there are German Protestants in the city, some of whom would unite with an English Lutheran Church, while not a few of the Norwegians and Swedes, who may acquire our language with great facility, would be happy to identify themselves with an English Lutheran congregation. But there is no lack of

material in St.Paul, for thousands live without Christ and without hope, serving the god of this world; while hundreds of energetic young men from the East who have come here to seek their fortune, are accessible to a faithful minister of the Word, and constitute one of the most hopeful classes for pastoral efforts. And the Church of the Reformation has a work to do in the metropolis of a territory five times the size of Pennsylvania, which will soon be the home of millions of industrious freemen. We cannot be true to ourselves, to our country and to our God, and continue to neglect these centers of population and influence, as we have hitherto done. We must perform our part of the work of molding the heterogeneous masses in our western states, and if we spend our strength in out-of-the-way places, to the neglect of the larger cities, we shall be utterly unable to do our Masterh work.

"It is already late in the day to begin an enterprise which should have been commenced with the very commencement of the city. The difficulties which are now inseparable from such an undertaking are but the consequences of our sinful neglect. But these dare not make us shrink from our obvious duty. Whatever be the cost and the exertions in entering the field at the eleventh hour, it must be done." [1]

1) Gerberding, W.A. Passevant, pp. 364ff.

2.Ferdinand Sievers.

Reverend Ferdinand Sievers made his trip in pursuance of a definite mission policy on the part of the Missouri Synod,which,after contemplating a mission and colony in the Oregon country and,later,in California,directed Sievers,the chairman of its Mission Committee,to explore Minnesota with a view to establishing there a Chippewa mission[1] and organizing German Lutheran congregations.

Together with Miessler,the missionary of the Michigan Chippewa,Sievers visited the Minnesota Chippewa in August,1856,being hospitably received by the Episcopal missionary,Breck,at St.Colombo. Miessler remained among the Chippewa long enough to make arrangements for a new mission at Rabbit Lake. Sievers was back at "Anthony Falls" August

1)The Missouri Synod,at its organization in 1847,established a Mission Committee and instructed the chairman of this Committee to keep his eyes on the founding of new mission stations,"if possible by means of mission colonies"(Synodalbericht,1847,p.14)and commissioned Candidate C.Fricke as "Besucher",visitor.(Fricke,later called Frincke,visiting parts of Ohio,Indiana,northern Illinois,and eastern Wisconsin,found Catholics,Unionists,and Methodists in the latter places,but fewer Lutherans than had been expected). Synod supported the Loche-Leipzig Chippewa mission near Frankenmuth,Michigan,and contemplated for a time a mmm mission and colony in the Oregon country with headquarters in St.Louis to meet visiting chiefs(Synodalbericht, 1848,p.18) and,after acquiring the Frankenmuth mission (Synodalbericht,1849,p.11),a colony and a mission among the Chinese of California(Synodalbericht,1852,p.23). As the Frankenmuth missions did not flourish and the bulk of the Chippewa lived in Minnesota,the Mission Committee recommended,instead of Oregon and California,a mission in Minnesota. The Missouri Synod,its congregations being poor,had lacked the means for pushing those projects; Minnesota appeared more inviting as it was closer at hand and German Lutherans were already settling there. Consequently the Northern District,at its second convention, May 21-27,1856,commissioned Rev.Ferdinand Sievers to explore the Minnesota possibilities.(Bericht,Noerdl.,1856,p.

21,1856,to prosecute the work among the Germans. 2)

2)Three letters by Rev. Ferdinand Sievers describing his trip to Minnesota are apparently the earliest sources relating to the beginnings of the Missouri Synod in Minnesota. In the first one,dated Anthony Falls,August 21,1856, addressed to Professor Walther and published by the latter in the Lutheraner,Sept.9,1856,pp.14-15,he tells of a two-day trip from St.Paul to "the end of civilization",Crow Wing,and from there fifteen miles north to St. Colombo, and mentions a plan to plant a mission near "Mille Lake" among about five hundred Chippewa living there. He asks Walther for a young man or two to prepare for the work and believes it possible to start a German settlement on Mille Lake,especially as a railroad from St.Paul to Superior through Anthony Falls,St.Cloud,Mille Lake will probably soon be an accomplished fact. He also hopes to do something in Anthony Falls and Minneapolis,although the majority of the Germans there are either Catholic or not interested in church,and plans on leaving for home soon after Sept.7 and traveling via Milwaukee,leaving Miessler behind to examine the field more in detail and to follow by way of Lake Superior.

The second letter,called "Report concerning a Missionary Journey into Minnesota Territory during August and September,1856",appeared in the Lutheraner,February 10,pp.99-101;February 24,pp.109-111;and March 10,1857, pp.116-117. After calling attention to the increasing,and very largely Lutheran,immigration into Minnesota and to his commission from the District Synod at Detroit to begin work among the German Lutherans and to establish a Chippewa mission in Minnesota,he submits first the details of the trip to the Chippewa in the form of a letter from Miessler to the Mission Committee. Miessler speaks very favorably of Breck's Episcopal mission at St.Colombo. He had not gone to Mille Lake,however,as had been agreed upon. At St.Colombo,his interpreter,Gruet,had met a relative,whose elder brother,Manitowab,after refusing to act as guide single-handed through the Sioux country to Lake Superior,had induced Miessler to visit Rabbit Lake,where the latter had promised the Indians to establish a mission.(Lutheraner,February 10,1857,pp.99-101.) The rest of the letter relates Sievers's visit to the German settlements(Lutheraner,February 24,pp.109-111,and March 10,1857,pp.116-117.).

The third letter,written August 24,1881,for the twenty-fifth anniversary of Trinity First Lutheran Church of Minneapolis,is extant in manuscript and helps fix the localities visited by him in 1856.(Manuscript Letter.)

On his way back from St.Colombo and Crow Wing,Sievers canvased ST.CLOUD for Lutherans,but found one part of the pretty and growing town inhabited by Americans and the other exclusively by Roman Catholic Germans.[3] At ST.ANTHONY FALLS he found numerous Germans,but was unable to organize a congregation among them,the Germans there and in Minneapolis being either Catholic or uninterested in church.[4] He did succeed,however,in organizing a congregation on the basis of the Symbolical Books with a little group in MINNEAPOLIS,consisting of two heads of families and one unmarried young man. With these he first studied the three Ecumenical Creeds and the Augsburg Confession to assure himself that they were in full accord with the Confessions of the Lutheran Church. Two services,announced by poster,were held in the Minneapolis Land Office,but only nine persons attended. In order to have a resident pastor soon,"the head of the one family declared that the Lord had hitherto blessed him in his trade as carpenter and joiner,that he owned a house and city lot in Minneapolis,that he offered to enlarge his house that very fall,in order to obtain a respectable dwelling for the greatly desired pastor and his family,that,furthermore,he would board them free of charge the entire year,for as long as God granted him anything he

3) Lutheraner,Feb.24,1857,pp.109-111.
4) Ibid.,Sept.9,1856,pp.14,15;Feb.24,1857,pp.109-111.

was glad to share it with the pastor; and that, finally, he would pay the traveling expenses of the pastor to Minneapolis and obtain for him a good, new clergyman's gown".[5] This little group was the beginning of the oldest Missouri Synod congregation in Minnesota.[6]

After visiting the Falls of St. Anthony at a place where a beautiful stone bridge was being built, Sievers visited a settlement of North German Lutherans farmers about sixteen miles from town and held services and communion with them. There were other Lutheran settlers in the neighborhood from Baden, Wuertemberg, and the Palatinate; but these showed traces of unionism and rationalism and did not attend the services. One man had come a considerable distance with his son to partake of communion; but, as he saw no difference between "Reformed" and "Lutheran", he was not admitted. The North Germans desired to be served as a branch of the Minneapolis congregation and, though poor, contributed towards Sievers's traveling expenses.[7] This group remained a Missouri Synod congregation and is later in the Missouri publications referred to as the congregation at CORCORAN-TOWN and MAPLE GROVE.[8]

5) Lutheraner, Feb. 24, 1857, pp. 109-111.
6) The names of these first members of Trinity First Lutheran Church of Minneapolis are given by Sievers as Fr. Krueckeberg, and his wife; Johannes Fr. Duehren and his wife; and Carl Schulz.-Manuscript Letter of Aug. 24, 1881.
7) Lutheraner, Feb. 24, 1857, pp. 109-111.
8) The little group is safely identified as that of Corcorantown and Maple Grove. A description of conditions there in Lutheraner, June 1, 1865, pp. 146-148, and a report of a church dedication at Corcorantown in Lutheraner, Sept. 1, 1866, p. 7, "contributed by a member of the congregation", are clearly by a minister, viz., the former Missouti Synod and later Minnesota Synod pastor J.N. Volkert,

Visiting Minnehaha Falls on the way, Sievers went to ST.PAUL and, having met Wier there, preached for him and encouraged the congregation to establish true Lutheranism, but he would not interfere further. The steamboat "Wave" took him to SHAKOPEE, where he urged the Lutherans to form a congregation, but did not remain long as Wier had already done missionary work there. The country about Chaska and CARVER, at the edge of the Big Woods, he found settled by many Germans, among whom, besides Moravians and Unionists, there were many Lutherans. Sievers does not mention any arrangements for organizing a congregation, but the Carver county settlers were the first to be supplied with a preacher by Missouri. From Carver, Sievers continued on to HENDERSON, to which place he had been directed by Wier, who, on

---

who at the time lived on a farm at Corcorantown. The report of the dedication says that the congregation "in times immemorial" had been gathered by Rev. Sievers and then served by Horst and Rolf successively. In addition to that, Sievers' letter of Aug.24,1881, says the place he visited sixteen miles from Minneapolis was known as the "Schuette Settlement" and names as communicants at the time Herman Schuette, Friedrich Reinking, Clemens Adolf Schuette, Friedrich Schuette, and Heinrich Rudolf Schaefer. All these were demonstrably settlers of Corcorantown. The Schuettes were Hanoverians. Friedrich Schuette, by the way, was a brother of the late Dr.C.H.L.Schuette, president of the Joint Synod of Ohio, and during the Election controversy sought to keep his illustrious brother on the Missouri side.--From the Sievers letter (Lutheraner, Feb.24,1857, pp.109-111) one might be led to regard the country visited by him as prairie; but, while there was prairie between Corcoran Town and Minneapolis and again six miles or so from Corcoran at Osseo, known as Bottineau's Prairie, Corcoran Town was in the Big Woods.--Lutheraner, Sept.1,1866, p.7.

account of the distance,had been unable to follow an invitation received from there. Some six or eight miles west of Henderson,scattered about a plawe called PRAIRIE MOUND,he found several hundred families who called themselves Lutheran.[9] The services were attended by twenty to thirty families. A Moravian,to whom he denied communion,created a disturbance;but fifteen men went into the Augsburg Confession and the Ecumenical Symbols with him and requested him to draft a constitution. As Methodists were working in the community,the Lutherans desired a preacher soon.[10] Then Sievers set out on foot for St.Peter and on the way heard of Lutherans near Le Sueur,but was unable to visit them. At ST.PETER,he baptized a child,left a brief draft of a constitution,and continued on through the magnificent forests to the country between FARIBAULT and CANNON FALLS,where he visited some German Lutheran families. Some of these had come from Cooper's Grove near Chicago and were staunch Lutherans,but they also complained of a Methodist preacher who had represented himself as a Lutheran. At RED WING,many Lutherans had joined the Methodists. A few Lutherans,however,met for service and communion. The Lutheran Confessions were discussed and accepted,and the organization of a congregation was agreed upon. Then return to Michigan.[11]

9) Lutheraner, Feb.24,1857,pp.109-111.
10) & 11) Ibid., March 10,1857,pp.116-117.

CHAPTER V.

THE MISSOURI SYNOD IN MINNESOTA 1857-1862.

1. GERMAN CHURCHES.

The places visited by Sievers: Minneapolis, Corcoran, St. Paul, Shakopee, Carver, Prairie Mound (near Henderson), St. Peter, Faribault, Red Wing, (all within the Big Woods), constituted a program which, considering the incessant stream of immigrant accessions, called for the most vigorous prosecution of missionary work. It is surprising, therefore, that Missouri did not follow up Sievers's successful scouting with an aggressive battalion of men. Manifestly, both men and means were lacking. Aside from C. Cloeter,[1] who was sent to Crow Wing to labor among the Chippewa, only one man was sent into the Minnesota field, Candidate F. Kaimeyer, who, being ordained August 19, 1857, at Cooper's Grove, Illinois, left the next day for Minnesota and took up work at Carver, Carver County, Minnesota Territory.[2] He did the pioneer work from which sprang the numerous congregations in Carver County. Besides that, on the history of Trinity First Lutheran Church of Minneapolis records,[3] he began in August, 1857, that is, immediately after his arrival in Carver, "to serve Trinity congregation regularly every third week, walking from Carver County

1) See discussion of Cloeter's work later.
2) Lutheraner, September 8, 1857, p. 15.
3) Trinity Messenger, Minneapolis, 1926, p. 4.

to Minneapolis.[4] For two years Kahmeyer was the only Missouri Lutheran pastor among the Germans of Minnesota. In 1859 two more men were put into the field. Candidate John Horst of the Fort Wayne seminary was ordained and installed by Kahmeyer in Minneapolis[5] June 5, 1859, and Candidate John Paul Rupprecht of the same seminary by Kahmeyer and Horst at Prairie Mound, Henderson Post Office, on June 26, 1859.[6] The congregation at Prairie Mound, which had waited three years for a pastor of its own, was vacant again in 1860,[7] Rupprecht having gone to Hamburg, Carver County.[8] Upon Horst's request, Professor Craemer of Fort Wayne sent Candidate A.E. Winter in February, 1861, to serve as traveling missionary, and Winter, having received a call, was ordained by Horst, July 14, 1861, and had his headquarters in Minneapolis.[9]

4) F.W. Kahmeyer was born of pious parents at Hoerringhausen, Hannover, Germany, December 18, 1826, and early lost his father. Having discovered the doctrine of justification by faith from a sermon of Luther's on the Gospel for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, he decided to become a missionary, and, when his mother at last consented, left for America in 1854 to enter Fort Wayne seminary. As a result, no doubt, of the exertions, privations, and hardships of his work he went into early decline, being obliged to relinquish his work in 1864 and dying October 9, 1865. Lutheraner, November 1, 1865, pp. 39-40.
5) Lutheraner, July 12, 1859, p. 192
6) Ibid., July 12, 1859, p. 192.
7) Rupprecht is reported without office in the Allgemeine Bericht, October 1860, pp. 70 f. and there designated as traveling missionary for Minnesota; but before Horst could acquaint him with the synodical resolution, he had already accepted a call. Lutheraner, August 6, 1861, p. 206.
8) Geschichte der Emanuels-Gemeinde zu Hamburg, pp. 82f.
9) Lutheraner, August 6, 1861, p. 206.

Horst and Winter kept their eyes on the country south of St.Paul and Minneapolis.[10] In Town Hart, Winona County, a congregation of Low Germans[11] had sprung up and been served somewhat by Albrecht Brandt.[12] When, owing to malignant eye trouble, Brandt resigned,[13] Horst installed there and in a branch congregation in the same county, March 5, 1862, H.C.F. Grupe,[14] whom a few months before he had ordained and installed for Durond and Pepin County, Wisconsin.[15] A.E.Winter was soon called to St.John's at Prairie Mound, Sibley County, and installed by Horst, May 18, 1862.[16]

In the summer of 1862, then, the following Missouri ministers were laboring in Minnesota: O.Cloeter at Crow Wing, F.Kohnmeyer in Carver County, J.Horst in Minneapolis, J.P. Supprecht at Hamburg in ~~Carver~~ County, A.E.Winter at Prairie Mound in Sibley County, and H.F.Grupe at Town Hart in Winona County, - six men, as many as made up Keyer's Synod in 1860; but they were a live, active, and enthusiastic group of young men.

2. The Chippewa Mission at Gabitawegama.

The Chippewa mission planned by Ferdinand Sievers and Miessler for Rabbitt Lake was also taken up during this

10) Professor A.Cramer, informed by Winter warns against one Grussendorf at Red Wing. Lutheraner, Dec. 11, 1861, p. 71.
11) Missouri Synod, Minnesota and Olmsted Counties, 1883, p. 608.
12) See "First Comers" and Minnesota Synod" in 1856.
13) Brandt had written to Cramer and Walther for a preacher, and they instructed Grupe of Pepin County, Wisconsin to look Brandt up. - St. John's Lutheran Messenger, Town Hart, April, 1926.
14) Lutheraner, Apr. 30, 1862, p. 160.
15) Lutheraner, Nov. 13, 1861, p. 54.
16) Lutheraner, June 25, 1862, p. 183.

period. Rev. Ottomar Cloeter of Saginaw City, Michigan,[17] a member of the Missouri Synod Mission Committee, volunteered for the mission and left Saginaw City, May 28, 1857. He reached Crow Wing, June 12, accompanied by his family as well as by Miessler, who was to introduce him to the Indians, and by Henry Creamer, who, as the son of the former Chippewa missionary in Michigan, Professor Creamer, knew the language and was to serve for a time as interpreter.[18] At Fort Ripley he met Brock, the Episcopal missionary, who had been maltreated by the Indians and was about ready to quit.[19] Removal to Rabbit Lake was delayed some time. Cloeter was beginning to think of a central mission station with farm and school, from which the roving bands could be visited. Life among the Indians was not easy. There was drunkenness and murder, especially after the payment. Grasshoppers had destroyed the crops in 1856 and 1857 and provisions were high. The progress of the work and its hardships and difficulties, one of which was learning the Chippewa language, are described in letters written by the missionary to Ferdinand Sievers, the chairman of the Mission committee, and in other reports.[20] On May 5, 1858,

17) Prof. C.H. Grossmann of Loehe's Teachers' Seminary at Saginaw, one of the founders of the Iowa Synod in 1854, had been a member of Cloeter's congregation.

18) Lutheraner, September 22, 1857, pp. 17-18.

19) Lutheraner, October 6, 1857, pp. 29-31.

20) Lutheraner, September & October 6, 1857, March 23, December 20, 1858; January 11 & 25, 1859; January 10, February 7, 1860; October 2, 16, November 13, 1861; October 1, 1862; October 15, November 1, 1863; July 1, 1866; November 1, 1866; August 1, 15, 1868.

he writes that he is living at Kabitawegama, about fifteen miles from Breck's St.Colombo mission, and mentions war parties of three hundred men to fight the Sioux.[21] At another time he gives an interesting account of a trip to Leech Lake and the Pillager country.[22] In 1860, he says it is all but impossible to get the Gospel to the Indians, and, of course, they persist in their ancient mode of living.[23] Again he describes the immoralities of Indian life.[24] By the aid of a friendly chief the missionary and his family escaped without serious injury, though with great loss, during the outbreak of 1862.[25] After the outbreak he continued the mission from Crow Wing for a time. Acting on the resolution of the Missouri Synod in the fall of 1866 to continue the Indian Missions until the Lord Himself should stop them, Cloeter in 1867 built a log house on Moose Water Lake. But the removal of the Chippewa to the Red River and to White Oak Point above Pokegama in 1867 put an end to all hopes of success, and in 1868 the mission was regarded as ended by the Mission Committee and Cloeter advised to accept a call to some congregation in Minnesota.[26] "The Missionary

21) Lutheraner, October 19, 1858.
22) l.c., December 28, 1858; January 11, 25, 1859.
23) Lutheraner, January 10, 1860.
24) l.c., February 7, 1860.
25) Lutheraner, October 1, 1862, pp 20-21.
26) Lutheraner, August 1, 1868, pp.180-182, August 15,pp.187-88.

made long tours through the wild country.....The confidence of many heathen was soon won by his evident sincerity." says Keiser.[27] But the mission was not a success, and its only permanent result seems to be a number of geographical names on the site of the former mission.[28]

27) Albert Keiser, Lutheran Mission Work among the American Indians, (Minneapolis, 1928), p.93.

28) Rev. O. Cloeter of Vernon Center, Minnesota, a son of the missionary, writes in a letter of October 31, 1926: "My father came to Minnesota in the summer of 1857. He was to take up the mission among the Chippewa Indians. He made his first stop at Crow Wing, this town being the northernmost outpost of civilization in Minnesota at that time. But in the same year he built a house about thirty miles north of Crow Wing, and settled there with his family. Here a short description of the place where he settled: About thirty miles north of Crow Wing and about fourteen miles north of the present site of Brainerd you will find on the west side of the Mississippi river a lake, or rather two twin lakes. They are about one mile west of the river and run parallel with the river for about eight miles. The Indians called the strip of land Gabitaweegama, meaning parallel waters. On this strip of land father settled, and gave the mission the name of Gabitaweegama, the accent on the antepenultima. To-day the above-mentioned lakes are called Mission Lakes; the creek that empties from the southern lake into the Mississippi is called Mission Creek; besides there is a Mission P.O., and a Mission township, all named for my father's mission station. We lived there until August, 1862, when the Indian War broke out. We had to leave our home, and after a three day's journey through the woods we came to Fort Ripley, about eight miles south of Crow Wing. There we stayed until after the war. After the war we did not return to our old home, but settled at Crow Wing. From here father continued his work among the Indians until 1868, when this mission was discontinued for lack of funds. Father then accepted a call to Afton in Washington County."

CHAPTER VI.

THE MINNESOTA SYNOD 1857-1862.

1. Father Meyer and Trinity Church in St. Paul.

It was not until the fall of 1857 that Dr. Passavant "succeeded in obtaining the services of an admirable minister for St. Paul", one, too, who would "probably accept a call from the German Lutheran congregation there".[1] On account of the financial panic people were leaving St. Paul rather than moving into it. But a beginning had to be made, and Passavant had found the man he had reason to believe qualified to make it. "It is none other than Father Meyer, late of India," he wrote to his friend Norelius of Red Wing.

Father Meyer was sixty-four years of age. His life had been a busy and interesting one. Born at Helmstedt, in the duchy of Brunswick, Germany, July 10, 1793, Johann Carl Friedrich Meyer had been sent in 1807, after confirmation, to Philadelphia by his parents. There, while working at the hatter's trade, Fritz Meyer had become interested in Sunday school work and had also read theology with Dr. Helmuth and Dr. F. D. Schaeffer. He had returned to Germany when Napoleon had escaped from Elba and was raising a new army. He had studied theology at Goettingen for two years and had held to his belief amid the surrounding rationalism. Having returned to America in 1817, he had labored for the Pennsylvania Ministerium for nearly

1) Passavant's letter to Norelius, October 23, 1857.

twenty-five years in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and even Illinois and beyond the Mississippi; and he had been active in the promotion of Sunday schools and home missions. From 1842 to 1857, with one intermission, he had served as the first American Lutheran missionary in India and now, after visiting Mount Sinai, the Egyptian pyramids, and the sacred places in the Holy Land, had come home to rest from his labors.[2]

Dr. Passavant since his student days had known Heyer[3] and did not miscalculate when he suggested the work in Minnesota to him; for Heyer's temperament made him ever ready to venture into new territory[4] in the Lord's cause. Thus, appointed in October, 1857, by the Home Missionary Society[5] of the General Synod, he set out for Minnesota[6] early in November, 1857.

On November 22, 1857, Heyer preached his first sermon in St. Paul in a school house near what was then Fort Street in the upper or western part of the town before a small gathering of twenty-five or thirty persons. A week later he preached an English sermon in the stone school house on Eighth Street, First Ward. The Christmas Day service was attended by nearly one hundred persons.

2) Gerberding, Passavant, p. 367.
W. Wackernagel, art. Heyer, The Lutheran Cyclopedia.
W. A. Lambert, Life of Rev. J. F. C. Heyer, (Philadelphia, 1903).
3) Heyer had in 1857 organized Passavant's later English charge in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Gerberding, Passavant, p. 113. See also l. c., p. 43.
4) H. E. Jacobs, History of the Evangelical Luth. Church in the U. S., p. 381
5) Jacobs, l. c., p. 437. Heyer in Kirchenbuch of Trinity Church.
6) Letter of Passavant to Morelius, November 11, 1857.

The attendance grew rapidly. In February, 1858, the congregation purchased a lot at Tenth and Wabasha Streets for $1,500, and in spring began the erection of a stone building fifty by eighty feet. The second floor was to serve for church purposes and the lower for a school, confirmation class, and pastor's residence. But as the financial stress of the times continued longer than expected, only the lower half of the church, forty by fifty, was completed sufficiently to serve for worship. On Pentecost, 1858, Meyer confirmed sixteen young persons in the Court House. On October 17, 1858, the first service was held in the new church. Between ninety and one hundred persons attended communion on December 26, 1858. With forty-seven baptisms during his first year and fifty pupils in the Sunday school instructed in both German and English, the "Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherisch Dreifaltigkeits Gemeinde, U.A.C., von St. Paul, Minnesota" was taking on life, although Passavant's wish that an English Lutheran pastor might be stationed in St. Paul by the spring of 1858 [7] had not been realised. Easter Sunday, April 24, 1859, witnessed the largest gathering since the inception of the congregation, not far from three hundred persons being present, so that since November 22, 1857, the attendance had increased tenfold. At the end of May, 1860, Meyer left for the East to collect

7) Letter of Passavant to Norelius, October 23, 1857.

money for the congregation, returning in good health November 26, with about twelve hundred dollars for continuing the church building. On account of his absence and the almost complete cessation of immigration to Minnesota in this year, the congregation had not grown. But building operations on the church were continued during the summer of 1861, and two acres of land were purchased near Lake Como for four hundred dollars for a cemetery. But the old workman was wishing for a rest. On November 17, 1861, he announced that, inasmuch as the work he had come to do had, with the help of God, been accomplished, he desired to turn the work over to another Lutheran minister in May, 1862, and nominated Pastor Fachtmann of La Crosse, Wisconsin, as his successor. This is the work of "Father Heyer" in St. Paul, as sketched by himself in the Kirchenbuch der Deutscher Evangelisch Lutherischen Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde von St. Paul, Minnesota, from 1857 to 1862.

The internal organization of the congregation, as reflected by the "Statuten" adopted January 31, 1858, and augmented January 31, 1861, was modeled on the General Synod constitutions of the time. It made the Church Council supreme in the congregation, with power to call a pastor and to conduct church discipline, and recognized the Minister's Conference or Synod as a supreme

judiciary.[8]

Meyer considered himself a conservative Lutheran. His motto was:

Gottes Wort und Luther's Lehr,
Vergehet nun und nimmermehr!

He had in his earlier days been a moderate advocate of the "new measures" and had fellowshipped Christians of various denominations.[9] He had changed considerably since that time, but he still admitted Reformed to communion in his church.[10]

8)"Additions," Chapter I. p. 2:"In case of a charge against a minister of immoral conduct or false doctrine, the church council shall....if that proves unavailing, place the matter before the ministers' conference; and according to the resolution of the conference the president of Synod may suspend the minister for the time being until the Synod decides the matter." .....
"The church council alone has the right to extend an invitation for a trial sermon," l.c., Chapter II, page three.
"All business of the congregation is transacted by this body."(Except where church property is involved...) l.c., Chapter III, p.13.

9)Lambert, Life of Meyer, pp.35f.etc.

10)A number of members, having withdrawn from Trinity under Meyer's successor, Fachmann, and organized a new, Missouri congregation, on July 1, 1864, sent a statement of the reasons for their withdrawal to the Church Council of Trinity church, in which they say:"Already at the time when Pastor Meyer served the congregation, we were pained to notice that the Lutheran Confessions were not observed, since, for example, Reformed,as well as Lutherans participated in one church and at one altar in the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, without the formers', that is , the Reformed, having been instructed and convinced of their false doctrine of the Lord's Supper". Protokoll-Buch der Zions-Gemeinde, pp. 14 and 15.

a practice that would give offense to the Missourians. A paragraph in the "Statuten" denying the right of officiating in the church to ministers who will not extend the same right to the pastor of the "Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde" may be directed against the Missouri preachers.[11] Another paragraph requiring a two thirds vote for introducing "antiquated, long-discontinued church usages"[12] would seem to have reference to Wier, who was splitting the church at Lake Mimo (Saytown) by his insistence on "private confession".[13]

Father Meyer was sufficiently well situated to be able to assist the congregation with loans at various times[14] and to leave at last a bequest of one thousand dollars, the interest on which at six per cent was for ever to be devoted to the support of Widows and Orphans.[15]

11) "Statuten", Chapter I, number four, Trinity.
12) Ibid., Chapter II, number five, Trinity.
13) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 60.
14) Trinity Record; Church Council, May 5, 1862, loan of $200; Church Council, October 4, 1863; Paid to Meyer $210.73 and mortgage canceled; etc.
15) A copy of the bequest is given in the Appendix.

"Buchmann's faithful abettor in this furthering of divisions (Rotten) was a certain Meyer, a former Missionary; at present skilled practitioner of usury and speculation. Under the pretense of giving spiritual assistance to the scattered preacherless Lutherans he for many years traversed America:-but wherever he went, practised indifference to the Confessions; being concerned most zealously, not for the glory of God and the welfare of souls, but for his money-making. With the capital thus acquired he then began an extended business in lots and land, and offered and loaned further moneys at 12 %; but only "from Christian brotherly love", as he puts it. This trade he still carried on in Minnesota in the fall of this year, 1863. It is not surprising, accordingly, that such a character-on the love of money is the root of all evil, I Tim. 6, 10-should so sedulously assist in Buchmann's godless doings".
"Zeugnisse fuer die Wahrheit". (Minutes of the) Concordia Synode von Amerika (La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1863)

2. Father Heyer and the Minnesota Synod.

During the period of his pastorate in St. Paul, Father Heyer is said to have done a great deal of missionary work in other places.[1] Kuhn, an early member of the Minnesota Synod, writes of him: "Er bereiste mit rastlosem Eifer und unter viel Beschwerden Minnesota, gruendete Predigtstationen und organisierte Gemeinden".[2] It is, however, impossible from the sources at the writer's disposal to determine with any accuracy the localities visited by him. In 1858 he is reported to have preached at Lanesburg,[3] known in the earlier days as Sand Creek; in 1859, at Jordan, Scott County, every three months.[4] On March 6, 1860, he held communion at Prescott.[5] In 1861, he dedicated a church at Red Wing. He was, of course, also acquainted with affairs in St. John's at Baytown (Lake Elmo) near Stillwater, which Wier had started in 1855 and which Blumer served from 1858 to 1860.[6] As he did not in 1858 know the brethren "south

1) The Church Book and Records of Trinity Church are singularly uncommunicative on this point. That he was occasionally absent over Sunday is clear from the resolution of the Church Council, August 11, 1861, that a "Reader" be appointed to serve in the pastor's absence. Communion at Prescott, Wisconsin on March, 1860, is noted.
2) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p.4.
3) l.c., p.139.
4) l.c., p.131.
5) l.c., p.196.
6) l.c., p. 60.

from Red Wing ", Mallinson, Krause, and Brand,[7] it may be assumed that Heyer's circuit was in the Big Woods south of the Minnesota River. Dr. Jacobs writes: "Over the prairies of Minnesota he went, sometimes, as in India, in primitive ox-cart, baptizing children, preaching, and prospecting for places in need of Lutheran pastors, until at length, in a few years, the Synod of Minnesota was the result."[8] The statement is perhaps a bit rhetorical. Heyer traveled in the Big Woods; and, while he was the founder of the Minnesota Synod such as it was, it was not the result of his missionary work, not one of the congregations represented having been founded by him.

To carry out the ideas of his friend Passavant, Father Heyer busied himself about bringing together all the Lutherans of Minnesota, irrespective of nationality, into one Synod of Minnesota on the basis of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Passavant figured on Heyer and Wier (German), Norelius, Cedarstam, and Beckman (Swedes), and Scheije (Norwegian), and possibly Brand (German) of Winona, who, like Wier, had been a member of the Indianapolis Synod. Passavant thought it useless to figure on two English brethren, Mallinson and Thomson, as these would probably not be willing to join a synod with a true Lutheran basis.[9] Thomson, however,

7) Letter to Rev. E. Norelius of Red Wing, April 21, 1858.
8) Jacobs, Lutheran Church in the United States, p. 438.
9) Letter of Passavant to Norelius, February 18, 1858: "Br. Heyer and I have been corresponding for some time past in regard to the organization of a Lutheran Synod in Minnesota. What think you of it? It is yet a secret, and nothing must be said of it in public".

lonesome on his claim at East Prairieville near Owatonna or Cannon City, whether on his own initiative or at Meyer's suggestion, invited several brethren to meet at his place to form a Lutheran Synod of Minnesota.[10] Meyer also received a letter from F.R.Scherer, who proposed Davenport or Lyons as the place of meeting, and Meyer thought July fourth would be a good time to meet at Thomson's.[11] In a letter to Norelius, Meyer again names the ministers figured on by Passavant and adds Krause,[12] besides stating that he has heard of a German brother in the Carver County region and that there is a Rev.O.Cloeter at Crow Wing, a missionary among the Indians, who could hardly be expected to attend; he also sends a "Notice" to be inserted in the papers for a meeting at Thomson's on July fourth.[13] Thomson, whom Meyer regarded as "piously inclined" though not as yet a "sound theologian",[14] voiced very freely his opposition to "symbolism and formalism" and his satisfaction with the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, being "heartily sick of this Church controversy" and desiring "mutual concession".[15] Opposition to the entire plan was expressed very emphatically in the Swedish camp by Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson, who feared liberal Lutheranism

10) Thomson to Norelius, March 8, 1858.
11) F.R., a son of Rev. D. Scherer of Hillsboro, Illinois, whom Meyer had met in 1836. Meyer to Norelius, March 14, 1858.
12) Of Winona; but not there in 1858.
13) Meyer to Norelius, April 14, 1858.
14) Meyer to Norelius, April 21, 1858.
15) Thomson to Norelius, May 5, 1858.

in the proposed synod and felt that the needs of their own nationality could best be served by remaining separate.[16] At this stage, Passavant advised the organization rather of a Church Union or conference which would avoid all misunderstandings and tend to unite the sentiment of the Church.[17]

The proposed conference met July 5, 1850, in the Swedish Lutheran church of Rev. E. Norelius at Red Wing, "the Swedish barn",[18] C.F. Meyer calling it to order. Those present were:-

C.F.Meyer	of the old Pennsylvania Synod
Albrecht Brandt	of the Indianapolis Synod
Wm.Wier	of the Buffalo Synod
Wm. Thomson	of the English Synod of Ohio
P.A.Cederstom	of the North Illinois Synod
E. Norelius	of the North Illinois Synod
Licentiate P.Beckman	of the North Illinois Synod
Licentiate P. Carlsson	of the North Illinois Synod

Meyer was elected chairman, and Thomson secretary. It was pointed out that there were fifteen congregations with pastors and four vacant ones, and many new ones could be organized. Meyer, Thomson, Wier, and Brandt were ready to organize the new synod; but the Swedish ministers were not. because such a step might be interpreted as a schism. It

16) E.Norelius, De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas, pp.840-848.
17) Passavant to Norelius, May 19, 1858; June 26, 1858.
18) Norelius, l.c.p.660.

seems that Meyer and those with him, even Thomson, "resolved that we now proceed to organize an Evangelical Lutheran Synod on the basis of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, as this confession is understood in agreement with the other symbolical books of our church, and that it be called the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Minnesota".[19] What, however, the four brethren may have proceeded to do, the "Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Minnesota and Adjacent States" was not actually founded until the late fall (November) of 1860, and then in St. Paul by Meyer, Blumer, Brandt, Wier, Thomson, and Mallinson.[20]

19) Norelius, l.c., pp. 846f.
20) Proceedings, General Council, 1867, p.5 say November. Geschichte der Minnesota Synod says summer; p. 4.

3. The Minnesota Synod.

The new synod, when finally established, was apparently little more than a name, a "Ministers' Conference", and four of the six members were farming preachers. It seems the minutes of 1863 were the first ones to be printed.[1] G. Fachtmann, Heyer's successor in St. Paul, writes, April 7, 1863, that the Lutheran preachers of the state have been invited to meet for the purpose of organizing a Lutheran Synod.[2] He refers to this meeting of 1863 as a "gathering of members of an earlier Lutheran Synod of Minnesota, consisting of eight members."[3] Pastor Blumer, one of the founders in 1860, attended the sessions of 1864 as an "honorary member".[4] The conference, or Synod, probably met to discuss the apportionment of subsidies granted by the General Synod agencies.

As to the work done in the Minnesota Synod in 1862, we are able to trace in part only that done by Heyer, Wier, and Blumer.

1) A. R. Wentz infers from Verhandlungen der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Minnesota, 1864, p. 8, that these minutes were the first to be printed. But the Minutes of the Concordia Synod, 1863, p. 11, speak of a "gedruckten Bericht" of the Minnesota Synod.
2) Letter to Bading, President of the Wisconsin Synod, April 7, 1863.
3) Fachtmann to Reim, September 22, 1863.
4) Verhandlungen, Minnesota Synod, 1864, p. 3.

Of Heyer's work the writer has already written. Adam Blumer is mentioned by Kuhn as the "eigentlicher Pionier", "der sich mit viel Selbstverleugnung, Zeit und Kraft dem Dienste der Synode widmete".[5] We find him in 1858-1860 preaching in Baytown, Washington County,[6] where he had relatives, and then at Shakopee, from where he served Jordan once a month.[7] He also, no doubt, did his hard work in the Big Woods. He is reported to have been Reformed. The Census of 1860 lists him as a Protestant Episcopal clergyman at Shakopee, born in Switzerland, thirty-two years of age, with two sons born in Iowa.[8]

Wier continued to live on his farm about two miles west of Inver Grove in Dakota County. From this place he would seem to have served the St. Paul congregation until Heyer became its pastor in 1857. In the Baytown settlement, near Stillwater, in Washington County, he preached, since August 19, 1855, for about a year or two. Then a split occurred, and Adam Blumer appears as the pastor of one faction from the fall of 1858 to 1860. As Wier, during these years, baptized children for Gerd H. Lohmann, John Lohmann, and John H. Lohmann in Baytown,[9] it is evident that, in the split, either the Lohmanns (Hanoverians) went with Wier or Wier went with the Lohmanns. When in 1860 the

5) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 4.
6) Ibid., p. 60.
7) Ibid., p. 131
8) Census of 1860.
9) Kirchen-Buch der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen St. Paulus-Gemeinde in Washington County, Minnesota.

congregation reunited, Wier again was pastor. In 1856, according to Siervers,[10] Wier had already done mission work at Shakopee, and he probably continued it intermittently. When, in July, 1858, the conference of Lutheran ministers met in the Swedish Lutheran church at Red Wing to organize a synod, a number of German Lutherans of Red Wing applied to the conference for some provision to supply their spiritual destitution; and of the three German pastors present (Heyer, Wier, and Brandt) Wier volunteered to serve these people and preached for them the Sunday after the conference and thereafter twice a year, in spring and in fall, until 1861.[11] In 1860, then, Wier again served both Inver Grove and Baytown. In the latter place, the church begun by Blumer was finished and dedicated on Pentecost, 1861.[12]

In 1862, difficulties arose over Wier's attempt to abolish general confession and require private confession of all. At a meeting held on July 8, 1862, the pastors

10) Lutheraner, February 24, 1857, pp. 109-111.
11) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode pp. 194-196.
12) l.c., p. 60.

Krause, then again in Winona, and Carl Jungk were present and seconded Wier's demand. The majority of the members objected, however, not, indeed, forbidding private confession to those who preferred it, but insisting on the continuance of the general confession. When Wier and his followers (Lohmanns) would not recognize any other than private confession, the congregation did not permit him to officiate any longer in its midst.[13] This marks the exit of Wier from the Minnesota Synod.

13) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 60f.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MINNESOTA SYNOD 1862-1870.

1. 1862-1866.

When G. Fachtmann of La Crosse became Heyer's successor at Trinity in St. Paul, June 1, 1862,[1] he found the Minnesota Synod to be a rather sorry affair. With four of its six members (Wier, Brandt, Thomsson, and Mallinson) engaged in farming and Heyer himself an old man, it was no match for the active and enthusiastic young missionaries Missouri was putting into the field. In addition to that, Brandt of Winona County, an elderly lay-preacher, had already in 1861 applied to the Missouri Synod for a pastor for Town Hart, and as a result Grupe had been sent there in March, 1862.[2] A month after Fachtmann's arrival in St. Paul, Wier, having been asked to cease serving St. John's at Baytown, Washington County, on account of his insistence on "private confession", started an opposition congregation. Mallinson and Thomson preached in English only; and the latter, moreover, admitted members into churches of other denominations as readily as gathering them into his own. Heyer and Kluner (who served the Scott and LeSueur County flocks) were the only missionaries to be counted upon. There may have been two or three others whom Heyer counted in, because Fachtmann later speaks

1) Till the summer of 1867. Trinity Kirchenbuch.
2) St. John's Lutheran Messenger, Town Hart, April, 1926.

of "eight" member of the Synod. Fachtmann, however, who had been one of the most active missionaries of the Wisconsin Synod,[3] was a most valuable accession. Father Heyer, who served Red Wing for a year[4], was still president and the link between eastern funds and their western recipients; but Fachtmann became the real leader.[5] His plan was union with the Wisconsin Synod, and his real service consisted in securing preachers for the Minnesota Synod.

Father Heyer, who had been appointed itinerant preacher and general agent for the Lutherans of Minnesota by the Pennsylvania Synod, empowered Fachtmann to ask the Wisconsin Synod for ordained preachers for Brownsville and other places, promised to support them with from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars out of the Pennsylvania Synod subsidies, and agreed that the Minnesota Synod should be a branch or sister synod of that of Wisconsin, so that the brethren could retain membership in Wisconsin.[6] As a result of this arrangement, Pastor Ebert of Brownsville, Houston County, formerly of the Wisconsin Synod, joined the Minnesota Synod in June, 1863.[7] For Ascension, May 14 and 15, 1863, the "eight" old members were called together

3) John Ph. Koehler, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin und andern Staaten, Erster Band, 1925, pp.236ff.

4) From July 20, 1862. On July 21, 1863, Blecken succeeded him. Geschichter der Minnesota Synode, pp.196f. He also did missionary work at Fountenac. Ibid. p. 201.

5) Ibid., p.4.

6) Fachtmann to Bading. No date, but from spring of 1863.

7) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1864, p. 4.

to resuscitate the Synod.[8] Fachtmann, elected secretary, suggested cooperation, if not a merger as a district, with the Wisconsin Synod; but Heyer, on attending the convention of that Synod at Milwaukee soon thereafter, was displeased with the younger Wisconsin men for criticizing the Pennsylvania Agenda and Catechism and disparaging the Prussian Union while accepting financial support from both. As the congregations were almost destitute on account of the poor crop resulting from the summer's drouth and the Pennsylvania Synod and the Home Missionary Society promised support for the missionaries on condition that the Synod remain independent, the merger with Wisconsin did not materialize, and Fachtmann was obliged by the constitution of his St. Paul church to belong to the Minnesota Synod.[9]

8) Fachtmann to Bading. April 7, 1863. Originally the Synod had six members. As new members Heyer probably counted Julius Wolf, who went to Jordan in 1862 (not ordained), and possibly either of both Grussendorf and Blecken. Grussendorf was, it seems, a teacher who, with his wife in Germany, had studied for a time at Fort Wayne and had been dismissed as a rationalist, but, having been recommended by Hartmann of Chicago, had been hired for a year as pastor at Red Wing, 1861-1862. (Lutheraner, December 11, 1861). C.F. Blecken is listed in New Ulm by the Census of 1860. He is there stated to be a minister who had come from Ohio, but was born in Hamburg and was 38 years of age. After 1860 he had served Hastings and Preston, and July 21, 1863, succeeded Heyer at Red Wing. (Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 197.)

9) Fachtmann to Reim, September 22, 1863.

But Fachtmann was corresponding with agencies in Germany to obtain preachers. The Berlin Mission Society held out hopes of appointing a Lutheran itinerant preacher for Minnesota. It sent an old friend of Fachtmann's, Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, and Fachtmann in June placed him at St. John's in Washington County, where since Wier's exit, Meyer and Fachtmann had supplied, and ordained him July 5, 1863.[10]

10) Fachtmann to Reim, June 15 and July, 1863.
As Meyer was in Pennsylvania at the time, Fachtmann obtained permission to ordain Hoffmann from Reim, the vice-president of the Wisconsin Synod, president Bading also being absent... Fachtmann writes of Hoffmann that the Berlin Society has warmly recommended him. "Herr Hoffmann gehoerte zu den begabteren Laien, der zu-erst in der Charitee zu Berlin als geprueften Krankenwaerter auf der station der Trunkenbolde Jahre lang arbeitete, daselbst sein Examen als Wunderat zweiter Klasse machte. Sodann ging er ueber in den Dienst der Kirche, arbeitete Jahre lang als Diakon unter Leitung des entschlafenen Pastor Kunze an der Elisabethgemeinde, wurde mit grossem Erfolge Vorsteher des guenen Hauses, einer Rettungsanstalt fuer verwahrloste Kinder in Berlin, beschloss als Kuester an der Missionskapelle seine Laufbahn. Er hat mehr als ein Jahrn seinen kraenkelnden Pastor Kunze leiblich gepflegt, fuer ihn Confirmanden-Unterricht erteilt und ihn auf Reisen ins Land begleitet. Das Alles laesst keinen Zweifel uebrig, dass dieser Mann vor vielen Andern fuer eine Missionarbeit in Minnesota Gruendlich und vielseitig vorgebildet ist. Dass er auch im Predigen die noetige Fertigkeit hat, Gottes Wort rein und einfach verkuendigt, hat er in St. Paul in einer Abendpredigt zur Freude und allgemeinen Befriedigung meiner Gemeindeglieder, ebenso durch zwei Predigten in der Gemeinde, wohin ich ihn vorlaeufig gesandt habe, bewiesen". June 15. "Herr Pastor Hoffmann hatte in dem zuvor mit ihm angestellten Colloquium grosse theologische Belesenheit neben innerer christlichen Erfahrung an den Tag gelegt. Selbiger hatte Feierlich erklaert, dass er hinsichtlich der Abendmahls-lehre mit den Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche uebereinstimme, dass er nach reiflicher Ueberlegung Glied der lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin zu werden wuensche". July 10.

Pastor Richler of the Berlin Society also sent Teacher A. Wolf of Pomeramia and family. As Fachtmann found him weak, he did not ordain him, but sent him to teach school for a year at the Crow River (Rockford), advising him to study theology in the meanwhile.[11] Ebert of Brownsville, by Fachtmann's request, corresponded with the Chrischona Institute near Basel for further preachers.[11] Fachtmann is also thinking of Korn at Fond du lac, Wisconsin,[11] and hopes that Thiele, who was to be ordained in December in Berlin, Germany, would be sent to St. Anthony.[12] A congregation of forty Prussian farmers with eighty children at Big Wood (LeSueur County) is also clamoring for a German teacher, who could read a sermon on Sundays.[12] Julius Wolf, who had been at Jordan since 1862,[13] was installed "for the time being" by Fachtmann at Sand Creek, and Julius's brother, A. Wolf, was transferred from Crow river to serve Big Wood as best he could.[12]

While thus occupied, Fachtmann had managed to get another part of his Trinity church in St. Paul, completed and dedicated it October 18, 1863.[14] Besides that, he did itinerant service at Deytown, St. Anthony, Inver Grove, Crow River, Sand Creek(Lanesburg), and Big Woods (Blakely Township).[15] It was not all joy for Fachtmann, however, Already early in 1863 he deplored the danger of divisions among Lutherans.[16] Missouri making itself felt and Wier heading back to Buffalo.

11)Fachtmann to Reim, July 10, 1863.
12)Fachtmann to Reim, December 1, 1863.
13)Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 131. 14)Ibid.,p.223.
15)Entries to baptisms etc. in Trinity Church Record.
16)Fachtmann to Beding, April 7,1863.

In December he complains he is unable to continue working at St. Anthony because the Missouri Synod, in order to split his congregation, has placed a preacher into St. Paul for five families.[17] He thinks the three Missouri ministers in Carver County, where most of the Germans live, are unable to serve all the places. One of them, Kummeier, an estimable man, has retired on account of illness; the two others are unpopular, because they act too confessionally.[17]

Father Heyer, septuagenarian that he was, had since October 1863, retired to Pennsylvania.[18]

When, in response to written invitations, the Synod met in Emanuel's Church, Dakota County, May 5-8, 1864, it consisted of Rhecken of Red Wing, Hallinson of Minneiska, William Thomson of Owatonna, F. W. Hoffmann of Baytown, Ebert of Brownsville in Houston County, G. Fachtmann, and the "honorary members" A. Blumer of Shakopee (one of the founders), J. Wolf (licentiate) of Sand Creek, Gerfling of Preston, and A. Wolf (teacher) of Big Woods. Heyer was

17) Fachtmann to Rein, December 1, 1863.
He also writes: "Pastor Heyer hat sich in den Ruhestand begeben, es ist fraglich, ob er bei unserer naechsten Synode einmal zugegen ist".
18) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1864, p.4.

absent, and so was A. Brandt of Frank Hill, Winona County. Moldehnke of Watertown, Wisconsin, was present as delegate of the Wisconsin Synod.[19] Julius Wolf received ordination; A. Wolf was given permission to lead the services at Big Woods and to preach if the congregation consented; the application of Grussendorf was denied; Sorfling's testimonials were to be examined by Fachtmann and Hoffmann before having a field assigned.[20] It was resolved to apply to the Berlin Mission Society and to various Lutheran synods for an itinerant preacher, and committees were appointed to submit a seal and a constitution for Synod.[21] The question was discussed whether Synod should join the General Synod and whether representation by a delegate was to be regarded as constituting membership in that synod. As the Wisconsin delegate declared that Synod's joining General Synod would impair the friendly relations with Wisconsin, Synod postponed action till the next convention, when more information as to General Synod's confessional attitude should be available.[22] Fachtmann was appointed delegate to the Wisconsin convention with instructions to thank the synod for sending a delegate, to explain Minnesota's position relative to the General Synod, to express the desire of Synod to share in the seminary to be established at

19) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1864, pp. 3-4
20) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1864, p. 5.
21) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1864, p. 6.
22) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1864, pp. 5, 6.

Watertown, and to ask Wisconsin to send preachers, especially Moldehnke, for traveling missionary work.[23] Mallinson and Thonson drew up a resolution voicing regret at the prolongation of the Civil War.[24]

The Convention of May 25-28, 1865, in St. Paul was led, in the absence of President Meyer, by Fachtmann. The pastors Mallinson, Fachtmann, Blecken, Ebert, Hoffmann, and Julius Wolf were present; Meyer of Somerset, Pennsylvania, Thonson, and Brandt were absent.[25] No mention is made of Blumer. August Wolf of Big Woods was after some debate licensed for a year and to be provided with books to prepare himself for a thorough examination the following year.[26] F.W. Reitz of Frank Hill, Winona County, and also L. Ramel of Rockford (Crow River) and Mr Nedden of St. Anthony were received as members. A. Kuhn was ordained and also received as a member. R. Weise of the Michigan Synod, laboring in the neighborhood of St. Peter, was regarded as connected with the Synod until he should present his release.[27] Kuhn was to preach at Dahlgreen, Carver County, and also serve as itinerant preacher in Sibley and Nicollet Counties.[28] A Constitution modeled after those of the Synods of Pennsylvania and Wisconsin was adopted.[29] Pastor Blecken had the kindness to pay the cost of the synodical

23) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1864, p.7.
24) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1864, p.7.
25) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1865, p.2.
26) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1865, pp.3,5.
27) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1865, p.3.
28) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1865, p.5.
29) Ibid., , Minnesota, 1865, p.5.

seal out of his own pocket.[30] In the matter of hymn books, the synod decided to let the old congregations retain the books already in use and, if possible, introduce the hymn book of the Pennsylvania Synod into new congregations.[31] Synod voted thanks to the "Pilger Mission" at St. Chrischona near Basel and the Berlin Mission Society as well as the Synod of Pennsylvania and the General Synod for financial support in "our poverty".[32] Fachtmann was elected delegate with special instructions for the synod meeting at Reston, Pennsylvania.[33]

Here, then, was a synod of some thirteen men becoming organized and doing work in Houston, Winona, Wabasha, Goodhue, Steele, Washington, Ramsey, Hennepin, Wright, Carver, Scott, LeSueur, Sibley, and Nicollet counties. But as the Chrischona was an avowedly Union institution of Lutheran and Reformed, the Lutheranism of at least some of the men was not above reproach. The Missourians stigmatised them

30) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1865, p. 4.
31) Ibid., 1865, p. 4.
32) Ibid., 1865, p. 6.
33) Ibid., 1865, p. 7.

as not Lutheran,[34] and it is perhaps significant that some of the charges of these men later were easily won by other Synods.

When the Synod met again, May 10-14, 1866, in Blecken's church at Red Wing, Heyer, who had gone to Somerset, Pennsylvania, in October, 1863, was still absent, but he was about to return and take up work at New Ulm.[35] During his absence Synod had made notable strides. Mallinson, Thomson, Blecken, Fachtmann, Hoffmann, Julius Wolf, Emmel, and Kuhn (Cottage Grove) were at their old places; Ebert had moved to Portland, Houston County, and Reitz of Frank Hill had moved to Brownsville, Houston County.[36] A. Wolf was still

34) The Missourian, E. Rolf of Zion's Church, St. Paul, writes: "It is deplorable, however, that most Lutherans coming west either lapse into unbelief or fall a prey to sectarians and enthusiasts, such as the Methodists and Albrights, or heterodox Lutherans..... The preachers of the so-called Lutheran Minnesota Synod are a great detriment to the Lutheran Church. Said Synod is in a high degree guilty of syncretism inasmuch as it does not hesitate to receive into membership unbelieving (reference probably to Blecken) or heterodox preachers. The Union Mission Institute at Basel supplies the men whom a Lutheran pastor, Fachtmann, employs as Lutheran preachers. Lutheran doctrine and practise mean nothing to these people; they use the name Lutheran simply to attract Lutherans. Lutherans contemplating coming to Minnesota could best escape danger from such people by settling in localities where there are orthodox Lutheran congregations or where, at least, they can be served by the pastors of such". Lutheraner, June 1, 1865, pp.146-48.

35) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1866, p. 6.

36) l.c., p.4.

at Big Woods, unordained.[37] Three young brethern, J. Jahn of Osseo; H. Braun of Hutchinson, McLeod County, and William Vemhof of Forest mound, Wabasha County, were received as members.[38] As the Synod voted for the retention of the "lodge paragraph" in its constitution, its host at Red Wing, Dr. Blecken, being a mason, withdrew from the Synod to the latter's regret.[39] Heyer and Fachtmann were elected as delegates to the General Synod.[40] The formal reception of R. Weise was postponed for one year; licentiate Rehkopf was given a place as teacher and preacher at Wyoming; the request of A. Wolf for ordination was denied; and the employment of Grussendorf as teacher was recommended for consideration.[41] The license system was abolished.[42] Moldehnke had served for seven weeks as traveling missionary and had preached at New Ulm, St. Peter, Mankato, Henderson, Belle Plaine, Prairie Mound, Arlington, Faribault, Owatonna, New Boston, and Utica in Winona County, St. Anthony and Minneapolis, Chatfield, Spring Valley, etc., and he asked that the work be continued.[43] The horse, buggy, and sled used by him were disposed of to Vemhof for $200.[44] Moldehnke also asked Synod to remember the new school at Watertown, Wisconsin.[45] After voting thanks to Chrischona, the Synod of Pennsylvania, and the Home Missionary Society, the Synod adjourned.[46]

---

37) l.c. p. 4
38) l.c., pp. 4, 8, 10.
39) l.c., p. 11.
40) l.c., p. 13.
41) l.c., p. 13.
42) l.c., p. 11.
43) l.c., p. 14.
44) l.c., p. 13.
45) l.c., p. 11.
46) l.c., p. 15.

S. Surtey, 1855-66.

1855 Thomson, in Rice County; 1856 in Steele County.

1855 Wier, at St.Paul and Baytown. 1862 out of Minnesota Synod.

1856 Mallinson, at Minneiska.

1856 Brandt, Town Hart, Winona County.

1857 Hoyer, at St.Paul. 1862-1863 at Red Wing. '63-'66, Somerset, Pennsylvania.

1858 Bluner, at Baytown. 1860 to Shakopee.

1861 Grussendorf, at Red Wing to 1862.

1862 Fachtmann, St. Paul, till 1867.

1862 Julius Wolf, at Jordan. 1863 to Sand Creek.

1862? Blecken, at Hastings and Prescott. '63, Red Wing. 1866, exit.

1863 F.W.Hoffmann, Baytown, Washington County. Starts Woodbury.

1863 A.Wolf, at Big Woods, Unordained.

1863 Ebert, Brownsville, Houston County. '65 Portland, Houston County.

1864 F.W.Reitz, at Frank Hill, Winona County, 1866, Brownsville.

1864 L.Hamel, at Crow River (Rockford), Wright County.

1864 Mur Hedden, at St.Anthony. Not mentioned 1866.

1864 A.Kuhn, in Carver County.

1864 R.Weise, in Nicollet County.

1864 H.Braun, in McLeod County.

1865 J.Jahn, at Osseo, Hennepin County.

1865 Wm.Venhof, at Forest Mound, Wabasha County.

1865 Rehkopf, at Wyoming, Chisago County.

The field in Houston County was originally Wisconsin Synod territory, but Ebert was dismissed to the Minnesota Synod. In 1865 Ebert moved to Portland; and Reitz, who had been brought to Town Hart by Brandt, followed to Brownsville. The work in Winona County was begun by A. Brandt, who was a lay preacher. In 1862, although counted as a Minnesota Synod preacher, he asked for a preacher of the Missouri Synod (Grupe), but owing to misunderstandings had Reitz come in, who remained only a short time; through Brandt Missouri returned.[1] What Mallinson was doing in Wabasha and Winona counties, and Thomson in Steele County, I do not know. In Wabasha County, William Vemhof organized Trinity in Town Zumbro(Bremen) with about twenty members in the fall of 1865.[2] In Goodhue County, Blecken since 1866 was [illegible] out of the Synod. F. W. Hoffmann of Baytown was a successful worker and, besides reaching ower into Wisconsin, in 1863 organized another congregation in his county, Salem at Woodbury. Zur Nedden of St. Anthony seems to have been a transient. R. Weise of Nicollet County appears not to have been able to secure a regular appointment there. He was one of the first Lutheran preachers in Mankato, the

1) Letter of Rev. Otto C. Schultz of Town Hart, March 2, 1927.
2) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 71.

other one being the Missourian Rennicke of Nicollet.[3] A congregation is mentioned at Swan Lake, Brown County (apparently Nicollet County), whose constitution was to be revised.[4] Possibly this is the congregation near Fort Ridgely, which is reported to have been founded "about" 1869 and about whose first years nothing is known.[5] It is probable, too, that he was instrumental in organizing in New Ulm, 1865, the unique congregation which called itself "Evangelisch-Lutherisch-Reformierte St. Paulus Gemeinde" and adopted the Unaltered Augsburg Confession; He and Heyer preached at the dedication of its church, June 17, 1866, but he was not called.[6] The congregations in LeSueur County were served by two brothers, (later distinguished as "timber Wolf" and "prairie Wolf"), Lanesburg (Sand Creek) by Julius Wolf, and Big Woods (Town Blakely) by A. Wolf. At Lanesburg the first settlement had arrived in the heavy timber in 1856. One of the first had been J.H.Eilers, who made his wedding trip up from Illinois on foot with a herd of cattle. Methodists had preached there, and so had Father Heyer (1858)[7] and later the Missourian, C. H. Sprengeler.[8] Fachtmann held communion there in 1863,[9] and had then sent Julius Wolf, who in 1864 settled on a piece of land and became the first resident pastor.

3) Ibid., p. 147.
4) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1866, p. 11.
5) Gechichter der Minnesota Synode, p. 92.
6) Ibid., pp. 164f.
7) Ibid., p. 139.
8) Ibid., p. 288.
9) Trinity Kirchen-Buch, Communion entries.

In the very first meeting to discuss the erection of a church there was a split, the Pomeranians going by themselves, and the Hanoverians also. The latter erected a log church and took the name of "Friedens Gemeinde." [10] Some of the settlers at Big Woods had come as early as 1854 or 1855. One of the oldest settlers, Friedrich Nagel, had conducted reading services and had taught school, and after him the congregation officially was named "Friedrichsgemeinde." [11] A. Wolf's status was uncertain. Synod had licensed him for a year and then, while declining to ordain him, had dropped the license system. An outstanding missionary was H. Braun in the neighborhood of Hutchinson, Mc Leod County. Hutchinson, after the Indian outbreak consisted of some dozens of rough-looking log houses in the backwoods. A few Lutherans there had applied to Fachtmann for spiritual supply, and he sent them H. Braun, a St. Chrischona man, whom he had previously ordained at Trinity Church in St. Paul. When Braun arrived at Hutchinson, he found a settlement of about a dozen Lutheran families, who had settled about six miles northwest of Hutchinson, at Acoma, between 1863 and 1864. These farmers at once organized Immanuel's congregation and on December 24, 1864, called Braun as their pastor. He preached and taught school at Acoma and, besides

10) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 289.
11) Kirchenbuch der Friedrichsgemeinde zu Town Blakely.

preached at Hutchinson,where there were about ten families, at Town Lynn,Ellsworth,Cedar Mills,and Litchfield.For six years he served congregations faithfully and well and then accepted a call[12] to Big Woods(Town Blakely), to succeed August Wolf there.In Wright County,Germans had settled about 1858.Lutherans living in Town Greenwood(Crow River) were first visited by Moldehnke in 1860 and served now and then up to 1864 by Fachtmann.In 1864,Adam Hohenstein, George Hohenstein,August Kluck,M.Loeffler,G.Reich,August Waegner,and others,constituting the "Salems-Gemeinde",called as their pastor Ludwig Emmel,a Chrischona man.[13] Emmel had a very large field,preaching at Pelican Lake,Howard Lake,Delano, and other places,and as a result in a few years began to suffer in health.[14] Kuhn says Ebert,Emmel,and Reitz had vast fields and the slenderest sort of income and were obliged to tax their energies almost beyond endurance.[15]

12)Geschichte der Minnesota Synode,p.51.
13)An entry in Fachtmann's Trinity Kirchen-Buch,November 2, 1865,states that Ludwig Friedrich Emmel(Crow River) from Hessen Darmstadt was married by him at Stillwater to Henriette Sophie Renk from Hessen Darmstadt,pastors Hoffman and Braun being witnesses.
14)Geschichte der Minnesota Synode,pp.106f.
15)Ibid.,pp.4f.

3.1867-1870.

When the Synod met again, June 13-18, 1867, in St. Paul, Father Heyer, now nearly seventy-four years of age, was present and found a very awkward situation existing in Trinity. Fachtmann, by collecting funds in the East and clearing $1,300 on a lottery, had been able since the conclusion of the War to complete the Trinity church building. The church was dedicated on December 23, 1866, and at the evening services the Presbyterians Mattocks and Noble spoke.[1] Fachtmann's people were no longer in sympathy with him. The influence of the confessional attitude of Rolf's Missouri Synod Lutherans was making itself felt. Already at the Synod meeting in 1866 Fachtmann had declared, apparently in self-defense, that the Minnesota Synod adhered to the precious Confessions of the Lutheran fathers, but he had also deprecated useless questionings and contentions and called for charity in judgment.[2] But his action in inviting the Presbyterians was clearly not in accordance with Lutheran practice, and the people wanted to be Lutherans.[3] When, in the spring of 1867, he submitted to the congregation the question whether or not to accept a call to Cumberland, Maryland, twelve voted for him to stay, and twenty-seven to accept.[4] The Council asked advice from Heyer.[5]

1) Trinity Kirchenbuch. Sketch.
Rev. Mr. Mattocks had come to St. Paul in 1856 and since 1860 had been Secretary of the School Board and Superintendent of Schools -F. J. Williams, A History of the City of St. Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota, (St. Paul, 1876), p. 366
2) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, pp. 7ff.
3) A. F. Ernst, Luther's Leben und aus der Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche von Nord Amerika, (Milwaukee, 1917) p. 246.
4) Trinity Record, March 31, 1867
5) Ibid., April 2, 1867.

He advised the calling of Beding from Wisconsin.[6] Then at a congregational meeting a petition was read requesting the retention of Fachtmann, but no action was taken.[7] This was the situation when the Synod met in Trinity, June 15-18. Conditions in the congregation remaining as they were, the Synod advised Fachtmann to do some traveling missionary work for it, and Meyer offered to supply in the interim.[8]

The Synod meeting in 1867 was in many regards an important one. Meyer, Fachtmann, F. W. Hoffmann, Reitz, Jahn, Thomson, Kuhn (now at Woodbury), J. Wolf were present. Blumer (now at Reed's Landing), A. Hoffmann of Shakopee, R. Weise (now at Lewiston, Winona County), were received as members.[9] Exlein of the Olive Branch Synod in Minnesota and Schmalzl of Fayetteville, New York, a member of the Lutheran Synod of New York, were made advisory members.[10] Hallinson's name appears neither in the attendance list nor in the following list of conferences, from which it may be inferred that he probably had withdrawn from the Synod. Four pastoral conferences were established, as follows: the first: F. W. Hoffmann, Fachtmann, A. Hoffmann, Kuhn, Jahn, Exlein; the second: Blumer, Vomhof, A. Schmidt, and Seifert; the third: J. and A. Wolf, H. Braun; and the fourth: Reitz and Ebert in Houston County.[11]

6) Trinity Record, May 21, 1867.
7) Ibid., June 10, 1867.
8) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1867, p. 7.
9) Ibid., 1867, p. 2.
10) Ibid., 1867, p. 4.
11) Ibid., 1867, p. 6.

Rehkopf was to be ordained as soon as a congregation should call him.[12] The candidates August Schmidt, Friedrich Seifert, and, at last, August Wolf were ordained.[13] A sum of $100 was voted to the Crischona Institute as traveling expenses for its students Bender and Schmidt.[14] Blumer announced Teacher Johannes Mueller as a candidate for the ministry.[15] The most important question before the Synod was that of joining the new General Council. The original complexion of the Minnesota Synod in the matter of the Lutheran Confessions was one of great latitude and inclusiveness. Heyer was mildly conservative; Blumer is said to have been Reformed; Wachtmann and perhaps the majority of the Crischona men were unionistic, as was, of course, also Thomson, most probably Hallinson, and certainly Riecken.[16] But Rolf and the other Missourians were saying plainly enough that the Minnesota Synod was not Lutheran, and the congregations, largely Pomeranians and Hanoverians, desired to be Lutherans. The Wisconsin Synod was developing into strict confessionalism, and the relations between Wisconsin and Minnesota were friendly and close. The Pennsylvania Synod had in 1866 cut loose from the General Synod and issued a call for a new and really Lutheran body, and Heyer had attended the first

12) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1867, p. 7.
13) Ibid., 1867, p. 8.
14) Ibid., 1867, p. 6.
15) Ibid., 1867, p. 6.
16) Riecken is said to have had the motto hung in his church at Red Wing: "Wir glauben all an einen Gott, Christ, Turcken, Jud' und Hottentot"-Geschichte der Minnesota Synod, p. 197.

preliminary convention of the General Council at Reading, Pennsylvania, December 12-14, 1866.[17] When at the 1867 convention the question of joining the new general body was before the Minnesota Synod, President Heyer remarked that the old Lutheran General Synod called itself Lutheran, without being Lutheran. Thomson of Owatonna protested against joining the General Council, as the organization of this new body created divisions; but all the other members of Synod, ministers and laymen, unanimously voted for joining.[18] Synod instructed its Secretary to express its sincere thanks to the General Synod for the many benefits received, but at the same time its intention, after serious consideration,[19] to join the new general body. It elected Father Heyer delegate to the new body[20] and F.W. Hoffmann as delegate to the Wisconsin Synod[21] and, after the usual resolution of thanks to St. Chrischona and the Pennsylvania Synod, adjourned.

Father Heyer had lived in retirement at Somerset, Pennsylvania since October, 1863, while retaining the presidency of the Minnesota Synod. He had not attended the conventions of 1864, 1865, 1866. After the convention of 1866, however, he had again appeared at New Ulm, where on June 17 he dedicated the new church. He may for a time have there

17) Proceedings, General Council, 1866, p. 7.
18) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1867, p. 5.
19) Ibid., 1867, p. 8.
20) Ibid., 1867, p. 6.
21) Ibid., 1867, p. 7.

served the "Evangelisch-Lutherisch -Reformierte" St.Paul's Church, in which both bread and wafers were used at communion.[22] December 12-14 of the same year he attended the preliminary meeting of the new General Council at Reading, Pennsylvania, and probably took up his winter quarters again at Somerset, Pennsylvania. I presume that he came to Minnesota in 1867 partly to help straighten out the tangle at Trinity, but chiefly to lead the Minnesota Synod into the General Council about to be formed, and possibly also to arrange whatever real estate or other financial affairs he may still have been engaged in. We find him acting as "temporary successor" to Fachtmann at Trinity in St.Paul from July 18 to September 30, calming the excitement there until the congregation had called J.H.Sieker of West Granville, Wisconsin, as its next pastor.[23] After attending the first Convention of the General Council at Fort Wayne, Indiana, November 20-26, 1867, where he and Fachtmann reported for the Minnesota Synod twenty-two ministers, thirty-five charges, fifty-three congregations, and three thousand communicants,[24] he no doubt again returned to Somerset and before the next meeting of the Minnesota Synod he resigned as its

22) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp.165ff.
23) Trinity Record: Meyer had recommended Reading of Wisconsin (May 21); he was present at the congregational meeting at which Fachtmann's resignation was reconsidered and then accepted, forty-four to eighteen (July 7); at the meeting that appointed him "temporary successor" he nominated Vosberg of Milwaukee (July 18); Emmel having declined, Meyer is asked to invite J.H.Sieker to preach a trial sermon (August 9). The call having been sent to Sieker (September 30), Meyer's name disappears from the minutes.
24) Proceedings, General Council, 1867, p.14.

president in order to spend, as he said, the remainder of his days in Germany.[25]

Fachtmann, pursuant to the advice received at Synod, spent the summer of 1867 as a traveling missionary, visiting New Ulm, St. Peter, Town Cleveland in Nicollet County, Belle Plaine, Sand Creek, Elysian, Owatonna, and St. Anthony.[26] After this traveling experience he spent the winter 1867-1868 at St. Anthony and Minneapolis.[27] He still clung to St. Anthony when Synod met again early in June, 1868, but at some time during 1868 moved to Henderson, attending from there a church dedication at Jordan, November, 24, 1868.[29]

With the election of J.H. Sieker as Fachtmann's successor at Trinity in St. Paul, the spirit of Missouri entered the Minnesota Synod. At the very first meeting of the Synod which he attended in old St. John's at Baytown, June 4-8, 1868, as soon as he had been made an advisory member, he asked whether the Synod took the Lutheran Confessions seriously, and was answered affirmatively.[30] When Synod met again the following year at Lewiston, June 9-13, Sieker was elected president.[31] The delegates Bading and Hoenecke of the Wisconsin Synod, which severed its connection with the General Council by letter of August 16,

25) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1868, p. 4.
26) Trinity Kirchenbuch. Entries of baptisms etc.
27) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1868, p. 4.
28) Ibid., 1868, p. 3.
29) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 132. He was out of sympathy with the Minnesota Synod and was excluded from it, 1870, but continued until his death at Henderson, where an independent Union congregation still honors his memory.
30) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1868, p. 5.
31) Ibid., 1869, p. 15.

1869,[32] submitted a plan for closer cooperation and eventual union between Minnesota and Wisconsin and represented the connection of Minnesota with the General Council(which was considered correctly Lutheran on paper but liberal in practice)as the main obstacle to a merger of the two synods.[33] Sieker,then,as ex-officio a member of the General Council,was instructed to represent the Synod and to exert himself to make the attitude of the Council to the Lutheran Confessions more clear and decided.[34]

At the Colloquy held in La Crosse,Wisconsin,September 25,1869,between Bading and Hoenecke of Wisconsin and Sieker,Kuhn,Pfotenhauer,and Reitz of Minnesota the only difference remaining was whether the Synod of Minnesota was in conscience bound to separate from Council immediately; but the Wisconsin delegates expressed themselves as satisfied if Minnesota would adopt a protesting attitude to all un-Lutheran practice in the Council.[35]

Sieker attended the third convention of the General Council in Chicago,November 4-10,1869,and submitted the question,whether the right interpretation of the Council's declaration and testimony regarding the "Four Points" was:

32)Proceedings ,General Council,1869,p.32.
33)Verhandlungen,Minnesota,1869,pp.4,23-26.
34)Ibid.,1869,p.33.At this point Thomson of Owatonna upon his request was released from Synod.He founded the only English Lutheran congregation in Minnesota prior to 1883, which in 1891 numbered twenty-seven communicants.-G.T. Trabert,English Lutheranism in the Northwest,(Philadelphia, 1914),p.15.
35)Geschichte der Minnesota Synode,pp.14f.

"1. That Heretics and fundamental errorists cannot be admitted to our altars as communicants, nor into our pulpits as teachers of our congregations?"

"2. Since the so-called distinctive doctrine by which doctrinal opposition between the Lutheran Church and other denominations is expressed, are fundamental, whether the General Council (in Number III.1, and Number IV. 1, 2, of the declaration made at Pittsburch)understood by 'fundamental errorists' those who, with regard to these distinctive doctrines, are not in harmony with the pure doctrine of the Word of God, as it is confessed and taught in our Church?" 36)

The committee on this "Minnesota Memorial" in 1869 considered, found the questions not officially those of the Minnesota Synod, asked further information, reported, and finally recommended, with Sieker's approval, that discussion of the questions submitted be continued over to the next convention of the General Council. 37)

When, the next year, November 3-9, 1870, at Lancaster, Ohio, the "Minnesota Questions" again came up before the Council as the official inquiry of the Synod of Minnesota, his synod having indorsed Sieker, 38) the Council devoted much time to them, but its answer did not satisfy the

36) Proceedings and Minutes of the General Council, 1870, pp. 34f.
37) Proceedings, General Council, 1869, pp. 19, 20, 28, 39f.
38) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 10f.

Minnesota Synod, which thereupon withdrew.[39]

The Synod of Wisconsin in June, 1871, recognized the orthodoxy of the Minnesota Synod, invited Minnesota to salary a professor at Watertown and enjoy all the privileges accorded also to Missouri, and to appoint a coeditor for the Wisconsin "Gemeindeblatt" and to make it its own paper, sharing in the profits in proportion to number of subscribers. Minnesota accepted the invitation and appointed Sieker editor.[40]

Missouri, also, prepared to accord recognition to Minnesota. Joint conferences between pastors of the two synods were held in St. Paul. At the first of the conferences, January 10-11, 1872, the question discussed and agreed upon was the correct attitude which members of Synods recognizing each other as orthodox should observe in the sphere of their official labors.[41] A committee, sent by the Missouri Synod to attend the Minnesota Synod convention at Mankato and consisting of H. Pick and E.A. Brauer, on the steamer trip up the Mississippi River read the Minnesota Proceedings of 1870 and 1871 and also the minutes of the joint conference at St. Paul. They found

39) Proceedings and Minutes, General Council, 1870 pp. 33-36, 39.
Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 11f.
40) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 16f.
41) Lutheraner, May 15, 1872, pp. 126-127.

the doctrinal position of the Minnesota Synod correct and only desired further assurance as to the Synod's willingness to abide by the agreements of the St.Paul conference.[42] The doctrinal discussions at Mankato, June 13-17, led by Sieker and adopted by the Synod, dealt in detail with these agreements. The substance of Sieker's exposition was the necessity of respecting the parochial boundaries, especially in cases of excommunication and of establishing new congregations, and the privilege of rejoicing without envy in the prosperity of a sister synod.[43] The Missouri delegates, whose Synod had found it possible in the earlier days to accept members excommunicated by the Buffalo Synod pastors, felt reassured by the Mankato declarations that Minnesota Synod pastors would not break into Missouri Synod territory and reported that the Mankato discussions revealed entire unity of the spirit.[42] Missouri recognized the Minnesota Synod, but at the same time undertook an immense forward movement, and, Minnesota in the same year, 1872, joined the Synodical Conference.[44]

42) Lutheraner, July 1, 1872, pp. 140-150.
43) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1872, pp. 11-26.
44) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 17-23.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BUFFALO SYNOD 1863-1870.

1. The Concordia Synod.

Krause, who had started St. Martin's in Winona in 1856 and left it after a year's service, was back again from 1861 to 1864, apparently without synodical connection. Wier, who still lived near Inver Grove, after the breach in St. John's at Dayton, Washington County, in 1863, organized a new St. John's, with the Johnsons and others, who believed with him in private confession. They built a small church, not far from the original St. John's at Cokdale,[1] referred to in Buffalo Synod records as "Johnsonville".[2] Already in 1857 he had organized a branch congregation, Trinity, near Afton,[3] still called by the old settlers Wier's church on the Hudson Road. This, too, he continued to serve. From his new St. John's, he, in the familiar Krause fashion, regarded the members of old St. John's as a "Rotte", faction, gang, and not as a Christian congregation.[4] Quite naturally, too, since the Minnesota Synod had supplied old St. John's with a very able pastor in the person of F.W. Hoffmann, he lost interest in that synod. Together with L.F.E. Krause of Winona; H.J. Hamm of Bethalto, Illinois, and C. Jungk of New Oregon, Iowa, he organized a new little Concordia Synod.

---

1) History of Washington County, (Minneapolis, 1881), p. 400.
2) Letter of Wier, February 12, 1857.
3) History of Washington County, p. 414.
4) He entered into his Kirchenbuch, p. 142, the following item concerning J.H. Boese, son of Albert Boese, who died in 1864 from wounds received at Nashville: "Joh. Fr. Boese hielt sich an der christlichen Gemeinde, obschon sein Vater ihn zur Rotte zu ziehen suchte; hat auf seinem Todtenbette unserer Gemeinde noch 200 Dollar vermacht, die aber sein gottloser Vater uns nie zukommen liess."

which sent a "Brudergruss" to all Lutheran brethren adhering loyally to the Confessions, and assured especially the Joint Synod of Ohio of its esteem and regard.[5] In its Minutes the Concordia Synod indulged liberally in criticism of Heyer and Fachtmann and the entire personnel of the Minnesota Synod.[6] In 1864, the Concordia Synod applied for admission to the Joint Synod of Ohio; but that synod, not realizing the possibilities in Minnesota, was unreceptive because it "could not see the necessity for the existence of such a synod."[7] Krause and Warns individually, however, joined the Ohio Synod,[8] Krause moving east. At the same time Missouri was also encroaching on Wier's territory near Afton. A number of Lutheran families there, warned no doubt against the confessional lukewarmness of the Minnesota Synod and shying at private confession and the imperious ways of Buffalo ministers, applied to Rolf of Zion's Church in St. Paul and were served by him and organized as St. Peter's Church.

5) Peter und Schmidt. Gechichte der Ohio Synode, p.154.

6) Minutes, Concordia Synod, 1863, p 11. "Die anti-lutherisch unionistische Minnesota Synode"; p. 20: Heyer is a "wohlgeuebter Geld-wucher Practicus, und Spekulant"; pp. 20f. treat of Fachtmann. Rolf quotes from the Minutes: "Eben so wenig wird man sich ueber Fachtmann verwundern duerfen. Denn was ist Anders von einem Manne zu erwarten, der, von ueppiger Schwärmerei aufgeblaeht, frechhinredet: 'Christus ist nicht im Alten Testament' und dieses veraechtlich behandelt. Ferner, der (listiglich sich lutherisch nennend) spottet: 'Das Lutherische Bekenntnis ist doch eigentlich nur eine menschliche Ansicht ohne Werth; u. ich wuerde das Concordienbuch verbrennen, wenn nicht die drei oekumenischen Symbola (die Hauptsymbole der Chrl. Kirche) vorn an gedruckt staenden". Protokoll-Buch der Zions-Gemeinde, St. Paul, July 1, 1864.

7) Peter u. Schmidt, Geschichte der Synode von Ohio, p.172.

8) Ibid. p. 154.

2. Wier again in the Buffalo Synod.

The death of the Concordia Synod left Wier isolated, and, Buffaloan that he was, he made his peace with Buffalo and was again received as a member of good standing at the Milwaukee Convention in 1869.[1] In the meantime Wier, two of his children being already married in Washington County, moved there himself on to another farm and began to prosper. His church records show that not a few families moved into his neighborhood from Indiana and from his old charge in Martinsville, New York, among them such names as Hafemeister, Westphal, Steindorf, Mehnemann, Wolf, Papst, and others.[2] Wier's "Lohmannville" was the Buffalo outpost in Minnesota until another field, at first also served by Wier, was opened in 1869 at Waltham, Mower County.

L.F.E.Krause was again called to Winona in 1861 and remained until 1864.[3] In 1863 he was present at Lake Elmo (Baytown) to assist Wier in urging private confession on his people. During these years, 1861-1864, the short-lived Concordia Synod was organized, of which Krause was the Senior Ministerii. The Concordia Synod failing, Krause

1)Letter of Deneff.

2)Kirchen-Buch (Lake Elmo, Wier's old church book). Record of deaths.

3)1856-1906. 50jaehrigen Jubilaeum der St Martins-Gemeinde zu Winona, pp.7f.

left Winona.[4]

In the summer of 1865 Grabau, the Senior Ministerii of the Buffalo Synod, visited Winona, and on June 22, 1866, Philip von Rohr, a son of one of the founders of the Buffalo Synod, was installed at Winona, and he took the congregation into the Wisconsin Synod and for many years was president of that synod.[3]

4) October 2, 1864, Krause was installed as successor to C. Kuehn at Ellenville, Ulster County, New York, (Denef, in his letter, says Ellenville, Michigan) by J.G. Boehm according to instructions from the president of the Eastern District of the Joint Synod of Ohio (Lehre und Wehre, 1864, p.130), both Boehm and Kuehn having been former members of the Buffalo Synod. (Allgemeiner Synodalbericht, Missouri, 1865, p.22). Cronenwett, president of the Northern District, censured the action of the Eastern District in receiving a man who was under excommunication by the Buffalo Synod, 1865. The Eastern District, however, considered the excommunication invalid and appealed to the Joint Synod. In 1866 Krause became a member of the Eastern District and read an important paper on secret societies. Later he joined the Northern District of Ohio and is said to have been pastor at Jackson, Michigan. At the beginning of the "seventies" he went to Australia, having received a call from a Lutheran congregation and remaining in synodical connection with the Joint Synod of Ohio. On account of his peculiar, arbitrary conduct, however, he was deposed by the Ohio Synod. He then accepted a call to a liberal Union charge, and as a Union pastor he died at the beginning of the "eighties". "A strange life", writes Denef. (Letter of E. Denef, February 12, 1927).

CHAPTER IX.

THE MISSOURI SYNOD , 1862-1870.

Carver County,Minneapolis with Corcoran in Hennepin County,Prairie Mound between Arlington and Henderson in Sibley County,and Town Mart in Winona County were the Missouri Synod centers in the summer of 1862.The years 1862-1870 saw steady growth of these congregations and the opening up of new fields by energetic work.The least thriving field was Minneapolis,[1] leaving the congregation to be served by supply.[2] Horst in the fall of 1862 moved to Hay Creek,Goodhue County,[3] about fifteen miles west of Red Wing and from there conducted an active missionary campaign,preempting the hinterland from Heyer,who had taken up the work at Red Wing.It was excellent farming country that promised speedy settlement,a vast stretch of rolling prairie between the wooded Mississippi bluffs and the Big Woods.[4] Horst preached at Hay Creek and Minneola ,Goodhue County ; Wheeling, Rice County; Aurora, Steele County ; and Town Sumbro, Wabasha County, and invited Lutherans to come

---

1)In a communication to the Lutheraner,May 15,1864,pp.138-139,two of the original founders,K.Buchren and H.Kruckeberg, complaining of proselyting sects and of free masons and atheists as forming the larger part of the German population, invite Lutherans to settle in Minneapolis,where,besides strengthening the church,they will find good opportunities for business or employment.

2)Rupprecht,1863; Rolf,1864-1868.Trinity Messenger,January and February,1926,p.2.

3)Lutheraner,October 1,1862,p.24.

4)"This limitless vista of waving wild grass,these green meadows and treeless hills dotted everywhere with purple and yellow flowers...Such rolling hills behind hills".-Edward Eggleston,The Mystery of Metropolisville,(New York, 1873),Chapter 1.

"Away to the west Charlton saw groves that grew on the banks of the Big Gun River,and then the smooth prairie knolls beyond,and in the dim horizon [illegible] the 'Big Woods'". Eggleston,l.c.,Chapter 6.

and settle there.[5] In April,1865,he went to Waconia, Carver County,[6] but on October 15, 1865, one of his stations,Aurora, Steele County, received its own pastor in the person of John Herzer,[7] who worked the large field until 1868.H.Grupe of Town Hart, Winona County,ordained and installed him, a fact which shows that connection was now established between the Missouri groups.[7] August 11, 1867,Candidate C.G.T.Krause took charge as first resident pastor of Town Wheeling,Rice County.[8] The territory received a further worker when on July 26, 1868, Candidate G.E.Abner was ordained and installed in Town Barber(Post office,Blue Earth City,Faribault County).[9]

In 1863,Missouri also obtained a foothold in St.Paul. A number of families, former members of Heyer's, had withdrawn from Trinity Church,charging its pastor, Fachtmann,with unionistic practice,and on the third Sunday in Advent received E.Rolf as their pastor.[10] Besides looking after this flock,Rolf also supplied in Minneapolis and at Corcoran and organized and served St.Peter's

5) Lutheraner, June 1,1865,pp.146-148.
6) Ibid., May 15,1865,p.142.
7) Ibid., November 1,1865,pp.38-39.
8) Ibid., November 1,1867,p.39.
9) Ibid., September 15,1868,p.14.
10) Record(Minutes) of Trinity of St.Paul,p.86.May 1,1864.

church at Afton,[11] Washington County. The St. Paul flock, the "Zions-Gemeinde", erected a church on Ninth Street between Broadway and Canada Streets and became under Rolf's instruction a well-indoctrinated group.[12]

Prairie Mound and Dryden (Glencoe) in Sibley County developed steadily, both places being served by Winter.[13] By 1864 Dryden was strong enough to call Candidate J. Karrer as its own pastor.[14] In the summer or fall, however, Winter withdrew from the Minnesota field by accepting a call to Logansville, Wisconsin.[15] In the summer of 1866, Karrer was transferred and became the first resident pastor of St. Peter's at Afton, Washington County, which had so long been served by Rolf.[16] In the person of Candidate E. F. Schulze, however, the two places received a pastor who proved to be one of the best missionaries in the[17]

11) Lutheraner, June 1, 1865, pp. 146-148.
12) Protokoll-Buch der Zions-Gemeinde, passim.
13) May, 18, 1862. Lutheraner, June 25, 1862, p.183.
14) August 10, 1864. Ibid., September 15, 1864, p.15.
15) October 15, 1865. Ibid., December 1, 1865, p. 54.
16) June 10, 1866. Ibid., July 15, 1866, p. 174.
17) July 29, 1866. Lutheraner, September 1, 1866, pp. 7-8.

18)
field. From Prairie Mound as a base he opened up

18)In a letter of January 21, 1927, Rev.W.J.Schulze of Hutchinson,Minnesota,son of K.W.Schulze,writes:"Mother used to tell about the old log cabin of two rooms, one a small kitchen and the other living-,bed-,sitting-room, parlor, and study. Sleeping rooms for prominent guests in the loft above, approach thereto by means of a shaky and squeaky ladder manufactured by my dad, who was a better preacher than a mechanic. She told me of the time when Dr. Walther and Dr.Wyneken were there to attend a conference, Minnesota then belonging to the [North]Western District. Dad's members felt their homes to fall so far short of that magnificent parsonage, that they begged mother to keep allthe pastors; they would supply the necessary feed and help. So dad got some nice clean straw, his members brought the necessary bedding,and dad and mother made two tiers of beds in the loft of that log parsonage, and now all were set for the distinguished clergy, after dad had driven a few spikes into the crooked spokes of the pole ladder. Mother thought it would be an insult to Walther and Wyneken to ask them to climb into those dizzy heights below the roof and hence wanted these two to take their own bed, while she and dad would try to soften the kitchen floor, but these two princes would have it no other way but that they would crawl up there with the other less distinguished clergy. They claimed it to have been one of the finest quarters they had ever had. Walther complained about Wyneken's outrageous snoring.He admitted that he might have snored just a bit, but if so, it was due to the new clay-stem pipes and the nigger-hair tobacco he had smoked so excessively at dad's generosity. It might, too, be said, be due to the steamboat ride down the Minnesota river from St. Paul to Henderson, or to the fast auto, i.e. oxen trip from Henderson out to the log parsonage. Must have been glorious times in the early days,eh? Dad's people at his first charge were mostly Hannoverians".

LeSueur and Waseca counties[19] and apparently also Faribault County, where in 1868 he installed G.E.Ahner.[20]

A number of Lutheran families, Pomeranians and Hanoverians, had settled at Nicollet in the middle fifties and been served from Prairie Mound and Carver County. Shortly before Christmas, 1863, J. Rennecke became the first resident pastor.[21] When he left, a split occurred, one part of the congregation (mainly Pomeranians) eventually joining the Minnesota Synod,[22] and the other, with its church in Courtland, receiving as its minister M. Stuelpnagel.[23]

19) Having heard of the Waseca country, where countrymen of some of his Prairie Mound flock were living, Schulze went there, January, 1867, and found about eighteen families, poor people, but good Lutherans, who had been resisting strong Methodistic influences. In July, 1867, he and C.H.Sprengeler of Hamburg canvased LeSueur County and established preaching stations at LeSueur Prairie, Cleveland, Dutch Lake, Waterville, and Janesville, - Schulze later finding another at Peddler's Grove. Busy as they were, each already having four places to serve, the two alternately supplied the new places every three or four weeks until a place was ready to call a minister. They held all the places except LeSueur Prairie. The congregation at Dutch Lake, combining with Waterville, in 1870 called Candidate H. Sprengeler. Lutheraner, Jan.1, 1871, p. 70.

20) His work in Faribault County I infer from his installing of G.E.Ahner on July 26, 1868, at Barber (Post office, Blue Earth City, Faribault County) according to Lutheraner, September 15, 1868, p. 14.

21) Third Sunday in Advent. Lutheraner, February 15, 1864, p. 95.

22) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 171ff.

23) October 25, 1868. Lutheraner, January 1, 1869, p. 71.

By 1868, the group at Corcoran and Maple Grove, Hennepin County was strong enough to have its own pastor in the person of Rev. C.H. Koernecke from near Indianapolis, Indiana, who came to seek health for his wife.[24]

In Carver County the work begun by Kahmeyer developed rapidly. The land was fertile; the old settlers (mainly Hanoverians) drew others; and the people, having in Germany come under the influence of Pastor Louis Harms, of Hermannsburg, were spiritually inclined.[25] Kahmeyer had lived in Town Benton and from there had served Hamburg, which had as its first pastor Ruprecht from 1860 to 1863[26] and from December 17, 1863, C.H. Sprengeler.[27] Sprengeler supplied for Kahmeyer during the latter's illness and served congregations at Young America, Waconia, Hollywood, and other places until they became independent, remaining at Hamburg until December 17, 1874.[28]

By the spring of 1865, Waconia became independent, Horst of Hay Creek being installed there,[29] who also served now and then Corcoran, Hollywood, and Watertown.[30] Candidate

24) July 19, 1868 - Lutheraner, Sept. 10, 1868, p. 14.
25) Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Evangelisch Lutherischen Immanuel-Gemeinde U.A.C. zu Hamburg, Carver County, Minnesota, p. 7.
26) Hamburg, l.c., p. 8.
27) Ibid., l.c. p. 9.
28) Ibid., l.c., pp. 9, 11. C.H. Sprengeler and Heinrich Stoecklemann had been the first Lutherans to settle in that part of the Big Woods, in March, 1854. Three months later, seven more Hanoverian families arrived. Soon many more came. Sprengeler then studied theology at Fort Wayne, Indiana, and, before returning to Minnesota, had for two and a half years been pastor at Middletown, Connecticut.
29) April 30, 1865, - Lutheraner, May 15, 1865, p. 142
30) Ibid., June, 1, 1865, p. 161.

A.F.Fischer was on the same Sunday installed in Zion at Carver,vacated by Kahmeyer's illness.[31] Candidate Victor Both was installed in a new congregation at Carver,Carver County,on August 9,1868,[32] and he notes that at his church dedication on September 16 he "held a sermon in the English language".[33] --With the installation of E.M.Buerger, formerly of Washington,District of Columbia,[34] Winona County had two Missouri preachers,Buerger at Town Hart and Krumsieg at Utica.

Thus there was slow but steady expansion everywhere.

31) April 30,1865,-Lutheraner,Sept.15,1865,p.15.
32) Ibid.,Nov.15,1868,p.[illegible].
33) Ibid.,Oct.15,1868,p.30.
34) October 18,1869,-Ibid.,Nov.1,1869,p.39.

SURVEY ACCORDING TO COUNTIES.

1857-1858: Carver County and Minneapolis.

1859: Prairie Mound, Sibley County.

1862: Winona County.

1863: St. Paul; Washington, Goodhue, Steele, and Nicollet Counties.

1867: Faribault and Le Sueur Counties.

Missourians in Minnesota.

1857-1858: Cloeter and Kohmeyer.

1859: Horst and Rupprecht added.

1860: Unchanged.

1861: Winter added.

1862: Grupe added.

1863: Rolf, Remnicke, Sprengeler added.

1864: Karrer added. Rupprecht dropped out.

1865: Herzer and Fischer added. Kohmeyer dropped out.

1866: K. F. Schulze and Klinkenberg added. Winter dropped out.

1867: Denn and Kreuse added.

1868: Krumsieg, Stuelpnagel, Both, Friedrich, and Hoermecke added. Grupe, Remnicke, Karrer, and Klinkenberg dropped out.

1869: Ahner and Buerger added.

1870: Cloeter, Horst, Sprengeler, Rolf, Fischer, Herzer, Schulze, Kreuse, Both, Denn, Hoermecke, Krumsieg, Stuelpnagel, Friedrich, Ahner, Buerger. In all sixteen men.

	Cass County	Crow Wing	Carver County.					Washington County	Hennepin County		Ramsey County	Si
			Benton	Waconia	Young America	Hamburg		Afton	Minneapolis	Corcoran	St.Paul	Pr
1857-1858	(2)	Cloeter	Kohmeyer									
1859	(4)	"	"						Horst			Ru
1860	(4)	"	"				Rupprecht		"			
1861	(5)	"	"				"		",Winter			
1862	(6)	"	"				"		"			Wi
1863	(8)	"	"				Sprengeler		Rupprecht		Rolf	
1864	(9)	"	"				"		"		"	
1865	(10)	"	Fischer	Horst			"		"		"	
1866	(11)	"	"	"			"	Karrer	"		"	K.
1867	(13)	"	"	"			"	"	"		"	
1868	(15)	"	"	"	Both		"	Cloeter	Karrer	Koenecke	"	
1869	(16)	"	"	Both	"		"	"	"	"	"	

Si

Sibley County		Goodhue County	Winona County		Nicollet County	Steele County		Faribault County
Prairie Mound	Dryden	Hay Creek	Hart	Utica		Aurora	Wheeling	Barber
Rupprecht								
"								
-								
Winter					Grupe			
"		Horst			"	Rennecke		
"	Karrer	"			"	"		
"	"	-			"	"	Herzer	
K.F.Schulze	-	Klinkenberg			"	"		
"	Damm	"			"	"	"	Krause
"	"	Horst		Krumsieg		Stuelpnagel	Friedrich	"
"	"	"	Buerger		"	"	"	"

CHAPTER X.

THE MISSOURI SYNOD, 1870- X.

With immigration strong in the "seventies" and "eighties", the synods were obliged to look to their missions. The Minnesota Synod was the first to make arrangements for following up the immigrant settlers by appointing a traveling missionary in 1871; and as its congregations lay farthest west(McLeod and Brown Counties), it seemed to have readiest access to the western and northwestern counties. But men and means were limited, and the first traveling missionary, H. Diemann of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, appointed at six hundred dollars a year, proved a disappointment, because already in January, 1872, he threw in his lot with the Union Church; and it was not until 1876 that the Minnesota Synod appointed a successor.[1]

By that time Missouri had inaugurated a vigorous forward movement. Whereas in the earlier days, when the Minnesota Synod's fields were in the counties along the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, it had occupied the central hinterland of Goodhue, Steele, Rice, Faribault, LeSueur, and Blue Earth counties, it now, simultaneously with recognizing the orthodoxy of the Minnesota Synod, carried out two flanking movements which tended to restrict Minnesota to a narrow field of operations.

1) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, p. 28.

Realizing as well as Minnesota that mission work carried on by resident pastors in territory adjoining their charges was not only unsatisfactory to congregations on account of the frequent absences of the pastors but also altogether inadequate in keeping pace with the rapid march of immigration, the pastoral conferences meeting in St. Paul in February, 1871, urged K.F. Schulze of Prairie Mound, Sibley County, to induce his congregation to call an assistent, who was to be itinerant preacher for Minnesota, the salary of three hundred dollars to be collected by the congregations.[2] Candidate Albert Caemmerer, the first choice, soon having accepted a call to Corcoran and Maple Grove, the conference in 1872 asked Friedrich's congregation at Waconia, in Carver County, a more promising base, to make the required arrangements. Candidate Heinrich Vetter was installed by Friedrich July 28, 1872, and on July 30 left for a trip to Todd, Douglas, and Otter Tail counties and the Red River and upper Minnesota River settlements.[3] That was the northern flanking movement, which, whether intended or not, kept Minnesota out of the northwestern part of the state and reserved Canada for Missouri.

Vetter had a colossal task assigned to him and performed it with great energy. To find and serve scattered groups of Lutherans, he made regular rounds to forty-two different places in the following seventeen counties:

2) Lutheraner, November 1, 1871, pp.20-21.
3) Ibid., September 1, 1872, p. 183.

Wright, Hecker, Kandiyohi, Stearns, Benton, Morrison, Todd, Becker, Otter Tail, Douglas, Stevens, Pope, Big Stone, Swift, Chippewa, Renville, and Redwood.[4] In 1873, the "Allgemeine Synode" of Missouri assumed responsibility for the work undertaken by the conference.[5] In the summer of 1873 Vetter was given two assistants, Candidate Robert Winkler taking charge of Elizabethtown, Otter Tail County,[6] and Candidate Kollmorgen of Atwater, Kandiyohi County.[7] A year later Candidate August Hertwig was placed at Leaf Valley, Douglas County.[8]

By 1875 Vetter had taken up his residence in St.Cloud and from there, assisted now by Winkler and Hertwig in the north and by Kollmorgen in the south, traversed Minnesota from east to west, being obliged, in the continuous inpouring of immigrants, to hold old fields rather than look upon new ones. He had a congregation of fifteen voting members in St. Cloud, mainly poor immigrant laborers and a few farmers near St. Cloud; eight families lived north of St.Cloud on the Mississippi, three in Sauk Rapids, five at Sauk River eight miles from Sauk Rapids, East of the Mississippi, in Isanti County, there was a group of fifteen near Stanfordstown and another of eleven families near Cambridge; farther north, at St. George, three families.

4) Lutheraner, April 1, 1874, pp. 52-53.
5) Ibid., April 1, 1873, pp. 52-53.
6) Ibid., October 1, 1873, p. 199.
7) Ibid., November 1, 1873. p. 207.
8) Ibid., September 1, 1874, p.136.

and at Gilmantown and Alberta, in the dense forest twenty miles northeast of St.Cloud twelve families. West of the Mississippi some distance from St.Cloud there were a dozen scattered families at Maine Prairie; at Corvinnetown, about ten miles southeast of that, about ten families, about the same number having joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. Some thirty-five miles northwest of St.Cloud about twenty families, who had come from Wisconsin churches, formed a congregation in a Catholic community. In all, there were fifteen places in the St.Cloud district.-- Near Sauk Center, sixty miles from St.Cloud, there were several small groups. In the town itself most of the men were lodge members. North of Sauk Center there was a very promising field, which extended from Long Prairie eastward along the Swan River to the Mississippi and where fifty families in 1875 called Candidate Ferdinand Haeuser. On the prairie southeast of Sauk Center to Lake Henry, Vetter preached to a group of eighteen families and on the same Sundays at Albany, twenty miles east, to a group of mostly new immigrants who had been troubled with Albrigats from Paynesville. At Lake Amelia, Pope County, there were six families; and one family in Hudson Town.--The great prairie along the Dakota line, intersected by the first division of the St.Paul and Pacific railroad, was everywhere being occupied, in spite of the cold winters of the past years and the lack of fuel, by Swedes, Norwegians, and, in smaller numbers, by Germans, especially Pomeranians, the settlers living in dugouts. Near Morris, between the Chippewa and

the Pomme de Terre rivers, there was a small flock of fifteen members, mostly immigrant Pomeranians. Between the same two rivers, but farther south, in Swift County, there was another and rapidly growing settlement of some twenty families, and in Pigotone County, at the state line, a small congregation of eight families. Following the Minnesota downstream through the long, uninhabited former Sioux reservation, Vetter reached ten families at Montevideo, where the Chippewa enters the Minnesota, and finished his round by visiting eight families at Hawk Creek in the northwest corner of Renville County. President Sieker of the Minnesota Synod asked him to extend his circuit still farther southwest; but when Vetter had made the rounds, he found it necessary to start over again at the beginning. He traversed the field three times a year.[9]

Although the field about Long Prairie, Todd County, was branched off (Heuser), Vetter still had about twenty-seven stations. Installing Candidate K. Wende in St. Cloud, Stearns County, Vetter moved west, accepting a call to Fairfield, Swift County,[10] and from there served five congregations (of in all about one hundred members) and eight preaching stations and carried his work into Dakota until in the fall of 1880 he installed Candidate Friedrich Pfotenhauer, now president of the Missouri Synod, for Lac qui Parle County, Minnesota, and adjoining counties in Dakota.[11]

9) Lutheraner, Sept. 15, 1875, pp. 138-140.
10) Ibid., Aug. 15, 1876, p. 128.
11) Ibid., Dec. 1, 1880, p. 182.

One great advantage of Missouri was that the number of graduates from its seminaries increased from year to year, and as a result resident pastors followed rapidly on the heels of the itinerant preacher, so that by 1880 ten ministers preached at sixty different places in the territory of seventeen counties once covered by Vetter.[12] The locality of each new man, too, was carefully chosen to serve as a base for further work. Thus Sauk Center, Leaf Valley, Freiburg, Fairfield, all became new centers, from which the missionaries "in all sorts of weather day and night would ride their ponies or drive their buggies over lonely prairies", and "never gave up as hopeless any station, no matter how few their hearers were."[13] In the meantime, the main army in the rear of the vanguard, too, was not idle. Every pastor was a missionary, and every congregation a missionary center.

In the south, Schulze of Courtland, Ahner of Nicollet, and Mueller of Willow Creek, traveling from eighty to one hundred fifty miles by train, buggy, ox team, or on foot, gathered new flocks in southwestern Minnesota,[14] and thus the Minnesota Synod was outflanked in the south.

12) Lutheraner, Oct. 1, 1880, p. 149.
13) Ebenezer, pp. 335f.
14) Lutheraner, Oct. 15, 1880, p. 168.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MINNESOTA SYNOD, 1870 - X

During most of this time the Minnesota Synod had been obliged merely to look on. When in 1876 it mustered courage to put a missionary into the field, it found itself restricted to a narrow strip along the Minnesota River and some few undeveloped counties in the southern part of the state. Minnesota extended this strip into Dakota, but Missouri had and still has the lion's share of the state. After Liesmann's defection the Synod desired to see the work continued by a fitting man.[1] Sieker advised Runzikar to hold the mission post in and about Benver Falls.[2] But the ministers were remiss in raising funds.[3] In 1873 a fitting man and the necessary means were still lacking; the majority of the congregations had done little or nothing toward carrying on the work of the Synod.[4]

President Sieker advised considering a closer union with Missouri,[5] and with that end in view he had already begun to supply Minnesota charges with Missouri pastors. Pastors were also advised to help support the Missouri missionary and the Hermannsburg mission, the college at Watertown, and the seminary at St. Louis.[6] In 1874 the congregations again had not done much for the Synod.[7] The grasshoppers had come,

1) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1872, p. 20
2) Ibid., 1872, p. 11.
3) Ibid., 1872, p. 30.
4) Ibid., 1873, p. 10
5) Ibid., 1873, p. 10f.
6) Ibid., 1873, pp. 33f.
7) Ibid., 1874, p. 32.

and Hunziker, Kenter, and A. Wolf had to be subsidized by the Synod.[8] As in 1875 the Synod was seven hundred dollars in arrears on the Watertown professorship; as there were hardly any Minnesota students at Watertown, but several for a time in the Missouri seminary; as for years the Synod had called preachers from Missouri and would no doubt have to continue to do so; and as the pastors of the two synods in the state were in close contact, the arrangement with Wisconsin was canceled and all moneys available were to be given to the Missouri schools.[9] In 1876 Sieker called attention to the missionary needs of the southwestern part of the state, and Hunziker was encouraged to extend his circuit as far as possible.[10]

When President Sieker in 1876 accepted a call to St. Matthew's Church in New York, he was succeeded by C. Spehr, a Missourian, at Trinity, but in the presidency by A. Huhn, who resumed negotiations with Wisconsin. In 1877 he submitted to his Synod the draft of a new agreement with Wisconsin, and the old friendly relations were re-established.[11] In 1878 Hunziker was still the only worker in the mission field.[12] Synod allowed him three hundred dollars and a horse and buggy to canvas the entire southwestern part of the state and a part of Dakota.[13] The Missouri

8) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1874, p. 35.
9) Ibid., 1875, pp. 37f.
10) Ibid., 1876, pp. 8, 30.
11) Ibid., 1877, pp. 10, 87.
12) Ibid., 1878, pp. 11f.
13) Ibid., 1878, p. 28.

institutions were still to be supported.[14]

When Runziker resigned, H.P.Christoph Boettcher took charge of his field shortly before Christmas, 1878.[15] At a salary of three hundred dollars a year this quiet but energetic man entered upon agressive mission work over a territory two hundred miles long by one hundred fifty miles wide.[16] Beginning with eight stations, he had by 1879 gathered twenty-seven: two in Lyons County, three in Redwood County, one in Renville County, three in Yellow Medicine County, four in Lincoln County, one in Pipestone County, besides eight in six counties of Dakota Territory; was planning to go into Lacqui Parle County to look for Germans; and had been in Murray County.[17] From a homestead in Town Limestone, Lincoln County, where he placed his growing family,[16,18] he covered his large territory about once in six weeks with horse and spindle, with no roads or fences to bother about. In winter he could not cover all the places(between twenty-five and thirty-five), but went as far as he could go by train, team, or snow-shoes.[16] Baptismal and other records of his, now in the possession of his son, show that he held services with baptisms at ninety-one different places in Minnesota and Dakota during the years 1879-1885...Sixty-one of these

14) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1878 p. 32.
15) Ibid., 1879, pp. 15,34.
16) Letter, February 5, 1927, of Rev.O.W.C.Boettcher, son of the Missionary and Superintendent of the Lutheran Indian Mission, Crochan, Wisconsin.
17) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1879, pp.34-36.
18) Ibid., 1878, p. 37.

places were in Minnesota.....After 1885 he still records fourteen stations where he held services, and after 1890 five or six.[16] "During his long and tedious travels he was nearly at all times teaching school, instructing children and adults for confirmation."[16] The Minnesota Synod owes the one great extension of its territory in Minnesota to H.P. Christoph Boettcher.[19]

19) His son gives the following data about his father: "H.P. Christoph Boettcher (not Christian as given in the 'Geschichte der Minnesota Synode') was born at Meinern, Kr. Soltau, Province Hannover, Germany, November 9, 1846. His parents died while he was an infant, and he was brought up by an uncle on his mother's side. While his own pastor was a 'Rationalist' he got early into contact with the Harms brothers at Hermannsburg and very often walked the seven hours to Hermannsburg with his uncle to attend Harms' services, even when quite young. 1867 or 1868 he was drafted into military service and remained with the army until after the Franco-Prussian War. Immediately after peace was declared he emigrated to America.

"He was anxious to serve his Savior in the ministry, and by advice of Pastor Th. Harms got into contact with Praeses Sieker of the Minnesota Synod. He was advised to go to St. Louis, and if I am not mistaken, the Minnesota Christians helped to pay his way. He entered the practical Seminary department at St. Louis in September, 1871, and graduated in 1875. His first charge was at Ritzen, Minnesota, with a salary of $150 per annum.....

"In 1891 my father accepted a call to Town Freedom, Wasoca County, Minnesota, joining at the same time the Missouri Synod. Here he served three stations, teaching school at the same time until 1901, when he had to resign from the office on account of asthma. He moved to Cedar County, Missouri, and lived quietly on a farm until 1918. My mother having died in October, 1917, he sold the farm and went to New Haven, Indiana, where my second oldest sister is married to Rev. Kohlmeier. In January, 1919, he was taken with the 'flu', and as an after-effect his asthma returned, and he passed into eternal rest quietly the 7th of March, 1919".

The son adds: "My father was a very active man....I sometimes feel that I am a regular lazybones aside him."

Letter, February 5, 1927.

Meanwhile the Missouri influence in the Minnesota Synod was not dead. Under Timmenstein, Father Meyer's fourth successor at Trinity (since 1879), the old "mother church" urged Synod to take steps leading to closer union with Missouri,[20] and a goodly percentage of Missourians held pastorates in the Minnesota Synod and worked for amalgamation with Missouri.[21] Moreover, the year 1882 brought losses felt by the little Minnesota Synod. When, in 1882, Minnesota at the joint Synod at La Crosse had taken its stand with Missouri in the Election controversy, three pastors, Siegrist of Stillwater, Vollmer of Brownton, and Kittel of Springfield, withdrew and affiliated with the Joint Synod of Ohio.[22] At this time of agitation and controversy, in 1884, C. J. Albrecht of New Ulm, since 1883 president of Synod, established Martin Luther College at New Ulm and in connection with it a theological seminary. Men with more or less training came from Germany and, after taking a theological course at New Ulm, were sent out into the mission fields.[23] They were neither Ohioans nor Missourians, were loyal to Minnesota, and energetic workers. They and the Watertown men held the Minnesota fields, and through the work of Johl, Polzin, Luebbert, Lehme, and H. Volkert, Minnesota extended its narrow claim into Dakota.[24]

20) Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1879, p. 40.
21) Geschichte der Minnesota Synod, p. 31.
22) Ibid., p. 34.
23) Ibid., pp. 35ff.
24) Ibid., p. 28.

In the summer of 1892 the plan of organizing a new "Joint Synod of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan and other states was laid before the Synod. It became necessary to submit the matter to the congregations for ratification. It was then that the pastors von Niebelschuetz and his St. Stephen's Church in St. Paul, Keiser and his congregation near Mendota, Grabarkewitz (a former beneficiary of Minnesota) and his congregation at Good Thunder, and the congregation at Inver Grove asked for their releases.[25] Trinity under Timmenstein (in St. Paul), the Missouri advocates lacking the necessary votes, remained with Minnesota. The Inver Grove congregation was released; the others finally left and were accepted by Missouri.[26]

25) Geschichte der Minnesota Synode, pp. 39-41.
26) Ibid., p. 41
See also Verhandlungen, Minnesota, 1893-1897.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BUFFALO SYNOD 1877-X.

1. "Lohmannsville" (Lake Elmo) in Washington County.

The new St. John's, which Wier had founded after his dismissal from the old Minnesota Synod St. John's at Baytown, continued to flourish and in 1874 built a large new church.[1] The Lohmans (Hanoverians and trebly related to Wier, according to the old Church Record), Schradi (of Wuertemberg), and others were staunch supporters of Wier. Nevertheless there was growing dissatisfaction with his peculiarities. His Trinity Church on the Hudson Road near Afton in 1877 experienced a division, some members joining the Missouri church begun by Rolf in the neighborhood and then served by Kerrer, the others going to Wier's Oakdale church (Lohmannsville)[2] When Wier's second wife had died in 1880, all reports agree, he resigned his pastorate, rented his farm to his children, and went to Germany. In Germany, he visited the Hermannsburg Mission House, the creation of Louis Harms, and there secured for his congregation the services of the Mission Candidate Heinrich Wilhelm Burmester, who was installed at "Lohmannsville" on October 9, 1881. When Wier returned to Lake Elmo, he brought with him his third wife, and, so it is reported, carried the airs of a gentleman. Also, he again wanted to be pastor of the congregation. But the congregation, being well satified with Burmester, turned a deaf ear, and Wier returned to Germany.

1) History of Washington County, p. 446.
2) Ibid., p. 414.

where he died.Burmester having died in 1885 at the early age of thirty-four,his memory is still revered in the congregation.[3] During the interim between Wier's resignation and Burmester's installation Teacher Kindermann supplied in the congregation.Kindermann was a son of Pastor Kindermann of Kirchhayn,Wisconsin,one of the four founders of the Buffalo Synod in 1845;and thus the bond between Buffalo and "Lohmannsville" was again strengthened,and still more so when in 1882 his sister,Martha Coelestine Sophie Kindermann,whom no doubt he had brought with him,was married to Albert Lohmann.[4] During the vacancy between Burmester's death and the arrival of his successor,F.C. Milius of Waltham served the congregation with preaching and other pastoral functions till the summer of 1886.[5] From June,1886,to December,25,1889,William Buehring was pastor of the congregation.During his pastorate a large part of the members,especially the younger people,wished to be permitted to have general confession for themselves in the church,while whoever desired might continue to go to private confession.Milius came up from Waltham to speak for private confession.Buehring maintained a neutral

3)The Lake Elmo Kirchenbuch records:"Heinrich Wilhelm Burmester,Pastor der hiesigen lutherischen St.Johannes Gemeinde,geboren am 18.Juni 1851 in Hasendorf,Hanover.Er studierte zehn Jahre unter Dir.Theo.Harms in Hermannsburg und bereitete sich zum heiligen Predigtamt vor.Er verheiratete sich am 19.Juli 1881 mit der christlichen Jungfrau Catherina Maria Dorothea Harms.Wurde von dieser lutherischen Gemeinde im Jahre 1881 berufen und am 9.October desselben Jahres durch Herrn P.C.Gram eingeführt.Am Freitag den 5 December 1885 erkrankte er am Lungenfieber,an welchen er am 9ten December morgens 1/9 Uhr.....verschieden ist."
4)Kirchenbuch,"Lohmannsville",Lake Elmo.
5)Letter of F.C.Milius,1927.

attitude. When no unanimous permission was to be had, Buehring and the petitioners left St. John's and organized a new congregation.[6] One of the Wiers went with Buehring at the time and for a time was a member of the Luther Seminary (Ohio Synod) Board, the new congregation having joined the Ohio Synod.[7,8] After Milius of Waltham had again served during the vacancy, Albert Haseley, July 1, 1891, became the pastor of the Buffalo Synod congregation (St. John's of "Lohmansville") and is still with it. January 5, 1892, St. John's adopted a new constitution and at the same time changed its name to "St. Paulus-Gemeinde", still using Wier's old church record book,[9] but now also having discontinued private confession.[10] For years on the St. Paul-Stillwater road three Lutheran churches stood not far apart: about two and a half miles out of Stillwater north of the road, old St. John's, Wier's old Minnesota Synod St. John's; about a mile and a half farther towards Lake Elmo, Wier's Buffalo Synod St. John's (later called St. Paul's); and a stone's throw from it, the Ohio Synod St. John's, which had been founded by those objecting to private confession. In 1918, the Buffalo church (St. Paul's) was moved to Lake Elmo.[10] There has been talk of again uniting the three churches. What will be done will depend somewhat on the

6) Verbal report, Mrs. Munkelwitz of Lake Elmo.
7) and 8) Buehring became a member of the Minnesota District of the Joint Synod of Ohio, at the Wells Convention, June 24-30, 1891.- Verhandlungen der 1. Versammlung des Minnesota District's, etc. and verbal statement of Dr. Ernst of Luther Seminary.
9) Now called Kirchen-buch der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen St. Paulus-Gemeinde in Washington County, Minnesota.
10) Verbal report.

outcome of the intersynodical conferences now going on.

2.Waltham,Mower County.

The beginnings of the Evangelical Lutheran St.Michael's Church of Waltham,Mower County,are traceable to 1869, when Michael Matter and his sons,Heinrich and Michael F., settled there.Having been members of old David's Stern at Kirchhayn,Wisconsin (Kindermann's church), they applied for pastoral services to Wier at Lake Elmo.When in the course of time seven families of the Lutheran faith had arrived,they organized the congregation,and Wier served it from Lake Elmo until 1876.Father Matter at the time of organization,June 23,1873,presented to the congregation sixty acres of land with a little house on it,which with its two rooms later did duty as a parsonage.In the same year(1873) also a little church,eighteen by thirty,was erected.In 1876,J.J.Meissner became the first resident pastor.From 1880 to the spring of 1884 J.Haack,previously of Random Lake,Wisconsin,was the pastor.In December,1884, Candidate F.C.Milius of Martin Luther Seminary at Buffalo, New York,was called and still serves the congregation. The congregation never had a split and never threw off any branches.It has a church,thirty-four by sixty,since 1890;since 1893 a new parsonage ;and since 1899 a new school house,twenty-four by forty.In all,seventy-eight families with three hundred and twenty-five souls and two hundred and twenty communicants, make up the flock. The church is situated three miles from Waltham,which did not exist when the church was organized.The country

is prairie with a sprinkling of oak. Most of the people are Pomeranians, who were attracted by the cheap price of land (five to ten dollars an acre) and came from Kirchhayn, Freistatt, and Random Lake, Wisconsin, one drawing the other.[11]

3. Brainerd, Princeton, and St. Paul.

The Buffalo Synod had no share in the great forward movement of the seventies and eighties. "Lohmansville" and Waltham were its only charges. It is only in recent years, mostly through the efforts of Rev. A. Haseley of Lake Elmo, that new congregations have been started. St. John's in the timber country of Livonia Township, Sherburne County, ten miles west of Princeton, was organized September 6, 1896. After being served by Haseley, 1896-1912, by Gustav Ziemer, 1913-1917, and by L.E. Heuer, 1918-1923, it now has as pastor Herbert C. Milius, Zimmerman,[12] who is also doing mission work at Foreston near Milaca. Emanuel's in Brainerd, founded and first served by Haseley and Ziemer, is now under the care of Wm. Heidke. In St. Paul there are two Buffalo Synod churches: Grace Church (Rev. Alfred Walk) at Hazel Park, and Hope Church (Rev. Alfred Ewald) at Hayden Heights.[13]

---

11) Letter of F.C. Milius, 1927.
12) Letter of H.C. Milius, Feb. 10, 1927.
13) Report of A. Haseley of Lake Elmo.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE IOWA SYNOD, 1870-X.

The Iowa Synod came into Minnesota through the southern part of the state, as was to be expected. The neighborhood in which it began to work was that of Albert Lea, in Freeborn County. The first German Lutheran settlers immigrated into that part of Minnesota about 1863. Some came from the state of New York, others from Waldeck, Germany. In 1865, a traveling missionary, M. Reck, explored the field and occasionally preached to small gatherings in farm houses. April 1, 1866, Concordia Congregation in Bear Lake Township, Freeborn County, was organized, part of which were the preaching places in Pickerel Lake Township and at Mansfield. The parish was served by Reck until April 5, 1868, when a vacancy ensued[1] and an earnest call for service came from Albert Lea to the Iowa Synod convened at Madison, Wisconsin, September 16-23, 1868.[2] Simon Hertrich was another of the pioneers and was located first at Minnesota Lake.[3] In the summer of 1870 his headquarters were Albert Lea,[4] and in February, 1871, Munda, Freeborn County.[5] He served two congregations that had joined the Synod and one that had not,

---

1) Letter of Rev. H. Pfeiffer, Nov. 15, 1926; "Er ging dann fort, weil er sollte".
2) Kirchenblatt der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Iowa, Nov. 1, 1868, p. 162.
3) Reported absent from Synod, 1869. Ibid., Sept. 15, 1869, p. 141. The Kirchenblatt of Aug. 15, 1870, p. 128, speaks of him as formerly at Minnesota Lake.
4) Ibid., Aug. 15, 1870, p. 128.
5) Ibid., Feb. 15, 1871, p. 32.

among them that at Pickeral Lake, from August 14, 1870, to May 17, 1873. After his resignation there was a year's vacancy, and then H. Kretschmar was called.[1] M. Reck meanwhile had opened up work in Spring Valley, Fillmore County.[6] By 1875, the number of pastors had grown to be four; that is, H. Kretschmar at Albert Lea with one synodical congregation consisting of thirty voting members, eighty-one communicants, and one hundred nine souls; O. Hartmann of Big Spring with three synodical congregations of sixty voting members; J. Schulenburg of Meriden, Steele County, with three non-synodical congregations of twenty-seven voting members and one hundred fifty-three communicants; and M. Reck of Spring Valley with four synodical congregations of eighty-six voting members, eighty-nine communicants, and one hundred fifty-five souls. To these was added F. Tiedo at Bear Lake, Freeborn County. At this time, 1875-1876, fourteen pastors withdrew from the Iowa Synod on account of its doctrinal position, some of them joining Missouri.[7] Among those withdrawing were Schulenburg and Kretschmar.[7] Kretschmar took with him a minority of thirteen members.[8] In 1877, Hartmann's congregations were Big Spring, Preston, and Granger,

6) Ibid., Oct. 1, 1871, p. 149.
7) Ibid., July 1, 1876, p. 98.
8) They organized the Concordia Congregation, which joined the Missouri Synod, but in 1882, under Kittel, left that Synod on account of the Election controversy and affiliated with the Joint Synod of Ohio.---Rev. H. Pfeiffer's Letter of Nov. 18, 1926.

Fillmore County,[9] and E.Giesel had been been added for Fox Lake.[10] In 1878, W.Mensing appears at Fairmount, Martin County.[11] In 1879, the Synod still(removals and exchanges having taken place) counted four pastors in Minnesota.[12] In 1885, the Iowa Synod had seven pastors in Minnesota, its main strength being in Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Michigan.[13] In 1903, there were twenty-eight.[13] By this time the Synod had strengthened its position in the lower tier of counties, had entered Austin, Waseca, Owatonna, Le Sueur, Center, St.Paul, and Minneapolis, and had reached out into Stearns, Todd, and Norman counties.[13]

9) Kirchenblatt, Nov.15, 1877, p.170.
10) Ibid., Aug.15, 1877, p.128.
11) Ibid., Nov.15, 1878, p.176.
12) Deindoerfer, Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Iowa und anderen Staaten von der Gründung bis zum Jubeljahr 1904 (Chicago, 1904), p.15.
13) Ibid., p.84.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO, 1882-X.

The Joint Synod of Ohio had an opportunity of entering Minnesota when Krause, Wier, Jungk, and Wyneken, who formed the Concordia Synod, applied for membership as a district in 1864. But the Joint Synod, leaning toward Missouri at the time, left the work among the Germans west of the Mississippi to Missouri. The actual inception of its work in the state is traceable to a body of thirteen men who withdrew from the Missouri Synod on account of Missouri's doctrine of Election and met at Blue Island, Illinois, in November, 1881, to organize an Evangelical Lutheran Conference They met again April 12-18, 1882, at Mount Olive, Macoupin County, Illinois, and petitioned the Joint Synod of Ohio to be admitted as its Northwestern District as they found themselves in doctrinal accord with the Ohio Synod.[1] Having been received October 20, 1882,[2] the new District convened at Yorkville, Kendall County, Illinois, May 30, 1883, H.A. Allwardt being elected president, H. Ernst vice-president, and H.K.G. Doenmann secretary. The following pastors resident in Minnesota were received in to membership: G. Kittel of

1) Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung der in Blue Island Illinois, im November 1881 organisierten Ev.-Luth. Konferenz, gehalten in Mount Olive, Macoupin Co., Ill., vom 12. bis 18. Apr. 1882 (Columbus, Ohio, 1883), pp. 5-10.

2) Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des Nordwestlichen Distrikts der Allgem. Ev.-Luth. Synode von Ohio u. andern Staaten, gehalten in der ev.-luth. Immanuels-Gemeinde zu Yorkville (Columbus, Ohio, 1883), p. 80.

Albert Lea, C. Pitzler, J. Siegrist of Stillwater, and J. Vollmer of Browaton, though their congregations did not yet join.[3] The new district was to embrace all the territory west of Chicago from the Golf of Mexico to the North Pole. What the "baker's dozen", as Missouri nicknamed the thirteen founders,[4] needed was laborers to supply this limitless field; and at the meeting in 1883 the establishment of a preparatory school in the West was discussed.[5] On January 3 or 5, 1885, this institution, called Luther Seminary, was opened at Afton, Minnesota, with two professors and about ten or twelve students. Rev. He. Ernst was the leader and at the same time had charge of all presidial matters in the Minnesota territory.[6] After a period of financial struggle[7] the school got onto its feet.[8]

In 1885, Ohio held Afton, Armstrong (Albert Lea), Stillwater, Browaton, and Winthrop. Of the ministerial accessions 1884 to 1885 three came from the Columbus seminary, four from Kermannsburg in Germany, one from the Minnesota Synod, one from the Free Church of Hanover in Germany, and one from the Wartburg Synod.[9] In the summer of 1885, the Afton seminary sent out three graduates; in 1886, four; in 1887, three; in 1888, one; in 1889, five; and thereafter

---

3) Ibid., 1883, p. 45.
4) Peter and Schmidt, Geschichte der Ohio Synode, p. 270.
5) Ibid., p. 82.
6) Verhandlungen des Minn. Distrikts, 1901, p. 15.
7) Verhandlungen des Nordwestl. Distrikts, 1885, p. 48.
8) Ibid., 1886, p. 53.
9) Ibid., 1885, pp. 3f.; 16-19.

larger classes. In 1892, the Synod removed the seminary to more commodious quarters at Phalen Park, St. Paul, and in the course of years the Seminary has graduated some three hundred and sixty candidates.[10] Some sixty of these in the earlier years were sent from Germany through Hermannsburg or by Pfarrer Voelter.[11]

Owing to this supply of preachers, the number of congregations in Minnesota multiplied rapidly. When Minnesota was branched off as a separate district in 1891, it entered upon the first year of its synodical existence with thirty-eight pastors and two teachers, with H. Ernst as president and leader of the district.[12] In 1905 the District entered Canada. When the Canada District was organized in 1908 with twenty pastors, the Minnesota District, embracing the Dakotas, still numbered eighty pastors.[13]

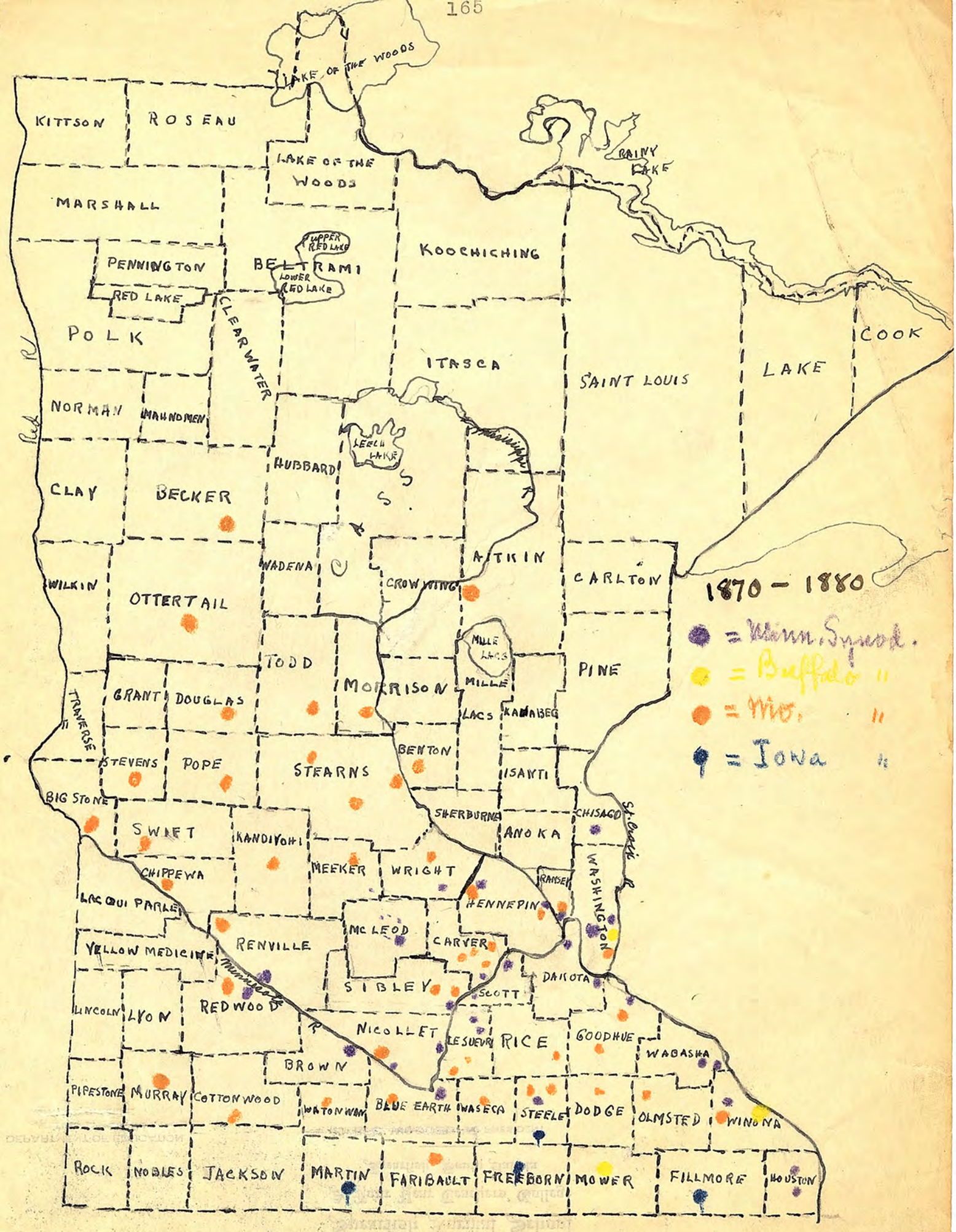
As the Joint Synod of Ohio entered Minnesota as an opponent of the Missouri doctrine of Election, its early gains were more or less "election" congregations. Such were the churches at Stillwater, Brownton, Albert Lea, Bismarck, Wells, Good Thunder, Afton, Shakopee, Belle Plaine, Big Woods, Mapleton, and Springfield.

---

10) Annual Catalog, Luther Seminary, St. Paul, 1920-1921.
11) Verbal statement of Dr. H. Ernst.
12) Verhandlungen des Minn. Dist., 1891, pp. 3, 4, 15.
13) Statement of Dr. H. Ernst.

In 1926, fifty-seven congregations belonged to the District,[14] and eighty-eight pastors were active in its field; of these, fifty-three pastors, many of them carrying mission stations besides their home charges, are working in the following counties of Minnesota: Freeborn, one; Faribault, one; Nobles, one; Blue Earth, three; Brown, two; Cottonwood, two; Redwood, four; Yellow Medicine, one; Lac qui Parle, one; Swift, one; Stevens, one; Goodhue, one; Scott, three; Nicollet, one; Sibley, five; Renville, five; McLeod, two; Ramsey, six; Washington, two; Hennepin, one; Wright, two; Mille Lacs, one; Kanabec, one; Aitkins, one; Duluth, two; Otter Tail, one; Polk, one.[14]

14) Verhandlungen der 36. Versammlung des Minnesota Distrikt 1926, pp. 4-7.


LAKE OF THE WOODS
KITTSON
ROSEAU
LAKE OF THE WOODS
RAINY LAKE
MARSHALL
UPPER RED LAKE
PENNINGTON
BELTRAMI
KOOCHICHING
LOWER RED LAKE
RED LAKE
CLEARWATER
POLK
COOK
ITASCA
SAINT LOUIS
LAKE
NORMAN
MAHNOMEN
LEECH LAKE
HUBBARD
CLAY
BECKER
WADENA
CROW WING
AITKIN
CARLTON
WILKIN
OTTERTAIL
MILLE LACS
TODD
PINE
MORRISON
GRANT
DOUGLAS
TRAVERSE
BENTON
KANABEC
STEVENS
POPE
STEARNS
ISANTI
BIG STONE
SHERBURNE
CHISAGO
SWIFT
KANDIYOHI
ANOKA
CHIPPEWA
MEEKER
WRIGHT
RAMSEY
WASHINGTON
LAC QUI PARLE
HENNEPIN
MCLEOD
YELLOW MEDICINE
RENVILLE
CARVER
DAKOTA
SIBLEY
SCOTT
LINCOLN
LYON
REDWOOD
NICOLLET
LESUEUR
RICE
GOODHUE
WABASHA
BROWN
PIPESTONE
MURRAY
COTTONWOOD
WATONWAN
BLUE EARTH
WASECA
STEELE
DODGE
OLMSTED
WINONA
ROCK
NOBLES
JACKSON
MARTIN
FARIBAULT
FREEBORN
MOWER
FILLMORE
HOUSTON
1870 – 1880
= Minn. Synod.
= Buffalo "
= Wis. "
= Iowa "

SUMMARY.

The German Lutherans, like the other early immigrants settled either in the Big Woods or in the delta between the Mississippi and the Minnesota rivers. They were spiritually supplied first by Minnesota Synod and Missouri Synod pastors, the former confessionally lax and tolerant, the latter strict and unyielding. By 1867, largely owing to Fachtmann's restless missionary zeal, the Minnesota Synod pastors outnumbered those of Missouri almost two to one, Minnesota having twenty-two pastors, and Missouri (not counting the Chippewa missionary) twelve. But the Minnesota Synod was too heterogeneous and colorless a group to work effectively Fachtmann's plan of close co-operation with the Wisconsin Synod would no doubt have hastened the development of a sound Lutheran character in the Minnesota Synod and infused into it the vigor needed for the prosecution of mission work. But this plan was discountenanced first by Heyer on account of his leanings toward General Synod friends and subsidies and later by Sieker, who strove to merge his synod with Missouri. While in the early seventies, when immigratia was spreading into the western counties, Missouri carried out its wide forward movement, Minnesota was dormant and as a result was outflanked north and south. Bound by the [illegible] agreements of the Synodical Conference not to interfere in one another's territories, the Minnesota Synod was for ever cut off from the greater part of Minnesota, from most of the Dakotas, and from Canada, and restricted to its original limits. When in 1876 Sieker joined the Missouri Synod, only

one narrow field was left to Minnesota, that west of New Ulm, which by the heroic work of Boettcher and others and by the support of the theological school at New Ulm it extended into Dakota; but beyond that it has been obliged to rejoice in the growth of its sister Synod, Missouri.

The entrance of the Iowa Synod into Minnesota was slow and meant greater loss to the Minnesota Synod than to that of Missouri. In like manner, the early development of the Joint Synod of Ohio in Minnesota was mainly at the expense of the Minnesota Synod.

In 1924, there were in Minnesota of the Missouri Synod two hundred and thirty pastors; of the Minnesota Synod, ninety; of the Ohio Synod, fifty-one; of the Iowa Synod, thirty-one; of the Buffalo Synod, six;[1] --two hundred and thirty Missourians to one hundred and seventy-eight of all others combined. When one thinks of the two to one ratio of Minnesota and Missouri in 1867, the figures quoted seem a riddle; but they are the figures.

1) The Lutheran World Almanac for 1926 and Encyclopedia 1924-1926 (New York, 1926), pp. 152-157.

1.Father Meyer's Bequest to Trinity.

Vermächtniss von Ein tausend Dollars an die lutherische Dreifaltigkeitskirche durch Pastor C.F.Meyer.

St.Paul den 23sten Mai 1860.

Die deutsche-lutherische Dreifaltigkeitskirche zu St.Paul hat durch ihre Trustees zum Ankauf der Grundlotte,Ecke von der Wabashaw-und 10ten Strasse,wie auch zum Bau der Kirche von Pastor C.F.Meyer auf fünf Jahre ein tausend Dollar geborgt,nämlich vom 1sten August 1858,wofür jährlich 10 Prozent Interesse zu bezahlen sind. Nebst obigem schuldet die Gemeinde auch noch an Pastor C.F.Meyer 148 Dollars,welche er auf Dr.Haywards Note 1859 für die Gemeinde bezahlt hat.

Der Unterzeichnete verspricht und macht sich verbindlich,aus obigem Gelde der Gemeinde fünf hundert Dollars zu vermachen,zum Besten armer Wittwen und Waisen in der Gemeinde zu 6 Prozent jährlich. Die Interessen sollen jährlich zwischen Weihnachten und Neujahr ausgetheilt werden. Der Anfang dieser Austheilung soll am 25sten Dezember bis zum 31sten Dezember 1870 stattfinden.

Zu obigen kommen noch 500 Dollars,wovon die Interessen auf gleiche Weise verwendet werden sollen. Diese 500$ schuldet die Gemeinde,wie folgt. Auf 1000 Dollars Interessen von August 1858 bis August 1860 macht 200$. Ferner für Predigergehalt,welches in 1859 u 1860 von den Leuten einbezahlt ist,aber zur Tilgung der Gemeindeschuld verwendet,also von Pastor Meyer der Gemeinde gelichen ist jährlich 150 Dollar,macht 300 Dollar,also Interessen und Gehalt im Ganzen 500 $. Diese beiden Summen,zusammen 1000 $ sollen zu 6 Proz. jährlich zum Besten armer Wittwen und Waisen fortwährend stehen bleiben,die Interessen jährlich in Brod und Holz vertheilt werden.

J.H.Möller
Jacob Dietz
J.H.Brandhorst

St.Paul den 23sten Mai 1860.

From Kirchen-Buch der Ev.luth. Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde zu St.Paul.

2. Extract from the "Brudergruss" of the Concordia Synod(Krause,Wier,Jungk,Warns),1868

"Es ist böse Zeit. Inmitten der 42 luth. sich nennenden Synoden Amerikas haben seit vielen Jahren den Glaubensgrund stürzende Lehrverwirrungen überhand genommen und dauern leider noch fort. Wir sehen,wie die einen [General Synod ?] das luth. Bekenntnis zerreissen und verleugnen,andere es zwar stehen lassen,ja sogar sich für eifrige Verteidiger desselben ausgeben,dagegen aber sich brüsten,sie müssten es nun zum rechten Verständnis bringen und seinen eigentlichen Sinn der Kirche entdecken, daran es bis daher noch gemangelt habe;sich als die erleuchteten hinstellen,die erst entdeckt hätten,wie die luth. Kirche ihr Bekenntnis gemeint habe,und nun ihre sonderlichen Erfindungen und Entdeckungen,nämlich Mündlein und Trugschlüsse zum Symbol erheben,und so das helle klare Bekenntnis unter ihr Nebelgebilde zwängen und es nach demselben erklären,d.i. verkehren,und somit ihre Phantasien für die nun erst gefundene unträgliche Wahrheit der Christenheit anpreisen.[Missouri?] Hierdurch haben sie bereits vielfältige Zerrüttungen angerichtet,sintemal sie die Seelen von der Einfalt in Christo,vom lebendigen Glauben und der daraus erwachsenden Bekenntnistreue verlocken auf ihre falsch berühmten Menschensatzungekünste, teils tyrannisirender teils freundlich verführender,teils schwärmerischer teils unionistischer,in Summa seelenverderbender kirchenverwüstender Natur----- Die Synode von Ohio allein beweiset das redliche Streben,alle Lehrwirrnisse abzutun und auf den reformatorischen Standpunkt der luth. Kirche in Lehre und Praxis zu gelangen.....Wer nun mit uns desselben Sinnes ist und samt uns kämpfen will für den Glauben des Evangelii in der Kraft Gottes,dem bieten wir mit Freuden Herz und Bruderhand zu solchem lebendigen luth. Kirchenbunde,es seien nun einzelne Brüder oder Kirchgemeinden oder ganze Synoden,die unbedingt an der Gesamtconcordia der luth. Kirche festhalten!"

From Letter of H.Denef,April 9,1927.

3.Letter of Rev. Ferdinand Sievers of Frankenlust, Michigan, August 24,1881.

Theure Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde von Minneapolis!

Geliebte Väter,Brüder und Schwestern in Christo!

Wenn ich Eurer Liebe gedenke,die mich eingeladen hat,dass ich mit Euch im schönen Verein das Gedächtnis der Güte Gottes feiern sollte,nach der Er vor nun 25 Jahren den Grund Eurer lutherischen Gemeinde gelegt hat,so thut es mir wohl wehe,dass ich wegen der grossen Entfernung dem Leibe nach nicht bei Euch sein kann,aber desto williger danke ich meinem und Eurem Gott,dass Er Eurer Gemeinde so gnädig beigestanden hat,dass dieselbe nicht nur damals einen,wenn auch kleinen,doch guten Anfang gewinnen durfte, sondern sich auch bis zu ihrem jetzigen Bestande gemehrt hat.
Und nicht blos äusserlich hat der HErr Euch gemehrt,sondern Er hat Euch auch je mehr innerlich erstarken lassen, sodass es Euch trotz Eurer beschränkten Anzahl gelungen ist,nicht nur seit 1859 ein eignes öffentliches Predigtamt unter Euch zu bestellen,sondern auch seit 1871 durch eine eigne Gemeinde-Schule und ihren Lehrer theils die Kinder Eurer eignen Gemeinde mit Unterricht wohl zu versorgen,theils auch noch fremden Kindern das Evangelium zu ihrer Seligkeit darzubieten.
Also danke ich meinem Gott heute mit Euch,dass Er Sich zu der Arbeit Seiner Knechte in Eurer Mitte bekannt und auch mir,dem geringsten unter Ihnen,die Gnade verliehen hat,dass meine Missionsarbeit in Minneapolis ihre Frucht getragen hat.
Es war im August des Jahres 1856,als ich den Auftrag unsrer Missouri-Synode Nördlichen Distrikts,die zerstreuten Lutheraner im damaligen Territorium Minnesota aufzusuchen und wo möglich zur Bildung von Gemeinden zu ermuthigen,in aller Schwachheit ausführte. Mit meiner Reisetasche in der Hand hatte ich schon die oberen Gegenden des Mississippi bis über Crowwing hinaus besucht,um die Anlegung einer Missions-Station unter den heidnischen Chippeway-Indianern am Leech und Mille-Lake vorzubereiten als ich nunmehr die Sache der inneren Mission unter den Glaubensgenossen Minnesota's in die Hand nahm und,zunächst nach St.Anthony-Falls geführt,von da aus das gegenüberliegende Städtchen Minneapolis besuchte,welches der HErr seit jener Zeit zu einer grossen Weltstadt sich hat entfalten lassen. Nach einer längeren sorgfältigen Nachfrage wurde ich darauf aufmerksam gemacht,dass ich eine deutsche Familie,Namens Döhren aufsuchen könne,die als lutherisch bekannt sei. Wie froh war ich,auf solche Weise einen Eingang bei Glaubensgenossen in Aussicht zu haben! Nachdem ich die genannte Familie erfragt und willige Aufnahme in ihr gefunden hatte,machte mich dieselbe alsbald mit einer zweiten lutherischen Familie bekannt, nämlich mit der des Herrn Fr. Krückeberg,die noch jetzt unter Euch weilt und Gott mit Euch anfleht,Er wolle Seine

Gläubigen in Minneapolis und aller Orten im rechten Glauben und in der heiligen Liebe zu unserm einigen Heilande Jesu Christo erhalten und sie zum schönen Ziele führen, welches ist der Seelen Seligkeit.-Gross war die Freude der beiden Familien,in mir einen Prediger des lautern Evangelii zu begrüssen und sie führten mich sofort zu einem dritten, lutherisch gesinnten Manne,Herrn Carl Schulz,der ihre Freude theilte.- Nun ging ein reges Leben in der kleinen Gemeinschaft an;die erste Liebe zur reinen Lehre machte Alle geschäftig. Sonderlich des Abends kamen die treuen Seelen zum Gottesdienst und zur Betrachtung der evangelisch lutherischen Bekenntnisse zusammen und Alle stimmten von Herzen der Lehre unserer lutherischen Kirche nach dem kleinen Catechismus Luthers und der Augsburgischen Confession bei. Es waren wahre Erquickstunden,die der Herr dem kleinen Kreise durch die Betrachtung Seines Wortes bereitete. Aber auch der Sacramente Segen wurde denselben nach so langer Entbehrung zu Theil. Durch Beichtgespräche wurde das heil. Abendmahl für den 14. Sonntag p.Trin.,den 24. August(zugleich Gedächtnistag des heil. Apostels Bartholomaeus) vorbereitet. Durch Verwendung aber des Herrn Carl Schulz war uns zur Abhaltung des Sonntags-Gottesdienstes das Lokal der United states-Landoffice überlassen,und so konnte denn nach der aus Psalm 32 gehaltenen Beichte nach empfangener Absolution an Sonntage um 10 Uhr Vormittags die Predigt daselbst gehalten werden,worauf 5 Communicanten das heil. Abendmahl empfingen,nämlich Fr.Erickeberg und seine Ehefrau Anna Margarethe,geb.Thoma,Joh. Fr. Bähren und seine Ehefrau Maria Elisabetha geb.Winterberg und Carl Schulz. Dieselben wurden durch solchen Abendmahlgenuss im seligen Glauben der Kinder Gottes reichlich gestärkt. Ausser ihnen hatten noch 3 erwachsene Personen dem Gottesdienste beigewohnt. Hier möchte Jemand denken:"Eine kleine,geringe Versammlung!" Aber der Herr sagt:"Wo zween unter euch eins werden auf Erden,warum es ist,das sie bitten wollen,das soll ihne widerfahren von Meinem Vater im Himmel. Denn wo zween oder drei versammelt sind in Meinen Namen,da bin Ich mitten unter ihnen!"
Auch am Nachmittage desselben Sonntage um 2 Uhr liess der Herr Sich nicht unbezeugt unter uns,da ein Gottesdienst unser wartete,in welchem ein Töchterlein des Fr.Erickeberg getauft und in der Taufe Christina Marg. Luise Maria genannt wurde. Nachher ward zum Behuf der Aufnahme der kleinen Gemeinschaft in die deutsche ev. luth. Synode von Missouri Ohio u.a. St. die gedruckte Constitution derselben betrachtet und nach Gottes Wort und den Bekenntnisschriften der ev. luth. Kirche beurtheilt.
Der nächste Tag fand mich,damit auch den benachbarten Lutheranern die Predigt des Evangelii gebracht würde,in der sogenannten Schütte-schen Ansiedlung,16 Meilen nordwestlich von Minneapolis. Hier empfing noch selbigen Abends ein Töchterlein des Friedrich Reinking und seiner Ehefrau Charlotte geb. Schaefer die heil. Taufe und in derselben die Namen Anna Maria. An den beiden folgenden Tagen fanden Versammlungen zur Belehrung,zur Erbauung,zur Beichtvermahnung Statt,da mehrere Brüder und Schwestern sich

herzlich nach dem Genuss des heiligen Abendmahl sehnten. Die Namen derselben sind: Hermann Schütte und seine Ehefrau Catharine Maria, geb. Hasemann, Friedrich Reinking und seine Ehefrau Charlotte geb. Schaefer, Clemens Adolf Schütte und seine Ehefrau Maria Regina geb. Schaefer, Friedrich Schütte und seine Ehefrau Wilhelmina, geb. Schumacher und Heinrich Rudolf Schaefer.
Der öffentliche Predigt und Abendmahlgottesdienst, an welchem die genannten Personen alle Theil nahmen, wurde am Mittwoch Morgen den 27. August gehalten und es wohnten noch manche andere Personen diesem Gottesdienste bei, ohne zum mündlichen Genuss des heiligen Abendmahls zu gelangen. Wir flehten inniglich zu Gott, Er wolle Seinem Worte Kraft und Nachdruck geben, damit recht Viele dadurch zur Erkenntnis des Heils kämen und auch hier eine Gemeinde des rechten Bekenntnisses gebildet werden könnte. Als ich darauf noch am Abend desselben Tages nach Minneapolis zurückgekehrt war, constituirte sich hieselbst in später Nachtstunde die kleine lutherische Gemeinde. Eine Gemeinde-Ordnung war entworfen, die von den drei Stiftern der neugebildeten evangel. luth. Dreieinigkeits-Gemeinde gut geheissen, angenommen und unterschrieben wurde, nämlich von Fr. Krückeberg, Fr. Mayer und Carl Schulz. Dieselben beschlossen, dass sie vorerst den Erfolg meiner weiteren Missionsreisen in Minnesota abwarten und dann baldmöglichst ein eignes Predigtamt in ihrer kleinen Gemeinde aufrichten wollten. Auch versprachen alle drei, jeder ihr Möglichstes zur Erhaltung eines Pastors zu thun, wenn ein solcher berufen würde, damit derselbe keine Noth unter ihnen leide.
Nach solchem Abschlusse meiner dermaligen Wirksamkeit in Minneapolis und Umgegend zog ich andern Tages fröhlich meine Strasse, eine Strecke geleitet von den Gliedern der Krückebergschen Familie, um auch in St. Paul, Shakopee, Henderson, St. Peters, Redwing und andern Plätzen die zerstreuten Lutheraner zu besuchen, zu stärken und zu sammeln. Und Gott sei Dank, an etlichen der angegebenen Plätze liess der HErr damals gleichfalls kleine Anfänge von lutherischen Gemeindlein zu Stande kommen, von denen aus das Wort Gottes über Stadt und Land ausgekommen ist, so dass Ihr heute mit mir den HErrn preiset, dass Minnesota seitdem mit vielen geistlichen Gärten Gottes geziert ist. Etwa 125 Pastoren nebst 15 Gemeinde-Schullehrern (allein aus unserer Synodalconferenz) versorgen heute Hunderte von lutherischen Gemeinden mit der Predigt des göttlichen Wortes, und wir rufen billig aus: Was bin ich, HErr, und was ist mein Haus, dass Du mich bis hierher gebracht hast?! "HErr, ich bin viel zu geringe aller Barmherzigkeit und aller Treue, die Du an Deinen Knechte gethan hast."
Ihr theuren Väter, Brüder und Schwestern, lasst mich nach solcher Danksagung gegen den HErrn unsern Gott, ferner, wie St. Paulus für seine Colosser gethan, für Euch beten und bitten, dass Ihr erfüllet werdet mit Erkenntnis seines Willens in allerlei geistlicher Erkenntnis und Verstand, dass Ihr wandelt würdiglich dem HErrn zu allen Gefallen und fruchtbar seid in allen guten Werken.

Lasset mich,wie derselbe St.Paulus seinen Thessalonichern gethan,Euch ermahnen,dass Ihr noch völliger wrdet in der brüderlichen Liebe,denn Ihr seid von Gott gelehret,euch unter einander zu lieben.Vor Allem aber kampfet ab dem Glauben,der einmal den Heiligen vorgegeben ist and ergreifet den Schild des Glaubens,mit welchem Ihr auslöschen könnt alle feurigen Pfeile des Bösewichts .Und nehmet den Helm des Heils and das Scwert des Geistes,welches ist das Wort Gottes.Wachet,stehet im Glauben,seid männlich and seid stark.Sprechet auch allezeit in wahrer Demuth and ernster Heiligung:"Nicht dass ich as schon ergriffen habe oder schon vollkommen sei.Ich jage ihm aber nach, ob ich es auch ergreafen möchte,nachdem ich von Christo ergriffen bin."

Eure Brüder and Schwestern in Christo aber erheben heute an Eurem Jubel and Ehrentage ihre Stimme;wir segnen Euch, die Ihr vom Hause des Herrn seid,and sprechen zu Eurer lieben Gemeinde:"Du bist unsere Schwester,wachse in viel tausendmal tausend and Dein Same besitze die Thore seiner Feinde! Amen.

In herzlicher Liebe zu Euch,zu Euren und meinen Kindern, sendet diese Worte

Euer Mitpilger and Mitkämpfer
Euer Mitgenosse am Jubel und
an der Trübsal,andlich auch Euer
Miterbe der ewigen Seligkeit
durch Christum

Ferdinand Sievers,sen.

Frankenlust den 24.August 1881
Die Bartholomaei.

Manuscript letter loaned by Dr.John Huchthausen,
Pastor of Trinity First Lutheran Church of
Minneapolis.

COUNTIES	Prussia	Hanover	Brunswick	Mecklenburg	Holstein	Oldenburg	Hessia	Hamburg	Bremen	Reuss	Lippe	Saxony	Bavaria	Baden	Wurtemberg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace(France)	Germany
AITKIN																				
None																				
ANOKA																				
Anoka	3														1					
Bethel																				
Centerville	1	1										2		1						
Columbus	4						3						4		4	4	3			
Grow													2			1				
Oak Grove																				
Ramsey	1																			
St.Francis																				
BECKER																				
None																				
BENTON																				
Princeton																				3
Sauk Rapids	2	1																		
Township 36																				
Township 37																				
Township 38																				
Sauk Rapids Twp.	w						1						1							
Watab																				
BLUE EARTH																				
Butternut Valley																				
Ceresco													1							1
Danville													1	1						1
Fox Lake																				
Jamestown	18	1					7						6	6	5	1	1	2		
Judson																				
Lime	8	1																		
Mankato	72	7				2	9					7	31	15	5	3				18
Mapleton													1							1
Shelby																1				
South Bend															3	1				1
Vernon																3				
Watonwan													1	1						
BRECKENRIDGE																				
--------	3												1							
BROWN																				
Cottonwood	13	1		4									2	1	10	1	2			
Leavenworth													1	3	1					
Linden(Missing)																				
Medelia(Missing)																				
Milford	18	8	1	21	3	1	4	1				2	8	4	33	2	11	14		
New Ulm	47	9	3	14	1	1	15	2				16	21	13	19	4	8	6		
Redwood	2						1								1	1				
Yellow Medicine	15	3					2				2		1			1				
BUCHANAN																				
None																				
CARLTON																				
~~Esko~~												2				2	1	1		

COUNTIES	Prussia	Hanover	Brunswick	Mecklenburg	Holstein	Oldenburg	Hessia	Hamburg	Bremen	Reuss	Lippe	Saxony	Bavaria	Baden	Wurtemberg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace (France)	Germany
CARVER																				
Carver	41	7			2	1	5	1					10	6	7	1		1		
Chaska &Lake	55	9	3	5		3	20			5		42	57	31	18	17	6	3	19	4
San Francisco	1	1										4								
Florence	26	15		4	3		1						1	3	1					
Campen		1											1			8			2	
Watertown	17						2					8	9	4	7	6	2		4	1
Hollywood	2												4	10	2					
Benton	45	21					9					3	15	11	5	8		1	9	
Chanhassen	20	2	1		1		1					1	6	7	7	4		17	1	1
Waconia	48	9		1			5					3	17	11	9	8	6			
CASS																				
Pine River																				1
Leech Lake																				
Gull Lake															1					
Chippewa Agency																				
CHISAGO																				
Amador																				
Chisago Lake																				
Franconia	2																			
Rushebo	4	1		5										1	1	1		1		2
Sun Rise	1				2										2					
Taylor's Falls	6	2						1						2	1					
Wyoming	5	2			1			1							2	2				1
COTTONWOOD																				
Missing																				
CROW WING																				
Crow Wing																				
Long Lake	1																			
Mil. Reserve etc.																	1			
DAKOTA																				
Burnsville																				
Castle Rock															4					2
Douglas	1											1					1	2		
Egan	2	1											4	2						
Empire City																				
Greenvale							4											1		2
Hampton	57	1					7					3	1	1	2	4		19		
1st Ward, Hastings	10											3		3						
2d Ward, Hastings	4	2										3	5	7	2	6				
3d Ward, Hastings	3	2					2					7		1		1				
Hastings Town																2				
Inver Grove	12						2						3				2			4
Lakeville													1	2						4
Lebanon	1													3						1
Marsham													2					2		
Mendota	1															1				
Nininger City	1						1					4	1	5	1			5		
Nininger Township																1				
Randolph																				
Rosemount									1											

COUNTIES	Russia	Hanover	Brunswick	Mecklenburg	Holstein	Oldenburg	Hessia	Hamburg	Bremen	Reuss	Lippe	Saxony	Bavaria	Baden	Württemburg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace(France)	Germany
Scioto																				2
Ureka																				6
Vermillion		3																1		
Waterford																				1
West St.Paul,City		8		1	1							1	1	4				1		7
West St.Paul,Twp.		9	1				3					1	1	2	5	2				5
DODGE																				
Ashland		1		1																
Conisteo																				
Claremont																				
Concord		1														4				
Ellington																				
Mantorville Twp.		1					3						1							2
Mantorville Village							1									2				6
Milton		2	2													28				
Rice Lake																				1
Ripley																1				
Sacramento																				
Vernon																				
Wasioja Twp.																				
Wasioja Village							1													
DOUGLAS																				
-----		3	1		1											1				1
FARIBAULT																				
Blue Earth City		9	4											2	3	1				1
Brush Creek			6																	
Davis																				
Dobson		1																		
Emerald		2					1				1	1								
Foster																				
Guthrie																				
Lura																				
Maples																				
Pilot Grove																				
Prescott																				
Verona			2										1							
Walnut Lake	4																			
Winnebago City																				

COUNTIES	Prussia	Hanover	Brunswick	Nassau	Hesse-Cassel	Hesse	Hamburg	Bremen	Reuss	Lippe	Saxony	Baden	Wurtemberg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace(France)	Other
FILLMORE																		
Amherst																		
Arendahl																		
Beaver																		
Bloomfield																		
Bristol			1							1								2
Canton																		3
Carimona																		14
Carrolltown																		4
Chatfield	7			1								1						1
Douglas																		
Fillmore																		2
Forestville						1					1	8						5
Fountain											3							2
Harmony																		1
Jordan														1				
Newburg																		1
Norway																		1
Pilot Mound																		1
Preble																		
Preston	1																	15
Rushford																		5
Spring Valley																		
Sumner	2	2	1															2
Yorktown																		
FREEBORN																		
Albert Lea	1																	3
Bancroft																		3
Carlston																		
Freeborn														1				1
Freeman																		2
Geneva																		
Hayward																		
Heartland																		1
Lynden															4			
Manchester											1							5
Mansfield	2	4																
Moscow																		
Newry																		
Nunda		1										1	1					2
Oakland																		1
Pickerel Lake																		6
Porter														2				3
Riceland																		1
Shell Rock																		

COUNTIES	Prussia	Hanover	Brunswick	Mecklenberg	Holstein	Oldenburg	Hessia	Hamburg	Bremen	Reuss	Lippe	Saxony	Bavaria	Baden	Wurtemberg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace(France)	Germany
GOODHUE																				
Belle Creek		2																		
Cannon Falls Twp		1										1								
Cannon Falls Vill.															3					
Cherry Grove		2												1						
Holden	8	4											9	12	1					
Kenyon						1										3				
Leon														1						
Lillian		4										1			1					
Milton																				
Minneota												1		1	3					
Red Wing City	15	2		1		1	6				1	1	1	2	5	4				7
Red Wing Twp.	7	2											1		1					
Roscoe	3																			
Town 113,N.R.15																				
Town 112,N.R.15																3	1			22
Town 113,N.R.14																				
Town 113,N.R.16	3																			
Town 112,N.R.14	23	12		5	2	1	6	1			1	7	3	2	5	1	1	1		5
Town 112,N.R.13	12		2	4			4					1	6	4	8	2	1			
Town 110,N.R.15																				1
Town 109,N.R.15	5	2	1	3			1						2	1				3		2
Town 111,N.R.15	3			2												1				
Town 111,N.R.14	1	13											2		2					1
Town 112,N.R.12															1					
Vasa		1		1																
Wanamingo																				
Warsaw																				
HENNEPIN																				
1.Wd. St.Anthony	10											1	1	6	3	2				31
2.Wd. St.Anthony	28			1			1					1	1	3	4	2				32
3.Wd. St.Anthony	4							1						2	1	3	1			13
4.Wd. St.Anthony	5													1						8
St.Anthony Town	1	1					1							2		2				7
Rest missing																				
HOUSTON																				
Black Hammer																				
Brownsville	6	4					5					2	5	4	6	3	2	4		
Caledonia Twp.	4																			7
Caledonia Vill.		1											1							1
Crooked Creek	1	4					2						2	4	6			5		14
Hamilton														1						1
Hokah	5						4					1	6	4	10			4		1
Houston			1										2							
Jefferson							1							1	3					
La Crescent	15	1	3		2		1	2	1			2	5	2	6		2	1		1
Mayville	7																			11
Ricnford																				
Round Prairie	9		5				3							1	2	1				1
Sheldon	4																			
Spring Grove																				
Union	1						1						12							
Wilmington	2																			
Winnebago	4	4	1	2									1							2
Yucaton																				

COUNTIES	Ruralo	Bangor	Brainerd	Mahnomen	Crookston	Moorhead	Thief River Falls	Detroit	Fergus Falls	Wadena	Virginia	Hibbing	Grand Rapids	Cloquet	Duluth
ISANTI															
----	13								1	1	1				
ITASCA															
Sandy Lake															
Winnebagonhish															
JACKSON															
Jackson Twp.									1						2
KANABEC															
Brunswick															
KANDIYOHI															
Acton															
LAKE															
---															16
LE SUEUR															
Lanesburg	8	8		1		1			1	3		2			
Cordova	9	1		2			1			1					
Kilkenny	4				2				1			4	1		
Waterville	10											1	1		2
Lexington	1											5			
Montgomery	2					2			9	1		2			
Cleveland	2	9		2		1				3	1	4	7		
Tyrone	32	5	1	1	1	5			5	2		5	7	1	
Le Sueur	5	3	2						1		2		2	1	
Ottawa	2												4		1
Kasota	10	3			2				1		1		1	1	2
Elysian	35				1	2						1		2	
Washington	3				2	1					1			1	
Sharon	17	2		1		7			2	5	1	1	20	3	
Derrinan	25	1		3		3			2	7			6		
MAHOMEN															
------													2		3
MARTIN															
Waverly															
MC LEOD															
Bergen	4														
Winstead	2	2							2	3		1		2	
Hale	4														1
Rich Valley	4														
Helen	1	3		3								5	1		1
Glenn	12	2		2											
Hutchinson	1														
Glencoe	7					4				1					
Lee															
Penn	6					4									
MEEKER															
Missing															
MILLE LACS															
East Princeton	10					3									
MONTGOMALIA															
Green Lake															
Harrison		1													
Irving															

COUNTIES	Russia	Norway	Brunswick	Mecklenburg	Belgium	Switzerland	Hesse	Hamburg	Bremen	Baden	Lippe	Saxony	Bavaria	Baden	Wurtemburg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace(France)	Germany
MORRISON																				
Belle Prairie													1	1						
Little Falls,Vill.	2																			
Bellevue														1		1				1
Granite City																				
Little Falls Twp.													2							4
MOWER																				
Adams																				10
Austin																				
Brooklyn																				
Pranford	2																			1
Lansing		1															2			1
Le Roy																3				1
Lyle		1																		
Nevada																				
Pleasant Valley																				
Racine													1							
Red Rock	1														1					4
Udolpho														4						
MURRAY																				
None																				
NICOLLET																				
Belgrade	2												3					11		
Cortland	12	7		2			3					9	3			2	1	1		1
Granby	15											2	2					8		1
Lake Prairie	1				2		4					2	3	2		1				
La Fayette	5	2		4	8	4							8	3	9	3	7			1
Nicollet	5	6										2								
Oshawa	18	12	2				8					2	4	5	5	2		5		
Traverse	10	1		2			4					3	8		1	3		5		
West Newton	4	5		8			1					6	18	8	16	4	7	1		3
NOBLES																				
------													4							
OLMSTEAD																				
Cascade																				14
Dover																				
Elmira																				1
Eyota																				2
Fairhaven																				2
Farmington																				13
High Forest																1				14
Kalmar																				3
Marion																				7
Oronoca																				2
Orion																				1
Pleasant Grove																				2
Quincy																				2
Rochester	2															2				26
Rockdell																3				2
Salem	3															3				2
Twp.105,106																				
Twp.107,108																				
Viola																				2
Zumbro																				2

COUNTIES	Russia	Hanover	Brunswick	Mecklenburg	Holstein	Oldenburg	Hesse	Hamburg	Bremen	Reuss	Lippe	Saxony	Bavaria	Baden	Württemberg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace (France)	Germany
OTTERTAIL																				
---	2	3					1							2						
PEMBINA																				
None																				
PIERCE																				
None																				
PINE																				
Chingwatana	9	4						3						1		6		1		
Pokegama																				
PIPESTONE																				
None																				
POLK																				
---	2													1				1		
RAMSEY																				
Mc Leen																				10
Moundview																2				7
New Canada	4						1													15
Reserve	15											1	3	4		2				16
Rose	2											1		1		1	1		1	50
St.Paul,Ward 1	60	17					18	1	3			10	19	14		9	7	2	1	31
St.Paul,Ward 2	32	11				2	12	2	1			9	21	5		7	16		4	43
St.Paul,Ward 3	52	9			1		19	4	1			6	19	8		9	9	5	8	106
St.Paul,Ward 4	28	3						3				3	8	13		12	11	3		125
White Bear																				2
Roseville																				4
RENVILLE																				
Beaver River	1											3					3			2
Birch Cooley	1																			
Hawk River																				
Lovel																				
Ormesville													1				1	1		2
RICE																				
Bridgewater	2	3	1	2										1			1			1
Cannon City		4												1						5
Erin																				2
Faribault	2											2	6	1		3	6	1		10
Forest																				13
Morristown																				9
Northfield	1	1					2										1	1		6
Richland	1																			3
Sargent																				16
Shieldsville																				4
Webster																				8
Wells																				2
Wheatland																				1
Wheeling	2	22	1				11									2	4			16
Wolcott		1															1	2		1
ROCK																				
None																				
ST.LOUIS																				

COUNTIES	Prussia	Hanover	Brunswick	Mecklenburg	Holstein/	Oldenburg	Nassau	Hamburg	Bremen	Reuss	Lippe	Saxony	Bavaria	Baden	Württemberg	Switzerland	Austria	Luxemburg	Alsace/Lorraine	Germany
ST.LOUIS																				
Duluth												1		2						
Pond du Lac														1						
French River																				
Cusota		3											2		1	2		2		
Vermillion Lake																				
SCOTT																				
Belle Plaine	36	9		24							2	3	2		4	2		3	1	5
Cedar Lake				1			2													
Eagle Creek	18	6					2						4	7	4			5	1	
Glendale							1													
Helena	1	1					2						1	1		1		2		
Louisville	8	1															4		2	6
New Market		1																		
Sand Creek	60	5					2					1	2	9	6		1	14		4
Shakopee	46	13			5	5	2					1	8	5	5	7	1	21	4	
Spring Lake	11												1	2	1	1		8		
St.Lawrence	1												1		2					3
SHERBURNE																				
Baldwin																				
Big Lake	2	2																		
Briggs																				
Clear Lake													1							
Elk River	2	1						1						1						
STEELE																				
Kelso	21	4				2					5		1			1		2		
Owyden	25	4		4			3	1												
New Auburn	5	2				1														
Arlington	28	12					16						8		8	1		3		1
Paxon	4	1						1									1	1		
Henderson	64	4		5			3				7	6	3	3	10		13	3		
Green Isle	19	9		1				1				1		1	1			6		2
Jesson Land	15	4		2			1				1	4	2	4	2	3		1		1
Washington Lake	8	7		3									1		1					
STEARNS																				
St.Cloud	103	17					4						36	16	7	8	2	26		1
Brockway Twp.																		1		
St.Joseph	70	3					4	1					27	8	3	1	7	16		
Maine Prairie	1												2			3				
------	3	1											10	1	1	1		2		1
Wakefield	26	2											17		1		1	12		
Richmond	105	21											27	6	3	2	8	2		
Marion	3																			
Rank Center	25												6			1	2			
Melrose	9						1													
Fairhaven	1																	1		
Voidale	7																			
Lyndon	1												1							
St.Augustine	13	10																		
Berlin	17	6											6		2	5		10		

COUNTIES	Russia	Hanover	Brunswick	Mecklenburg	Austria	Oldenburg	Wurtemb.	Nassau	Bavaria	Reuss	Anhalt	Saxony	Baden	Hesse	Nassau	Switzerland	Alsace	Luxemburg	Netherlands	Germany
STEELE																				
Aurora		5					2													
Berlin												1	6		3				2	
Deerfield	2	1																		
Clinton Falls	1																			
Dover	4	1																		
Lemond		2		1			1													
Medford																				
Meridien	1	4		13																
Oak Glen																			1	
Orion													1		1	4				
Owatonna	4																1			
Somerset	3																			
Summit																				
TOLN												1	3			1				
----	9	1											1		4	2				1
Fort Ripley	3	4	1		1		2													
TOOMBS																				
None																				
WABASHA																				
Plainview		7													3					
Smithfield	4	2													7					
West Albany	2	10													14					40
Wabasha	3	18											3		5		2			
Watopa																				
Creek's Valley		4			1								2		19		6	5		
Topeeta	17	16			1	1		1												66
Reed's Landing																				
Town 109, R.12		7																1		
Town 109, R.11	4														10			2		
Town 110, R.12	2	2													9				1	
Town 110, R.11	6	15											1	3	5		2			
Town 109, R.10															3	3	1			
Town 110, R.10	1	7			1															
Town 110, R.9	4														3	10	5	8	2	
Town 111, R.11	15	16								1					4	7	3	14	2	
Town 111, R.10	13	8			1	1		1												
Rest missing																				
WASECA																				1
Blooming Grove	4																			
Byron	2																			
Iosco																				9
Janesville	6							1												
Otisco	3							1							1	3	2			
Richland																				
St. Marys	11		1					2								1	1			
Vivian																				
Wilton	3		1																	
Woodville	2																			

COUNTIES																								
WASHINGTON																								
Lakeland	2													1		5	5						14	
Marine	1																3						12	
Newport																								
Oakdale	6	7												4					3				12	
Stillwater Twp.	3													2		1	2						2	
Stillwater City	4	2		6	2		5	1			2	2		3		1	55						65	
Woodberry	15	5					1					1				1			4				16	
Afton														3		1	3	1						
Baytown	3													3			6						2	
Cottage Grove	1	1																					12	
Denmark																							5	
Greenfield																								
Otis																	1						8	
WINONA																								
Twp.105,R.4	1			1		1		1			2					2								
Twp.105,R.5.										3													1	
Twp.106,R.5.	1			1				2									2						1	
Twp.105,R.6.																								
Twp.106,R.6.	1										1	1												
Twp.106,R.7	11			5	4		5				6	3		4		1	4						
Twp.105,R.8.	9	2			1		2		3			3				2			3					
Twp.105,R.7.		2		1											2		1							
Twp.106,R.8	8						4		2		1	5		5									1	
Twp.106,R.9.	19													3			2							
Twp.105,R.9.							1					2				1	1							
Twp.105,R.10	1								1															
Twp.106,R.10																								
Rest Missing																								
WRIGHT																								
~~Albion~~																								
Buffalo	16				2							1		10		2	6			2			13	
Clearwater	1																							
Delhi	1				1											1		2					3	
Frankfort	21	3					4					5		11		11	5	2					3	
Franklin	9	3			2		3							2		5	5	1	1				4	
Maple Lake																				1			6	
Middleville		1												2		1							9	
Monticello																	4						6	
Otsigo	4						1									2								
Rockford	15						2		1					3		2	1	1					3	
Silver Creek	1																							
Woodland														1										

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Immigration to Minnesota.

Colburn, M.J. , Minnesota as a Home for Immigrants, being the first and second Prize Essays awarded by the Board of Examiners etc. St. Paul, Pioneer Printing Co. 1866.
Popular; advertisement for immigrants.

Folwell, William Watts, A History of Minnesota. In four vols. Published by the Minnesota Historical Society. Vols. I-III. St. Paul, 1921, 1924, 1926.
Source and secondary; gives good background for conditions in Minnesota during period treated.

Holcombe, R.I., Minnesota in Three Centuries, I and IV. The Publishing Society of Minnesota. N.Y. , 1908.
Valuable special studies.

Kirk, H., Illustrated History of Minnesota and St. Paul. D.D. Merrill, 1867.
Popular.

Mattson, Hans, The Story of an Emigrant. St. Paul, D.D. Merrill and Co., 1906.
Popular; valuable for showing conditions and opportunities in Minnesota for immigrants.

McClung, J.W., Minnesota as It Is in 1870. St. Paul, 1870.
Popular; written for advertising.

Minnesota Historical Society Collections, Vol. X, Part II.
Contains Upham's theory that Radisson and Groselliers were the first white men to visit Minnesota.

Stephenson, Geo. M., A History of Immigration 1820-1924. New York, Ginn, 1926.
Source and secondary; thorough survey of immigration in U.S. during period treated; valuable for facts on German immigration to the U.S.; excellent critical bibliography.

Stephenson, Geo. M., Political History of the Public Lands, 1840-1862. Boston, G.R. Badger, 1917.
Contains much valuable material on immigration to Minnesota; footnotes and bibliography especially useful.

Tanner, G.C., History of the Diocese of Minnesota, 1857-1907. St. Paul, W.C. Pope, 1909.
Valuable monograph on the Episcopal Church in Minnesota; incidental data on early settlement.

U.S. Census of 1850.

U.S. Census of 1860.
Very valuable for birthplaces of Germans in Minnesota.

U.S. Census of 1870.

Wabasha County Herald, May 21, 1869 etc.

Wilson, Woodrow, Division and Reunion. N.Y., Merrill & Co., 1908.
Used for background on immigration.

II. Survey of Lutheran Synods.

1. General Works.

Encyclopedia Americana, 1925. Art. "Lutheran Church in America".

Ernst, A.F., Luthers Leben und Aus der Geschichte der luth. Kirche in Nord Amerika. Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
Popular.

Fritschel, Geo. J., Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Amerika. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann. 1896.
Based on Jacobs's "History of the Ev.-Luth. Church in the U.S."; highly important for its study of Wyneken and the Loche influence.

Graebner, A.L., Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Amerika. St. Louis, Mo. Concordia Publishing House. 1892.
An exhaustive, scholarly work, carrying the story from the beginnings to 1821. Missouri Synod point of view.

Jacobs, Henry Myster, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the U.S. 3.ed. N.Y., Scribners. 1900.
Well written; very valuable.

Jacobs, H.E., and Haas, J.A.W., The Lutheran Cyclopedia. N.Y., Scribners, 1911.
Almost exhaustive; indispensable.

Neve, J.L., Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche Amerikas. 1904. Burlington, Iowa. German Literary Board.
Brief, comprehensive, scholarly, readable; aims to be impartial.

New International Encyclopedia, 1926, Art. "Lutheranism".

Wentz, Abdel Ross, The Lutheran Church in American History. Philadelphia, The United Lutheran Publication House. c 1923.
Well written; a little philosophical; it seeks to show the growth of the Lutheran Church as parallel with the development of American life.
General Synod point of view.

2.Special Works.

Deindoerfer,J.,Geschichte der Evang.-Luth. Synode von Iowa u.anderen Staaten. Chicago,Ill.Wartburg Publishing House,1897.

Deindoerfer,J.,Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Ev.-Luth. Synode von Iowa u.andern Staaten von der Gruendung bis zum Jubeljahr 1904.Chicago,Ill. Wartburg Publishing House,1904.

Fritschel,Geo.J.,Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte und Lehrstellung der ev.-luth. Synode von Iowa u.a.Staaten.Wartburg Publishing House, Chicago,Ill.
Scholarly collection of source material.

- - - - - - Geschichte der Minnesota Synode und ihrer einzelnen Gemeinden. Louis Lange Publishing Co.,St.Louis,Mo. 1910.
Contains a fifty-page,somewhat edifying account of the Minnesota Synod by A.Kuhn,an early member and one-time president of the Minnesota Synod;also the histories(based on local records) of about 104 congregations, and 180 illustrations,many of them very rare.

Ebenezer;Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century.Ed. by W.H.T.Dau. St.Louis,Mo. Concordia Publishing House.1922.
Thirty-seven articles of unequal merit. The article of most value for our work is that by Dr.F.Pfotenhauer on "The Opening Up of the Great Northwest".

Spielmann,C.,Abriss der Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Ohio u.a. Staaten in einfacher Darstellung von ihren ersten Anfaengen bis zum Jahre 1846;nebst einem Anhang.Columbus,Ohio,1880.
The material of this sketch was all incorporated in the book by Peter and Schmidt.

Peter,P.A.,and Schmidt,Wm.,Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang.-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio u.anderen Staaten.Columbus,Ohio.1900.
Peter collected the data;and Schmidt,well known as an author of edifying stories,wrote the book.The book is mainly a resumé of synodical minutes and congregational records xxx arranged chronologically.

Koehler,Joh.Ph.,Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin und andern Staaten. 1.Band.Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee,Wis.1925.
One vol. published. Story to 1865.Based on study of source material and trend of thought prior to and during period discussed.

Wagner, Martin L., The Chicago Synod and Its Antecedents. Wartburg Publishing House Press, Waverly, Iowa. 1909.
A work based on thorough acquaintance with the sources and very readable.

III. Lutheran Churches in Minnesota.

1. Histories and Biographies.
(Besides those already mentioned under II.)

Bergh, J.A., Den Norsk lutherske Kirke i Amerika. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis. 1914.
Used for Krause.

Eggleston, Edward, The Mystery of Metropolisville. N.Y., O. Judd & Co. 1873.
A rather crudely constructed novel dealing with the days of town site speculation in 1856.

Gerberding, G.H., Life and Letters of W.A. Passavant, D.D. 2.ed The Young Lutheran Co., Greenville, Pa. 1906.
A very interesting book, but exact dates and references are frequently missing

History of Steele County. Chicago, Union Publishing Co. 1887.
Contains Biography of Wm. Thomson.

History of Wabasha County. Chicago, H.H. Hill. 1884.

History of Washington County. By Rev. Edward D. Neill, and Outlines of History of Minnesota by F.J. Williams. Minneapolis, North Star Publ. Co., 1881.

History of Winona County. By F. Curtiss-Wedge. Chicago. Cooper. 1913.

History of Winona and Olmsted Counties. Chicago. H.H. Hill. 1883.

Keiser, Albert, Lutheran Mission Work among the American Indians. Augsburg Publishing House, Minneapolis, 1922.
A popular, edifying presentation.

Lambert, W.A., Life of Rev. J.F.C. Heyer. The Lutheran Church Review, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
A life consisting mainly of excerpts (mostly undated) from letters and articles by Heyer and dealing with his life before he went to India.

Norelius,E.,De Svenska Lutereka Församlingarnas och Svenskarnes Historia i Amerika.Rock Island, Ill.,Lutheran Augustana Book Concern,1890. Vol.I.
A very detailed story of the Swedish churches

Trabert,G.H.,English Lutheranism in the Northwest.Philadelphia,General Council Publication House. 1914.
This book touches on Wm.Thomson of my thesis.

Walther's Briefe.Briefe von C.F.W.Walther an seine Freunde,Synodalgenossen und Familienglieder,herausgegeben von L.Fuerbringer.2 Bde. St.Louis,Mo. Concordia Publishing House.1915 and 1916.
Carefully edited and highly valuable for an understanding of the work of Missouri and its dealings with other synods.

2.Periodicals and Annuals.

Nothwehrblatt.Herausgegeben gegen Angriffe und Bestrebungen hierarchischen Geistes innerhalb der luth. Kirche.1857-1859.Redigiert von Friederich Lochner,luth.Pastor,Milwaukee.
A Missouri,controversial sheet published at the suggestion of Professor Walther of St. Louis to meet the attacks of the Buffalo Synod,and no doubt reliable.

Verantwortung gegen die fortlaufenden Verleumdungen der evang.-luther. St.Johannis Gemeinde zu Johannisburg von Seiten H.Rohr's dargereicht von F.F.W.G.Hanser.Buffalo:Gedruckt bei Fr.H. Bender,"Buffalo Telegraph".1860.
A Missouri pamphlet giving the facts in the case at Johannisburg,N.Y.,against Buffalo Synod charges.

Lehre und Wehre.Theologisches und kirchlich-zeitgeschichtliches Monatsblatt.Herausgegeben von der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u.a.Staaten. Redigirt von C.F.W.Walther. St.Louis,Mo.1855-1860.
Contains Missouri Synod statements of doctrine as well as comments on contemporary church history.

Der Lutheraner.Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Evangelisch Lutherischen Synode von Missouri,Ohio u.a. Staaten.St.Louis,Mo.1856-1881
A bi-weekly publication designed mainly to arouse interest in doctrine and church life in the laity.

Kirchenblatt der evang.-luth. Synode von Iowa.1868-1875. Wartburg,Iowa,Jan.,1868-June 15,1871;St. Sebald,Iowa,July 1,1871-Jan.1,1873;Iowa City, Jan.15,1873-Nov.1,1873;St.Sebald,Dec.1,1873-May 1,1874;Mendota,Ill.,May 15,1874-Dec.15, 1875.
A paper combining,in the early years,the functions of the Missouri "Lehre und Wehre" and "Lutheraner" and also of synodical minutes.

Der Lutherische Kalender fuer das Jahr 1855-1869.Allentown, Pa.....Von Pastor S.K.Brobst.Im Auftrag der Luth. Synode von Pennsylvanien u. den benachbarten Staaten.
Useful for the addresses of ministers given.

Neuer Kalender fuer Bauern und Handwerker ...1853 von Carl F.Egelmann.Phila.
Contains addresses of ministers.

The Lutheran World Almanac for 1926 and Encyclopedia 1924-1926. Compiled by G.M.Norlie and G.L.Kieffer. The National Lutheran Council,New York,1926.
Contains addresses of all Lutheran ministers in the U.S. and other valuable information relating to the Lutheran Church.

3.Minutes of Synodical Conventions.

a)Missouri Synod.

1.-13. Synodalbericht der(Allgemeinen)Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri,Ohio u.a.Staaten. 1847-1864.

1.-8. Bericht des Noerdlichen Distrikts der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Missouri,Ohio u.a. Staaten. 1855-1862.

b)Minnesota Synod.

Verhandlungen der Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Minnesota und anderen Staaten. 1864-1897.
It is uncertain whether there were printed minutes before 1863.

c)Ohio Synod(Joint Synod Districts).

Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung der in Blue Island, Ill.,im November 1881 organisierten Ev.-Luth. Konferenz,gehalten in Mount Olive,Macoupin Co.,Ill.,vom 12. bis 18. April 1882.Columbus, Druck des Lutherischen Verlags.1883.

Verhandlungen des Nordwestlichen Distrikts der Allgem. Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio u.andern Staaten.Columbus,1883-1890.

Verhandlungen des Minnesota-Distrikts der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten.Columbus,1891-1926.

d)General Council.

Proceedings of the Convention held by representatives from the various Evangelican Lutheran Synods in the U.S. and Canada accepting the Unaltered Augsburg Confession,at Reading, Pa.,Dec.12-14,1866.Pittsburgh;Bakewell and Marthens,1867.

Proceedings and Minutes of the 1.to 5. Conventions of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.Pittsburgh.1867-1871.

e)Concordia Synod in Minnesota.

Zeugnisse fuer die Wahrheit. Dargethan in den vom 29. bis 31. Oktober des Jahres des Herrn 1863 zu Winona im Staate Minnesota gehaltenen Versammlungen der Deutsch Evangelisch Lutherischen Concordia Synode von Amerika;und von derselben allen, des Gesammtbekenntnisses der evangelisch lutherischen Kirche in Wahrheit treuen Glaubensgenossen in Bruederlichem Vertrauen hiermit ueberreicht.La Crosse,Wis. Gedruckt in der office des "Nord-Stern".

The copy,probably the only one extant, belongs to Rev.Theo.Rolf of New Germany, Minn.,having been used by his father in the charge he brought against Fachtmann. It throws interesting sidelights on Heyer and Fachtmann and St.John's at Baytown.

4.Anniversary Booklets and Church Papers.

1855-1905.Goldenes Jubilaeum der Ev.-Luth.St.Johannes Gemeinde. Geschichte der Ev.-Luth. St.Johannes Gemeinde zu Baytown,Minn.,von 1855-1905 zum 50-jaehrigen Jubilaeum verfasst von G.C.Haase,zur Zeit Pastor der Gemeinde. 1905.Druck F.C.Neumeier,Stillwater,Minn.

Reprinted with additions in the "Geschichte der Minnesota Synode".

1856-1906. 50jaehriges Jubilaeum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen St.Martins-Gemeinde zu Winona,Minn.1906 Druck des Northwestern Publishing House,Milwaukee,Wis.1906.

Sechzig Jahre.1857-1917.Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Emanuels-Gemeinde U.A.C. zu Hamburg,Carver Co.,Minn.

Trinity Messenger.Trinity First Lutheran Church of Minneapolis,Minn.January,1926.Dr.John Huchthausen, Pastor.
Page 4 gives "Dates from the History of ~~the~~ Trinity Church,1856-1866".

St.John's Lutheran Messenger,Town Hart,Winona Co.,April, 1926.

5.Church Records.

Kirchen-Buch der Deutsch-Evangelisch-Lutherischen St. Paulus-Gemeinde in Washington Co.,Minn.
This is Wier's old church book,the oldest German one in the state,but still used by Rev.A.Haseley of the Buffalo Synod church at Lake Elmo.Its entries begin in September, 1855.

Kirchen-Buch--Ev.-Luth. Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde zu St. Paul.
This is Father Meyer's old church book and begins in 1857. It contains also a "Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Deutschen Ev. Lutherischen Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde zu St.Paul, Minnesota",beginning in Meyer's handwriting and continued by Fachtmann and Sieker.

Trinity Record.
This contains the minutes of the Church Council and Congregation of the Dreifaltigkeits-Gemeinde beginning Sept.14,1859.

Das Protokoll-Buch,enthaltend die Verfassung und Protokolle der deutschen evangelisch-luth. Zions-Gemeinde zu St.Paul,Minn.1863.
Under May 1,1864,it contains the charges that Meyer and Fachtmann were not consistently Lutheran.

6.Recent Communications regarding Cong
and Synods.

a)A sketch by Rev.J.Janzig from the "K
Ev.Luth.Friedrichs-Gemeinde in Town
Wood),Le Sueur Co."

b)Letters from

Rev. O.W.C.Baettcher,Supt. of the Luth.Indian
Wis.,Feb.5,1927.
Rev.O.Cloeter,Vernon Center,Minn.,Oct.3
his father's work as Ch
Prof. E.Denef,Martin Luther Theological
Maple St.,Buffalo,N.Y.,
Rev.F.C.Milius,Waltham,Mower Co.,Minn.,J
Rev.H.C.Milius,Princeton,Minn.,Feb.10,19
Rev.H.Pfeiffer,Albert Lea,Minn.,Nov.18,19
Rev.W.J.Schulze,Hutchinson,Minn.,Jan.21,19
Rev.Otto C.Schultz,Rushford,Minn.,March 2,19
inclosures concerning Brandt and Gru
of Town Hart or Frank Hill).

c)Verbal Statements.

Rev.A.Haseley,Lake Elmo,Minn.
Mrs.Munkelwitz,a daughter-in-law of Wier's,Lake Elmo.
Dr.H.Ernst,Dean of the theological faculty of Luther
Seminary.

7.Early Letters.

1)Copies of sixteen letters from W.A.Passavant,Wm.Thomson,
and C.F.Heyer to Rev.E.Norelius of RedWing,1857-1860,
kindly placed at my disposal by Dr.Geo.M.Stephenson and
dealing with the effort to organize one Lutheran Synod
in Minnesota.
2)Copies of six long letters written by G.Fachtmann,Hey-
er's successor in St.Paul,to Bading and Reim of the
Wisconsin Synod in 1863;very valuable as the minutes of
the Minnesota Synod for 1863 and earlier have not been
located. Prof.Joh.Ph.Koehler of the Theological Seminary
at Wauwatosa,Wis.,very obligingly had these letters
copied for me.
3)Manuscript letter from Rev.Ferdinand Sievers of Franken-
lust,Mich.,Aug.24,1881,explaining some points in his
letters published in the Lutheraner of 1857. This letter
was loaned by Dr.John Huchthausen of Trinity First Ev.-
Luth. Church of Minneapolis.