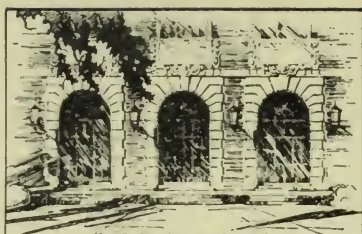


THE
GERMAN CHURCH
ON THE
AMERICAN
FRONTIER



CARL E. SCHNEIDER



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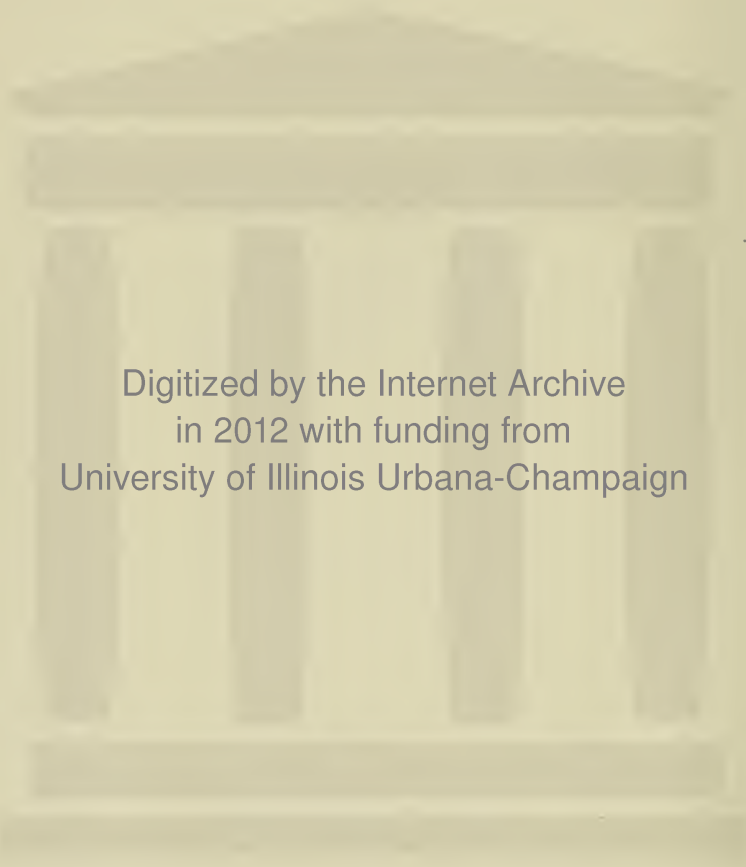
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THE GERMAN CHURCH
ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

THE GERMAN CHURCH
ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER

A Study in the Rise of Religion
among the Germans of the West

Based on the History
of the

Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens
(Evangelical Church Society of the West)

1840 - 1866

CARL E. SCHNEIDER
EDEN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

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PREFACE

The rise and development of religion on the Western frontier during the early part of the nineteenth century is invested with peculiar religious and sociological interest. If the Christian religion was to function effectively in its new habitat, it must meet the challenge of its unique environment in a vital and creative way. The story of the adaptation of American denominations of the East to the rigors of the new environment, and the rise of new religions on the Western frontier, is filled with romantic lore and has frequently been told.

The story of the religious origins among the Germans in the West, however, is not so well known. Historical interest has mainly centered about the German Churches in the East. Many of these originated in the Colonial Period and effected their accommodations to the life and *mores* of the New World, while participating at the same time in the rise of the new republic on American soil. The story of the German settlement in the East, therefore, belongs intrinsically to the history of the American people. It should become increasingly apparent, however, that the German immigration of the nineteenth century was in many respects as significant for the later development of the West as the pre-Revolutionary immigration was important for the East.

The varied socio-historical aspects of the Western development should be sufficiently attractive to invite serious study. Conditions prevailing in both Germany and America at the time favored the rise of a Germanism which in the isolation of the Western frontier frequently sought to further its cause independent not only of American influences but also of contacts with the older German culture of the East. We are here dealing with the rise of a unique German civilization which, sometimes divided against itself, did not begin to integrate with American culture until the national crisis of the Civil War.

Viewing the German religious history of the West from this angle, certain implications suggest themselves. It would

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seem, at first glance, as though we have to deal here merely with the establishment of European types in the New World with little or no vital relation to contemporary German or American life. On the contrary, however, the religious development among the Germans newly arrived from abroad cannot be understood apart from socio-historical conditions prevailing in both Europe and America at the time. It is to a study of the rise of religion among the Germans in the West at this time that we address ourselves.

In the course of this presentation two interests have been threaded together in such a way, we hope, that each may be served without being obtruded upon by the other. In the first place, the attempt is made to tell the story of the rise of the particular religious body known as the *Deutscher Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens*. This organization, which arose in the state of Missouri in 1840, later (1866) assumed the name German Evangelical Synod of the West and in 1877 was renamed German Evangelical Synod of North America, by which name it was known until 1925, when the word "German" was dropped. Finally, in 1934, steps were taken to merge the Evangelical Synod and the Reformed Church in the United States into the Evangelical and Reformed Church. Thus a very definite perspective is given to the main narrative which addresses itself to the description of the origin and development of the *Kirchenverein*. A particular interest invests its history as we approach the centennial celebration of its origin. Much of the fruitage of the century's growth and development cannot be comprehended without an understanding of the traditions established in the days of the fathers. The story of that development has already been told in the German language. Indeed, it will remain the distinction of this work to have been preceded by the pioneer history of Albert Muecke and the more interpretative work of Hugo Kamphausen. Both were written, however, before a wealth of hitherto unknown source material in both American and European archives was discovered.

In the course of the years spent in the examination of this

material the nature of the study underwent fundamental changes. The wider socio-historical perspectives which evolved prevented this work from remaining denominational in the narrow sense of the word. What first was conceived as a purely narrative history of the *Kirchenverein* increasingly assumed the aspects of a general study of the development of German religious groups in the West. The title indicates this wider orientation. Diverse German social and religious types were projecting themselves on American soil and were participating in the westward advance of culture and civilization of the nineteenth century. In an undenominational sense the German Church, intimately related to the cultural, social, and religious streams of the day, was being established in the West.

A systematic exposition of the wider underlying and interrelated religious developments and the intricate interplay of manifold social and cultural factors involved in the religious transfers thus effected has not been attempted. This broader subject is still in its fact-finding stage, it would seem, and must be thoroughly explored before the exacting task of historical synthesis and interpretation can begin. This history of the *Kirchenverein* is instead offered as a concrete case study in the development of the German immigrant Church on the American frontier—a work which might similarly have been attempted from the perspective of any other German Church which became established in the West at this time. The fundamental historical data in all instances are markedly the same. In each case various similar foreign elements—Lutheran, Reformed, and Evangelical, the pietist and the free-thinking liberal, the practical and the theoretical—often at variance with each other on the Continent, here met on common ground to be assimilated into new forms on American soil. Buffeted about in these turbulent waters, steadied by the conserving influence of German tradition but impelled by the new environment to venture into unknown fields, the German Church on the frontier was put to the task of establishing its new status without surrendering its inheritance. Our

study of the *Kirchenverein*, therefore, extends itself to an appraisal of the functional significance of the frontier in the moulding of German culture in the West and of the not less significant influence of American and German *mores* on the religious development among the Germans of this period.

We trust that mixing together these two motives may not disturb the interests of two groups of readers, the one of which may accuse the treatment of being too popular and the other, of not being popular enough. If, on the one hand, certain significant interdenominational aspects could not adequately be considered—a circumstance which we hope may not be interpreted as reflecting an unduly denominational bias—we trust that, on the other hand, a more adequate appreciation of the *Kirchenverein* may be gained as its functional relation to the social and cultural life of its day becomes clear.

The inclusion of factual material which at first glance might appear extraneous—much of which is embodied in the form of foot-notes—may be justified by the unique nature of the sources employed. Every turn of the page revealed new data and added a tinge of local color indispensable for apprehending the spirit of the times. Furthermore the foot-notes, more than the text, may serve to indicate the richness of the soil from which they were extracted and may suggest the possibilities of further labors in this virgin field. A tremendous amount of material scattered through the various German and American archives might suggest other approaches to this subject. We trust that not only ample general suggestions but also the definite references given might lead to a closer study of certain material of which only the surface has been scratched.

The circumstance that the writer was in Europe while the manuscript was being set up, when constant personal consultation with the publisher would have been desirable, indicates some of the difficulties incident to the publication of this volume. An appreciative word in recognition of the resourcefulness of the publishing staff is in order.

References in the foot-notes inadequately acknowledge my dependence on various sources graciously placed at my disposal by individuals and at libraries and archives in Germany and America, most of which were personally visited. It would be ungrateful not to acknowledge the assistance received from my students of the last decade, whose participation in these labors lightened an arduous task. I am pleased to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Sweet for many valuable suggestions and for his kind interest in this volume.

The original German orthography, particularly of proper names, has been retained in order to assure more accurate distinctions. This will explain the variant spelling of the same words. The uniqueness of some documents could only be preserved by quoting the original. Unless otherwise stated, the translations were made by the writer. In spite of careful examination of data, the flighty nature of the sources precludes unfailing accuracy in certain details, and I will value any corrections which must be made. It is with full recognition of its limitations that this volume is sent on its way, to be followed, we hope, by more worthy efforts to unravel the romance which lies hidden in this neglected chapter of the history of the Western frontier.

CARL EDWARD SCHNEIDER

EDEN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
WEBSTER GROVES, MISSOURI
May 22, 1939

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INTRODUCTION

The appearance of this scholarly study, *THE GERMAN CHURCH ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER*, is well timed. Two German Churches in America, the Evangelical Synod and the Reformed Church in the United States, have just completed a merger which immediately gives to Professor Schneider's work a larger significance. It would be presumptuous on my part to assume to introduce this book to the ministers and members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, but perhaps there may be some appropriateness in my attempting to introduce it to the much larger body of readers outside the Church which is immediately concerned.

Until recent years the writing of American church history was almost exclusively in the hands of amateurs. It was largely the work of churchmen who had had no training in historical method, were without critical insight, and had little understanding of the social, economic, or even the general religious climate. It was frequently written in a narrow denominational spirit and for the purpose of exalting the denomination. Fortunately historical writing of this sort is much on the wane. The American Churches are no longer satisfied with histories prepared by the amateur. All the better denominational colleges and theological seminaries now have well-trained men occupying their historical professorships. The author of this volume is a good example of the trained historian in a church-history professorship, and this book an excellent illustration of the sound historical scholarship which is becoming encouragingly frequent in American church-history writing.

This is not a denominational history in the narrow sense of the word. Much of the material which has been included in this volume has not only an interdenominational significance, but a social and economic and political significance, which makes this book an important contribution to the social history of the American frontier.

WILLIAM WARREN SWEET

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
May 6, 1939

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

- A. A. Z., *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*
 A. B. C. F. M., American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
 A. B. S., American Bible Society
 Acta A. A., II, *Acta des Ministeriums der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten*
 Acta C. A., *Acta des Central-Ausschusses für Innere Mission*
 Acta E. O. K., I, *Acta des Evangelischen Oberkirchenraths (in re Marthasville fund, Nov., 1852 — Sept., 1873)*
 Acta E. O. K., II, *Acta des Evangelischen Oberkirchenraths (in re Marthasville fund, Oct., 1873 — Dec., 1913)*
 Acta E. O. K., III, *Acta des Evangelischen Oberkirchenraths (in re Wisconsin fund)*
 Acta K. G. C., I, *Acta des Königl. Geheimen Cabinets (in re German congregations in America, 1826-98)*
 Acta K. G. C., II, *Acta des Königl. Geheimen Cabinets (in re German congregations in America, 1899-1914)*
 Acta K. G. C., III, *Acta des Königl. Geheimen Cabinets (in re German churches outside of Germany)*
 Acten G. A., I, *Acten des Leipziger Hauptvereins der Gustav-Adolf-Stiftung, 1843-47*
 A. d. W., *Anzeiger des Westens*
 A. F. C. U., American and Foreign Christian Union
 A. H. M. S. Cor., American Home Missionary Society Correspondence
 A. H. M. S. L.-B., American Home Missionary Society Letter-Books
 A. i. W., *Ansiedler im Westen*
 A. K. Z., *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*
 A. T. S., American Tract Society
 Ba. Cor., Basel Correspondence
 B. A., I, Barmen Correspondence, 1836-41
 B. A., II, Barmen Correspondence, Nollau's Letters
 B. A. K., *Berliner Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*
 B. B. V., *Basel Brüder-Verzeichnis*
 B. C., *Barmen Copier-Bücher*
 B. C. B., *Basel Copierbücher*
 B. G. B., *Basel Gemischte Briefe*
 B. P., *Basel Protokollbücher*
 B. P. B., *Barmen Protokoll-Bücher*
 B. P. F., *Basel Personal Faszikeln*
 B.-R. Cor., Binner-Rieger Correspondence
 Bi.-R. Cor., Birkner-Rieger Correspondence
 C. A., *Christlicher Apologete*
 C. C., *Concordia Cyclopaedia*
 C. H. Q., *Concordia Historical Quarterly*
 D. A. G., *Deutschamerikanische Geschichtsblätter*
 D. K., *Deutscher Kirchenfreund*

- D. P., *Deutscher Pionier*
 E. D. P., *Protokoll of Eastern District of the Kirchenverein*
 E. H., *Evangelischer Heidenbote*
 E. H. S. L., *Encyclopedia of History of St. Louis*
 E. K., *Evangelischer Kalender*
 E. K. Z., *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*
 E. M., *Evangelisches Magazin*
 E. T., *Evangelical Tidings*
 F., *Friedensbote*
 F. B., *Fliegende Blätter*
 F. S., *Festschrift*
 H., *Hausfreund*
 H. M., *Home Missionary and Pastor's Journal*
 K., *Kirchenverein*
 K. F., *Kirchenfreund*
 K. M., *Kirchliche Mittheilungen*
 K. P., *Protokollbuch des Deutsch-Evangelischen Kirchenvereins des Westens—K. P., I (1840-51); K. P., II (1852-66)*
 K.-R. Cor., *Krönlein-Rieger Correspondence*
 L. K., *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*
 L. O., *Lutheran Observer*
 L. U. P. O. S. Cor., *L. U. P. O. S. Correspondence*
 Luth., *Lutheraner*
 Mag., *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte d. Evang. Mission*
 M. D. P., *Protokoll of Middle District of the Kirchenverein*
 Mess., *Messenger of the German Reformed Church*
 M. f. I. M., *Monatsschrift für Innere Mission*
 M. H. R., *Missouri Historical Review*
 M. T. K., *Magazin für Theologie und Kirche*
 N. D. P., *Protokoll of Northern District of the Kirchenverein*
 N. E. K. Z., *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*
 N. N., *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes*
 N. R., *Niles' Weekly Register*
 N.-R. Cor., *Nollau-Rieger Correspondence*
 P., *Palmblätter*
 R. E., *Realencyklopädie*
 S. P. C. T. E. W., *Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West*
 S. S., *Sunday school*
 S. S. K., *Stimmen aus und zu der streitenden Kirche*
 T. Z., *Theologische Zeitschrift*
 U. A. C., *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*
 Wi.-R. Cor., *Witte-Rieger Correspondence*
 W. M., *Weekly Messenger*
 W.-R. Cor., *Wall-Rieger Correspondence*
 Z. L. T., *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*

CHAPTER I

THE GERMAN AND AMERICAN BACKGROUND

A genetic study of American cultural life of the nineteenth century shows how at almost every conceivable point American civilization was inextricably related to European antecedents. If foreign factors thus visibly influenced the development of natively American *mores*, they even more potently affected the life and institutions brought to birth on American soil by European immigrants. The values of foreign cultures were constantly being transfused into the American body politic.

The story of the rise of German-American institutions during this period supports the theory of the intimate dependence of the American development upon European influences. To understand the origin and development of religion among the Germans on the Western frontier during this time it is essential that the social interaction of German and American factors be closely observed.

THE GERMAN BACKGROUND

The German immigration to the Western frontier during the first three decades of the nineteenth century was occasioned by the peculiar converging of political, economic, and religious influences. In no wise was the immigration of these years related to the German arrivals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nor was its settlement in the West an integral part of the contemporary American westward expansion. A fortuitous combination of circumstances lent color and romance to the picture. The economic depression in Germany coincided with years of plenty in America; the politically oppressed were inspired by the prospects of American democracy; the gloom of ecclesiastical tyranny was brightened by the promise of religious freedom in the New World. It was a unique situation.

A large number of the German immigrants of the early part of the nineteenth century belonged to the peasant

class.¹ The post-Napoleonic period groaned under oppressive taxation. A series of crop failures interspersed with terrifically cold winters wrought untold misery. In the years 1816-1817 a veritable state of famine existed in southern Germany. Toward the close of the eighteenth century the effects of the industrial revolution began to be felt, and the small hand industries, the erstwhile pride of Germany, were threatened with extinction. With the rise of an industrial aristocracy, German artisans, yearning for economic emancipation, became receptive to republican sentiments.

The attractions of the New World, on the other hand, were most alluring. The eyes of America were turned toward the West. Home markets in the East were on the decline. The specter of soil-depletion had aroused misgivings in the mind of the younger generation concerning the continued prosperity of the East. Escape was sought in the limitless resources of the unclaimed fertile valleys of the West. The depressing effects of the War of 1812 were being overcome. The "era of good feeling" had begun. It was also a period of public improvements. Everywhere laborers were in demand, and the opportunity for comfortable if not prosperous living lay open to everyone. The news of the

¹ F. Münch, "Die drei Perioden der neueren deutschen Auswanderung nach N. America," *Der Deutsche Pionier*, I (1869), 243 ff. The German immigration of the years 1815-30 was composed mostly of undesirable. Theodor Griesinger, *Land und Leute in Amerika* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart, 1863), I, 249.

An adequate history of German emigration remains to be written. Note the interesting compilation of material dealing with this subject, including colored illustrations and reproductions of old prints, in Hermann von Freeden and Georg Smolka, *Auswanderer* (Leipzig, 1937). See also Wilhelm Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (Jena, 1912) and in Publications of National Bureau of Economic Research, No. 14, Imre Ferenczi, *International Migrations*, Vol. I. Statistics (New York, 1929), 114 ff., and No. 18, *International Migrations*, Vol. II. Interpretations, edited by Walter F. Wilcox (New York, 1931), chap. xii by F. Burgdörfer. Max Hannemann, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Gotha, 1936), discusses the German expansion in America on the basis of American census reports. A more synthetic study is found in Irmgard Erhorn, *Die deutsche Einwanderung der Dreissiger und Achtundvierziger in die Vereinigten Staaten* (Hamburg, 1937). German archives contain a wealth of material which needs to be consulted. Marion Dexter Learned, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials Relating to American History in the German State Archives* (Washington, D. C., 1912).

American boom spread to Germany, where more books were being written about America than about any other country in the world.² Above all, the lower classes were struck with wonder by fabulous stories of the actual availability of land, of the phenomenal rise of new communities in the West, and of ridiculously low taxes. Thus the illiterate and uncultured German peasant was found in the front ranks of the immigration of this period.

The first large peasant exodus occurred in the famine year of 1817, when Württemberg alone surrendered sixteen thousand of her people. About thirty thousand, not being able to pay the transatlantic passage, had to beg their way back from Holland. During the years 1817 and 1818 the emigration exceeded sixty thousand, but, with better times, in 1819 fell to twenty thousand. It has been estimated that the average annual emigration from 1815-1830 amounted to twelve thousand.³ Unscrupulous immigration agents absconded with the money of many whom they had induced to proceed to Holland. Many of these so-called "Hollanders" were left at the mercy of the Dutch government, which contracted with ship-owners to transport the unfortunate to New Orleans, where they were sold as redemptioners.⁴

² Johann G. Büttner, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Hamburg, 1844). Büttner was the second pastor of the German church in St. Louis. This book is an important source for the period. Büttner mentions the travel books of N. H. Julius, T. Bromme, M. Beyer and L. Koch, L. de Wette, Clara v. Gerstner, W. Lenz, E. A. Döscher, Fr. Ahrends, and H. W. E. Eggerling. See Franz Löher, *Geschichte der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati, 1847), 269 ff.; bibliography in A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (New York, 1927), II, 479 ff.; Paul C. Weber, *America in Imaginative German Literature in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1926), 102 ff.

³ Löher, *op. cit.*, 254 ff. *Niles' Weekly Register*, in May, 1817, contained three notices of the impending emigration of this period. Reliable statistical data are not available. Cf. Mönckmeier, *op. cit.*, 14 ff., 25 ff. Interesting documents pertaining to this emigration and the problems involved in procuring passage through Holland are found in *Acta betr.: Die Auswanderungen aus den Niederrheinischen Provinzen nach Polen, Amerika* (MS). Note, e. g., the report of authorities at Cleve, May 9, 1817, to Berlin, estimating that 80,000 Württembergians were contemplating emigrating to America, 96. See also *ibid.*, *passim*.

⁴ J. Hanno Deiler, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen am unteren Mississippi* (New Orleans, 1889), 16.

Nineteenth-century Germany was the home of a highly educated and cultured class—an aristocracy of brains not confined to the social nobility. A rigorous educational system provided for the specialized education of mechanics, merchants, artists, architects, sailors, pharmacists.⁵ Germany had become the land of distinguished architects, chemists, doctors, lawyers, technicians, and theologians—the land of scholars and many books.⁶ The eyes of America began to be turned to Germany for guidance in educational matters, and such notable pedagogs as Henry Barnard (1835-1837), Calvin Stowe (1836), Alexander Bache (1836), and Horace Mann (1843) went abroad to study the German educational system. German culture and scholarship were gaining universal recognition.

The political liberals, destined to play an important part in the development of German life in the West, were largely recruited from this cultured class. The liberal movement which followed the monarchical reaction after the Napoleonic wars centered at German universities in the so-called *Burschenschaften* movement. The songs of the poets, the dreams of the Romantics, the black-red-gold flag of the *Burschenschaften* and their slogan of "Honor, liberty, fatherland," the leadership of *Turnvater* Jahn—all testified to the spirit which held captive the minds of young and old. Yet the machinations of Metternich and the absolute-monarchical spirit of Prussia shattered the dream of the nationalists and the hopes of the young republicans. A series of intense persecutions turned many wistful eyes to America, and many a German heart responded to Lenau's exultant song:

⁵ In Bavaria the educational program of sixteen years ran about as follows: Common school, 6-8; *Progymnasium*, 8-12; *Gymnasium*, 12-17; *Lyceum* (transition to university), 17-18; *Selekta*, 18-20; university, 20-23. Every child was obliged to attend school from the sixth to the fourteenth year. See F. A. Rauch, "German Characteristics," *Home Missionary and American Pastor's Journal*, VIII (1836), 205.

⁶ The *Cincinnati Chronicle* (Jan. 7, 1837) printed an item from the "Literary Fair" at Leipzig, stating that 10,000 new volumes were printed annually in Germany, that every year 1000 new writers appeared, and that at least 50,000 persons in Germany had written books.

Oh thou new world, and Freedom's world,
 Against whose fertile, flowery strand
 The tyrants' wrath in vain is hurled,
 In thee I greet my Fatherland!⁷

Although a general mass emigration did not occur until after the revolution of 1830, a few notable individuals, such as Gottfried Duden, Louis Eversmann, and Karl Follen⁸ in 1824, and Francis Lieber in 1827, had previously directed attention to the New World. The immigrants of 1832, the so-called "Thirty-twoers," were warmly welcomed. A group of ten thousand arrived in that year. The total number for the decade was one hundred and fifty-two thousand, not all of whom, however, were political refugees. From 1830-1845 the average annual emigration rose to about forty thousand.⁹ And why should not America, the land of the free, with its much vaunted *Sternenbanner*, the home of

⁷ From "The Emigrant's Song," by Nikolaus Lenau, quoted by J. G. Legge, *Rhyme and Revolution in Germany* (New York, 1919), 131. For references to America by other German writers of this period, see Weber, *op. cit.*, 71 ff., 179 ff.

⁸ Karl Follen, professor at Giessen, suspected of political intrigue, removed to Jena, where he became leader of the radical wing of the *Burschenschaft*, known as the "Black Band." He is reputed to have been one of the leading spirits in the organization of the liberal German students' societies (*Burschenschaften*). As early as 1819 he espoused the establishment of a German university in the United States. In 1824 he fled to America and in the following year became professor of German at Harvard. M. Tiling, in *History of the German Element in Texas from 1820-1850* (Houston, 1913), 16, in stating that "Follen lived four years with Duden on his farm in Missouri, then moved to New York and became the first professor of Germanics at Harvard University," confuses Karl Follen with his brother Paul, who arrived with the Giessen Society in 1834. See *Gesammelte Schriften von Friedrich Münch* (St. Louis, 1902), 39 ff.; E. C. Follen, *Life of Charles Follen* (Boston, 1844).

⁹ See N. R. indexes for these years; Löher, *op. cit.*, 269 ff. According to census statistics the number of immigrants from 1831-60 averaged 50,000 a year, increased to 57,500 in 1846, 143,000 in 1853, and 215,000 in 1854, and decreased after the depression of 1855. The total from 1815-60 amounted to two and one-half million.

Among the outstanding political refugees of the thirties were Gustav Körner and J. B. Stallo. Emigrations to secure freedom of worship were, with the exception of Old Lutheran groups, unimportant and were largely of a sectarian and communistic nature.

Treating also the economic, political, social, and literary conditions prevailing in Germany during the first part of the 19th century and valuable for its concrete, statistical references is the work by Christian Tischhauser, *Geschichte der evangel. Kirche Deutschlands . . .* (Basel, 1900).

Washington, of Jefferson, and now of Jackson, become the self-chosen haven for these oppressed?

General disaffection was further inflamed by the ecclesiastical paternalism of the German government, which not only provided compulsory religious education, but rigorously prescribed the rites of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial for all its citizens. The consistorial régime of the subsidized clergy, or *Pfaffen*, as they were contemptuously called, was roundly condemned.¹⁰ Opposition to the church had been nurtured by the vulgar rationalism prevailing in German cities and university centers. The spirit of the Enlightenment rejected the formalistic orthodoxy of the hard-minded Lutherans and the obscurantism of the naive Pietists. German rationalism, with its merciless criticism of Lutheran orthodoxy, had run a notable course from Hermann Reimarus to David Strauss. The neological views of Johannes Röhr, Heinrich Paulus, Johann G. Eichhorn, Julius Wegscheider, Heinrich Gesenius, and Johann Semler were widely held, and Strauss's *Leben Jesu* (1836) and Ludwig Feuerbach's *Wesen des Christentums* (1841) were everywhere being absorbed by students of theology.¹¹ When the state sought to suppress this free spirit, the political and theological liberals turned to the New

¹⁰ The prevailing anticlerical spirit should be studied in the light of the doctrine of the Enlightenment concerning "natural law"; the controversy in eighteenth-century Germany (Prussia) on the relation of state and church as expressed in the *Religionsedikt* of 1788, under Friedrich Wilhelm II; the rise of the bureaucratic *Oberkonsistorium* and *Kirchendirektorium*, etc.; and an endless variety of doctrinal, liturgical, disciplinary, and organizational forms prevailing throughout the land. See Erich Foerster, *Die Entstehung der Preussischen Landeskirche*, I (Tübingen, 1905).

¹¹ For stultifying effect of rationalism upon religion, note the descriptions of F. Nicolai in his *Sebaldus Nothanker* in the later half of the 18th century. See K. R. Hagenbach, *History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1870), I, 312 f., and Gustav Ecke, *Die evangelischen Landeskirchen Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1904), 65 f.

The disesteem in which the rationalists were held by American Christians may be seen in the description of Germany by American travelers and preachers. For contemporary American comments on the German situation, see "Gleanings from the German Periodicals," *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, IX (1837), 198 ff.

World for relief. America alone offered escape from the ecclesiastical tyranny and religious obscurantism of the conservative state church. In this free country every one could openly believe or disbelieve anything he desired.

In further appraising the religious structure of Germany in the nineteenth century as it had a bearing on the subsequent development among the Germans in America, the importance of the Pietistic movement can not be overlooked. The seventeenth-century Pietism of Philipp Spener, August Francke, and Nicolaus Zinzendorf, strongly ascetic and emotional at times to the point of fanaticism, had established itself most firmly in the rural communities of Württemberg. In opposition to the rising tide of rationalism in the nineteenth century the movement had experienced a rebirth throughout Germany. Under the leadership of Professors Johann Neander at Berlin, August Tholuck and Heinrich Guericke at Halle, and Johann Beck at Basel (later at Tübingen), a Biblical and experiential theology had developed which was characterized by a dignified scholarly polemic against the tirades of current rationalism. The political excitement and the economic instability of the day awakened warm religious interests. New editions of the devotional books of Johann Arndt, Spener, Johann Starck, Friedrich Lampe, and Johann Gerhard appeared. A revivalistic spirit began to manifest itself among Lutherans and Reformed throughout Germany, sponsored in the North and East by such men as Baron Ernst von Kottwitz and Johann Jänicke of Berlin, the three Below brothers in Pommern, the pastors Heinrich Diestel and Johann Ebel in Königsberg, and Martin Stephan in Dresden. The center of the movement in western Germany lay in the Wuppertal, the home of the famous hymnwriter Gerhard Tersteegen and the illustrious Reformed pastor Gottfried Krummacher.

Through the influence of Johann Bengel, the Spener of the eighteenth century, Württemberg, which was called by him the "apple of God's eye," in the nineteenth century retained the distinction of being, "if not the most blessed country in the world, certainly the most blessed province in

Germany."¹² Among the fruits of the movement were: the famous preachers Ludwig and Wilhelm Hofacker, whose sermons were read in pious circles for decades to come; Albert Knapp, the hymnwriter; and Johann Blumhardt, the preacher of faith-healing fame. It was characteristic of the Pietist movement in Württemberg that the question of unionism never became a vital issue, since Lutheran and Reformed groups of that region traditionally emphasized points of agreement and mutually labored for the cause of religion.¹³ Under the aegis of Pietism numerous inter-confessional Christian, Bible, missionary, and tract societies originated throughout Germany with the avowed purpose of stemming the tide of rationalism. About fifty societies of this type had arisen in Württemberg by the year 1800—the most noteworthy being the *Christentumsgesellschaft* founded by Johann Urlsperger,¹⁴ a devoted follower of Bengel. A direct product of this development was the founding of the Basel and Barmen missionary societies, destined in later years to send many missionaries to America.

The famous Basel Bible Society, organized in 1804, although located in Switzerland, became a center for the German Pietist movement. The *Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel* was founded in 1815, and with pietistic fervor began opposing the narrow confessional distinctions of the day. The catholicity of Basel was manifested in its close cooperation with the London Missionary Society (L. M. S.) and the Church Missionary Society (C. M. S.), the latter representing the evangelical wing of the Church of

¹² For contemporary appraisal of the religious situation in Württemberg, see "Nachrichten," *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, XXX (1842), 590. Karl Müller in his essay "Die religiöse Erweckung in Württemberg am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Aus der akademischen Arbeit* (Tübingen, 1930), 292, refers to Moravian and Methodist influences in Württemberg at this time.

¹³ Adolf Späth, *D. Wilhelm Julius Mann* (Reading, Pa., 1895), 3. Nor should the influence of Spener's espousal of church union be overlooked. See also W. J. Mann, "Der religiöse Standpunkt Württembergs," *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund*, IX (1856), 217 ff.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the German background and German societies interested in German emigrants, see Joh. Ph. Koehler, *Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Wisconsin und anderen Staaten* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1925).

England. The London Society, during the period when Anglican bishops refused to ordain its candidates, looked to Germany and Switzerland for its missionaries.¹⁵ Indeed, Basel was not concerned about the creedal subscription or denominational affiliation of her graduates. The unionism of Basel¹⁶ was not of the ecclesiastical, bureaucratic, Prussian type, but rather, as Inspector (President) Christian Blumhardt (1816-1838) expressed it, based on the apostolic method of missions which did not recognize the distinction between Lutherans and Reformed.¹⁷ The Swiss society won loyal supporters throughout Germany. Pious Württembergers especially founded societies auxiliary to Basel, the most significant being the one at Stuttgart.¹⁸

The *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft*, with its center in the Wuppertal at Barmen, by which name it was usually designated, was also a product of the Pietistic Urlsperger movement. It had been founded in 1828 by a merger of the Elberfeld and Barmen missionary societies—the latter having been auxiliary to Basel. The new society shared with

¹⁵ "Germany," "C. M. S.," "L. M. S.," Dwight, Tupper, and Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Missions* (New York, 1904), 163, 402. "Christentums-gesellschaft," *Realencyklopädie f. prot. Theol. u. Kirche*, 3d ed., III, 820. For relation of these societies to Basel, see Paul Eppler, *Geschichte der Basler Mission, 1815-1899* (Basel, 1900), 21, and Wilhelm Schlatter, *Geschichte der Basler Mission, 1815-1915* (Basel, 1915-16), I, 9 f. Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society* (London, 1899), cf. index.

¹⁶ Note, in contrast, position of Lutheranism as expressed by Wilhelm Löhe in *Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika* (founded in 1843). See, e. g., "Zurückweisung eines Angriffs . . .," VII (1849), 9 ff.

¹⁷ *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte der Evangelischen Missions- und Bibelgesellschaften*, XXII (1837), 420 ff. Eppler, *op. cit.*, 56 ff. Similar positions were taken by the successors to Blumhardt: Wilhelm Hoffmann (1839-50) and Joseph Josenhans (1850-79). See statement of Hoffmann in *Die ev. Missionsgesellschaft* (1842), 36, and quoted by Eppler, *op. cit.*, 108 f., also Schlatter, *op. cit.*, I, 195 ff., and "Die evangelische Kirche," *Friedensbote*, I (1850), 65. For Josenhans, see Eppler, *op. cit.*, 27, 247 f.; Schlatter, *op. cit.*, I, 274; "Die evangelische Missionsgesellschaft . . .," F., XVI (1865), 78; D. K., VII (1854), 330. See illustration facing p. 10.

¹⁸ The extent to which Pietistic Württemberg supplied Basel with students is seen in the fact that, of the 200 graduates prior to 1840, 101 came from Württemberg, 56 from the rest of Germany, 29 from Switzerland, and 12 from other countries. Eppler, *op. cit.*, 57 f.

Basel its antirationalistic and non-confessionalistic sentiments and, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, also sent missionaries to Africa, where the Barmen work at Capetown soon became self-sustaining.¹⁹

The various political, cultural, and religious distinctions were furthermore complicated by intersecting denominational groupings. The main conflict at the beginning of the nineteenth century was waged between the Lutherans and Reformed. Protestant Germany was divided against itself by numerous rival creeds and competing liturgical orders. At some places Lutheran and Reformed congregations shared in the use of the same church, although each had its own form of worship and was violently antagonistic to the other. The unity of the rising Prussian state appeared to be threatened from within.

The time seemed ripe for a definite ecclesiastical union. The sense of national solidarity had been quickened by the French wars from which the new Prussian state had emerged. Both Lutheran and Reformed branches were opposed to the rationalists. The spirit of the Enlightenment had depreciated the significance of divisive, dogmatic formulas. Pietism, always more vital in Reformed than in Lutheran communities, had begun to temper denominational distinctions.²⁰ For three decades the question of union had been discussed; the move was especially advocated by such men as Schleiermacher. The project could be approached either from the point of view of doctrine, polity, or liturgy. King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1797-1840) favored the latter

¹⁹ L. v. Rohden, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Missions-Gesellschaft* (Barmen, 1871). For attitude toward the union, see quotations from Inspector F. G. Fabri (1857-84) in A. Muecke, "Der deutsche Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens," *Evangelischer Kalender* (St. Louis, 1906), 51. Barmen inspectors, with the exception of the Lutheran J. C. Wallmann, as those of Basel, reflected a Biblical, pietistic, and non-confessional spirit, e. g., H. Richter (1827-47), F. G. Fabri (1857-84). See illustration.

²⁰ The statement of James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church of Germany* (Reading, 1894), 309, that "in the Lutheran Church Pietism existed as a school, in the Reformed it was a part of her very life and genius. This explains why it was opposed in the Lutheran Church," is only partly true. See chart facing p. 11.

approach and, after extended liturgical studies, proposed an order of worship (1816) to be used first in the garrison-and court-church, but designed ultimately for use in all the churches of the realm. The tercentenary anniversary of the Reformation in October, 1817, was chosen as the proper occasion to promulgate the union, and on September 27 the king, in a court proclamation, called upon the German Protestants of Prussia to observe the celebration in a union communion service according to the new rite.

Thus the Evangelical Church, the Church of the Prussian Union, ripened into existence,²¹ marking an epoch in the history of German Protestantism. Doctrinal equations were to be avoided. Lutherans were not to become Reformed, nor were the Reformed to become Lutherans, but, united in essentials, they should now become "Evangelicals." Together they should merge into a new, revitalized, evangelical Christian Church, according to the spirit of their blessed Founder.

The Union Church thus established was widely hailed by the populace and spread to other provinces, where the decision to accept or reject was frequently referred to the local congregation. Most success attended the movement in the West: in the region along the Rhein in Westphalia, Baden, Nassau, and in both Hesses. In 1818 it was introduced into the Bavarian *Rheinpfalz*, in 1820 into Bernburg, and in 1827 into Dessau. Most of the churches, however, did not accept the new order. The most vigorous opposition emanated from Klaus Harms, the vehement pastor in Kiel, who,

²¹ The gradual rise of the United Evangelical Church in Germany should be studied in the light of the social and religious conditions prevailing in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century. Rejecting the individualistic philosophy of the Enlightenment, the new Prussian state began to show an active interest in cultural and religious affairs. From the beginning of his reign, Wilhelm III labored for reform in the ecclesiastical establishment and prepared a revision of the *Agende* looking forward toward a union of the Lutheran and Reformed groups. The progress of these events, as also the details of the plan of union, may best be followed in Foerster, *op. cit.*, I, 95 ff., although Foerster's contention that the origin of the Prussian state church is to be traced to the reign of the Prussian king is no longer tenable. Note also K. I. Nitzsch, *Urkundenbuch der Evangelischen Union mit Erläuterungen* (Bonn, 1853), 125. A vast literature developed on the subject.

in his ninety-five theses of 1817, inveighed equally against rationalism and unionism. Thus the Union added a new Church, so that in some sections of Germany three independent Protestant denominations coexisted with innumerable religious, theological, and ecclesiastical shadings.

The king, however, was not to be balked. On the occasion of the tercentenary anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, in 1830, he hoped to hasten the consummation of the ecclesiastical union through the adoption of a common book of worship by all the churches of the realm.²² The celebration in Berlin was marked by a union communion service, which, according to the new rite, was observed with the breaking of bread and the use of "*Unser Vater*" instead of "*Vater Unser.*" This was the straw that broke the camel's back. The strict Lutherans rallied to the support of the pious preacher and professor Johann Scheibel, of the University of Breslau in Silesia, who became the leader of the antiunion party. The dissenters were accused of insubordination. In the course of the ensuing persecution, marked by antisectarian legislation, non-conformity developed into separatism, and exclusive Lutheranism was born.²³ In 1836 seven Lutheran pastors were imprisoned. Fines were levied for harboring heretics and participating in Lutheran meet-

²² This *Agende*, written by Wilhelm III, had been widely used since 1825. Schleiermacher, who favored the union, opposed the coercive liturgical policy of the king, who considered his *Agende* necessary to safeguard orthodoxy against rationalism and had, therefore, retained the rite of creedal subscription at ordinations and the regular recitation of the Apostles' Creed in church services. The non-conformists forced the king to accept some compromise readings in the *Agende*. The strong retrenchment of absolutism in Prussia, after the *Burschenschaften* demonstration at Wartburg in October, 1817, tended to discredit the new Church as a bureaucratic *Hofkirche*. For unsympathetic appraisal of the separatist German movement, see "Der Separatismus in der Uckermark bis zur Auswanderung nach Nord Amerika," *E. K. Z.*, XXXIV (1844), 101 ff. Various articles in Löhe's *K. M.* took exception to such presentations. E. g., a writer *ibid.* (1847), No. 6, claimed that the article in the *E. K. Z.* of 1847, No. 23, on "Die Zustände der evang. Deutschen Nord Amerikas" had been written in "unirtlutherischem Sinn." See also F. Brandes, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Politik des Hauses Brandenburg* (Gotha, 1872), II, 431.

²³ Reformed churches opposing the union were also oppressed, and in some localities became practically extinct until the revival of the Reformed consciousness in 1850.

ings. These conditions directed the minds of the persecuted to America. Under the leadership of Martin Stephan, plans for emigration were completed, and in February, 1839, the so-called Saxon Lutherans arrived in Missouri.²⁴

It was a day filled with many interlocking controversies. Although the Evangelicals as well as the Reformed and Lutherans opposed the prevailing rationalistic propaganda, the most militant opponents were the Old Lutherans, who, under the leadership of Klaus Harms, inaugurated an exclusive confessionalistic tradition which has continued to the present time.²⁵ The Prussian government not only sought to suppress the separatistic Lutherans, but, as early as 1825, published a decree against the "subjectivistic, mystic, Pietistic movement" and its "*dumpfe, trübe und ängstigende Lebensansicht*," a position which was also adopted by some other German states. The orthodox of all branches united in the attack upon the neologists and urged their dismissal from the Church. In northern Germany the liberal party under Wegscheider and Gesenius in 1826 published the *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*. Sympathetic to Pietism and at first to the Union cause, Professor Ernst Hengstenberg of Berlin, in behalf of the orthodox party, responded with the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*.²⁶ Clergy and laymen read these papers, and the emigrants who came to America—peasants, scholars, patriots, students, orthodox, liberals, Reformed, Lutheran, Evangelicals, Pietists, and rationalists—brought with them memories of the animosities of the Old World, which were all too often perpetuated in the New.

²⁴ Koehler, *op. cit.*, 160, states that in 1837 three Old Lutheran groups—Pommeranians, Silesians, and Saxons—were planning to emigrate. Next in importance to the Saxon immigration was that of J. A. A. Grabau, who arrived in Buffalo, N. Y., in 1839 and organized the Buffalo Synod in 1845. The Missouri Synod was not founded until 1847.

²⁵ Eppler, *op. cit.*, 108, states that the Basel cause was appreciably hampered with the rise of confessionalistic societies at Dresden and Leipzig and in Bavaria, where Gottlieb Harless and Löhle demanded that Basel candidates be commissioned on Lutheran symbols.

²⁶ This church gazette (1827) was at first supported by all who desired a revival of Christian piety in Germany, numbering among its contributors Tholuck, Lange, Gerlach, and Neander. Its controversial spirit, however, aroused many enemies.

— Thus the beginning of the nineteenth century in Germany witnessed a three-cornered controversy between the rationalists, Pietists, and orthodox Lutherans which became more complicated when the orthodox joined the Pietists in their opposition to the rationalists and became even more involved when, under auspices of the state, the Lutheran and Reformed branches were united into the Evangelical Church.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT

Arriving in America, the German immigrants found themselves in the midst of the "march of destiny"—that great westward migration designated by Channing as "one of the marvelous phenomena of history." At the beginning of our period the Western frontier extended to the Mississippi River. Egypt had its Nile, Mesopotamia its Tigris and Euphrates, and America was at the point of discovering the resources of its Great Valley. Caught in the midst of this movement the German immigrant was swept toward the West.²⁷

Unusually large numbers settled in Missouri. The economic resources of this state were beginning to attract national attention. In the year 1818 this "territory was settling as fast as any other was settled," and in 1819 we are told that "the emigration to Missouri is so great as to furnish a home market"²⁸ Missouri was rapidly being recognized as the key state for the occupation of the Great Valley, and the attention of German immigrants inevitably turned in this direction.²⁹

²⁷ It has been estimated that one-third of the German immigrants remained in the East, one-third settled in towns on their way west, and one-third arrived in the Far West. Thus we hear of Württembergers settling at Buffalo, N. Y., in 1832 and Alsatians at Tonawanda, N. Y., in 1830. The latter bought out the Mohawk Germans of Mohawk Valley, N. Y., who moved west. See Griesinger, *op. cit.*, I, 256 ff.; Löher, *op. cit.*, 275 ff. Cf. *Festschriften* of German churches in the East.

²⁸ N. R., May 16, XIV (1818), 192; Jan. 2, XV (1819), 352.

²⁹ E. L. Brauns, *Ideen über die Auswanderung nach Amerika* (Göttingen, 1827), mentions twelve recent travel books referring to Missouri. It may also be noted that J. M. Henni, subsequently archbishop of Milwaukee, published a number of items directing the attention of prospective emigrants to the West. Cf. "Dr. Johann Martin Henni. . . .," D. P., XIII (1881), 379, 440.

After all has been said, however, we cannot understand the unrivaled popularity of Missouri among the Germans apart from the influence of Gottfried Duden. Doctor Duden, a graduate in law and medicine and proctor of state in the district of Mühlheim, had made a special study of the social evils prevailing in Germany. He came to the conclusion that overpopulation was the cause for most of Europe's problems of poverty and crime. For him the solution lay in America. Before advising his fellow countrymen to emigrate, he decided to investigate the American situation personally. Accompanied by a wealthy agriculturist, Louis Eversmann, he arrived in Baltimore in 1824. Concluding that European immigrants should follow the westward movement of the native Americans, they proceeded to Missouri, arriving at St. Louis the latter part of October. Near Dutzow, on Lake Creek in Warren County, Duden bought 270 acres of government land, on which he built a log cabin. He was a man of means and employed his leisure hours composing attractive descriptions of Missouri, which, in the form of thirty-six letters under the title of *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nord-Amerikas und über einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 25, 26 und 1827 . . .)*, were published at Elberfeld in 1829. The winters of these years were exceedingly mild, and his description of the climate and economic conditions was most attractive.³⁰ Duden was a highly re-

³⁰ Duden's "Bericht" was translated by Wm. G. Bek and published in the *Missouri Historical Review*, Oct., 1917—April, 1919. This was followed by another series of articles entitled "The Followers of Duden," which appeared in *M. H. R.*, Oct., 1919—Jan., 1925. These articles are invaluable for knowledge of conditions prevailing among the Germans in Missouri at this time. Duden's account aroused false expectations, and the period of disillusionment was filled with bitter regrets. An extensive Duden literature sprang up. See Gustav Körner, *Beleuchtung des Dudenschen Berichts* (Frankfurt, 1834); *Anzeiger des Westens*, Feb. 5, 1836; Bek, "Followers of Duden," *M. H. R.*, XV (1921), 524. Discussion of Duden is also found in Kaspar Köpfl, *Reisebericht der Familien Köpfl und Suppiger nach St. Louis am Mississippi und Gründung von Neuschweitzerland im Staate Illinois* (Sursee, 1833), and in an article by T. Hilgard, "Geschichte der Auswanderung einer deutschen Familie . . .," *Das Westland*, I (1837), 39, 113. Bek, *M. H. R.*, XIII (1919), 281, also mentions references to Duden in J. H. Rausze, *Reisescenen aus zwei Welten . . .* (Guestrow,

spected man, and his book, circulating in numerous editions during the social, religious, and political upheavals of the thirties, led many thousands to direct their steps toward Missouri.

En route to his new home, the emigrant was subjected to many grilling experiences. He was not spared exploitation by American agents in Europe or by his own countrymen and ship agents in Germany. Intense suffering on board ship, the dangers of pestilence, and various other hazards of the journey emphasized the permanency of his separation from the fatherland.³¹ Arriving at American ports, the German *Michel* was subjected to ruthless exploitations by so-called "permit catchers" and "runners," the unscrupulous agents of hotel proprietors, who sometimes received a weekly salary of one thousand dollars for their evil ser-

1836), and in the *Amerikanisches Magazin* (Altona, Leipzig, 1835). In his own defense, Duden in 1837 published his *Selbstanklage wegen seines amerikanischen Reiseberichtes zur Warnung vor fernern leichtsinnigen Auswandern* (Bonn, 1837). Note also Jessie J. Kile, "Duden and His Critics," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* for 1915, 63.

Löher compared Duden's *Bericht* with Goethe's *Italien*. See F. Münch, "The Duden Settlement in Missouri," D. P., II (1870), 197.

Learned, *op. cit.*, 8, observes that "the echoes of Gottfried Duden's travels in Missouri and the western states of North America . . . are clearly reflected by the state papers in the Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon, and other state archives." The influence of Duden is reflected in the following statement: "Even the ladies and gentlemen of high cultivation resolved to exchange an artificial and commodious life for one nearer the bosom of so charming a nature, to enjoy there perfect freedom, and devote themselves to a life of agriculture." F. Rauch, "German Characteristics," H. M., IX (1836), 2. Not all of the immigrants attracted by Duden's writings reached Missouri. Büttner's party did not proceed farther than Wheeling, W. Va. See Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 18.

³¹ Especially pathetic was the fate of the "Hollanders" referred to *supra*, p. 3. Deiler, *op. cit.*, states that of 1200 passengers on board the ship "April" about 500 died of the pest. Of approximately 1100 sailing on three vessels, only 597 arrived at New Orleans alive (1818). The remainder died of diseases caused by unsanitary conditions and lack of food and water. Some had committed suicide, and others were driven insane by fever and thirst. For a more calm Atlantic voyage cf. Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Wild Sports in the Far West* (Boston, 1864), which describes a journey of 64 days in the spring of 1837 from Bremen to New York on the ship "Constitution." Pastors J. Rieger and G. Wall, charter members of the *Kirchenverein*, had arrived on this ship the preceding fall.

Yankee-Tricks. Landverkauf.



New-York.

Agent schreibt: „N. N. hat heute 180 Acre Land gekauft, liegt im Staate Michigan unter 10° 50' Länge und 43° 19' Breite. So! mein Freund, legt geht und sagt Euer Eigenthum an Ort und Stelle zeigen.“



An Ort und Stelle.

„Sagen Sie, verehrtester Herr Amerikaner, wo liegt denn eigentlich unter Land?“ — Yankee: „5m, 5 Acre, der Boden, darauf Ihr steht, und das andere liegt da hinaus.“ — „Aber ich sehe ja nur Wasser!“ — Yankee: „Woh, wie od das Wasser nicht auch Boden hätte!“

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vices.³² Many of the German immigrants fell into the hands of money-changers, railroad and steamboat agents, or free-lance swindlers. Particularly were they subjected to the temptation of buying cheap Eastern farms instead of proceeding to the West.³³ Such initial experiences hardened not a few of the newcomers and produced unfavorable conceptions of American "dollar-civilization." Common experiences and memories of this kind not only strengthened in the new arrivals the feeling of complete separation from the homeland, but also aroused in them the sense of mutual dependence on each other in meeting their common problems.

The newcomers followed the two main avenues to the West. Whether they arrived at Baltimore, Philadelphia, or New York, it was possible to traverse Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh or to Wheeling, West Virginia, whence, by way of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, the route led to St. Louis. With the opening of the National Road in 1818, the traffic from Baltimore could also proceed to Wheeling via Cumberland. The northern route followed the Erie Canal through central New York and continued via Lake Erie to Pittsburgh or to northern Ohio.³⁴ Such large numbers lost their lives on treacherous Lake Erie that it was called the "German grave." On both routes the way led by stage through

³² Friedrich Kapp, *Aus und über Amerika* (Berlin, 1876), I, 202.

³³ N. R., April 11, 1818. Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XV (1921), 531. See illustration facing p. 16.

³⁴ The Swiss immigrants to Highland, Illinois, in 1831, proceeded from New York by steamboat up the Hudson, via the Erie Canal to Buffalo, on Lake Erie to Cleveland, Ohio, and then "through a waterway composed of the Cayahoga and Tuscarawas Rivers supplemented with the Ohio Canal, going by canal boat to Dresden in the northern part of Muskingum County, Ohio." On a flatboat they floated down to Marietta, Ohio, where they took a steamboat to St. Louis. Dr. Köpfl, the leader of the party, immediately wrote home and advised his Swiss friends in the future to come by way of New Orleans. See *Eggen's History of Highland*. In 1887 Jacob Eggen compiled a history of Highland, the translation of which began to appear in the *Highland News Leader*, Jan., 1933. For description of travel on the great "Western Canal" and the canal packet-boats, etc., as of the year 1841, see *The Tourist, or Pocket Manual for Travellers . . .* (Harper Bros., 1841). Railroad competition had already forced withdrawal of a packet-boat line.

Vincennes, Indiana, to Belleville, Illinois, over the road which later became the National Trail. After 1830, immigrants began to arrive more frequently at New Orleans, which became an important center of distribution for Missouri.³⁵

GERMAN SETTLEMENTS IN MISSOURI AND ILLINOIS

The earliest German settlers in Missouri emigrated from the East. The first major settlement of American Germans occurred in the year 1803, when twenty families of "North Carolina Dutch," under the leadership of Major Georg F. Bollinger, established themselves on the Whitewater River in the district of Cape Girardeau in what is now Bollinger County. At about the same time another settlement in Bollinger County was founded by Irvin Asherbramer near Zalma on the Castor River.³⁶ When Missouri was admitted as a state in 1821, no Germans from abroad had as yet ar-

³⁵ A traveler, writing from Terre Haute, Ind., Oct., 1838, stated that, because of the low water in the Ohio, traffic had so increased on the National Road that scarcity of horses and of means of conveyance caused congestion at hotels and a rise in prices. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 162. For Duden's comments and instructions concerning routes of travel, see Bek, "Duden's Report," M. H. R., XIII (1919), 261 ff.

³⁶ For early settlement of Germans in the Carolinas, see Faust, *op. cit.*, I, chap. viii, and G. D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1872), 393. Also see Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri, from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements . . .* (Chicago, 1908), III, 204; R. S. Douglass, *History of Southeast Missouri* (Chicago, 1912), I, 79. Geo. Bollinger, a native of North Carolina, settled on the Whitewater River, in Bollinger County, between 1794-97 and, in 1803, induced some North Carolinians to join him. Timothy Flint, pioneer western emissary of the Missionary Society of Connecticut, gives an interesting description of his visit to this "isolated but pure German Settlement, where these people have in fact preserved their nationality and their language more unmixed than even in Pennsylvania. . . . They are principally Lutherans, and some of them directly from Germany, but the greater portion from North Carolina and Pennsylvania." Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi . . .* (Boston, 1826). Cf. the edition edited by C. Hartley Grattan (New York, 1932), 225 ff. Additional settlements sprang up in the Cape Girardeau region in 1834, and a settlement of Swiss families located in the neighborhood of Dutchtown 1835-36. Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 79. Note summary of these movements in Jas. Ellis, *The Influence of Environment on the Settlement of Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1929), 85 ff. The German immigration to other parts of the state began sooner than that to St. Louis.

rived. However, during the third decade of the nineteenth century Missouri became the most favored location for German settlers in the West. The arrival of these vigorous, aggressive people marks an epoch in the history of the Germans in the United States.

The first notable settlement of Germans from abroad, after the visit of Duden, consisted of aristocratic, professional men trained in Latin and Greek, some of whom in 1832 settled south of the Missouri in the neighborhood of Washington. To this group, generally known as the Berlin Society, belonged the von Martels family and Herr von Bock, who in 1832 founded the town of Dutzow. The entire region was often referred to as the Latin Settlement.³⁷

Of a sturdier type was the Solingen Society, which, under the leadership of Friedrich Steines of Solingen, Württemberg, arrived in June, 1834, and settled in Frederick Valley on Tavern Creek in Franklin County. By this time a veritable German highway had been formed from St. Louis to Manchester, Tavern Creek, and Missouri town, and particularly from St. Charles to Marthasville and the Femme Osage Valley.³⁸ The Solingen group, consisting of 153 persons, was more democratic than the Latin farmers across the river and manifested a higher regard for religion.

A direct product of the blasted hopes of the revolution of 1830 was the *Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft*, organized in 1833 under the leadership of the two young patriots Paul Follen, the younger brother of Karl, and Friedrich Münch.³⁹ It was their plan to concentrate the German emi-

³⁷ Faust, *op. cit.*, I, 441 f. Concerning von Bock, see Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XIV (1920), 438; XVI (1922), 368 ff. The latter reference is a fragmentary translation of Gert Göbel's "*Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri*" (St. Louis, 1877). Note also, *in re* von Bock, A. d. W., June 24, 1836; Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 188. H. von Martels' *Briefe über die westlichen Theile der Ver. Staaten von Nord-Amerika* has been translated, in part, by Bek, M. H. R., XVII (1923), 339 ff. Von Martels' reviewer in the *Westland*, I (1837), takes him to task for his fantastic imagination. See also, with reference to these Missouri settlements, Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Ver. Staaten von N. A., 1818-1848* (Cincinnati, 1880).

³⁸ Bek, "Followers of Duden" (Selections from Hermann Steines' Diary, Beginning in May, 1834), M. H. R., XIV (1920), 436 ff.

³⁹ A. d. W., Apr. 29, 1836. For other references to the Giessen

gration in some Western state, there to nurture German culture or, as an ironic contemporary remarked, "to create a gay Platonic [*burschenschaftlicher*] state where all people and every relationship of life would be *a priori* good and beautiful." Of the numerous emigration societies of the day this was the most carefully planned, yet one of the most unsuccessful. The first section, under the leadership of Follen, arrived in St. Louis in a sadly demoralized state and dispersed into the surrounding country. Objecting to living in a slave state, a large number removed to Illinois. With six German families Follen settled in the neighborhood of the Duden farm, where he was soon joined by Münch.

The second contingent, under the leadership of Münch, had fared little better. The illustrious Münch, son of an orthodox pastor of Upper Hesse, had been ordained to the ministry at the age of nineteen. At the University of Giessen he came under the influence of K. Follen, became a devotee of Kant, and fell into the ways of rationalism. He was a man of outstanding literary and cultural attainments, whose pen names, "Far West" and "*Photophilos*," commanded attention in wide circles. Landing in Baltimore, Münch conducted his followers to St. Louis, where they arrived in September, 1834. Discovering that Follen's party had dispersed, they scattered into the regions north and south of the Missouri River, settling among the immediate followers of Duden and Steines.⁴⁰

Our knowledge of the settling in Missouri of other Ger-

Society, see A. d. W., July 2, Aug. 20, 1836; Körner, *op. cit.*, 300 ff.; and an article on F. Münch, M. H. R., XVIII (1924), 415 ff. See article by Münch, "Kritik der Sagenschichten einer deutschen Auswanderungs-Gesellschaft," in D. P., I (1869), 186. In Münch, *op. cit.*, 92 ff., see biographical sketches of himself and P. Follen. Also note reference in N. R., Nov. 3, 1832, and in H. A. Rattermann, *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke* (Cincinnati, 1911). The anonymously published *Briefe von Deutschen aus Nord-Amerika* (Altenburg, 1836) refers particularly to the Giessen emigration.

⁴⁰ The high cultural type of the early settlers of the Dutzow region is easily discernible in the "Who's Who" compiled by Münch in D. P., II (1870), 197, and translated by Bek, M. H. R., XVIII (1924), 575 ff. For conditions of the year 1838, see E. Zimmermann, "Travel into Missouri in October, 1839," translated by Bek, *ibid.*, IX (1914), 33 ff.

mans abroad prior to 1840 is less exact. Large numbers of uneducated and illiterate peasants continued to pour into the West. The founding of German villages and settlements on both sides of the Missouri River developed to epidemic proportions during the later thirties, as glowing advertisements in German newspapers testify. Büttner, in 1835, mentioned numerous settlements, but called especial attention to: forty or fifty families located fifteen miles south of St. Louis at Gravois Settlement; a few Germans in the town of St. Charles and a large number in the vicinity; one hundred families at Marthasville; twenty families located twenty miles west of Marthasville at Pinckney; 150 families within a radius of ten miles of Dutzow, where an exclusive *Deutsche Gesellschaft* of intellectuals had been organized, which excluded the pietistic constituency of the Femme Osage region; and many Germans in the Bonhomme Bottom, on the Missouri River twenty-four miles from St. Louis.⁴¹ Unique in its origin was the founding of the town of Hermann by the German Settlement Society of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1837. It was settled mainly by American Germans, although Germans from abroad soon felt at home in its liberal atmosphere.⁴²

By the end of the thirties various types of German settlements were scattered through several sections of Missouri. They were composed of rich and poor, educated and illiterate, peasantry and nobility. The future development, of course, lay toward the west. In April, 1836, the first railroad convention in Missouri, held in St. Louis, urged the building of a road from St. Louis to Fayette, which was to cross the Missouri River at St. Charles, and a second road to penetrate southwest "to the valley of Bellevue in Wash-

⁴¹ Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 28. Note in this connection the references made by N. Hesse, *Das westliche Nordamerika* (Paderborn, 1838), 36, to the "*Deutsche sogen. West-Falen Settlement, Missouri Staat am Osage.*" Hesse arrived in Missouri in the summer of 1835 and with six German families settled in the vicinity of Maria Creek. Lack of religious services and of educational facilities for his family strengthened his decision to return to Germany (1837).

⁴² W. Bek, *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and Its Colony Hermann, Missouri* (Philadelphia, 1907).

ington County." Everything pointed to the West, and soon the regions extending about 125 miles up the Missouri became the "center of the most widespread settlement of Germans west of the Mississippi."

Enjoying all the advantages of Missouri in addition to others which its western neighbor did not possess, southern Illinois, reaping some of the benefits of the Duden narrative, became another center for extensive German settlements at this time.⁴³ The German, fond of "smiling valleys" adapted to agricultural pursuits, and the Swiss, seeking for highland prairies on which to raise his cattle—each found the object of his quest in the rich lands lying between the Kaskaskia and the Missouri Rivers.⁴⁴ In all these sections the German element bulked large, especially in the vicinity of St. Louis, which was the market for the entire region.

As in Missouri, American Germans were the first to appear, a few individuals having arrived before 1820.⁴⁵ St. Clair County was destined to become the center of the German population in the state. Soon after the founding of Belleville in 1814, a number of American Germans arrived from Virginia and Pennsylvania. The first German from abroad, Conrad Bornemann, arrived in 1816. About the same time the name of Dutch Hill was given to a colony of German Swiss who had emigrated from the canton of Aargau, Switzerland, and settled in the southern part of the

⁴³ Germans were also attracted to this non-slave state since the right of suffrage was established by six months' residence; Missouri required a residence of twelve months.

⁴⁴ For contemporary German appraisal of these territories, which included Prairie du Rocher and the still larger Looking Glass Prairie to the east, see T. Bromme, *Missouri und Illinois* (Baltimore, 1835). See Büttner's description of Illinois settlements, *op. cit.*, I, 25-27, and J. M. Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1837).

⁴⁵ W. Pooley, "Settlement of Illinois from 1830-50," *Bulletin of University of Wisconsin*, No. 220, History Series, Vol. I (Madison, Wis., 1908), 491 ff.; Faust, *op. cit.*, I, 457 ff.; E. Mannhardt, "Die ältesten deutschen Ansiedler in Illinois," D. P., XIII (1881), 21; *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, I (1901), Heft 4, 50; Körner, *op. cit.*, 244 ff.; S. J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Chicago, 1918), 102 f. According to *History of St. Clair County, Illinois* (Philadelphia: Brink, McDonough, 1881), 62, the first naturalized German, Johannes L. Schönberger, arrived in 1793.

county, east of the Kaskaskia River, about twenty miles from Belleville.

Mass immigration did not begin until after the revolution of 1830. In 1832 a company of twenty-five Hessian families settled at Turkey Hill, southeast of Belleville. This settlement became a prosperous and worthy rival of Dutch Hill. About the same time fifty cultured families of political refugees gathered in the vicinity of Belleville. A greater cultural solidarity characterized this illustrious band than the similar settlement at Dutzow in Warren County, Missouri. Here, in 1836, the famous *Deutsche Bibliotheksgesellschaft* was founded, which at one time (1879) possessed approximately 5500 volumes. This colony gained national renown as the "Latin Settlement."⁴⁶

In 1835 the population of St. Clair County amounted to 9,055 and consisted of Americans, French, and Germans. Two hundred German families had arrived from Europe during the last four years, one half of which were Catholic.⁴⁷ Exploring almost the whole of St. Clair County in 1835, the Lutheran missionary Henry Haverstick found about twenty families at New Aargau (Centerville) and fifteen families in another colony five miles distant. At Turkey Hill he discovered thirty-five families, at Loop Prairie thirty, four in Belleville, eleven in the recently founded Saxon Village, and twenty families of Hessians on High Prairie—making a total of about one hundred German or Swiss Protestant families.⁴⁸

Next in importance were the German settlements in Madison County, where, in the year 1831, H. C. Gerke founded

⁴⁶ This term, according to Körner, had its origin with this group. *Das Westland*, I (1837), 380, contains a map of German settlements in St. Clair County, Illinois: "Die deutsche Niederlassung in Illinois; fünf Meilen östlich von Belleville," and refers to this settlement as "the most notable in the West, perhaps in the entire United States." Turkey Hill is referred to as embracing Ridge Prairie and Belleville.

⁴⁷ According to *History of St. Clair County, Ill.*, 66, from 1838-44 a total of 191 German residents were naturalized in St. Clair County and 66 in St. Louis.

⁴⁸ H. Haverstick, "Missionary Report Addressed to the Evangelical Lutheran Synod," *Minutes of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania* (Easton, Pa., May, 1836), 28 ff. Note similar references by Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 25 f.

Marine Settlement. Kaspar Köppli, the Duden of Illinois, had corresponded with Duden, but, reluctant to settle in a slave state, with a party of about fifteen persons located on the wooded edge of Looking Glass Prairie north of Belleville. This settlement was variously known as Highland, New Switzerland, and Helvetia. By the year 1836 the population had increased to fifty.⁴⁹

Numerous other less important German settlements were scattered throughout Illinois. In Union County, in the vicinity of Jonesboro and seemingly related to the German settlement in Cape Girardeau and Wayne Counties, Missouri, was a notable colony of about 150 families. All of these, according to Haverstick, were "emigrants from North Carolina, at different intervals during the past twenty years."⁵⁰ At Hillsboro in Montgomery County a group of North Carolina Germans had settled about 1831. A flourishing colony of Germans, mainly of Eastern origin, located in Wabash County. On his arrival in the West, Büttner (1835) discovered a settlement of Hanoverians at Vandalia, where Haverstick in 1836 found about twenty families in or near the town. Ezra Keller, on his visit to the West in 1836-1837, approaching from the north, found a large number of Germans from abroad — Lutherans and Mennonites — in the vicinity of Peoria and Pekin on the Illinois River, a group which had also been visited by C. F. Heyer in 1836. At Beardstown and in Cass County, where a part of the Giessen Society had settled, he found 250 persons; at Quincy, sixty families of Germans from abroad; and at Alton, about sixty persons.⁵¹ In 1835 Haverstick reported five or six families in Pike County.

⁴⁹ Köppli, *op. cit.*; *supra*, p. 17, n. 34. See review of Köppli's book in *Westland*, I (1837), 103.

⁵⁰ Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 25-27. Most of these were descendents of Pennsylvania Germans. Both the Illinois and the Missouri groups were also visited in 1836 by Heyer. See letter of Heyer in *Lutheran Observer*, April 15, 1836. See also W. A. Lambert, *Life of Rev. J. F. C. Heyer, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1903), 58 ff. Note Heyer's comments on striking "difference in manner of living between Pennsylvanians and North Carolinians."

⁵¹ M. Diehl, *Biography of Rev. Ezra Keller, D.D.* (Springfield, O., 1859), 75 ff. In *Minutes of the German Ev. Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania, 1837*, see "Missionary Report of Ezra Keller," 29 ff.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The early German settlers in the West, on the whole, were not affiliated with any denominational bodies, nor were they interested in effecting such contacts. Material interests overshadowed the religious. The first need of the German immigrant was to become physically established in his new home. No sooner had he arrived than his social integration began. Under the pressure of a variety of factors new cultural forms began to emerge. It was a foregone conclusion that the establishment of religion among the Germans in the West would be conditioned by both the physical and the social environment in which it would function.

Most of the early settlers, including the "Thirty-twoers," settled in rural districts and were widely dispersed. Wealthy individuals bought substantial farms and lived as feudal lords over wide estates. It frequently occurred that lawyers, doctors, and other educated professional men settled in log cabins in rural regions. The erudite German found it difficult to live on his scholarly attainments and, when he took to farming, found himself less adept than the rough and ready peasant. When the romantic lure faded, he turned wistful eyes to the city.

The poor peasant, on the other hand, not able to purchase a farm, at first located in the city, where, on wages of a dollar a day, he could rent a comfortable house and enjoy a comparatively luxurious existence. And yet, the constant dust on the highways, the frightful heat, and filth and stench caused by dead animals in the streets or emanating from nearby swamps and slaughter houses, the lack of sanitation—all this made life in the city unbearable during the summer months.⁵² After acquiring some means, the peasant usually moved to the country and readily adjusted himself to more congenial conditions. On occasion he hired out to his neighbor, while the women and children cleared the underbrush from his farm. Much of the best bottom land finally fell into the hands of these frugal people, who procured it from the restless Yankees or the disillusioned gen-

⁵² "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XV (1921), 686.

tleman farmers who knew more about Hebrew, Greek, and Latin than about agriculture. Flourishing farms began to appear; the German-American farmer came into being.⁵³ German communities, however, generally continued to be poverty-stricken. The American acquired his wealth through commerce and speculation. The German secured what little he had from the earth, in the sweat of his brow, and became correspondingly avaricious in its possession.

The new settlers zealously retained the dialects and social customs prevailing in their native provinces. The communal and provincial designations of the Old World were frequently applied to the new settlements in America. Although generally designated as German, they were more specifically referred to as Prussian, Hessian, Saxon, Bavarian, Pommeranian. The inhabitants of these communities were variously known as Lippe-Detmolders, Hamburgers, Kielers, Meiningers, Saxe-Altenburgers, etc. German communities in rural and in urban districts were invariably referred to as Germany, Little Germany, German Settlement, Germantown, Dutchtown, etc., or, according to the derivation of the inhabitants, as Lippe, Lippstadt, Bremen, Elberfeld, Westphalia, etc. That differences of opinion should arise among these groups was inevitable. German communities became noted for their many and heated discussions.⁵⁴ A primary distinction was made between *Hochdeutsche* and *Plattdeutsche*. Whereas the High German from southern Germany was marked by amiability and emotional temper of mind and was sanguine to a fault, the Low German from the North, at the head of whom stood the

⁵³ An interesting example of this type was Heinrich Hoehn, who arrived in Madison Co., Ill., in 1843, chopped wood for an American at \$6 a month and, by the time the American was broke, had saved \$300, with which he bought his farm.

⁵⁴ Contemporary German newspapers reveal a wide variety of controversial subjects. Thus Weber of the *Anzeiger* opposed the projected founding of an independent German state in Missouri or Texas. In spite of his opposition, the Philadelphia Society, in 1837, founded the town of Hermann in Missouri. A. d. W., Nov. 13, 27, 1835; June 24, 1836. Weber vainly urged the adoption of the American Manual by the German Military Society. A. d. W., Aug. 19, 26, 1837. See discussion of German *Weltanschauungsgruppen* in America in H. Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums* (Berlin, 1937), 36 ff.

Prussian, was characterized by self-reliance, even judgment, indomitable will, and endurance.⁵⁵ Such sectional and temperamental distinctions, as we shall see, inevitably affected the religious developments.

Nor should the distinction between the American German of the East and the newly arrived German immigrant be overlooked. Among other things the Eastern German, especially the native of Pennsylvania, in the course of his adjustment to American conditions had so corrupted his language with Anglicisms that a new dialect evolved known as Pennsylvania German.⁵⁶ Numerous differences in social customs and *mores* deepened the gulf between the two groups. Misunderstandings developed into antagonisms, and new immigrants passing through the East were frequently subjected to gross insult.⁵⁷ The admission of Germans from abroad into American-German congregations and synods where the mother tongue no longer prevailed created many difficulties.⁵⁸ Thus the European Germans settling in the

⁵⁵ The distinction between High and Low German is not primarily geographical, but philological—the High German having been spoken in the dialects of Swabia, Bavaria, Austria, parts of Franconia, and Saxony, whereas the Low German, little used in literature, comprehended such dialects as the Friesian, Flemish, Dutch, and *Plattdeutsch*. The South German, it was said, “carries his heart on his tongue and the North German his tongue in his brain.”

⁵⁶ A popular version of the Pennsylvania dialect may be noted in the following quotation from a “Farmer’s Almanac,” found in H. Krummacher, *Deutsches Leben in Nordamerika* (Neufalz a. O., 1874), 154: “*Horreskop for de März: Der Mann in dem Monat gebore, is a bissel inclinert zu blowe. Er wird a häuslicher Mann sei un werd verstehe die Cradle zu rocke und Potatos zu piele. Er werd sterwa in der usual time in life, und Haus un Lot hinnerlasse mit a small Mortgage druf. Er werd numme emol for en office runne un dann gebote werre.*” This, of course, is not a classical example.

⁵⁷ The chasm between the two types is seen in the experience of Büttner, who was accosted by a Pennsylvania German as follows: “*Kanscht du a schoffe? Du guckscht nit aus, als wenn du viel schoffe könnst. Hier muscht du schoffe. Wer nit schofft, soll a nit esse. Wo kumscht du her? Du bischt wohl e Sochs oder bischt do e Hess? Du hoscht ene ordliche Sproche. Du schwätzst nit gut deutsch.*” Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 16. That Büttner was accepted as pastor of the church at Osnabrock, Ohio (1839), was an exception to the rule; for the congregation had previously decided never again to have a “*Deutschländer.*” *Ibid.*, II, 231. Löher also comments on the tension between East and West, *op. cit.*, 241 ff.

⁵⁸ In 1834 David Winters of the “Americanized” Reformed Church in Dayton, Ohio, was forbidden by his congregation to preach in Ger-

West stood apart from the older, Americanized, German civilization in the East, and sought to solve their problems in their own way.

Old World social and class distinctions also disturbed the solidarity of German communities. The aristocratic cultured German, usually in the minority, was arrogantly proud of his attainments and thoroughly embarrassed by the illiterate peasant who, arguing from the premise that America is a free country, took unwarranted liberties with his erstwhile superior. Among other things he may have said "*du*," instead of "*Sie*," when addressing the German *Herr*. Indeed, what did the highly trained university *Herr* have in common with the vulgar and ignorant *Bauer* whom American conditions threatened to make his peer?⁵⁹ His oftentimes boorish and ill-mannered behavior, it was feared, would reflect upon the good name of the Germans in general. The high-bred German was shocked by the behavior of German peasant women who accompanied their husbands into town on market days riding astride their horses with such tumult and shouting that respectable American women hid themselves in shame.⁶⁰

Many of the new arrivals did not long survive the impact of frontier conditions. The Germans were exceedingly sus-

man to newly arrived immigrants. In 1836 the German group effected a separate organization. C. Müller, *Denkschrift zur 50jährigen Jubelfeier der Ev. Luth. St. Johannes Gemeinde zu Dayton, Ohio* (Dayton, 1890), 7. Note also the unsuccessful attempt at St. John's Evangelical Church at Hamilton, Ohio (1837), to use both languages (F. S. of 1912). A similar question confronted St. Peter's Church of Tonawanda, N. Y., in the forties. The experience of W. J. Mann of Salem Reformed Church at Philadelphia (1845-49) is described by Späth, *op. cit.*, 32 f. The distinction between the American German and the German from abroad involves cultural and sociological differences which are of primary importance for the understanding of the German religious development in the West.

⁵⁹ Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XV (1921), 695. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 257, refers to a German debating society which argued the question of whether it was proper in a republic to address one another as "*Herr*," etc.

⁶⁰ A. d. W., June 10, 1837. Körner, when accused, denied having written this article. Note also Büttner's reference to the galloping German midwife in *Femme Osage* and what may have been a current expression: "The dutchwomen are worse than the squas." *Op. cit.*, I, 199.

ceptible to fevers, the itch, and mosquitoes, so that sickness and frontier privations undermined their moral confidence as well as their physical health.⁶¹ The difficulty of making initial adjustments to their new habitat had a socially deteriorating effect. Such circumstances, urged a contemporary, accounted for the dirty women and ragged children rummaging through filth and mire for articles of value and seeking to steal what they could not find upon the streets or obtain by begging.⁶² How it must have perturbed the meticulous Büttner to hear his countrymen referred to as "Dutch hogs"! Yet he himself witnessed the indecent behavior in public of dirty, unkempt men and women.⁶³

Nevertheless, the most notable characteristic of German communities was the cultural interests and activities which developed particularly in urban centers. Up to the year 1840 there had been organized in St. Louis, the German Mutual Benefit Society (1837), the *Akademie* (1837), the *Sing-Verein* (1838), the Youths' Debating Society and Library (1838), the Elocution and Debating Society (1839), and the Singing Academy (1840). Music was considered not merely a pastime but a means for edifying the mind. Indeed, the general attitude toward life revealed a romantic strain not generally found in the practical-minded Yankee.⁶⁴ The average German brought with him an appreciation for art and

⁶¹ Ellis, *op. cit.*, 124.

⁶² A. d. W., April 29, 1836. See Griesinger, *op. cit.*, I, 283.

⁶³ Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 332. Cf. the description of conditions in southern Germany in *Dunn Browne's Experience in Foreign Parts* (Boston, 1857), 95, where he speaks of the "Little dirty low village . . . and the gutters in the middle of the narrow, roughly-paved streets, and the dogs, pigs, and still dirtier women and children occupying the gutters, streets and houses all in common, promiscuously grunting, squealing, jabbering, crying, and barking in villainous Low German. I have never seen anything more disgusting than three or four of these filthy hamlets, which we passed through in getting from Göttingen to Cassel by Post."

⁶⁴ Griesinger, *op. cit.*, 336, begins his chapter on "Musik u. Musikanten in d. Ver. S." with the words: "*Herrgott im Himmel, wie unendlich unmusikalisch hast du doch die Nordamerikaner erschaffen!*" See also Münch, *op. cit.*, 349 ff. For the slow development of music among the English-speaking settlers of St. Louis before the coming of the Germans, see "Music," *Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis* (N. Y., 1899), III, 1599 ff.

literature, and love of the beautiful in nature, far beyond what he found among the natives. He scorned the ambition of the average American to make money and was filled with instinctive aversion for his fellow German who succumbed to the allurements of getting rich quickly. Hardheaded Americans could not understand why the factor of romantic location should influence the selection of a farm. Facing the practical needs of the frontier and the dire physical realities of life, the German, on the whole, preserved a highly idealistic temper of mind. He unequivocally opposed slavery on general humanitarian and idealistic grounds and persistently raised the question of how the freedom-loving German could subscribe to its practice.⁶⁵

It was an achievement of primary importance for the social life of the Germans throughout the West when the *Anzeiger des Westens* was founded, in 1835, by Herr von Festen and Christian Bimpage. For decades to come it was widely known in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin as the mouthpiece of political and religious liberalism and as the leading representative of enlightened German thought in the Middle West. It advocated the Americanization of German groups and proposed to acquaint the newcomers with American social and political history and safeguard the best interests of German civilization in the New World.⁶⁶ A unique journalistic venture of this period was the founding of the *Westland*, in 1837, by Dr. A. von Könige, Dr. Georg Engelmann, and Captain Karl Neyfeld. It was

⁶⁵ Julius Fröbel, *Die Deutsche Auswanderung und ihre Culturhistorische Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1858), 34, suggests an antithesis between German idealism and Anglo-Saxon realism. See also, in this connection, Conrad Hermann, *Philosophie der Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1870), 618, quoted by C. H. C. Plath, *Die Bedeutung der Atlantik-Pacific Eisenbahn für das Reich Gottes* (Berlin, 1871), 4. Plath also quotes H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* (N. Y., 1870), I, 174. See Büttner's indictment of the Yankee profit motive, *op. cit.*, I, 372 f.

⁶⁶ Büttner claims to have helped negotiate the founding of the *Anzeiger*. *Ibid.*, I, 22. The liberal spirit of the *Anzeiger* was indicated in its slogan: "*Diess ist Einer von Uns; diess ist ein Fremder!; So sprechen Niedere Seelen. Die Welt ist nur ein einiges Haus. Wer die Sache des Menschengeschlechts als Seine betrachtet, Nimmt an der Götter Geschäft, nimmt am Verhängnisse Theil.*" In 1837 Wm. Weber, a political refugee who settled near Belleville three years before, became editor.

published in Heidelberg, Germany, but, not receiving the German support anticipated, was soon abandoned.⁶⁷

The first significant project espoused by the *Anzeiger* was that of education. Soon after the arrival of German settlers in St. Louis a number of private, non-confessional schools sprang into existence. More important than these was the parochial school founded in November, 1835, by Büttner at the instigation of A. E. Ulrici, a *Berliner*, who was also one of the moving spirits in the founding of the *Akademie*. This school was started with three pupils, which number had increased to twelve by December, 1836.⁶⁸ This pedagogical effort, however, was not adequately supported, and the *Anzeiger* urged the necessity of establishing another German school on "liberal principles" to offset the superficial and inadequate American institutions. In the meantime, the parochial school fell into the hands of Johann Kopf, the successor to Büttner, who, partially blind, turned the school over to a teacher by the name of Eduard Schulz, who imparted elementary German and English instruction.⁶⁹ The cause lagged until November, 1836, when a German School Society was organized and extended a call to F. Steines to teach the first German-English school west of the Mississippi. The school was strictly non-sectarian; Protestants and Catholic were invited to attend. Since religion was considered a matter for the home, no religious instruction was imparted. Older children should receive such instruction from the clergy. English was to be taught, but not until the German language had been mastered.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ The *Westland*, which was edited in St. Louis, proposed to treat of "natural history, geography, topography, agriculture, industry, commerce, technical enterprises, art, sciences, literature, religion and church activities, domestic life, education, culture, government, administration, legislation, jurisprudence, and reviews and extracts of European and American publications with reference to these subjects."

⁶⁸ "An die Deutschen in St. Louis," A. d. W., Nov. 20, 1835; "Verfassung," *ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1836; *ibid.*, *passim*. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I.

⁶⁹ A. d. W., April 22, 1836.

⁷⁰ See A. d. W., Nov. 12, 1836. The letter sent to Steines on Nov. 8, 1836, was also signed by Kopf. Bek, "Followers of Duden"; G. Körner, *op. cit.*, 326. The school was opened under Steines with 15 pupils, the opening address being delivered by Capt. Karl Neyfeld, a refugee of

Nor were other cultural interests neglected. The St. Louis Theatre was open throughout the summer of 1837, when Miss Minna Oberstolz, a pupil of Johann Hummel, and a troupe of nine musicians from Vienna appeared.⁷¹ During the same year the Western Academy of Natural Sciences was founded, and such men as Dr. Georg Engelmann and Dr. Adolf Wislizenus immediately became worthy members. Cultural activities steadily increased, and from the reports of that day one might have concluded that a German Athens was arising in the wilds of the West.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

How did religion fare in the interplay of such diverse factors? The European outlook had been charged with religion, and in the New World even more diversified religious interests developed. Under the pressure of frontier conditions a very complex situation arose.

It would not be correct to maintain that only the educated, university-trained Germans were antireligious. A variety of types, ranging from sentimental pietists to abandoned infidels, congregated on the frontier. The least influential cultural factor was the pietist peasant and the common laborer. Nor were the indigent peasant groups always spiritual-minded. Rationalistic propagandists and impostors had also penetrated their ranks and stirred up antagonism to orthodox religion. Others, in the unrestraint of frontier

the Polish Revolution of 1830. Matters flourished so that in July, 1838, a second teacher was engaged and the erection of a school building was considered. However, financial difficulties arose and interest flagged so that Steines left in Nov., 1838, being succeeded by the teachers Mindrup and Henne. M. H. R., XVI (1921), 119 ff.; Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 223 ff.

It is interesting to note not only that the pastor of the liberal German church participated in these school affairs, but also that the first teacher was the religious-minded Steines, whom Bek calls the first German schoolmaster west of the Mississippi. Büttner and several others may have preceded him, but certainly Steines was the most illustrious German pioneer teacher, organizing in 1839 the Oakfield Academy, five miles from his first farm on Tavern Creek. M. H. R., XVI (1921), 126. In 1840 there were three German day-schools in St. Louis.

⁷¹ See editorial in A. d. W., Dec. 16, 1837; Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XV (1921), 689.

conditions, had succumbed to materialism, so that not infrequently German peasant settlements were hotbeds of infidelity.

The responsibility, however, for fixing the odium of materialism and atheism upon German groups generally lay with the educated rationalistic Germans. Although the heyday of rabid rationalistic propaganda fell in the period dominated by the "Forty-eighters," the decade from 1830-1840 was marked by a similar spirit. The German intellectuals developed radically antiecclesiastical sentiments. In the days gone by, to avoid offense and perhaps to escape a conflict with the *Kirchenkonvent*, they may have conformed to prevailing religious customs; but now no one could deprive them of their newly found freedom. They had left the fatherland to escape the tyranny of a priest-ridden state and scrutinized with eagle eye any attempt to introduce into the Eldorado of their dreams the remnants of the old régime. The *Anzeiger des Westens* zealously assumed the rôle of watchdog over religious affairs. Such a paper would have found its match in Germany, but on the Missouri frontier it had the field to itself, and the liberalism it expressed became increasingly vicious and intolerant.⁷² Obsessed by memories of German consistories and synods, the political refugees loudly objected to all forms of organized religion

⁷² The pioneer German paper in the West to champion the cause of orthodoxy and take issue with the rationalists was *Der Christliche Apologete* (1838), edited by the redoubtable Wm. Nast, the "father of German Methodism." *Der Protestant*, edited by Georg Walker about this time, was of short duration. Nast did not come to grips with the A. d. W. as he did with Archbishop J. M. Henni's *Wahrheitsfreund* of Cincinnati (1836) or later with the *Lutheraner*, published at St. Louis (1844). He opposed the rationalism of the *Alte und Neue Welt* (Philadelphia, 1834), edited by E. L. Walz and Samuel Ludvigh, the *Vernunftgläubiger*, founded by the rationalistic preacher J. A. Försch in New York (1838), and the *Wahrheitssucher*, by Samuel Ludvigh (1839). Försch, later converted, became a friend of Nast and in 1841 joined the Reformed Synod of the East.

Peck maintained in the *Pioneer*, "the first religious newspaper" in the West (*infra*, p. 93, n. 100), that the Germans in St. Clair County, Illinois, were "nothingarians, deists, atheists, and required a little instruction and advice." The editor of the *Anzeiger* translated the article in the issue of March 11, 1836, and replied that the Illinois Germans were too intelligent to be seduced by fanatic sectarians into the "cesspool of hypocrisy." Indeed, the intelligence of these Germans

and with a single gesture banned all preachers as despicable *Pfaffen* whose one aim was to fleece their innocent victims and impose on them the bondage of ecclesiasticism.⁷³ Religion was considered strictly a personal matter, and ecclesiastical institutions and synods were therefore dangerous and undesirable.⁷⁴

German rationalism in Missouri, true to its European tradition, also directed its venom against all pietistic forms of religion. The boisterous lay exponents of antireligious views frequently hid under the cloak of what today would be considered a moderate theological liberalism. In the eyes of the pietist, however, it was the equivalent of irreligion. When liberal theologians questioned the inerrancy of the

had been grossly insulted by the suggestion that they required religious ministrations.

The caustic spirit of the day is also reflected in the second verse of the "*Pfingstlitanei*" dedicated to *echtgläubigen Dickköpfen*, *ibid.*, 1840, No. 32, also quoted by Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 262:

O Du, lieb Pastorlein unsers Herrn Jesulein,
 Du, Du bist heilig nur; zeig uns die Himmelspur!
 Du, Du von Sunden rein, wollest uns gnaedig sein!
 Ja, schimpf und schilt uns recht, sind wir doch Deine Knecht!—
 Fern vom "verfluchten" Land kuessen wir Dir die Hand.
 "Gideon" ging davon, sei Du nun Gideon.
 Steck doch Dein Schluessellein bald in das Schloss hinein,
 Oeffne die Himmelsthuer und stelle Dich dafuer,
 Nimm von Herrn Jesulein das Flammenschwertlein,
 Und kommt ein anderer Tropf, der nicht traegt UNSERN Zopf,
 Dann nimm Dein Schwertlein, schlag ihm den Schaedel ein.

⁷³ *The American and Foreign Christian Union*, IV (1853), 506, quoted an article from the *New York Turn Zeitung* which had been translated in the *New York Daily Times*, stating that the word *Pfaff* "calls up to a German a picture of a sneaking, whining, overfed, hypocritical scoundrel in long robes and white bands"

Note the definition of *Pfaff* by the notorious Koch, editor of the *Antipfaff*, in A. d. W., June 4, 1841: "*Er nimmt unter den Menschen den Platz ein, den unter den Thieren dasjenige behauptet, das nicht ackert wie der Ochse, nicht Lasten trägt wie der Maulesel, nicht Diebe anbellt wie der Hund, sondern das gleich dem Tiger alles um sich her zerreisst and verschlingt, so bald es Freiheit und Macht bekommt. Der Pfaffenstand ist eine listige Erfindung, durch welche herrschsüchtige Müssiggänger vor andern grosse Gewalt, Ehre, Ansehen, Reichtum und Bequemlichkeiten erlangen, welche durch Offenbahrung, blinden Bibelglauben, durch verstellte Demuth und Heiligkeit, durch Drohung der Hölle und Verheissung des Himmels die Abergläubischen verblenden und zu Slaven ihres Willens und ihrer Lüste machen.—Das, mein Herr, ist ein Pfaff, ob sie es auch glauben oder nicht.*" See also *ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1836.

⁷⁴ Instructions to this effect were given to Weber, delegate to the Pan-German Congress held at Pittsburgh, Pa. *Ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1837.

Bible, expressed misgivings on the subject of physical immortality or of the existence of a personal God, the orthodox religionists forthwith denounced them as godless and irreligious.⁷⁵ Whereupon the lay defender of liberalism might caustically reply, as did the Bonhomme gentleman farmer, that the pagan Socrates had more appreciation for the essentials of religion than all the clergy combined.⁷⁶

Rising above the petty bickerings of the day, and theologically of undisputed ability, was Friedrich Münch. It is necessary, he explained, to distinguish between the essence of religion and those forms of its expression which constitute its incidental garb. Ecclesiastical organizations, creedal systems, and dogmatic structures are the product of human reflection and are conditioned by the *mores* of the times and the aesthetic and cultural *milieu* of a people. The German Reformation began, but did not conclude a religious movement. The Reformers themselves did not maintain that there would be no progress beyond them. As new light is continually thrown upon old subjects, new truths inevitably emerge in the process.⁷⁷ On another occasion, although firmly denouncing the pietistic and confessional point of view, Münch ventured to defend the validity of synodical organization.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1836.

⁷⁶ "Socrates war ein Heide. Aber setzt Eure ganze Klerisei in die eine Schale der Wage und ihn in die andere, und Ihr werdet aufschwellen wie ein Federball. In Eurem Sinne wäre selbst Christus ein Heide. Denn er war es ja, der die ewige waltende Liebe und Güte predigte, die nur Herzen prüft und nicht nach Formeln richtet, der allerlei Volk angenehm ist, das recht thut. . . . Doch was rede ich zu Euch von Christum; Ihr erkennet ihn nicht vor lauter Dogmatik; wie sollet Ihr auch ihn erkennen, der weder Protestant noch Katholik, weder Methodist noch Baptist u. s. w. war, der zu keiner Sekte gehörte, sondern allein der Freiheit eigner Überzeugung huldigte?" *Ibid.*, May 27, 1837. For elaboration of these views, see "Zweite Epistel," *ibid.*, July 29, 1837.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, March 25, 1837. The preaching of the Münch brothers was unacceptable to the devout pietists of the neighborhood. (Georg, a younger brother of Friedrich, arrived in 1837 and settled near Augusta, Missouri.) Büttner tells us that the omission of the name of Jesus and of the Lord's Prayer so offended the *Osnabrücker* that they no longer attended Münch's preaching. *Op. cit.*, I, 185.

⁷⁸ A. d. W., Sept. 9, 1837.

The liberal German also opposed the religion of the newly arrived Easterner from "over the mountains" who brought with him the abominations of Puritanism — temperance, prohibitionism, Sabbatarianism, etc. All this he denounced as Yankee hypocrisy designed to deprive him of his God-given liberty. The German in turn was roundly condemned for his *Sabbatschünderei* when on Sundays he visited parks and places of amusement, took an excursion into the country, or spent his time in target-shooting or bowling.⁷⁹ When a law was espoused to close all saloons on Sunday which were located within two miles of a church, the facetious *Anzeiger* suggested that Sunday be changed to Monday.

The religious destitution of German communities was manifest in various ways. In some places the school-teacher was considered more important than the preacher and provided the necessary religious services. When Büttner invited Münch to assist in the founding of a church, he was told that the primary need of Germans on the frontier was not churches but schools.⁸⁰ Haverstick reported that, in the absence of a preacher at Turkey Hill, Illinois, the Germans met once a month to listen to a sermon which was read by a schoolmaster of dubious repute, who also baptized and confirmed the children. The influence of this "brawler" was sufficient to prevent the organization of a church. A similar situation existed at Saxon Village on High Prairie, Illinois.⁸¹

Frequently German settlements were the victims of unscrupulous, roving, independent preachers with a very liberal theology and still more liberal moral standards.

⁷⁹ See E. Mühl's description of a Sunday at Hermann, Mo., in the *Licht-Freund*, Aug. 30, 1843, quoted by Bek, *German Settlement Society*, 161. American steamboats refused to stop "*an dem verdammten deutschen Nest*" of Hermann. Löher, *op. cit.*, 340.

⁸⁰ Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 185. For reference to St. Louis schools, *ibid.*, 223.

⁸¹ Haverstick, "Missionary Report," *op. cit.*, 30. According to N. Bateman and P. Selby, *Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois* (Chicago, 1907), II, 682, "The German settlers on Turkey Hill [1832] set up a German school, and engaged, at a salary of \$4 or \$5 a month, George Reinhard, a well-educated man, who, besides acting as teacher, conducted divine service on Sunday and also officiated at weddings and funerals."

Some of them were theologically trained. Many of them were not ordained. Among them were refugees from justice and moral delinquents who had fled from Germany and now imposed themselves on unsuspecting communities in the West until exposed. With the exposure of such impostors, large numbers of Germans felt confirmed in their worst suspicions of the clergy. In many communities these free-lance preachers found easy entrance. In the cultured Latin-farmer settlements it was possible for an astute, freethinking preacher to pose as the *Herr Pastor*, minister in the name of Freedom, Equality, and Brotherhood, and baptize the children of the community in the name of this trinity. And, what satisfied his vanity most, he was respected as the social leader of the colony.⁸² Under the leadership of such

⁸² Hermann Baltzer, *Adolf Baltzer. Ein Lebensbild aus der deutschen evangelischen Kirche Nord-Amerikas* (St. Louis, 1896), 25. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 148 ff., describes the operations of such an impostor who, under the name of Rust, played upon the sympathies of F. Raschig and others in Cincinnati, was discovered, but later appeared in Wheeling under the name of Brille and still later as Grossgut. When exposed, he fled to Albany, N. Y. In Canada he was imprisoned. He reappeared at Dayton, Ohio, was driven out, and repaired to Buffalo, where he won the financial support of American Baptists by expressing a desire to return to Germany to save German infidels by preaching the American Gospel. The American Home Missionary Society, in its initial efforts to serve the needs of the Germans in the West, was duped by this same gentleman, concerning whom a laudable report is given in H. M., VII (1835), 192. See also the warning of Jacob Gülich of Cincinnati in the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, II (1840), 125. *Ibid.*, June, 1841, contains a letter by E. L. Nollau written on "*Dampfboot Montgomery, auf dem Ohio-flusse 130 Meilen unterhalb Louisville, den 4ten Mai*," warning against the immoral Jörgens. To which the editor added that a similar warning had been received from Syracuse, N. Y., against Hohenholz. This, undoubtedly, was J. H. Hohenholz, who was granted a teacher's license at the first general conference of the Lutheran Synod of Ohio in 1833. See P. A. Peter and Wm. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Allgemeinen Evang. Lutherischen Synode von Ohio u. anderen Staaten* (Columbus, O., 1900), 63.

Some of the independent, free preachers called themselves "Evangelical," which caused the West Pennsylvania Synod (Lutheran) to warn "against such ministers, who in modern times call themselves ministers of the Evangelical Union Church and yet belong either to some other denomination, or are unsound in the faith." *Minutes of West Pennsylvania Synod*, Lewiston, Pa., 1836, 27. To protect themselves against unworthy preachers, Eastern denominations adopted the probationary licensure practice.

F. W. Krummacher of Barmen describes the manner in which one of these impostors returned to Germany to practice his art on the

rationalistic preachers, so-called independent, free churches sprang into existence—the plague of devout pastors for decades to come.⁸³

Sometimes it occurred that groups of pious Germans without the guidance of a pastor would organize a church. Meetings would be conducted in the home of some farmer at which a sermon and prayer would be read by the leader of the group. It was after this fashion that the Germans in the neighborhood of Mascoutah, Illinois, were served by Siegmund Spiess, who had arrived in 1839. Spiess had been private tutor of a prince of Württemberg and now conducted services at private homes and officiated at baptisms, weddings, and funerals.⁸⁴ Informal services of this kind were sometimes held in vacant storerooms, barns, stables, carpenter shops, schools, court-houses, and other public buildings. If the organization flourished, steps would be taken to secure a pastor. In a few instances a church was built before a pastor was secured. Many such churches were called “evangelical” and, falling into the hands of independent preachers, refused to affiliate with any denomination.

Now and then a pious and devout German preacher would establish himself in a community, as did Hermann Garlichs at Femme Osage and St. Charles, Missouri. Nor were all school-teachers of the type described above. German communities on the whole, however, were without churches or pastors, and reports of itinerant preachers from the East and of American and German travelers alike testified to their spiritual plight. Passing through Quincy, Illinois, in 1836, Ezra Keller found its families of Germans from abroad “entirely destitute of gospel ordinances, though they

Barmen congregation. F. W. Krummacher, *Eine Selbstbiographie* (Berlin, 1869), 101 f.

⁸³ Note, for instance, the account in the C. A., II (1840), 18, of the founding of a *Vernunftgemeinde* in Cincinnati composed mostly of followers of E. Mühl, for which occasion the verse had been composed:

*Heil, Brueder, Heil dem neuen Licht,
Das durch die dunklen Schatten bricht.*

⁸⁴ F. S., St. John's Church, Mascoutah, Ill. (1918), 17.

are a people who rightly appreciate and value the privileges of religion." A Missouri peasant complained that his children were growing up as heathen in absolute ignorance of the Gospel, "not knowing who the Saviour is nor how to approach him." An itinerant German preacher from the East reported that people, with tears in their eyes, begged him to remain and promised they would divide with him everything they possessed.⁸⁵ It was a common occurrence for people to come from fifteen to twenty miles to attend the services of visiting ministers, and on one occasion, we are told, a German family traveled fifty-four miles to attend an Easter communion service.

Accustomed to the well-established and elaborately conducted ecclesiastical régime of the German state church, the disorder and instability of the frontier created confusion. There was an evident distrust of the American preacher who offered his services, and little appreciation for his unprofessional status. "They permit every advocate of law, every divine, every scientist to make his own clothes and carry on trade, and in like manner they permit every shoemaker or merchant to preach the gospel, practice medicine or law" When Hermann Steines built his log cabin, he stated that the first room was built for him by a preacher and the second by a doctor. "You see from this," he continued, "that the local scholars (may God, however, have mercy on their scholarship) are at the same time tradesmen." In the same vein, F. Steines lamented that "in theology the situation is very bad. Pietism takes the place of reasonable Christianity. Except in Presbyterian, Episcopal, and the Unitarian churches, the clergy is self-taught." After some additional remarks concerning church practices—confirmation, baptism, church membership, rivalry of churches, religious newspapers, and theological controversies and

⁸⁵ The petition of the Swiss colony at New Aargau, Illinois, to Basel for a missionary stated: "Many of us have lived in this secluded wilderness for seventeen years without the services of a minister." Mag., XX (1835), 396. "über unseren Delegaten . . .," F., IV (1853), 12. The descriptions in K. M., *passim*, might also apply to this period.

quarrels—he concluded: “Everything seems to be in a struggle; to me it all appears chaotic.”⁸⁶

Occasionally Germans attended services conducted by American preachers, but the language barrier proved an insuperable difficulty. American preachers were frequently keenly aware of this problem.⁸⁷ Above all, the legalistic puritanic preacher and the emotional revivalist, so common on the frontier, did not find easy entrance into German circles. It was a critical transition from the officialism of the German Church and the ostentation of its cathedrals to the utter unconventionality of the West. Indeed, one can scarcely realize how pious German hearts must have been grieved by the simple informality of services which in the homeland were performed with elaborate ceremony.⁸⁸ In the stress of these circumstances, what wonder that, in case of emergencies, the Germans contrived to provide for their own needs. Everywhere new life conditions demanded new adjustments, in the course of which the *mores* of religion were inherently involved.

The arrival of German settlers on the Western frontier in the early part of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a struggle on the part of a ripening culture to maintain itself in the face of factors which continually threatened its disintegration. The stability of the German heritage, its historical stamina and cultural sweep, need not be questioned. Nor to be underestimated is the uniqueness of the New World environment in which it must function. How, then, would German folkways fare when transplanted to the wild atmosphere of the Far West and exposed to the pressure of a new social environment? To what extent, in this interplay of cultures, were Old World values diffused

⁸⁶ Bek, “Followers of Duden,” M. H. R., XV (1921), 534.

⁸⁷ In his visits to the West, Bishop Asbury was accompanied by Heinrich Böhm, who preached in the German language. Cf. Faust, *op. cit.*, I, 430.

⁸⁸ Compare, e. g., the wedding ceremony described in Rieger’s *Diary* (MS), 151, with that performed by Squire McDonald at the marriage of the sister of Gert Göbel. Bek, “Followers of Duden,” M. H. R., XVI (1922), 524.

in the New or new points of view absorbed by the Old, and of what nature was the synthesis emerging from the process?

In this unfolding drama of Western history, which touches life in all its varied forms, the story of religious origins among the Germans has its peculiar interests. At every point we see how the German religious heritage was being subjected to a survival test in the new environment. By what process of adjustment could it be maintained; to what extent must it be surrendered or modified? Would the new be adopted, adapted, or rejected? In this test of function would the old or the new dominate the development? Could the rise of the new *mores* and institutions be characterized as a diffusion of cultural values from the Old World or rather as the emergence of something entirely new in the history of the frontier? Anticipating questions of this nature, we now turn to the story of the occupation of the West by German religious groups during the early part of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS ORIGINS AMONG THE GERMANS IN THE WEST

The story of the religious occupation of the West is a romantic chapter in the history of American Christianity. It is the fascinating account of the spread of Eastern denominations into the West, their adaptation to the modifying conditions of the frontier, and the rise of new forms and types. The arrival of American settlers from the East and South was frequently accompanied and invariably followed by the settlement of some zealous minister in their midst. The establishment of religion among the German groups on the frontier proceeded along somewhat different lines. The religious needs of German communities in the West could be met in several ways. It was a foregone conclusion that the most effective succor must come from German sources either in America or in Europe. In fact, assistance came from both. Nor can we possibly ignore the interest manifested by American agencies in the East and the activities which they inaugurated for the alleviation of the religious plight of the Germans in the West.

PIONEER LUTHERAN MISSIONS

The first appeal from the West came, as early as 1817, from the colony of North Carolina Germans in the neighborhood of Jonesboro, Illinois.¹ Two years later the North Carolina Ministerium at Buffalo Creek received a "*herzangreifende Bittschrift von Illinois Territory*" for assistance, which was rejected with the pathetic "*Lieben Brüder, wir*

¹ The North Carolina Ministerium in 1817 replied to the request for missionaries by a Mr. Markert of Indiana: "*Wir haben wirklich nur eine kleine Kraft.*" See also S. W. Harkey, "Early History of Lutheranism in Illinois," *Evangelical Review*, XVII (1866), 526 ff. D. G. Sprague, in "Reminiscences of Forty Years," *Congregational Quarterly*, V (1863), 320 ff., tells of arriving at a settlement of German Lutherans near the Kaskaskia, in southern Illinois, where "the men could talk some broken English, but the women seldom attempted to frame an English answer to the simplest question."

wollten gerne, aber wir können nicht."² Another petition, signed by forty-three persons, was received at the meeting of the North Carolina Synod in 1825 and contained a request from Union County, Illinois, for either Lutheran or Reformed pastors who could preach in both languages and teach school. The letter was referred to Samuel Schmucker, who was urged, if possible, to send a traveling missionary to Illinois. In response to petitions for aid received in 1827 from three congregations in Union County, a Lutheran pastor was authorized to visit that region and, if possible, locate there. Thus, concludes Bernheim, "the North Carolina Synod has the honor of sending the pioneer missionary of the Lutheran church to that state."³ But not until 1832 did Daniel Scherer of Cabarrus County, North Carolina, become permanently established in Illinois and organize a church of thirty-five members at Hillsboro in Montgomery County. For twelve years he engaged in missionary labors in the state, preaching occasionally in Union County. Thus, under the auspices of the liberal North Carolina Synod, the movement of American Lutheranism toward the West began.⁴

The North Carolina Germans who had settled in Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, were cared for by the Tennessee Synod, which, "born of Lutheran loyalty," had been organized in 1820 by pastors dissatisfied with the liberalism

² *Minutes of North Carolina Ministerium* (1819), 10.

³ The pastor's name was John C. A. Schönberg. Bernheim, *op. cit.*, 472. According to Sprague, *loc. cit.*, Daniel Wolcher was the first missionary. He was a licentiate of the North Carolina Synod and visited Illinois in 1825, although remaining only some months.

⁴ Lambert, *op. cit.*, 65. Eastern Lutheranism during this period was in the throes of a conflict between the liberal, unionistic wing, led by Samuel Schmucker, which espoused the Americanization of Lutheranism to the extent of discarding the European confessional standards and creeds, and the strict confessional Lutherans, who held that the acceptance of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession was essential to Lutheranism in America, even as it characterized true Lutheranism on the Continent. In 1820 the General Synod was organized and remained in control of the liberal group throughout the thirties. The progress of Western missions was inevitably affected by this status of affairs in the East. F. Bente, *American Lutheranism* (St. Louis, Mo., 1919), II, 12 ff. Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology* (New York, 1927).

of the North Carolina Synod and the General Synod.⁵ At the conference of 1820 (Cave Creek, Tennessee), a request was received from a number of persons residing in "Cape Cheredo," Missouri, for the visit of a missionary—in response to which the newly ordained Jacob Zink was authorized to proceed to that region as soon as possible. He was the first Lutheran missionary to Missouri. In 1822 Zink reported having baptized twenty adults and sixty-nine infants in the "state of Louisiana" and that all the congregations were united in opposition to the General Synod.⁶

It was not until the thirties that a more aggressive Lutheran advance into the West occurred, various contacts being established with German missionaries from abroad who were beginning to arrive. In 1835 the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania received a petition from the Lutheran colony in Wabash County, in southeastern Illinois, for a minister who could preach in both languages. The Rev. Henry Haverstick was thereupon commissioned to visit the German population of Illinois and adjacent states.⁷ Toward the end of the year (1835) Haverstick visited the North Carolina Germans in Union County, where he found two churches, located ten miles apart, served

⁵ Bente, *op. cit.*, I, 152. Socrates Henkel, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod* (New Market, Va., 1890). The North Carolina Synod in 1817 requested David Henkel to visit Lutherans in southeastern Missouri. See "The Henkels," *Concordia Cyclopaedia* (St. Louis, Mo., 1927), 318. Bente, *op. cit.*, I, 152, states that the North Carolina Synod, because of its "aversion to faithful confessional Lutheranism," had refused to ordain D. Henkel in 1816.

⁶ A petition signed by seventy persons of Cape Girardeau, Wayne, and Perry Counties, in 1822, certified in 1823, the moral character of a certain Christian Moretz and requested his ordination. This request was granted. Succeeding Zink in Missouri was Ephraim Conrad, of Wayne County, who was ordained by the Tennessee Synod in 1833. It was about this time that the A. H. M. S. established contacts with the Germans of this region. Henkel, *op. cit.*, 31, 52 ff.

⁷ *Minutes of the German Ev. Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania* (1835), 10. The Pennsylvania Ministerium—the mother synod—had withdrawn from the General Synod in 1823, whereupon the members living west of the Susquehanna organized the Synod of West Pennsylvania in 1825. The mother synod was sometimes referred to as the Eastern Synod. The East Pennsylvania Synod was organized in 1842. Haverstick was one of the first students to enroll in Gettysburg Seminary (1826).

occasionally by Scherer of Hillsboro, 150 miles to the north. Here he also found a group of American-German Lutherans who desired preaching in both German and English. Haverstick then visited the German-Swiss immigrants from abroad in St. Clair County, who were practically destitute of religious ministrations. He preached to them, proposed the organization of churches, and, although utterly rejected by some, was received by others with warmth and respect. Haverstick also visited Missouri. At St. Louis he took exception to the rationalism of the German church and Büttner, its Reformed pastor. He remained several weeks at St. Charles, ministering to the Reformed church which had been organized in the summer of 1835. At Marthasville he discovered numerous "scoffers at religion" in the Duden neighborhood and ended his journey westward at Pinckney.⁸

The year 1836 marked the arrival of several other Lutheran missionaries in the West. In January of that year Christian Friedrich Heyer, under the auspices of the Central Missionary Society of the General Synod, visited the Germans in Union and Wabash Counties, Illinois, about the same time that Haverstick was traversing the region. Northwest of Mt. Carmel, Heyer found several Lutheran and Reformed

⁸ For his clash with Büttner, see Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 243. Cf. Haverstick's version in his "Missionary Report," *op. cit.*, 37.

"The first American clergyman who ever officiated in St. Charles in the German language was the Rev. H. Kroh of the German Reformed Church. . . . After him Mr. Büttner of St. Louis preached a few times, more recently a German named Garlichs and finally myself." *Ibid.*

On his return East Haverstick visited Scherer at Hillsboro, whom he described as "the only Lutheran clergyman resident in Illinois" and serving a congregation of North Carolina Germans who had begun to build a church. The German colony at Vandalia had also been served by Scherer. In the middle of March, 1836, Haverstick arrived in Wabash County. The region had been settled mainly by Germans from the East and, according to Haverstick, was "likely to be an important outlet for the surplus part of the population comprising our church in many parts of Pennsylvania." In Haverstick's estimation the most congenial and promising field for American-German missionary enterprises of both Reformed and Lutheran synods in the West was Wabash County, Illinois. Here, on April 25, 1836, the corner-stone of "the fourth Lutheran church in the state of Illinois was laid." *Ibid.*, 35 f. This was the Jordan Creek Church.

families from Pennsylvania, whom he encouraged to organize the Jordan Creek Church.⁹ Heyer remained in Union County at least until April (1836), when he crossed the Mississippi for a short visit in Missouri.¹⁰

In the latter part of 1836 Ezra Keller of Gettysburg Seminary, also an American by birth, was authorized by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to start on a journey to Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. At various places he met scattered groups of Lutherans, and, as in the case of Haverstick, also found a number of German pastors occupying the field.¹¹

⁹ He described this as the first Lutheran church in Illinois built of brick, having been preceded by the frame church in Hillsboro "and two block churches in Union County, not far from Jonesboro" (Friedens and St. John's). Lambert, *op. cit.*, 62, 65. The Jordan Creek Church, it seems, was organized by Haverstick. For history of this church, see sketch by G. H. Albright in *Combined History of Edwards, Lawrence and Wabash Counties, Illinois* (Philadelphia, 1883), 196 f.

¹⁰ He first visited "Major Bullinger." Near the St. Francis River he discovered Friedrich Picker, "a young candidate" who had studied at Halle and had been ministering to Germans in the Wayne County regions for the last two or three years. Picker informed Heyer that he had attached himself to the Tennessee Conference. Twenty miles farther westward, beyond the St. Francis River, he discovered "a Mr. Conrad who also called himself a Lutheran but is not so well spoken of as Mr. Picker." See letters of Heyer in L. O., March 18, April 15, June 10, 1836. "Father Heyer," who is better known as the pioneer Lutheran missionary to India from America, reported that in his exploration in the Mississippi Valley he had traveled thousands of miles and found places for at least fifty missionaries. See H. E. Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States* (A. C. H. Series; N. Y., 1893), 374; Lambert, *op. cit.*, 64.

R. Douglass, *op. cit.*, I, 249, states that the Cape Girardeau Germans who arrived in 1834 were being served by Fr. Picker of Hanover, Germany, who soon removed to the settlement on the White-water. Picker later became known as an "Independent Protestant," was the successor to Wall at St. Louis in 1843, and in 1855 founded the Independent Evang. Protestant Church in St. Louis, also known as "New Pickers." The cemeteries of these two churches are still referred to as the "Old" and "New" Pickers.

¹¹ See Keller's "Missionary Report" in *Minutes of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania* (1837), 14, 26-32, and Diehl, *op. cit.*, 66 ff. At Beardstown, Ill., he met the Gettysburg graduate W. Bolenius of west Pennsylvania, who had arrived in July, 1836, and had organized two congregations "in this place and its neighborhood." The congregation at Quincy had just expelled the notorious "Hohnholtz" and was in need of a pastor. Upon his arrival in Wabash County, Ill., he found P. Shindel, of the Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania, the pastor of the so-called "Jordan Church," engaged in controversy with an opposition party. Keller also discovered Picker in the German settlement on Apple Creek (Mo.) and at St. Louis

He avoided St. Clair County because of the antagonism which prevailed against missionaries, because of Haverstick's critical remarks in his report. Keller finally suggested that in the future missionaries should be assigned smaller areas, where it would be possible for them to remain longer and win the confidence of the people. He also urged the synod to pay special attention to the state of Missouri, since it was highly probable that many Germans within its bounds had never been visited.

The next Lutheran missionary of whom we hear was Daniel Kohler of the Synod of East Pennsylvania, who, arriving in Wabash County, Illinois, in 1838, dedicated the Jordan Creek Church in March of that year. An effort to organize a union church (Reformed and Lutheran) in Mt. Carmel failed. More successful was the founding of Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church. When Kohler left the congregation on his westward journey, conflicting interests continued to impede the development until the arrival of Scherer in 1844.¹² Kohler was authorized, or at least seems to have assumed the right, to urge the cause of the General Synod upon the non-affiliated European-German pastors of the West. With this in mind, he visited a number of Evangelical men who had recently arrived from Europe and had succeeded in establishing themselves in the West. Indeed, the growing number of German pastors from abroad in Missouri and Illinois raised the entire question in a new light. Who were these new missionaries now appearing in the West, and by what right could they presume to occupy the field?

EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES

From the time of Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the father of American Lutheranism, the German Lutherans of

encountered "the Rev. Mr. Posthauer, a licentiate of your body, who was on his way to Jonesboro in Union County." In six months he traveled about 3000 miles, preached 80 times, baptized 24 children, confirmed one, administered the Lord's Supper to 30, and collected \$38.56. See "Missionary Report of Ezra Keller" in Appendix I.

¹² Albright, *loc. cit.* Scherer in 1850 dedicated a new union church in Mt. Carmel. Lauer of Evansville had also served the congregations for a while. See also *infra*, p. 99.

the homeland had manifested a lively interest in the spiritual welfare of their American brethren.¹³ Likewise during the Colonial Period German and Dutch Reformed churches on the Continent generously came to the support of German Reformed settlers. A similar interest manifested itself, in the nineteenth century, in the activities of the non-confessional and Pietistic missionary societies of Bremen, Basel, Barmen, Langenberg, and their auxiliaries and of the strictly confessional missionary societies, such as Hermannsburg (L. Harms) and Neuendettelsau (Löhe, 1849). During the early part of the *Kirchenverein* period German mission work in America was dominated by the non-confessional societies mentioned above.

Although the original interest of Basel lay in foreign missions, there gradually developed the policy of also assisting the German colonists in the New World. In 1832 a colony of thirty-three families, consisting mostly of Pennsylvania Württembergers who had settled in the neighborhood of Ann Arbor, Michigan, appealed to the Basel Missionary Society for a pastor. Inspired also by the hope that through this contact a mission field might be opened among the American Indians,¹⁴ the Basel Committee sent Friedrich Schmid (1807-1883) of Waldorf, Württemberg,¹⁵ who had

¹³ *Nachrichten von den vereinigten Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Nord-Amerika, absonderlich in Pennsylvanien* (Halle, 1787). The work is generally referred to as *Hallesche Nachrichten* and contains numerous reports sent to Halle by Lutheran preachers in America. The pioneer labors of Pastorius (1651-1719) and Zinzendorf (1700-60) are not to be forgotten.

¹⁴ Almost from the time of the origin of the Basel Society, references to the American Indians appeared in the *Mag.*, e. g., VII (1822), 151. See discussion of "Die Nord-Amerikanischen Indianer-Stämme," *ibid.*, XIX (1834), 489 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XIX (1834), 339. *Der Evangelische Heidenbote*, published by Basel, contains letters of thanks from the elders of the Ann Arbor church and reports received from Schmid. See articles "Nordamerika" (1834), 11, 51, 73; (1835), 42, 57; (1836), 36; (1837), 21, 41. Spokesman for the Ann Arbor Germans was H. Mann, whose appeal for assistance to E. Josenhans of Stuttgart (Oct. 9, 1832) was forwarded to Basel. See Blumhardt's reply to Josenhans and to the Ann Arbor church, *Basel Copierbücher* (MS), IV, 1832-33, 55 f., 91, and "Auszug aus dem Tagebuch des Missionars Schmid von Waldorf," *ibid.*, 1834, 27 ff., 35 ff., 394 f., 207, 503. The history of the Ann Arbor church is of more than passing interest, since it marked the beginning of the

originally planned to go to Asia or Africa. Schmid arrived at Ann Arbor in August, 1833, and was soon preaching at six widely scattered places, including Detroit, which he visited every five weeks. A little log church was built at Ann Arbor, and in November of the same year the First Evangelical Society at Scio was organized. To assist Schmid and the Detroit church, Basel sent two veteran missionaries who for ten years had labored in the Sierra Leone under the Church Missionary Society, but could no longer endure the climate.¹⁶ Thus in 1834 the second Basel contingent arrived.

religious, ecclesiastical development among the Germans in Michigan and Ohio. See Samuel A. John, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Bethlehem-Gemeinde in Ann Arbor, Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1908); O. W. Stephenson, *Ann Arbor—The First Hundred Years* (Ann Arbor, 1927); John Andrew Russell, *The Germanic Influence in the Making of Michigan* (Detroit, 1927), chaps. iii, xxvii. Finding it impossible by himself to serve the Detroit church, which was "sixteen hours from Ann Arbor," and subject to exploitation by roving independents, Schmid petitioned Basel for assistance. In July, 1836, Johann Gottlieb Schwabe of Saxony (1809-37) arrived in Detroit, having made the trip to America in company with Rieger and Wall. *Infra*, p. 87, n. 93. In March, 1837, Schwabe died and Schmid served the Detroit church until Martin Schaad of Schaffhausen arrived in October. The *Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, XVI (1837), 342, reprinted from the *Amerikanisches Magazin* of Altona an interesting description of a Sunday service conducted by Schmid. Subsequently Schmid developed strong Lutheran sympathies. In the forties he joined the Ohio Lutheran Synod, which, however, expelled him for his liberalism. He also founded a short-lived Michigan Lutheran Synod, established an Indian mission at Sebewaing on Saginaw Bay, which finally reverted to the Missouri Lutherans, and published a *Missionsblatt*. For a while he was supported by Löhe of Neuendettelsau. The story of the Neuendettelsau development may be found in K. M., *passim*. See also Löhe, *Die Heiden-Mission in Nord-Amerika* (Nürnberg, 1846), and *Etwas über die deutsch-lutherischen Niederlassungen in der Grafschaft Saginaw, Staat Michigan* (Erlangen, 1849), 29. Abstracts of Basel documents referring to Schmid may be found in archives of the Historical Society of Wisconsin. See Koehler, *op. cit.*, 96 ff.

Basel archives contain a splendid collection of letters and documents bearing on the activities of Basel missionaries in America. To be noted particularly are the *Personal Faszikeln* (MS), a collection of about two million letters among which are found various letters and reports of Basel missionaries from the American field. Letters from all Basel men who joined the K., including autobiographical sketches, are found in this collection. Also to be noted are the 55,000 *Gemischte Briefe* (MS), containing miscellaneous American letters. Important references are also found in the B. C. B. and the *Protokollbücher* (MS). The *Brüder-Verzeichnis* (MS) contains biographical data of all Basel graduates.

¹⁶ The Sierra Leone was known as "The White Man's Grave and the Black Man's Life." The work of the Church Missionary Society

Instead of going to Michigan, however, Johannes Gerber¹⁷ (1796-?) of Tschangnau, in the canton of Bern, Switzerland, settled among a number of his countrymen in the newly founded colony of New Basel in Ohio (Chillicothe), and Georg W. Metzger¹⁸ of Grossachsenheim, Württemberg, repaired to another Swiss colony at Liverpool, Ohio.

The news that Basel missionaries had arrived in America spread into the West, and early in 1835 Basel received an appeal from Peter Baumann, an elder of the German-Swiss colony at New Aargau, Illinois, for a "devout pastor to preach the simple gospel." In the summer of 1835 Johann Jakob Riess (1811-1855) of Tuttlingen, Württemberg, was sent to this field.¹⁹ After a brief visit with Schmid at Ann Arbor, Riess arrived at Centerville, Illinois, where on November 22, 1835, he preached his first sermon at the home

in this field had cost many lives. Basel students were also being sent. About 1823-24 Blumhardt wrote to the C. M. S.: "Every one of our brethren is preparing himself to come forward and offer himself as a sacrifice to the Lord" Stock, *op. cit.*, I, 170.

¹⁷ Mag., XVII (1832), 362; XIX (1834), 322; XX (1835), 396. In the missionary roster of 1836 Gerber is listed at Chillicothe, Ohio, *ibid.*, XXI (1836), 356. H. Harbaugh, *The Fathers of the German Reformed Church in Europe and America* (Lancaster, 1872), III, 488, lists Gerber as one of the fathers of the Reformed Church, stating that "he appeared as an applicant before the Synod of Ohio. . . . In view of the evidence he gave of his orthodoxy, ability and moral worth, he was received as an advisory member for the current synodical year. He was at this time preaching to the Reformed congregation at Basil; and from 1835 to 1840, he was laboring in and about Newark, Licking County, Ohio." The clerical register of pastors connected with the Reformed Church, appended to *Acts and Proceedings of Synod of German Reformed Church in U. S.* (Lancaster, 1838), lists Gerber as a resident of Newark, Ohio. In 1839 he moved to Madison, Ind., where he was located when he became charter member of the K. in 1840. Misgivings had been expressed concerning the acceptance of Gerber at Basel in 1819. Schlatter, *op. cit.*, I, 65.

¹⁸ Metzger had married a Negress, "*die Tochter eines Europäers.*" Note account of his embarrassing experiences in America. "Nordamerika," E. H. (1834), 94.

¹⁹ John, *op. cit.*, 27, states that the Swiss settlers in Illinois had petitioned Schmid to procure a pastor for them. See also "Jahresbericht . . .," E. H. (1835), 57. According to Mag., XX (1835), 397, Riess had been instructed, on his way to Illinois, to remain with Schmid for a time, so that the latter could "visit the Indians in the neighborhood." The belated arrival of Riess made this impossible, and Schmid's attention, for the time being, continued to be directed to the Germans. Obituary of Riess, F., VI (1855), 59.

of the above-mentioned elder. Basel had intended that Riess should also "serve the poor Indians helplessly wandering about in his vicinity,"²⁰ but he soon found all his time occupied in ministering to the Germans. On January 3, 1836, Riess preached for the first time at Turkey Hill. In spite of opposition, especially at the hands of the school-teacher, a log church was soon built—the mother of St. Paul's Church at Freeburg, Illinois.²¹ On January 17 services were held for the first time in the home of Johann Freivogel, near Centerville, where Riess continued preaching, at first every four weeks and then every fortnight. So successful was this simple, uncouth "preacher in the wilderness," as his opponents called him, that at the end of the first year he was able to build a church. With the assistance of benevolent persons in Belleville and St. Louis a log church was erected a mile south of Centerville on a site donated by Freivogel. Thus Evangelical Zion Church at Millstadt, Illinois, had its origin. A little one-room log parsonage, which harbored eleven people, was the center of Riess's itinerant labors.²²

²⁰ Mag., XXI (1836), 429. See Duden's references to Indians in the West (1826) in Bek, "Duden's Report," M. H. R., XII (1918), 269. Göbel stated that "at the time when the first Germans came to the state, the Indians had no permanent dwelling places in Missouri anymore." Göbel, *op. cit.*, 55.

²¹ F. S., St. Paul's Evangelical Church (Freeburg, Ill., 1933).

²² For Wall's account of a visit with Riess, see "Nordamerika," E. H. (1837), 45. The name of the town Centerville was later changed to Millstadt. The manuscript *Diary of J. J. Riess* (1834-1850) was recently discovered in possession of his grandson, Judge R. Riess, of Red Bud, Ill. Note also, in this connection, the *Festschrift* of the Millstadt church and the *Protokollbuch der evangelischen, protestantischen Gemeinde-Zion* (MS), the first entry dated March 7, 1838.

J. Riess described his early experiences in Illinois as follows: "*Als ich noch in Neuauargau war, glich meine Wohnung kaum einem europäischen Schweinstall; das Essen bestand aus Speck, Kaffee und Brod. Da ich beide erstern nicht ertragen konnte, musste ich mich einzig an das letztere halten, kam aber dem Tode nahe. Dazu kam noch das stürmische Gesicht meiner Hausgenossen. Ich irrte umher, jede Hütte der Weltleute Amerika's war meine Wohnung; oft liess mich das Ungeziefer nicht ruhen, oft die Mäuse nicht schlummern, oft sassen mir die Katzen auf dem Gesicht, wenn ich in den Lehmhütten auf dem mit Stroh belegten Boden schlafen wollte. Doch Gott sei Dank! ich bin gesund, reite getrost auf meinem kleinen Pferdchen herum, in mancher Woche 60 englische Meilen zurücklegend, und bin daneben in meiner Hütte Pfarrer, Schullehrer, Knecht und Hand-*

During his first year he confirmed thirty persons in the congregations at Centerville, Turkey Hill, and Dutch Hill. Occasionally he served other places. His first sermon at Prairie du Long was preached on July 23, 1836.

In the meantime another preaching station was established at Belleville, Illinois, where on March 17, 1839, Riess preached his first sermon in the court-house, his congregation consisting of Germans, Americans, and Negroes.²³ From now on he divided his time between Centerville, Turkey Hill, and Belleville, at the latter place preaching in the Methodist church.

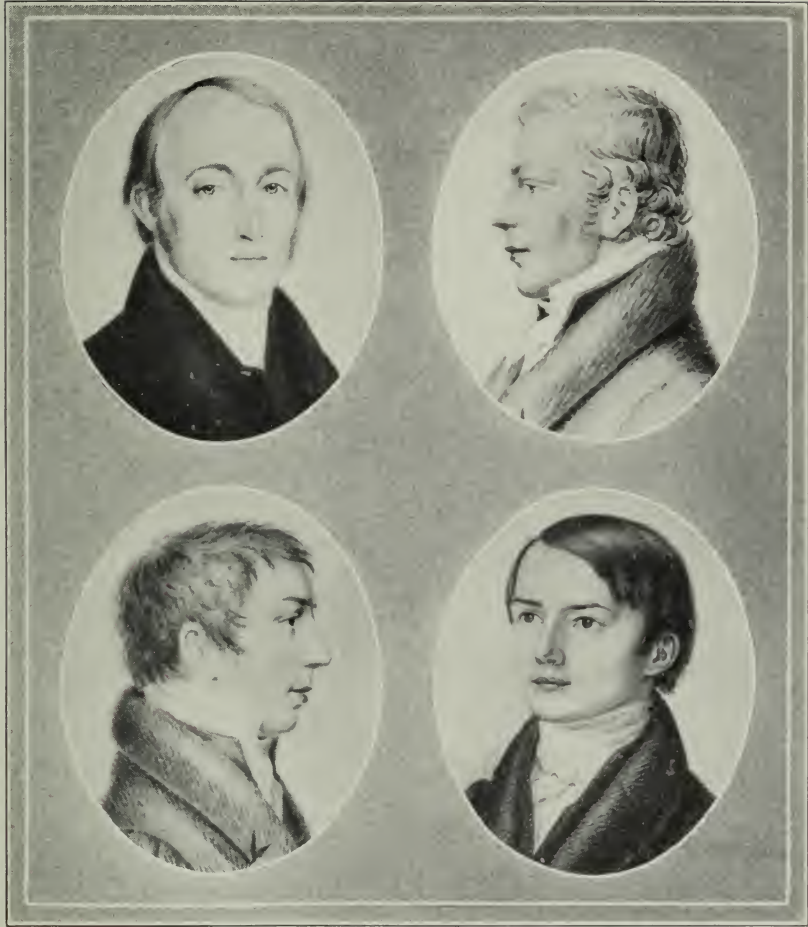
The sending of Riess to Illinois helped formulate Basel's American policy. It was considered contrary to the original purpose of the society to assume permanent obligations for the American field. At the same time Basel felt obliged to minister to all people not being cared for by any of the *Landeskirchen*. It was on this basis that Basel originally defined its missionary responsibility toward America, which it was the more ready to accept since it would always have at its disposal missionaries who, because of ill health or language disabilities, were not fitted for foreign service.²⁴

Nor was the Basel Committee mistaken in assuming that additional pleas for assistance would arrive. The most strik-

werksmann, kurz Alles in einer Person" "Aus Welt und Zeit," *Der Bergedorfer Bote* (1838), 285.

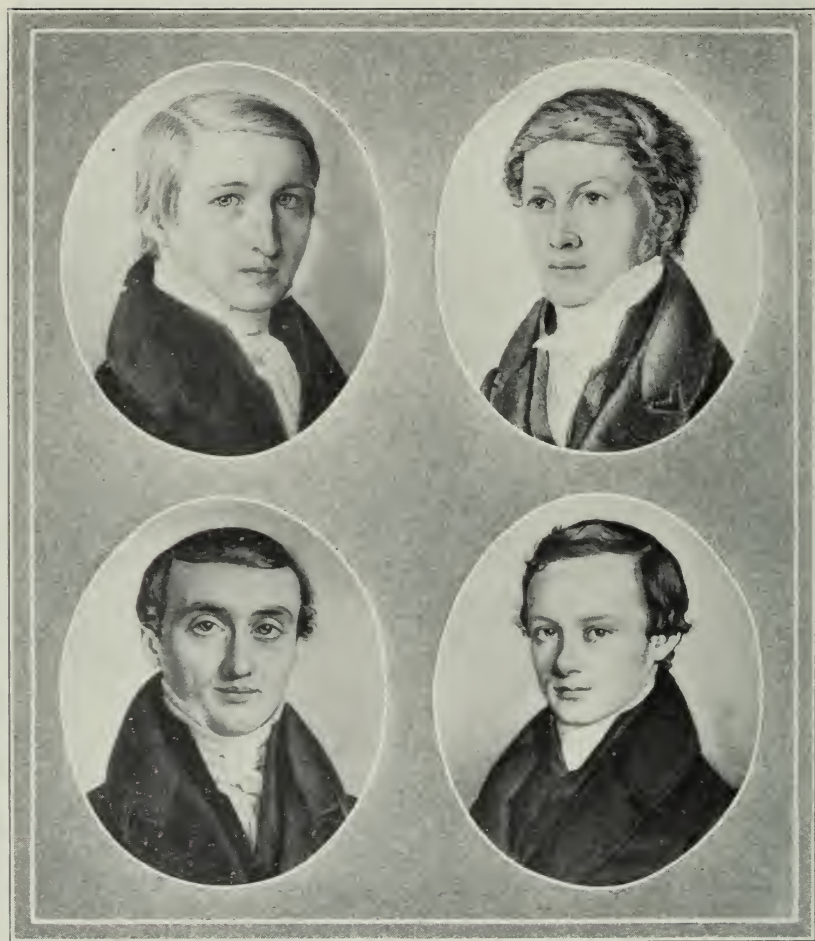
²³ The *Protokollbuch* (MS) of the Evangelical Protestant St. Paul's Church of Belleville, Ill., under date of April 7, 1839, records that the "Rev. Mr. Riess, located at Turkey Hill and High Prairie, has agreed to preach at this church and agreed to accept as his salary, for the three quarter period from Easter 1839 to New Year 1840, the sum of \$75, payable in three installments." Two meeting places were available—the court-house and the Methodist church, the latter being rented at a nominal charge. However, since Riess was not able to conduct school or catechetical instruction, and since in the summer of 1839, because of ill health, he could no longer preach at Belleville, the congregation extended a call to William Flickinger, under whom the first church was built. Flickinger belonged to the group of educated Latin farmers who arrived at Belleville after the revolution of 1830. He began to minister to this group of cultured Germans and inaugurated at the Belleville church a liberal tradition sharply at variance with the pietism of Riess. See F. S., *St. Paul's Church* (Belleville, Ill., 1909), and the *Protokollbuch*, which contains a *Chronik* of the early history of the church.

²⁴ Schlatter, *op. cit.*, I, 90 ff.; *Mag.*, XX (1835), 397.



Basel Archives.

Pioneer Basel Missionaries to America (in the order of their arrival):
F. Schmid, J. Gerber, G. W. Metzger, J. J. Riess. Gerber and Riess
were charter members of the *Kirchenverein*.



Basel Archives.

Pioneer Basel Missionaries to America (in the order of their arrival):
G. Wall, J. Rieger, G. Schwabe, M. Schaad. Wall and Rieger were
charter members of the *Kirchenverein*.

ing request for German missionaries was received from a group of American Christians at Hartford, Connecticut (L. U. P. O. Society). The commissioning of Joseph Rieger and Georg Wall, in response to this appeal, was the most significant contribution of Basel toward the founding of the *Kirchenverein des Westens*. Because of the uniqueness of the relation of Basel to the L. U. P. O. Society, we shall consider it in another connection.²⁵

By the year 1840, pietistic, unionistic Basel had developed a warm interest in the American field, having by that time stationed Schmid at Ann Arbor, Schaad at Detroit, Metzger at Liverpool, Ohio, Gerber at Madison, Indiana, Riess at Centerville, Illinois, Wall at St. Louis, and Rieger at Alton, Illinois.²⁶ The latter four became charter members of the *Kirchenverein*.

The work of the Barmen Mission Institute (Rhenish Society) among the Germans in America originated in the following way.²⁷ In 1834 the Rhenish Society sent to Borneo the recently graduated mission student Philipp Jakob Heyer of Metzingen, Württemberg. Heyer became ill en route and, being declared unfit for the tropics, returned to Barmen. To provide a field of labor for him and other missionaries similarly disqualified for foreign service, Barmen determined to establish a mission among the American Indians

²⁵ *Infra*, pp. 84 ff.

²⁶ Not all Basel missionaries, of course, located in the West. Some letters of Schaad, Schwabe, and Schmid to Rieger have been preserved. See illustrations facing p. 52 and this page.

²⁷ L. v. Rohden, *op. cit.*, 38 ff. See also *Barmen Missionsblatt* (1836), No. 26. The archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin contain transcripts of correspondence and documents bearing on Langenberg activities in America. The Barmen archives, of course, are more complete. The most important America-Barmen correspondence is found in a fascicle of 73 letters, containing, among others, letters of Heyer, Niess, Nollau, Mühlhäuser, Oertel, and Kempe and the "4. Tagebuch von Nollau, Junny, 1838." *Barmen Correspondence* (MS), I. A folder entitled "Nollau 1846-50" contains 24 letters, some of which were written by Nollau in America, others while in Europe, during his trip to Africa, and while in Africa, the final letter coming from Gravois after his return to America. *Ibid.*, II. Various entries in the *Protokoll-Bücher* (MS) and the *Copier-Bücher* (MS) have important bearing on the American work. See also Ed. Kriele, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Mission in der Heimat* (Barmen, 1928), 92 f.

where, only in a secondary way, however, Germans occupying adjacent territories could also be served. Barmen definitely distinguished between these two missionary projects.

Pursuant to these plans, Heyer and Tilman Niess of Eiferfeld at Siegen, Germany, arrived in New York on July 18, 1836. Following instructions from Barmen, they proceeded westward,²⁸ arriving at St. Louis in November, at practically the same time that Wall and Rieger put in their appearance. Prevented from going farther by the approaching winter, they agreed to minister to the needs of the German colony at St. Charles, Missouri. Between St. Louis and St. Charles their boat stranded, and most of their possessions were lost. By these physical hardships the health of Niess was seriously impaired. Heyer deserted the Barmen Society and became pastor of the German Evangelical Friedens Church located about two and one-half miles southwest of St. Charles.²⁹

Niess was of more heroic caliber. When health permitted,

²⁸ German merchants of Bremen and New York, presumably Reformed, interested themselves in these Barmen men. They spent 6 weeks at Gettysburg Seminary learning the English language. Schmucker urged them to serve the Germans rather than the Indians. B. Kurtz at Baltimore offered similar advice, urging that they dissociate themselves from the United Evangelical position espoused by Barmen and join either a Lutheran or Reformed synod. Barmen advised them to remain independent of any ecclesiastical connections. See Koehler, *op. cit.*, 117 ff.

²⁹ Heyer was accused of having appropriated mission funds amounting to \$250 to purchase a farm and was officially repudiated by Barmen in 1837. Rieger had been elected at St. Charles to succeed Heyer when the latter experienced a change of heart. *Basel Correspondence* (MS), Rieger, Alton, Ill., April 17, 1837, to Buchelen.

The Barmen missionaries were not the first German preachers in St. Charles County. As early as 1797-98 Adam and Jakob Zumwalt, of Dutch or German descent, arrived from Pennsylvania and erected the first log cabin north of the Missouri. Here Jesse Walker administered the sacrament in 1807, using crusts of cornbread and wine made from the juice of pokeberries sweetened with maple sugar. Here, also, it is reported, a German minister by the name of Hostetter preached as early as 1800. See W. S. Bryan and R. Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* (St. Louis, Mo., 1876), 195.

Garlichs preceded (1833-35) the Barmen missionaries. In the summer of 1835, the German Reformed missionary Henry Kroh had organized a church of 52 members at St. Charles. In the same year Büttner conducted German services in the English Methodist church and agreed to come from St. Louis every four weeks. Cf. *supra*, p. 45; *infra*, p. 72; Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 210.

he preached to a little German congregation in Green's Bottom nearby or taught the children of the farmer with whom he lodged, awaiting the summer, when he could proceed to Oregon. Informed of the defection of Heyer, Barmen sent a substitute in the person of Louis Eduard Nollau (1810-1869) of Reichenbach, Prussia.³⁰ As a lighthearted youth he had been converted through Moravian influence. He served in the army and, after a second pietistic conversion at the conclusion of six years' military service, entered the Barmen Institute. After five years of preparation he was commissioned to proceed with Niess to the Flathead Indians in Oregon.³¹ The winter of 1837-1838 was spent with Niess near St. Charles in the hope that the latter would regain his strength sufficiently to enable them to join some American missionaries leaving St. Louis for the Far West in the spring.³² In February, however, Niess became seriously ill, with no one but Nollau to care for him. By the time that he had regained his strength, the spring caravan had departed. The Barmen Committee rejected Nollau's plan, agreed to by Niess, of proceeding to Oregon by way

³⁰ A. Baltzer, *Zur Erinnerung an Pastor E. L. Nollau* (St. Louis, Mo., 1869). Obituary, F., XX (1869), 30, 34, 38, 42. "Louis Edward Nollau, Founder of Evangelical Charity," *Evangelical Herald*, XVI (1917), No. 41. See illustration facing p. 58.

³¹ Gustavus Hines, *A Voyage Round the World: With a History of the Oregon Mission* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1850), 1, refers to the arrival at St. Louis, Mo., in 1832, of four Indians belonging to the Flathead tribe, "for the purpose of inquiry for the Christian's Book and the White man's God." This event was widely heralded in missionary literature and resulted in several missionary expeditions to the Far West. In order to effect closer contacts with remote Indian tribes in regions beyond the Rocky Mountains, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at the request of the Dutch Reformed churches, authorized an expedition under Sam. Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman, which, early in April, 1835, accompanied the caravan of the American Fur Company. See Samuel Parker, *Journal of an Exploring Tour Beyond the Rocky Mountains . . .* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1842).

³² This statement, found in von Rohden, *op. cit.*, 45, may refer to E. Walker and wife, C. E. Eels and wife, A. B. Smith, and Mrs. Gray, who were sent out by the American Board in 1838. See Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Missions* (N. Y., 1891), I, 461. For further interesting details, see copies of letters of Elisha Whittlesey to the Secretary of War and Indian Affairs requesting a passport and permission for Nollau to visit Indian tribes west of the Mississippi. B. A., I, Pittsburgh, Pa., Oct. 19, 1837, to J. R. Poinsett.

of New York and Cape Horn and suggested instead that in the following spring Nollau should proceed to his destination with Johann Mühlhäuser, another Barmen graduate.³³ In September Niess died. In the meantime Mühlhäuser had established himself in the East, and Barmen decided to abandon the Indian mission project. Assuming that the arrival of Saxon Lutheran pastors in Missouri (1839) adequately supplied the needs of the West, the Barmen authorities instructed Nollau to proceed to New York. Nollau concluded, however, that the German society was not aware of the needs in Missouri and sought permission to remain in the West "until he would be recalled to go either to Africa or Borneo."³⁴

³³ Wall, St. Louis, Aug. 2, 1838, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill., *Rieger Correspondence* (MS), stated that he was momentarily expecting Nollau and Niess in St. Louis on their way to Oregon via New York. Wall had bought Niess's horse at an auction. The pathetic story of Niess is also found *ibid.*, Nollau, St. Charles, Ill., Sept. 13, 1838, and Green's Settlement, Ill., Apr. 24, 1838, to Rieger. Mühlhäuser and Maximilian Oertel, a Bavarian *Kandidat*, the first missionaries of the Langenberg Society, arrived in America in 1837—the one to be a teacher and the latter a pastor. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory, and Mühlhäuser, after having been licensed, repaired to Rochester, N. Y., where he served the conservative Zion Lutheran Church. In 1842 a unionistic Reformed group seceded from this church and founded the *Deutsche Vereinigte Dreifaltigkeitskirche* (Trinity Evangelical). Mühlhäuser remained in the East until 1846, when he removed to Wisconsin as colporteur for the American Tract Society. He was destined to become the father of Lutheranism in Milwaukee and one of the founders of the Wisconsin Synod (1849-50). See "Brief History of Trinity Evangelical Church, Rochester, N. Y.," *St. Trinitatis Bote* (Dec., 1917). Oertel later turned Catholic and for this and more grievous reasons was a disappointment to his friends. See von Rohden, *op. cit.*, 40 ff; "Zur Beherzigung," *Luth.*, I (1844), 54; J. F. Köstering, *Auswanderung der sächsischen Lutheraner im Jahre 1838* (St. Louis, Mo., 1867), 18 ff., and references in Rieger's *Diary*. It seems that Oertel again turned Protestant and, according to A. F. C. U., IX (1858), 342 f., was called to the pastorate of a German church in New York City. See characterization by Körner, *op. cit.*, 133.

³⁴ Von Rohden, *op. cit.*, 45. Note Wall's vigorous advice, W.-R. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, Mo., April 22, 1839, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill. The Barmen Committee may have desired Nollau to report to the Lutheran Ministerium of New York, which was negotiating with Inspector Richter for candidates. See J. Nicum, *Geschichte des Ev.-Luth. Ministeriums von Staate New York* (Reading, Pa., 1888), 169 f. See also Bodo Heyne, "über die Anfänge kirchlicher Fürsorge für die Ausgewanderten evangelischen Deutschen in Nordamerika," *Auslanddeutschtum und evangelische Kirche, Jahrbuch 1933*, 54 ff. Note

Nollau, accordingly, established himself among the Germans at Gravois Settlement, twelve miles south of St. Louis. The German Evangelical St. John's Church at Gravois, located between the Meramec and Gravois creeks, may have been organized as early as 1835. While located at St. Louis, Büttner had occasionally preached in a schoolhouse in the neighborhood. Wall also preached at Gravois, but more regularly than Büttner, and in October, 1838, surrendered the charge to Nollau, who took up his residence in the settlement. Until 1839, when a log church was built, preaching services were held in a barn. Incorporated in Nollau's field (1838) was the German church at Des Peres, where as early as 1836 services had been held by Wall.³⁵ During Wall's ministry the Des Peres congregation consisted of fifteen or twenty families, each of whom he visited once a month on a week-day. Prior to the coming of Nollau another German congregation, "on the Matthees Creek" on Baumgartner Road, now St. Paul's Church at Oakville, Missouri, had also been served by the pastors of Gravois.³⁶

Thus quite accidentally, and contrary to its accepted policy, Barmen began to serve the German colonists in America—a work which it had always insisted should be done by a separate and independent society. Such a society was now organized. In 1826 the first Barmen auxiliary society had been founded at Langenberg in the Wuppertal. Members of this society, especially a merchant by the name of W. Colsmann, manifested a warm interest in the welfare of the Germans in America and urged that a special committee be entrusted with this project. Barmen, instead,

also correspondence of Barmen with Kurtz, B. C., March 2, July 26, 1837, and correspondence of Nollau and Niess, B. A., I.

³⁵ Services were first held in the home of Georg Preiss on Fink Road, now Watson Road, one-half mile south of Clayton.

³⁶ The name "Gravois" was later changed to Mehlville. The register of the Oakville church (1844) contains the statement, inscribed by Nollau, that the records of ministerial functions performed before 1839 were entered in the book of the Gravois church. The *Kopulations-Register* of the Gravois church, begun by Nollau in 1838, states that earlier records were entered in the books of the St. Louis church. See F. S., *St. John's Evangelical Church, Mehlville, Mo.* (1918 and 1922). Cf. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 219.

recommended the organization of a private society to espouse the American cause, and agreed to provide the missionaries on condition that they remain under its jurisdiction. Thus in 1837 there was organized the *Evangelische Gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Nord-Amerika*, known as the *Langenberger Verein*.³⁷

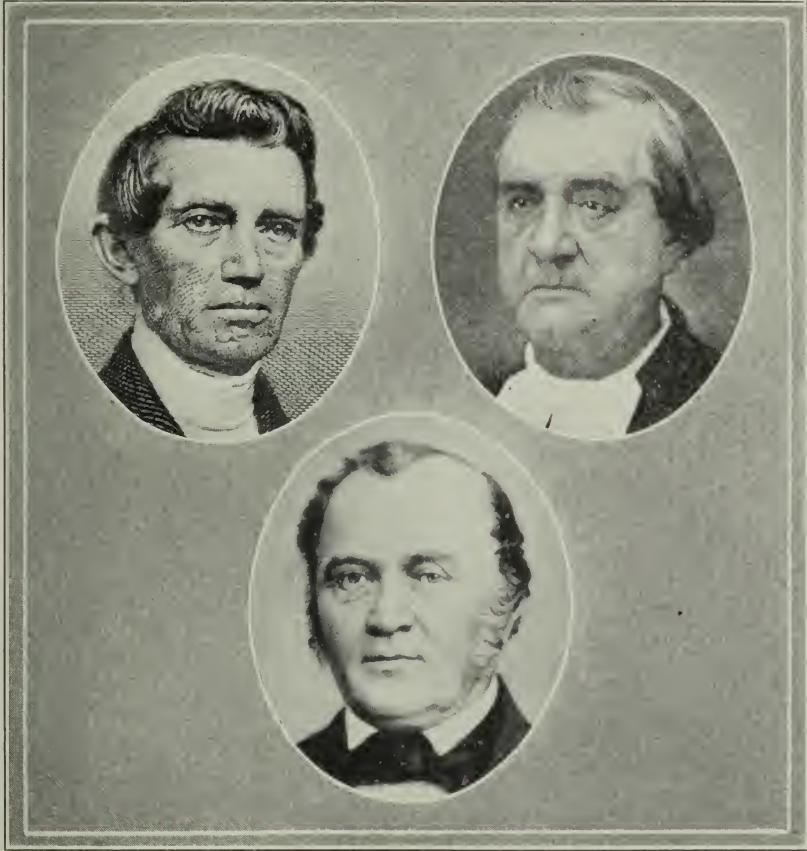
By the year 1840 the Rhenish missionary societies (Barmen and Langenberg) were represented in America by Oertel and Mühlhäuser in New York, Heyer at St. Charles, Missouri, and Nollau at Gravois, Missouri. The latter two became charter members of the *Kirchenverein des Westens*.

Not connected with any society, and arriving in Missouri before those mentioned above, was Hermann Garlichs (1807-1865). His father, a wealthy merchant of Bremen, had provided his son with a thorough education at the universities of Göttingen, Leipzig, Bonn, and Munich. Garlichs

³⁷ M. Dedekind, *75 Jahre deutsch-evangelischer Diasporaarbeit in Nord- u. Südamerika* (Barmen, 1912); Bruno Geissler, *Evangelische Diaspora u. Gustav Adolf-Verein* (Leipzig, 1930), 102. In further describing the origin of the society, Dedekind refers to the commercial relations of religious-minded merchants of Langenberg with America, to reports of Garlichs sent to Bremen (see *infra*), and to the interest of Barmen in American Indians. The first suggestion for the founding of the society was made by Colsmann in a meeting of a "Kränzchen" conducted by the Reformed pastor E. W. Krummacher. "Zur Jahrhundertfeier der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Nord- und Südamerika," *Auslanddeutschtum und evangelische Kirche, Jahrbuch 1937*, 255 f. Herm. Krummacher, *Lebenserinnerungen eines geistlichen Veteranen . . .* (Essen, 1889), 94. Interest in the American field was sharpened by the visit of Benjamin Kurtz, of the Lutheran Ministerium of New York, to Germany (1826) for the purpose of raising funds for the seminary at Gettysburg. Geissler states that the Langenberg movement was stimulated by this visit. For account of this tour, see P. Anstadt, *Life and Times of Rev. S. S. Schmucker, D.D.* (York, Pa., 1896) 203 ff.

The almost illegible *Protokollbuch* of the society, under date of July 27, 1837, states that the "*Privatverein zur Ausbreitung der christlichen Kirche unter den protestantischen Deutschen in Nordamerika*" had been organized by authority of the Rhenish Society.

The A. d. W., May 5, 1837, with usual caustic comment reprinted the *Statuten* of the *Langenberger Verein*, which were dated Jan., 1837, and warned against the "religious obscurantists" and the notorious "mysticism and despotism" nurtured in the Wuppertal regions, etc. Reports of Barmen missionaries were printed in the *Palmlblätter* and *Barmen Missionsblatt*. Note in particular the articles which appeared in the P. of 1847 under the title "Bote aus America." Up to 1849 more candidates applied to this society for the American field than could be sent.



Other Charter Members of the *Kirchenverein*: H. Garlichs, K. Daubert, L. Nollau. (P. Heyer of Barmen is missing. For other charter members see illustrations facing pages 52 and 53.)

§ 1
Die in folgendermaßen beschriebenen
von dem Evangelischen Kirchenrat zu Holstein
ausgegebenen Statuten sind als die alleinigen
Statuten für unsere Kirchgemeinde.

§ 2
Der Kirchenrat der Gemeinde soll gleiches Recht
mit allen übrigen und allen weltlichen Behörden
Capitulen und Magistraten, so weit eine weltliche
Gleichheit oder Gleiche Macht besteht.

§ 3
Der Kirchenrat der Gemeinde soll die Angelegenheiten
sämtlicher Kirchenparochien oder Kirchen, welche zur
Kirchgemeinde gehören, in der Verwaltung
des Gottesdienstes oder sonst weltlichen Dingen zu
Leisten.

§ 4
Unter allen Kirchenratsangelegenheiten von einer
Wichtigkeit soll eine von jeder Gemeinde zu einem
bestimmten Kirchensammler beauftragt sein, welcher
Beistand zu leisten.

§ 5
Für einen jährlichen Kirchensammler soll jede Gemeinde,
wobei die Messigkeit der Kirchenglieder zu Grunde
ist. Dies muß aber, wenn sie nicht am Obenlage, nach
dem Gottesdienste Welt finden, wenigstens einmal
in jeder allen Kirchengliedern angeordnet sein.

First Page of the Constitution of the Evangelical Church at Holstein,
Missouri, February 2, 1840.

was a lover of music, had some knowledge of medicine, and is reputed to have known seven languages. During the revolutionary upheavals, attracted by the writings of Duden, he emigrated to Missouri in the spring of 1833 with a group of Westphalians of the Reformed faith. With some of his companions he settled on the Femme Osage Creek, fifty miles from St. Louis in St. Charles County, where in 1834 he bought a farm six miles from Duden's home. Discovering that he was not fitted for agricultural labors, he contemplated returning to Germany. His Tecklenburgers, as he called them, and also the German group which had settled in the vicinity of St. Charles, thirty miles to the east, begged him to become their pastor. Thus in 1834-1835 Garlichs, the unordained gentleman farmer, founded the two oldest Evangelical churches in the state of Missouri, known today as the Evangelical Church at Femme Osage and the Friedens Church near St. Charles. At Femme Osage, in the vicinity of the church, six hundred acres of school-land were procured, of which sixteen acres were cultivated for the pastor in payment for his services as school-teacher.³⁸

In the fall of 1835, partly because of ill health, Garlichs returned to Germany, passed his theological examination at Bielefeld, and was there ordained to the ministry. Accompanied by his bride, Adelheid von Borries, of the Prussian nobility, he returned to Missouri in January, 1836, and again occupied the log cabin on the Femme Osage Creek—the first German Evangelical parsonage in Missouri. In the summer of 1837 he moved five miles farther into the heart of the German settlement on the Femme Osage, where a log church had already been erected. There he also taught school. He continued to serve the congregation at St. Charles

³⁸ *Erinnerung an den Ehrwürdigen Hermann Garlichs* (edited by ministers of the First Conference of the Lutheran Ministerium of New York) (New York, 1865), 25 ff; Bek, "Followers of Duden," *M. H. R.*, XVIII (1923), 36; A. Muecke, "Hermann Garlichs," *E. K.* (1912), 35. Note Büttner's reference, *op. cit.*, I, 198; F. S., Friedens Church, St. Charles, Mo. (1934); Henry Bode, "The Evang. Church in the Making," *Evangelical Tidings*, I (1915), No. 42; "Kirchweihe in Femme Osage," *F.*, XXXIX (1888), 173. See illustration facing p. 58.

until the arrival of Heyer and Niess in November, 1836, and then began to organize and serve other churches in the neighborhood. Preaching in schoolhouses and private homes, he ministered to German settlers in Charette Township, in Warren County, fifteen miles west of Femme Osage, until in February, 1840, a constitution was adopted and a log church built.³⁹ For two years (1836-1838) he also served the German settlement at Washington, Missouri.

In the meantime he had persuaded his congregation at Femme Osage to adopt a constitution, a move which stirred the opposition of those who feared that he was betraying them to an Eastern synod. Undaunted, Garlichs with his own funds purchased a lot, on which he built a parsonage. Mainly with private means and with some support from friends in Bremen he proceeded to build a new church, being again greeted with the accusation that the money had been provided by a foreign synod. Garlichs appeased matters by a revision of the constitution and other guarantees, and the new church was festively dedicated in October, 1841.

Thus we see how, with the arrival of German missionaries from abroad, the nucleus for a new religious community was developing in the West. Basel men were in the majority, with Gerber at Madison, Indiana, Riess at Centerville and Rieger at Alton in Illinois, and Wall at St. Louis, Missouri. Nollau and Heyer of Barmen were located at Gravois and St. Charles, Missouri. On the outpost at Femme Osage stood the free-lance Garlichs.

The presence of these men did not escape the attention of the Lutheran missionaries from the East, whose pioneering in the West we have already noted. In the course of his visit to St. Clair County, Haverstick met Riess, who had just arrived from Germany and who he hoped would be won for Lutheranism.⁴⁰ In Garlichs he discovered another

³⁹ This is now the Evangelical Immanuel Church at Holstein, Mo., which modestly traces its origin back to the year 1848, when the church was reorganized under Rieger. See illustration facing p. 59.

⁴⁰ "Here to my great satisfaction I met with Revd. Jacob Riess, sent to this people from the Mission-house in Basel, in obedience to an urgent petition for a Gospel-minister. The arrival of this clerical

German from abroad with no ecclesiastical connection. In spite of all his efforts, Haverstick, the American German, was not successful in organizing the scattered Lutheran groups or in gaining the confidence of the independent Germans he met. Whether C. F. Heyer encountered any of the German pastors from abroad is not known. Keller, on the other hand, met practically all of the Basel and Barmen men. At Alton he "had the great pleasure of finding the Revd. N. Rieger," whom he described as "a man of the right spirit, having a love for souls, and willing to labour for their salvation." Although Keller avoided St. Clair County, he was pleased to note that "Mr. Rees from Basle is located in this county and is doing much good." At St. Louis he found Wall ministering to a congregation of four hundred communicant members who were worshipping in the Methodist church. Keller did not consider it necessary to visit St. Charles, since Heyer and Niess were located there and Garlichs was occupying the field at Pinckney.⁴¹ Yet here again no permanent Lutheran establishments resulted. Indeed, Eastern synods continued their interest in the West, but it was becoming increasingly evident that missionary work in the West was obstructed by the difference between the American and European points of view. Nor was Kohler able to win the full confidence of Rieger, Wall, Niess, or Nollau. Indeed, Rieger reacted strenuously against him, whereas Wall, although rejecting his advances, defended him as a well-meaning Pennsylvania German.⁴²

THE LUTHERAN ADVANCE

The Lutherans of the East were never fully convinced of their ability to meet the challenge of the West. The

brother had taken place a very few days before the time of my visit. He evinced a spirit which gave promise of much future activity, and he manifested a strong desire to enter into connection with some regular Synod of our Lutheran Zion. I left him at the little settlement of New Argau, fervently praying that it might become a beautiful spot in the Vine-yard of our Master." Haverstick, "Report," *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Keller's "Missionary Report," *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴² W.-R. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, May 26, 1838, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill.

experiences of the Western missionaries had revealed the boundlessness of the field and the difficulties inherent in its conquest. Growing recognition of the difficulties involved led to an affiliation with the American Home Missionary Society, which was beginning to manifest a warm interest in the Germans of the West.

The first step in this direction was taken by the Central Missionary Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, which had been organized in October, 1835, after the adjournment of the Synod of West Pennsylvania. At this initial meeting the resolution was adopted:

Resolved, that the executive committee be requested to confer with the distant directors of this society on the expedience of forming a connection with the American Home Missionary Society, and, if thought advisable, to open a correspondence with the corresponding secretary of the American Home Missionary Society, and make the necessary arrangements to effect such union.⁴³

In response to this suggestion, Schmucker presented the proposal to the American society, which evinced a live interest in the German work. The suggestion was cordially received. At the annual meeting of the society in 1836 Schmucker was elected one of the vice-presidents and delivered the supporting address⁴⁴ to the resolution: "That in

⁴³ *Minutes of a Missionary Convention of Lutheran Ministers held in Mechanicsburg, Cumberland County, Pa.* (Oct., 3, 1835), 2. Among those present were C. F. Heyer, Benjamin Kurtz, editor of the L. O., and Samuel S. Schmucker. Cf. A. H. M. S., "Tenth Report," H. M., IX (1836), 26.

⁴⁴ "Address" of S. S. Schmucker in the H. M., IX (1836), 36 ff., and extracts of a letter from Schmucker to A. H. M. S., dated Gettysburg, Pa., March 12, 1836, in H. M., VIII (1836), 209 ff. See also notice of the Central Mission Society and Lutheran affiliation, *ibid.*, IX (1836), 26; X (1837), 25. It should be noted in this connection that, in their general efforts to meet the needs of the West, the attention of other religious societies of the East was also directed to the plight of the German immigrants. In 1835 the American Bible Society had given Gallaudet 125 German Testaments for the Germans in Illinois. A. B. S., *Annual Report* (1837), 898 f. In 1837 Rieger and Wall received a total of 56,100 pages of German tracts. A. T. S., *Report*.

The most significant work among the Germans, however, was accomplished by the A. H. M. S. Prior to the founding of this society (1826) the Domestic Mission Society of Connecticut had established its work in the West, so that at the time of its merger with the A. H. M. S. (1830) at least six missionaries were located in Missouri. One of these, James M. Sadd, had begun to minister to the North

turning their attention to the German population of our land, the American Home Missionary Society have opened a new and interesting and promising field for the benevolence of American Christians."

Schmucker was not fully cognizant of the peculiar difficulties of the missionary challenge of the West. He was primarily concerned, it seems, with the problem of mixed congregations, where the mastery of English was as necessary as the mastery of German. This was the peculiar problem of the East, where "the American Germans are very generally intermingled with foreigners."⁴⁵ When he stated that four-fifths of the calls from the West demanded bilingual preachers, he may have had the needs of some Lutheran congregations in Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and some parts of Illinois in mind, but certainly this did not characterize the needs of Missouri and southern Illinois.

From his American-Lutheran perspective, Schmucker, the president of Gettysburg Seminary, held high hopes for

Carolina Germans in southeast Missouri. Aware of his limitations for this work, Sadd appealed to the society for a German missionary. In response to this appeal, Joseph M. Gumbull, a Lutheran minister of Basel, who had arrived in Buffalo in 1831 and had joined the Buffalo Presbytery, placed himself at the disposal of the society as early as Feb., 1834. A number of Gumbull's letters are scattered through the *A. H. M. S. Correspondence* (MS). This collection, consisting of more than 100,000 letters and quarterly reports, etc. of missionaries operating under the auspices of the society, is preserved at Chicago Theological Seminary. A duplicate file of correspondence of the secretaries of the home office in New York to the missionaries in the West may be consulted in the *Letter-Books* (MS) to be found at the Chicago Seminary. Most of the letters of German missionaries found in this collection were originally written in German and translated at New York. Others were originally written in English. Quotations from these letters, quotations generally, have not been edited.

The second German missionary engaged by the society was the Reformed pastor Abraham Berky, an American German who was commissioned in 1834, but never left the East, serving congregations in Berks County, Pa., and in Rochester, N. Y. (Trinity Evangelical). The third German missionary was Francis M. Raschig, of Saxony, a member of the Lebanon Classis, who arrived at Cincinnati in 1834. *Proceedings of Synod of German Reformed Church* (1835), 45. See "Germans in the U. S.," *H. M.*, VII (1834), 47; "Progress of German Emigration," *ibid.*, 70. In the meantime numerous appeals from the West emphasized the need for German-speaking missionaries and suggested closer cooperation with German church bodies of the East.

⁴⁵ See Schmucker's letter, *ibid.*, VIII (1836), 209 ff.

the American-German student who could speak both languages. Most of the seventy graduates of Gettysburg during the last decade, he claimed, were able to preach German "with sufficient accuracy to be acceptable to the people" of the West. The majority of the sixty students in Gettysburg in 1836 spoke the German language.⁴⁶ Indeed, the Reformed and Lutheran seminaries possessed "peculiar facilities for efficient action in this enterprise." The continued importation of pastors from Germany should not be discouraged, Schmucker declared, but they should be urged to attend an American school in order not only to master the language, but also to acquire "American views of civil and religious institutions."

The Lutheranism of Schmucker was non-sectarian.⁴⁷ In unequivocal terms he opposed the confessional and denominational divisions of his day. He not only whole-heartedly espoused cooperation with the American society and other contemporary American benevolent enterprises, but, like Rauch of the Reformed Church, he also opposed competition among missionaries in the new fields. In no case should a missionary be sent to a community already occupied by either of the two denominations. He suggested that in some

⁴⁶ Doubts have been voiced concerning Schmucker's own mastery of the German. J. G. Morris, *Fifty Years in the Lutheran Ministry* (Baltimore, 1878), 123, referring to Schmucker's *Appeal on Christian Union* (1846), which had been widely circulated in Germany, continued: "Tholuck and I had a conversation about it, and the worst he said of it was that before it was published in Germany he and some others rewrote it in pure and classic German. Dr. S. was aware of this, and said to me that 'he never in his life tried harder to write good German,' but after all it sounded very much like a translation from English into German, which I presume it was, and it abounded in American Saxonisms." This appeal "was addressed to the United Church of Prussia, and indicated the points of similarity between our General Synod and the Prussian Union." Anstadt, *op. cit.*, 252.

⁴⁷ The liberalism of S. Schmucker, B. Kurtz, S. Sprecher, and other leaders of the day was roundly condemned by the confessionalists as "American Lutheranism," which, according to C. C., 18, was "essentially Calvinistic, Methodistic, Puritanic, indifferentistic, and unionistic" and "was the result of fraternizing with the sects, of the revivals, and the reaction against the confessionalism of the Tennessee Synod and the Missouri Synod." C. C. characterizes Schmucker as "not merely a unionistic, but a pronounced Reformed theologian." Kurtz is described as "Reformed in his theology and Methodistic in his practice."

communities it might be desirable to form an Evangelical church, on the plan adopted in Germany, and that pastors of such churches could consociate either with the Lutheran or with the Reformed Church or found a separate organization. Such Evangelical union churches, he assumed, would consist almost exclusively of Europeans. Theologically and ecclesiastically, Schmucker was far in advance of his day.⁴⁸

Confronted by domestic problems and internal dissensions and with the growing apprehension that such cursory missionary sallies as those of Haverstick, Keller, C. F. Heyer, Kohler, and others could not win the European contingents to Lutheran standards, Eastern synods were induced to turn their eyes to Europe for assistance adequate to meet Western needs. European missionaries were sometimes warmly welcomed as collaborators in a worthy cause. When P. Heyer and Niess of Barmen, on their way to the West, attended the conference of the West Pennsylvania Synod at Lewis-town, Pennsylvania, in 1836, they were admitted as "advisory members, and that with a joy never felt before."⁴⁹

At about the same time, the Lutheran Synod of New York, turning to the subject of Western missions, instructed its mission committee to negotiate with orthodox professors in Germany, particularly Tholuck of Halle, for worthy German candidates. To establish such contacts, a group of Lutheran pastors of New York and Pennsylvania constituted themselves a missionary committee to cooperate with German societies to advance the work in the West. In response to their appeal for assistance, G. G. Treviranus forwarded the constitution of the Bremen Society, which immediately raised the question as to whether missionaries sent over on this liberal, unionistic platform could be commissioned by the synod as Lutheran ministers.⁵⁰ And yet, neither the

⁴⁸ For appraisal of S. Schmucker and the American Lutheran movement of the day, see Ferm, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ *Proceedings*, 10. D. Kohler, the missionary of East Pennsylvania, was received at this synod as an advisory member. We are also informed that B. Kurtz introduced Nollau, on his way to the West, to the conference of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Md., Va., etc., convening at Emmitsburg, Md. See *Proceedings* (1837), 4.

⁵⁰ *Proceedings of German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Penn-*

cooperation of the Lutheran groups of the East with the American Home Missionary Society nor the assistance of European missionary agencies solved the problem of dealing with the Germans in the West.⁵¹

One other effort remains to be noted. Not least of the factors preventing Eastern Lutheranism from making an impact on the West was the geographical remoteness of the two sections. The favorable location of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West, which embraced the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, gave it a strategic advantage not enjoyed by any of the Eastern synods. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most aggressive invasion of the West should have been undertaken by the Synod of the West. At the first meeting of this synod at Jeffersontown, Kentucky (1834), the subject of Western missions engaged serious attention.⁵² In the following year

sylvania (1839), 28. The necessity for the German appeal was also urged on the grounds "that no missionaries can be expected for the present from our seminaries" The German societies were requested "to defray the expense of the voyage and to provide for one year's support" The matter was to be presented to the synod. The West Pennsylvania Synod deliberated on the same question at its meeting at York, Pa., 1839. Cf. *Proceedings*, 32. It would appear from this report that the Bremen Society had initiated the correspondence. *In re Bremen Society*, see *infra*, pp. 142 f. Under date of New York, Sept. 14, 1841, a request for men who should locate in western New York was sent to Treviranus, signed by C. Stohlmann of New York, G. Kempe of Boston, Mass., A. Wetzel of Verona, J. Mühlhäuser of Rochester, C. Rechenberg of Syracuse, and G. Saul of Albany, N. Y., and J. Winchler of Columbus, Ohio. *Berliner Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung*, III (1842), 885. For relations with Barmen, cf. *supra*, p. 56, n. 34. For earlier relations with Germany established by B. Kurtz, see articles 5, 49, and 50 in *Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Reiche Gottes*, XI (1827), 41, 382, 418.

⁵¹ The main benefits accrued to the Lutheran churches in the East, and even there the assistance of the A. H. M. S. was not appreciable. In 1838 eight missionaries were appointed to Lutheran fields. In 1839 twelve German missionaries were listed as serving these churches. Subsequent reports are silent. See "Annual Reports" of the secretary of the A. H. M. S. in H. M.

⁵² In reviewing the mission situation in the West, reference was made to the Lutheran missionaries L. H. Meyer, Cincinnati, O., Scherer, in and about Hillsboro, Ill., Georg Gerhart in Corydon, Ind., and C. Moretz in Green County, Ill., where "all that is wanting . . . to make the cause flourish, is an industrious and faithful minister." *Proceedings of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West* (1834), 4. The Synod of the West united with the General Synod in 1841.

a committee was appointed to study the field, and it thus occurred that, at the very moment that Eastern synods were sending missionaries into the West, a committee of the Western synod was gathering information concerning the needs of this territory.⁵³

As a result of this study the Lutheran Synod of the West, in 1837, authorized Scherer, of Hillsboro, to invite the German clergymen of Missouri and Illinois to attend the next meeting of the synod at Corydon, Indiana (1838).⁵⁴ The response was not encouraging. Scherer wrote to all the ministers in these states of whom he knew. Most of them replied, but showed little inclination to join a Lutheran synod. Some declared that they belonged to the "Evangelical United Church of Europe," and others stated that their duties of teaching school and preaching the Gospel prevented their attending the conference. Indeed, G. Wall of St. Louis raised the question "whether there is a Lutheran synod in these United States or not."⁵⁵ Such a response indicated the unassimilable nature of the European Germans with whom they had to deal.

The invitation was favorably answered by two pastors who helped found the *Kirchenverein des Westens*. Heyer, of St. Charles, excused his absence from the Corydon meeting, but applied for membership in the synod. The follow-

⁵³ The committee reported, in 1836, that it had found many Lutherans in St. Louis. Three destitute congregations were reported in St. Charles and vicinity, where two hundred dollars had already been raised for a minister. Lutheran congregations in Cape Girardeau and Wayne Counties, continued the report, were being served by members of the Synod of Indiana. Picker and Conrad were reported as members of the Indiana Synod. On Salt River, in Ralls and Monroe Counties, a considerable settlement of Lutherans was discovered without a pastor or church. The report concluded that "the field is open, and there is no doubt but the tide of emigration will in a very short time plant extensive fields of Lutherans in that distant region." *Ibid.* (1836), 11 ff.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* (1837), 11.

⁵⁵ Compare this with the disesteem voiced by Rieger, *infra*, p. 99, n. 2. Concerning Scherer, Rieger stated (1837): "*Er ist nicht gelehrt und auch nicht eifrig im Amte; er hat einen Kaufladen und eine Farm, die ihn viel beschäftigt. . . . Mr. Scherer würde geneigt sein, sich einer vereinigten Synode anzuschliessen, aber es ist auch kein Schade, wenn er es nicht thun wollte.*" *Diary*, 43.

ing year (1839) Heyer and a delegate of the St. Charles church (Friedens) were received into full membership. Heyer also induced his neighbor, Garlichs, to accompany him to the conference of 1839, which was held at Hillsboro, Illinois. Here Garlichs was admitted to membership for one year.⁵⁶ The affiliation of these two pastors, however, was destined to be of short duration.

Thus an aggressive invasion of American Lutheranism into Missouri had begun. The Lutheranism here represented was not of an exclusive confessional nature, but in rather un-Lutheran fashion espoused the use of the English language, "free communion," and "new measures," and did not hesitate to institute the "mourners' seat" in the revival which suddenly convulsed the conference of 1839.⁵⁷

Even this ambitious effort, however, did not succeed in rallying the German population of the West to Lutheran standards. Indeed, the solution of the Western problem lay in an altogether different direction. At the time when American Lutheranism was making its most aggressive and successful advance into the West, two new factors appeared in the field to arrest further advances from the East—the Saxon Lutherans in 1839, ably preceded by Wyneken, "one of the three master builders of the Missouri Synod,"⁵⁸ and

⁵⁶ *Proceedings of the Evang. Luth. Synod of the West* (1838), 4, 6. Heyer was admitted in accordance with the constitutional provision: "No minister or licentiate from a foreign country shall be received as a member of this Synod until after a residence of two years in this country" See *ibid.* (1839), 4, 5, 11. The lay delegate from the St. Charles church was Philipp Merten. On recommendation of a committee, of which Heyer was a member, the synod was divided into four regional districts, the Western District being composed of Heyer and Garlichs and their congregations.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* (1839), 13. In *Erinnerung an Hermann Garlichs*, 31 f., reference is made to the conversion of Garlichs, which occurred at this conference.

⁵⁸ The main work of Wyneken among Germans from abroad falls somewhat later. Interest in the cause of the Lutheran *Diaspora* led him to America (1838), where he joined the Pennsylvania Synod and was sent as traveling missionary to northern Indiana and Illinois and Michigan, becoming the "father of home missions of the Missouri Synod." His *Appeal* from Fort Wayne, Ind. (1841), for German assistance in the West and his visit to Germany in that year led to the interest of Wichern and the *Bremer* and the *Stader Verein* in this field, the founding of the missionary society at Neuendettelsau and of

the *Kirchenverein des Westens* in 1840. These bodies, composed of Germans from abroad, were to share the field in Missouri against further encroachments of American Lutheranism. In defense against both American Lutheranism of the East and confessional Lutheranism newly arrived from Europe the *Kirchenverein* came into existence.

REFORMED MISSIONS

The Reformed Church of the East vied with the Lutherans for the occupation of the West. Both American and European representatives participated in this project. With the separation of the Pennsylvania Coetus from Holland and the organization of the Synod of the German Reformed Church in the United States (1793), a new religious factor was introduced into American life. In 1824 a sectional division occurred when the Ohio Classis (1820) constituted itself the Evangelical Reformed Synod of Ohio, popularly known as the Western Synod, with the Eastern Synod continuing as the Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States.⁵⁹

Löhe's K. M. (1843). Cf. "Stader-Verein," K. M., VI (1848), 26; "Wyneken," C. C.; "Nordamerika," R. E., XIV, 199; "Lutherischer Gotteskasten," *ibid.*, VII, 26; W. Löhe, *Zuruf aus der Heimat an die deutsch-lutherische Kirche Nordamericas* (Stuttgart, 1845); Joh. Deinzer, *Wilhelm Löhes Leben* (Nürnberg, Gütersloh, 1873-92), III, 1 ff.; *infra*, p. 139, n. 16. The Lutherans of Missouri became acquainted with Wyneken in 1844. "Noth d. deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika," *Luth.*, I (1844), 31.

While visiting Nürnberg in 1839-40, Rieger was informed of a sermon which Löhe had preached against German emigration to America, concerning which Rieger wrote: "*Löhe's Predigt über das Auswandern trägt nichts. Er schmeichelt dem Deutschen Zwangs- und Formwesen zu sehr.*" *Diary*, 140. Under date of Jan. 4, 1840, he wrote: "*Ich wurde sehr gebeten, Löhe in Neu-Dettelsau zu besuchen und mit ihm über die Auswanderung zu reden; besonders wegen jener Predigt. Ich ging zu ihm und fand einen Mann, der die Vollkommenheit nur in sich und in einer Landeskirche findet, darum sind auch die, welche nach Amerika gehen, wie ohne Gott. Wir erklärten uns deutlich gegen einander, schieden jedoch in Liebe, und Keiner von des Anderen Ansicht überzeugt.*" *Ibid.*, 143. For subsequent interest of Löhe and German Lutherans in American emigrants, see Deinzer, *op. cit.*, III.

⁵⁹ Subsequent developments may be followed in J. H. Dubbs, *History of the German Reformed Church* (A. C. H. Series; N. Y., 1894), and J. I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the U. S. in the 19th Century* (New York, 1911), 178 ff. "In 1837 the Classis of West

The first appeal for assistance from the West, as in the case of the Lutherans, emanated from a colony of North Carolina Germans, the pioneer missionary in this case being Samuel Weyberg. After having labored ten years in North Carolina, Weyberg in 1803 responded to the personal appeal of a North Carolina settler and began to preach in Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, one mile south of where Jackson now stands.⁶⁰

Again, as in the case of the Lutheran synods of the East, the extensive Western missionary work of the Reformed Church did not develop until the thirties, when the West Pennsylvania Classis manifested a live interest in this distant field.⁶¹ Under the auspices of this classis, and with the

Pennsylvania, which had hitherto been connected with the Synod of U. S., transferred its membership to Synod of Ohio." The two synods were united in the General Synod in 1863.

⁶⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 18. This personal undertaking of Weyberg was in response to an appeal from Colonel Bollinger. Weyberg established preaching places at Daniel Bollinger's home on the Whitewater, at Philip Bollinger's on the Little Whitewater, seven miles south, at John Bollinger's to the west, and at Peter Ground's, six miles farther north. Harbaugh, *op. cit.*, III, 42. Speaking of this settlement T. Flint, *op. cit.*, 227, says, "They had brought a minister among them, of the name of Weiberg, or, as they pronounced it, Winebork; an educated man, but a notorious drunkard" Cf. Good, *op. cit.*, 16, 194, 198. This group was also referred to as German "Presbyterians," a misnomer frequently occurring in the South and West. See "For the Messenger," *Messenger of the German Reformed Church* (New Series), II (1833), 18. The *Minutes of Ohio Classis*, 1823, refers to five congregations in "Capberedo" Co., Mo., and to three or four in Union Co., Ill.

⁶¹ It took considerable time to organize the home-mission work in the Reformed Church. The Home Missionary Committee was organized in 1819 and the Missionary Society in 1826. See "Constitution . . ." in *Magazine of the German Reformed Church*, I (1828), 216, and T. P. Bollinger, "The Westward Expansion of the Reformed Church," *Bulletin, Theological Seminary of Reformed Church in U. S.*, II (1931). Not until 1832 did the Board of Missions come into existence. The activities of the board, however, were very limited. In 1833 it concluded that the "earnest and touching entreaties from the states of Indiana, Ohio, Virginia . . . to come over and help them could not be answered." *Proceedings of the Synod of the German Reformed Church in U. S.* (Easton, 1833), 33. Indeed, the difficulty of the General Board in meeting the needs of the German population in the West, especially since the Easterners were "just opening their eyes to the importance of the subject," led the synod in 1834 to request the various classes "to form themselves into Missionary Associations, auxiliary to the Board of Missions." The challenge of the stream of German emigration to the West led the same synod to agree "that the establishment of a 'Western Theological Seminary' is highly neces-

assistance of the Reformed church in Philadelphia, the highly educated Professor Johann W. Müller, recently arrived from Rhenish Bavaria, was commissioned (1833) to visit the West. He proposed going to St. Louis, but, after visiting Cincinnati and Louisville, proceeded to New Orleans, where he began preaching to the Germans in the French Reformed church, the *Eglise de la Resurrection*—originally a Swiss Reformed church. Opposed by a liberal

sary." The matter was referred to the West Pennsylvania Classis. *Ibid.* (1834), 19, 25.

Note the stirring appeal of the board in 1835: "Look at the West. There is a population sounding loudly in our ears the Macedonian cry: 'Come over and help us . . . ,' and none can discharge this duty to that interesting people but we who are bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh" *Acts and Proceedings of Synod* (1835), 43 ff. See also report of board, *ibid.* (1838), 43.

Probably the second missionary to penetrate the West under the standards of the Reformed Church was Henry Hiestand, a man of dubious repute. He was a Virginian by birth and had led a roving existence in Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Louisiana. As a member of the United Brethren he experienced a stirring conversion. In 1827 he received a candidate's license from the Reformed Church. He was ordained in 1828 and, before going to New Orleans, engaged in a two months' revivalistic mission tour in Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. In 1829 he reorganized the Redemptionist Congregation at New Orleans, which he served for three years. On a later occasion (1852) he started an opposition church called *Die Vereinigten Jünger Christi* (The United Disciples of Christ). He was a man of little or no education and represented the Reformed tradition at its worst. Büttner related that in 1836 he heard Hiestand in Rochester, N. Y., preach the "most shocking sermon that he had ever heard or read." Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 340. Hiestand visited Germany in 1835 and again in 1839, when Rieger had occasion to warn his friends against him: "*Dieser Mann sollte, so schnell als möglich, wieder in sein Vaterland [America] zurückkehren.*" Rieger, *Diary*, 128 f. That Hiestand encountered difficulties in Germany may be gathered from a document in the Royal State Archives at Hanover, *Betr. eine Beschwerde des Nordamerikanischen Consuls zu Hamburg über das Verfahren des Amts Zeren gegen den Nordamerikanischen Geistlichen Henry Hiestand, hinsichtlich dessen Reiselegitimation, 1839, 1840. Acta des Königlichen Staatsarchivs in re Passwesen*, Fasc. 17 (MS), Hanover. In 1838 Hiestand petitioned the Reformed Synod of Ohio for a new license to replace the one he had lost. Not only was his request refused, but his name was stricken from the roster. See Henry Hiestand, *Travels in Germany, Prussia and Switzerland . . .* (New York, 1837). With reference to his New Orleans connections, see J. H. Deiler, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1894), 21 ff. Harbaugh's scant reference to H. states that he also spent a year at Mobile, Ala., *op. cit.*, IV, 493.

faction, Müller resigned his charge and began the practice of medicine.⁶²

More significant for the West were the missionary labors of an American German by the name of Henry Kroh. We first meet Kroh in 1824, in charge of two congregations in Frederick County, Virginia. In 1828 he joined the West Pennsylvania Classis of the Eastern Synod.⁶³ From 1831 to 1835 he served six congregations in the Lebanon Classis, which reprimanded him for extreme revivalistic methods, to which his churches had objected. He then proceeded to the West. At St. Charles, Missouri, he organized a consistory and began preaching in both German and English. Not finding Missouri congenial to his ways, Kroh, under commission of the American Home Missionary Society and as a member of the Lebanon Classis, in 1836 located in Wabash County, Illinois, where he served a German Reformed constituency in Mt. Carmel and vicinity.⁶⁴

⁶² Müller decried the shallow religious views prevailing among so many Germans, which he traced to their belief that "all thinking is sin." He particularly pointed to the dangers of an intellect and conscience numbed by the belief that man is saved by faith alone. Everywhere he met Lutheran preachers of various types; yet he preferred the Reformed Church because of its humanistic interests and liberal theology. The mission board had allowed Müller \$50—the only appropriation which could be made in its straitened circumstances. In 1835 \$150 were contributed. See F. S., *First Evangelical Church in New Orleans* (1925), 11, and Deiler, *op. cit.* It should also be noted that about this time the question of cooperation with the A. H. M. S. was being considered. *Verhandlungen einer Classisical Synode der West-Pennsylvanischen Classis* (1834), 12, 30. "Communications," *Mess.*, III (1834), 17; "Report of J. W. Miller," *ibid.*, 25; "Missions of the Reformed Church," *ibid.*, 65.

⁶³ *Verhandlungen einer Classisical Synode. W.-Penn. Classis* (1828), 38. For further references concerning Kroh, see Good, *op. cit.*, index; Harbaugh, *op. cit.*, IV, 212 ff.

⁶⁴ Harbaugh states that "the Mt. Carmel charge . . . consisted of three congregations." Büttner, who first encountered Kroh at Pittsburgh and later at Cincinnati and in Missouri, characterized him as a Pennsylvania German who generally aroused dissatisfaction by his revivalistic methods. In his sermons he used such terms as "*Ei*, well, *es*, etc." Neither Hiestand nor Kroh impressed the erudite Büttner. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 108. The Lutheran contingent in Kroh's church at Mt. Carmel was given the right to elect two elders and two deacons. However, it separated from the church in 1838, and when a Lutheran missionary (Kohler) arrived, Kroh's following was reduced to forty persons who were too poor to support him. While at Mt. Carmel, Kroh preached to one hundred and fifty Germans at Long Prairie,

The two Reformed missionaries who play more directly into the history of the *Kirchenverein* are Johann Büttner and Karl Daubert. Büttner was a European German of outstanding scholarly attainments⁶⁵ and has the distinction of having been the first reputable preacher of what for a time was the largest German Evangelical church in the West. Büttner, who had been a Lutheran pastor in Germany, arrived in America in 1834. He soon became acquainted with Professor Wilhelm Schmidt,⁶⁶ of the Theological Seminary of the Ohio Synod at Columbus, Ohio, whose irenic views almost induced him to join the Lutheran synod. He was even more impressed, however, by the liberality and tolerance of his Reformed friends. In May, 1835, he was ordained by West Pennsylvania Classis and was immediately

thirteen miles northwest from Mt. Carmel in Wabash County, in the Jordan Creek community previously served by Haverstick, *supra*, pp. 45 f. Occasionally he visited a group of thirty Germans at Vincennes and forty at "Prinztown." He was convinced that the Reformed Church must share in the responsibility of supplying the needs of the West. Kroh's letters in the A. H. M. S. Cor. tell of his wanderings through various parts of the West as late as 1843. Cf. H. M., XI (1838), 132, and "Journey to the Far West," Mess., IV, Oct. 7; 1835. We are also informed that the travels of Kroh brought him to Evansville, Ind. (1838), where he discovered a group of Lutherans and Reformed, whom he united into an Evangelical Protestant church. Since most of the members were of Lutheran extraction, the church was officially called "Evangelical Lutheran." W. G. Polack, *History of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Evansville, Ind.* (St. Louis, 1920). In 1849 Kroh removed to California, expecting to establish the Reformed Church on the Pacific coast. See also "Missionary Tour in the West by Rev'd H. Kroh," Mess., III (1834), 105.

⁶⁵ Büttner was born in 1809 at Münchenbernsdorf, Prussia. The examining committee was duly impressed with his documents from the universities of Jena and Leipzig, the testimonies of the theological seminaries, his doctor's diploma, and other testimonials. Cf. *Minutes of West Pennsylvania Synod* (1835), 9, and Büttner's own account, *op. cit.*, I, 81. Cf. "Report of the Mission Committee" of the West Pennsylvania Classis (1835) and the "Auszug aus d. 2ten Missions Bericht des Dr. Büttner," *Minutes of West Pennsylvania Classis* (1836), 25. In this report Büttner warned against sending into the West sectarian preachers from Eastern synods who would propagate Lutheran and Reformed instead of Protestant views. See also Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 246 f., and a letter concerning Büttner in W. M., Sept. 2, 1835. An essay by him appeared in the *Biblical Repository and Quarterly Review*, VIII (1836), 189 ff., evidently written while at St. Louis. Among other things he also wrote a short history of the Reformed Church and is referred to by Good as "the earliest of our historians."

⁶⁶ P. A. Peter and Wm. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 33, 78.

commissioned to proceed to Illinois and Missouri to organize congregations at his discretion. At Pittsburgh the Young Men's and the Old Men's Bible Societies supplied him with Bibles and New Testaments, and, thus equipped, he visited Cincinnati and Louisville. At the beginning of July he arrived at St. Louis.

Although religious meetings had been held in St. Louis as early as 1832, the German Evangelical Church was not organized until 1834, when Christian Korndörfer, a young theologian accompanied by a group of fellow countrymen, arrived from Hesse-Darmstadt. The party had become disrupted en route, and Korndörfer, arriving in St. Louis without position or means, was forced to work at common labor. German friends circulated a petition in his behalf and established him as their pastor.⁶⁷ He subsequently proved unac-

⁶⁷ Wall states that the congregation was originally served by a "Schmid-Geselle." "*Ich hörte, dass die Leute hie und da gelacht haben und er auch ein paar Malen sich Zeit zum Lachen während seiner Predigt genommen haben soll.*" Ba. Cor., St. Louis, Jan. 23, 1837. The oldest document of the St. Louis church is a marriage record of January, 1834. The arrival of Korndörfer is described by Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XIV (1920), 231 f. Under date of April 1, 1834, Edwin Hatfield, of the Second Presbyterian Church of St. Louis, Mo., reported to the A. H. M. S.: "Early in January an application was made to me by a young Lutheran preacher (recently from Germany, and educated in the University of Hesse Darmstadt, one of the professors in which is the celebrated [.]), for the use of our house, one evening every week, for German preaching. After a careful examination of the young man (he is about 25) we gave him Thursday night and he has preached weekly since, much to the satisfaction of all who have heard and understood him. The congregation of Germans sometimes number about 200. We expect that this weekly lecture will ere long give occasion for the erection of a German house of worship and the settlement of Mr. Korndörfer as their pastor. It has been a great eyesore to the priests of Rome, who have become exceedingly jealous and watchful"

The First Presbyterian Church in St. Louis was organized by Giddings in 1817, the first structure, on Fourth between Washington and St. Charles Streets, being dedicated in 1826. This church was served by Wm. Potts 1828-35, Wm. Wisner 1835-37, and A. Bullard 1838-55. During the pastorate of Potts, E. F. Hatfield, in 1832, organized the Second Presbyterian Church of St. Louis. Hatfield left after two years, and the church reunited with the First Church in 1837. See J. T. Scharff, *History of St. Louis City and County* (Philadelphia, 1883), II, 1703.

The first Methodist church had been built by Jesse Walker at Fourth and Myrtle Streets in 1822. In 1830 a brick church was built at the northwest corner of Fourth and Washington Streets, which

ceptable to the congregation, however, and Büttner was requested to take his place. Korndörfer refused to leave unless properly reimbursed, whereupon Büttner departed on a visit to the German settlements at St. Charles and Femme Osage. Upon his return to St. Louis the difficulty with Korndörfer was adjusted, not without some notoriety, and Büttner was duly installed.⁶⁸

Under Büttner's ministry the church flourished. The problem of procuring a suitable place of worship remained to be solved. After a building site had been purchased, Büttner planned a collection trip to Lutheran and Reformed churches in the East in order to raise funds for the erection of a church. In response to an advertisement in the *Anzeiger* for a temporary supply, Johann Kopf, a *Rheinbayer*, applied and was accepted. Thus Büttner left with bright hopes for the future and with visions of the St. Louis church's becoming one of the largest west of the Alleghenies. His acquaintance with Gallaudet led him to Hartford, Connecticut. Here he met Rieger and Wall, whom he rather indifferently characterized as "pious young men, as missionaries of such institutions [mission houses] are wont to be"⁶⁹ He did not know that Wall was destined to be his successor at St. Louis.

As a financial agent Büttner was a failure. He lost the confidence of the St. Louis congregation, which accused him of misappropriating funds and betraying it to the "Synod of the East." Büttner, therefore, did not return to the West.⁷⁰ Left in this plight, the St. Louis church cast

was served by A. Monroe 1824-36. This church was used by the German congregation under Büttner. In 1845 it affiliated with the southern branch, moved to Eighth and Washington in 1854, to Glasgow and Dayton in 1883, after which it dissolved, remnants merging with St. John's Methodist Church. See Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 173 ff.

⁶⁸ At Femme Osage he interviewed P. Follen, F. Münch, Dr. F. Krug, and Dr. E. Simon and visited Bock at Dutzow.

Among other things, Büttner agreed to reimburse Korndörfer with \$140, which led the scoffers to denounce such bargainings of the *Pfaffen*. A. d. W., April 15, 1836. For Büttner's version, cf. *op. cit.*, I, 202.

⁶⁹ Büttner, *ibid.*, I, 251, 419. Note the severity of Wall's criticism of Korndörfer, Kopf, and Büttner. Ba. Cor., St. Louis, Jan. 23, 1837.

⁷⁰ Büttner gives detailed description of this Eastern trip, which

about for a successor to the unsatisfactory Kopf. It was at this juncture of affairs that, as we have noted, Wall and Rieger arrived on the scene.

The Reformed Church also provided the *Kirchenverein* with one of its charter members, Karl Daubert (1801-1875), a native of Hirzenhain, Germany. After attending a Latin school and *Gymnasium*, Daubert continued his university studies at Strassburg. In 1826 he arrived in America and preached his first sermon in the Race Street Reformed Church in Philadelphia. For several years he served a church at Wheeling, West Virginia, as a member of a Lutheran synod. In 1831 he applied for a license to the Synod of the Free and Independent German Reformed Church of Pennsylvania. Presenting favorable recommendations from the vestry of the Race Street Church, he was duly examined and licensed.⁷¹ For a while he served con-

failed because of the financial depression of the day and because of the fact that the East was flooded with similar collectors. *Op. cit.*, II, 213. The F. S. of St. John's Church at Massillon, Ohio (1927), 4, credits Büttner with the founding of that church in 1837, having been "the first German pastor to reside in Massillon," and having served the Reformed church at Osnaburg. The constitution of the latter church contained the unique clause that the congregation should become a member of the Evangelical Synod as soon as such a synod should be organized in America. He was a strong opponent of revivals and an equally hearty proponent of the "union of the Reformed and Lutherans, which did not suit the *strict* Reformed." He was installed as professor of the newly founded theological seminary at Canton, Ohio, in 1838, on which occasion Daubert preached the sermon. He returned to Germany in 1839. Good, *op. cit.*, 117 ff.

⁷¹ Obituary, F., XXVI (1875), 20. Some of the dates conflict. According to F. S. of St. John's Church, Wheeling, W. Va. (1886), 9, Daubert was pastor of the so-called "East Wheeling Church" until 1839. From this it would appear that he proceeded to Quincy, Ill., from Virginia. According to the *Minutes of the Synod of the Free and Independent German Reformed Church of Penn.* (1831), 6, his licensure occurred in that year (1831), when he appeared as a "student of divinity from Germany." The examining committee, of which Guldin was a member, reported "that they examined him in the various branches of theology and that they found him satisfactory in the same, as well as in his views of the doctrine of salvation and in his experience of true godliness" This "free" synod, also known as the *Hermannsche Reformierte Synode*, was formed in 1822 by a separation from the mother synod. Daubert's necrologist erroneously states that the sermon of 1826, referred to above, was the last German address delivered in the historic Race Street Church. See reference to language problem at Race Street Church in Dubbs, *op. cit.*, 340 ff. Harbaugh, *op. cit.*, III, 333. See illustration facing p. 58.

gregations in the vicinity of Pittsburgh and in September, 1833, was installed as pastor-licentiate in the German Evangelical Church in Alleghenytown. In 1834 he received his ordination at the hands of Henry Bibighaus of the Salem Reformed Church, Philadelphia, and John C. Guldin—both, in later years, warm friends of the *Kirchenverein*. When the Free Synod reunited with the mother church as the Philadelphia Classis in 1836, Daubert did not accompany this transfer, but joined the West Pennsylvania Classis, which merged with the Ohio Synod in 1837. Büttner, a member of this classis at the time, described him as a warm and vigorous preacher, ardently orthodox, somewhat inclined toward Catholic theology, but genial and zealous for work.⁷² From this liberal environment Daubert was sent as traveling missionary to Illinois and Missouri. Under commission of the Ohio Synod, he settled at Quincy, Illinois,⁷³ some time after April, 1839. When the *Kirchenverein* was founded in 1840, Daubert became a charter member.

⁷² Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 77. While at Alleghenytown, Daubert gave theological instruction to Geo. Henry Brandau, later pastor of the first German Evangelical Protestant church at Louisville, Ky. (St. Paul's), where Daubert succeeded him in 1841. B. Pick, in F. S. of the Alleghenytown church (1883), states that Daubert served this church from Sept., 1833, to April 1, 1839. He also founded a church in Rapp's colony at Harmony, Pa., and served churches at Lawrenceville, East Liberty, and Pine Creek, Pa.

⁷³ The first German pastor of the church at Quincy was the previously mentioned Hohenholz (*supra*, p. 37, n. 82), who, upon his arrival in 1835, began conducting services in the English church. After the expulsion of Hohenholz a general distrust of all clergymen filled the community. In the meantime (1836) the Ohio Synod (Reformed) had commissioned Hermann Ibbeken, who had come from Germany in 1830, to proceed to Quincy. Harbaugh, *op. cit.*, III, 374. Informed that Quincy was occupied (Hohenholz), Ibbeken did not go. When word came that Hohenholz had been ejected, Ibbeken visited the congregation and preached in the Presbyterian church. An official call, however, was so unduly delayed that, by the time it arrived, he discovered that J. M. Gumbull had been accepted in his stead. Gumbull arrived at Quincy in the early part of 1837 and immediately reorganized the church under the prodigious name of "German Evangelical Protestant Congregation of the Lutheran-Reformed Confession." When Gumbull, who was a Lutheran under commission of the A. H. M. S. (*supra*, p. 62, n. 44), raised the question of temperance, the congregation was torn by dissension. He was accused of "blowing into the same horn as Presbyterians and Methodists do." With eleven persons he organized another congregation on the basis of strict church discipline according to "Evangelical sentiments." *In re Gum-*

The Reformed Church, on the whole, had been as little successful as the Lutheran in urging its cause among the Western Germans. Here, again, American-born missionaries were less successful than Germans from abroad, although neither were able to establish permanent churches in the West. And yet, in spite of its geographical remoteness, the Eastern Synod did not immediately abdicate its interest in Western missions, but also sought the cooperation of the American Home Missionary Society. The fact that this society was already supporting two Reformed missionaries may have encouraged more formal relations.⁷⁴ Preliminary discussions looking toward such an affiliation were initiated as early as 1834. It was not, however, until the following year that a plan of cooperation was definitely effected.⁷⁵

bull, see A. H. M. S. Cor., A. Hale, May 19, 1840, and scattered letters in Jan., 1840. However, Gumbull did not long remain. The liberal faction advertised for a pastor who was required to be a member of either the Evangelical Lutheran or the Evangelical Reformed Church, although preferably he should not be a member of a synod, "since living in a free land we do not desire to be subject to any ecclesiastical régime." A. d. W., Sept. 9, 1837; Sept. 8, 1838. It was desirable that the applicant should have received a thorough theological education from some university. See letters of Johannes Romeister in Mag., XXXII (1847), *Heft* IV, "Beilage B," 193; "Aus Quincys deutscher Kirchengeschichte," D. A. G., I (1901, *Heft* IV), 21.

⁷⁴ *Supra*, p. 62, n. 44.

⁷⁵ *Proceedings of Eastern Synod* (1833), 34; *ibid.* (1834), 11. In October, 1834, Absalom Peters, secretary of the society, acknowledged the overtures of the board of missions as follows: "We will gladly cooperate with the Board of Missions of the German Reformed Synod in all such measures as shall be mutually agreed on to extend the blessings of the Gospel to the whole German population of this country. This is an object in which we have felt a continually growing interest as we have become every year more acquainted with its importance. We have been disposed to employ German missionaries and have done so in several instances, but without the cooperation of your churches, we have, of course, been able to do but a little in this way and our hearts are now cheered with the hope that the correspondence which your Board has commenced . . . will result in a plan of cooperation by which this immensely important field may be occupied." A. H. M. S. L.-B., 1834-35, No. 150, Peters, N. Y., Oct., 17, 1834, to L. Mayer. E. Heiner, who was recording secretary of the mission board, informed the A. H. M. S. of the action of the synod at Harrisburg (Dec., 1834), where, after a very protracted and animated discussion, the recommendation of the board favoring such a connection was rejected. A. H. M. S. Cor., E. Heiner, Emmitsburg, Md., Jan. 6, 1835. The West Pennsylvania and North Carolina classes favored the connection. *Verhandlungen der Synode der Hochdeutschen*

The new relationship began in an auspicious way when, at the request of the editor of the *Home Missionary*, Frederick A. Rauch, principal of the "Classical School" at York, Pennsylvania, contributed a series of seven articles on "German Characteristics," dealing with the "character, necessities and prospects of the Germans in the United States."⁷⁶ Rauch held the liberal and irenic, if not unionistic, conviction that, since the European immigrants as a whole preferred the Evangelical or United Church, the traditional distinction between Lutheran and Reformed should not be foisted upon the new communities. Representatives of these bodies therefore, should not be sent into the West.⁷⁷

Reformierten Kirche (1835), 13, 14, 16. The specific terms of the cooperation, finally effected in Oct., 1835, may be found in *Proceedings of the General Synod* (1835), 31. Announcement of the plan was also published in the H. M., VIII (1835), 123. See also A. H. M. S., "Tenth Report," H. M., IX (1836), 26, and article in *Mess.*, IV (1835), 30.

⁷⁶ The series ran from Vol. VIII (1835), 135, to IX (1836), 48. Here for the first time the problem of German missions in all its phases was discussed by one who brought expert knowledge to the subject. Rauch contended that the cleavage between American and European Germans was so marked that American-German missionaries could not successfully operate among the latter. The demand for German preachers in the East, on the other hand, was so urgent that neither the Lutheran nor Reformed seminaries could adequately supply the needs of the West. Of the five hundred ministers serving the total German population of one and a half million, the Reformed contingent amounted to but 100 pastors ministering to 350 congregations. The ratio in the Lutheran Church, he assumed, was about the same. Whereas Schmucker emphasized the need of bilingual preachers in the West, Rauch insisted on the undisputed mastery of the German language. Rauch was less optimistic than Schmucker concerning the abilities of his students to meet bilingual requirements. Of the 39 students in the Reformed seminary only 7 or 8 could speak German adequately. Thus, as far as the Reformed Church was concerned, the prospect of supplying German-speaking ministers for the European Germans of the West was very remote. Peters, in A. H. M. S., "Tenth Report," estimated that of the 400 German ministers in the country 250 were Lutheran and 150 Reformed. Schmucker estimated that the Lutherans had 230 ministers and about 1000 churches. In the Lutheran Synod of Ohio, "in the years 1837 and 1838, twenty pastors . . . served no less than 195 congregations." See Jacobs, *op. cit.*, 382.

⁷⁷ The varying relations of the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches of the East to each other and their uncertain attitude toward the "Evangelical" churches in their midst during this period makes an interesting study on the subject of church union. See, e. g., *Proceedings of Eastern Synod of Reformed Church* (1836), 37; (1837), 14;

Since, however, existing agencies were inadequate and unsuited to meet the Western challenge successfully, Rauch suggested that one or the other of the German missionary societies of Europe be urged "to send us *faithful, devoted and thoroughly educated* missionaries." An abundance of such men could be procured. The success already attained by European ministers in the West augured the feasibility of this procedure. To acquaint the newcomers with the American point of view, they ought, concluded Rauch, to spend a year or two in an American seminary; but even without this training they would admirably be qualified in a non-sectarian manner to serve Lutheran, Reformed, or Presbyterian churches among the Germans of the West. It was in this spirit that the cooperation of the Reformed Church with the American Home Missionary Society was established.

And yet this affiliation with the society led merely to the strengthening of Eastern churches. The Reformed cause

(1839), 74, etc. Note the Reformed response to the union appeal of the L. O. in the Mess., II (1833), 12, and the subsequent discussion. By 1840 the union negotiations had reached an impasse. Note, e. g., the statement: "Let the idea be forever silenced, that the interests of religion require the German Reformed church in this country to merge itself in other denominations" *Proceedings of Eastern Synod* (1840), 75. J. H. Fischer, one of the early missionaries of the Bremen Society, reported in Nov., 1840, that a union of the Lutheran and Reformed groups was impossible, that there were no Evangelical synods in America, and urged the society not to refer to its emissaries as "*unirte oder evangelische*," since these terms applied to neological pastors. *Erster Jahresbericht* (1841), 18. In 1834-35 Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 76, lamented the confessional, sectarian Lutheranism as compared with the irenic spirit of the Reformed pastors of his acquaintance. Some of these were serving congregations composed of both Lutheran and Reformed, who, however, could not be united on the manner of observing the Lord's Supper. According to C. V. Sheatsley, *History of the First Lutheran Seminary of the West, 1830-1930* (Columbus, O., 1930), 25, a number of Reformed students (1833) responded to the invitation of the Ohio Synod (Lutheran) to study theology at the seminary at Columbus.

The Reformed pastor Raschig, discovering on his arrival in Cincinnati that the majority of his members were "*uniert*," accordingly founded the Protestant Evangelical Christian Church on the basis of both the Heidelberg Catechism and the Augsburg Confession, the points of difference between the two being "left to every one's own election." "Cincinnati Mission," Mess., IV (1835), 7, 61. For constitution of this union church, see Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 130, and Appendix II.

in the West was not appreciably advanced. There was lacking in the West the strength necessary to support an aggressive movement such as the Lutherans were making at this time. In 1837 the Classis of the West (Indiana, Illinois) was organized, so that it seemed that a home base would be established in this area. This classis was not able to sustain itself, however, and by the year 1840 had dissolved. The stirring appeals of the synods of 1837 and 1838 for the support of Western missions brought no results, and in 1839 a committee was appointed to initiate correspondence with the Reformed Churches in Europe, through the offices of the ministerium of the Reformed Church at Bremen and the theological seminary at Geneva.⁷⁸

By the year 1840 it had become evident that the solution of the Western problem must be sought in a different direction. The difficulties encountered by German synods of the East in coping with the unique conditions prevailing in the West proved insuperable. The genius of the Reformed Church, it might be admitted, was more congenial to the European Germans of the West than that of the Lutheran. Whereas Lutheran synods, with the exception of those of the General Synod, viewed with disfavor the "*Religions- und Kirchenmengerei*" prevalent especially in the West, the Reformed, as a whole, looked kindly and encouragingly upon the Evangelical groups, being in turn denounced by the confessionalists as "*uniert*."⁷⁹ Hiestand and Kroh may have been less acceptable than the Lutherans Haverstick and

⁷⁸ *Acts and Proceedings* (Philadelphia, 1839), 17, 50. The first communication was lost at sea and another letter was sent in 1840. Although this correspondence had no direct effect upon the home-mission enterprise, it indicates the spirit of the times. It may be noted that the correspondence was directed to Bremen at the time that F. A. Krummacher was pastor of the church of St. Ansgar. Here Friedrich Mallet also published the *Bremer Kirchenbote*, and the North German Missionary Society developed its Reformed sympathies. Cf. *infra*, pp. 142 ff. See Dwight, Tupper, Bliss, *op. cit.*, 263 f. Prior to this (1825), J. R. Reily had established German contacts. Dubbs, *op. cit.*, 353; "Die hochdeutsche evangelisch-reformirte Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten von N. A.," N. N., X (1826), 241 ff.

⁷⁹ Note, for example, the sharp condemnation of the Reformed in Peter and Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 9, 54, 60, 70, 77. The suggestion of church union, it was claimed, always emanated from the Reformed.

Keller, yet neither of the latter contributed to the development of the West as did Büttner and Daubert. Neither the Lutheran nor the Reformed Church of the East, however, was able to meet the Western problem, which came nearer to solution with the arrival in Missouri of the Saxon Lutherans in 1839 and the founding of the *Kirchenverein des Westens* in the following year.⁸⁰

RELIGIOUS DISSENSIONS

We must briefly note how some of the European Germans of the West, obsessed by the fear that Pennsylvania synods were threatening their liberties, resisted the advances of German ecclesiasticism from the East and engaged among themselves in bitter controversy.

The advertisement of the St. Louis church for a temporary supply during Büttner's absence in 1836 offended the German *illuminati* of Missouri and Illinois. Especially did they resent the statement that the "candidate for this office could rest assured that, even if this were a temporary position, other fields of labor could be found either in Missouri or Illinois, where many Christians were yearning for the Gospel."⁸¹ At about this time an article appeared in Peck's *Pioneer* on the "Germans of St. Clair County." The translation of this article in the *Anzeiger* was accompanied by a caustic editorial foot-note to the effect that at least three Pennsylvania missionaries had already attempted to shear the orphaned German sheep. They had undertaken a house-to-house visitation in St. Clair County, but, fortunately, the Germans were too intelligent to be duped by their "sectarian fanaticism" and "slimy hypocrisy."⁸² Exception was also taken to the above-mentioned church advertisement. Such

⁸⁰ With the founding of the K., the A. H. M. S. began to deal directly with the members of that body and graciously came to its assistance.

⁸¹ "Aufforderung," A. d. W., Jan. 1, 1836.

⁸² *Ibid.*, March 11, 1836. W.-R. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 10, 1837, to Rieger at Alton, Ill. Wall surmised that A. E. Ulrici, president of his church, "an enemy of pietism and of Hengstenberg," had written the article concerning the missionary of the Pennsylvania synod.

traffic in personalities was abominable. The church council replied that, to its knowledge, only two missionaries had visited the regions mentioned—one from Pennsylvania and one from Maryland. It furthermore maintained that in a land of civil liberties there must also exist freedom of faith and belief. Indeed, there was an all too apparent need for preachers in the places mentioned. To which the editor gratuitously appended another foot-note, stating that the German inhabitants of Missouri and Illinois should consider themselves insulted by these infamous insinuations of the St. Louis church.⁸³

The missionary report of Haverstick, furthermore, had fallen into the hands of a loyal defender of German freedom, who vigorously but anonymously protested against the self-assumed protectorate of the Pennsylvania synod. Indeed, the enlightened Germans of the West, he claimed, were advanced far beyond anything that Pennsylvania Lutherans could proffer. Instead of being irreligious or atheistic, as Haverstick maintained, they alone appreciated the value of true religion, and the Pennsylvania synod could best show its Christian spirit by permitting them to work out their own salvation.⁸⁴

The controversy was taken up by a gentleman farmer of the Bonhomme Bottom, near St. Louis, whose "Epistle to the 'honorable' German Evangelical Synod of Pennsylvania," for its biting sarcasm and sharp invective, is a classic in the controversial literature of this period. The article was reprinted in the *Adler des Westens* at Pittsburgh and freely distributed. The secretary of the Pennsylvania synod published a reply in the *Freiheitsfreund* of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and also in the *Anzeiger*.⁸⁵ After the Bonhomme farmer had replied with his "Second Epistle to the honorable German Evangelical or, if she so desires, the East Gothic and West Gothic Synod of Pennsylvania," in which he referred to the synodical reply as the "idiotic

⁸³ A. d. W., March 18, 1836.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1836. Wall had arrived the month before.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, May 27; July 15, 1837.

effusion of priestly insolence," Münch eased the controversy with an address of more scholarly poise.⁸⁶

Münch and Büttner had also clashed on the occasion of the latter's visit to the Femme Osage region. Münch had rejected Büttner's plea to assist in the building of a church, with the statement that the primary interest of Germans was to build homes and schools. Thereupon Büttner, in his report, expressed himself as thoroughly disappointed with Münch's indifference to religion. The latter took exception to this stricture, maintaining that he had merely rejected the "literalistic religion of verbal quibbling and formal pomp and ceremony." He held to a religion of the spirit, where adequate expression was difficult. And furthermore, could one not be a true Christian without accepting every missionary who might appear upon the scene!⁸⁷

Thus, when German missionaries from abroad arrived in the West, they not only found Lutheran and Reformed preachers of the East occasioning discussion in German ranks, but discovered the Germans themselves engaged in a controversy the final issues of which were rooted in the Old World. In these discussions they sensed a spiritual kinship with American-German religious groups of the East, although a formal connection with them was not possible. The founding of the *Kirchenverein* ushered in a new development among the Germans of the West.

THE L. U. P. O. SOCIETY

Of unique importance for the German settlers in the West, and of immediate significance for the founding of the *Kirchenverein*, was the organization of the L. U. P. O. Society in 1835.⁸⁸ The origin of this society was rooted in the wide-

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, July 29; Sept. 9, 1837. Other scattered references to the controversy may be found *ibid.*, July 1; Aug. 5, 1837; *et passim*.

⁸⁷ The feud between the two continued even after Büttner's return to Germany. Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XIX (1924), 116; "Eingesandt," A. d. W., March 25, 1837; Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 185.

⁸⁸ A casual reference to the L. U. P. O. S. in the *Life of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet* by his son, Edward Miner Gallaudet (New York, 1888), 243 ff., suggested further investigation in this direction, with the result that the grandson, Herbert Gallaudet, graciously placed at

spread fear in the East that, in the course of the spectacular Catholic expansion into the West at this time, not only the American settlers, but the foreign and particularly the German immigrants would be absorbed by the Roman Catholic Church. As a result of the visit of the Vicar General Frederic Résé of Cincinnati, Ohio, to Europe in 1827, the *Leopoldinen Stiftung* was organized in 1829, having for its main purpose the support of Catholic missions in America.⁸⁹ The Catholic battle front now aggressively faced the West and brought fear to the Protestant forces, shaken as they were by denominational feuds and dissensions.

Aroused by the apparent gravity of this situation, a group of eight or ten zealous Christians of Hartford, Connecticut, chief of whom were Thomas Gallaudet, Theron Baldwin, Richard Bigelow, George Burgess, and Henry Hudson, organized the semisecret L. U. P. O. S. to help save the West from the peril of Rome. Secrecy with respect to the purpose and name of the society was so well preserved that only quite accidentally was it later discovered that the letters stood for the motto: "Looking Upward, Press Onward." In January, 1835, Gallaudet entered the service of the society as its traveling representative in the West, everywhere

the writer's disposal a collection of manuscript materials bearing on the subject, which will be referred to as the *L. U. P. O. S. Correspondence* (MS).

⁸⁹ "Leopoldine Society," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (N. Y., 1914), XVI, 52. The *Leopoldinische Berichte* were published annually from 1831-52. The intense interest of the East in the affairs of this society is evidenced by the fact that the *New York Observer* published copious, if not complete, translations of the reports. See, e. g., 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th reports in the issues of April 15, 22, 29, Nov. 25, Dec. 9, 1837. Note also the discussion of this subject in John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (N. Y., 1921), 180 ff. Francis J. Epstein, "The Leopoldine Association . . .," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, July, 1920, 88 ff. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), I, Book III, 817 ff. Theodore Roemer, *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States, 1829-1839* (New York, 1933).

It is also significant in this connection to note that three of the first four German Catholic papers in the United States were published in the West, viz.: *Der Wahrheitsfreund*, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1836; *Die Tageschronik* (later, *St. Louis Wochenchronik*), St. Louis, Mo., 1846; and *Der Herold des Glaubens*, St. Louis, 1850. G. Timpe, *Katholisches Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Freiburg, 1937), 29.

familiarizing himself with local needs and winning support for his cause.⁹⁰

As a result of Gallaudet's visit to the West, the L. U. P. O. S. became interested in the religious plight of the German immigrants. To combat Catholic influence among this foreign group, the assistance of the Basel Missionary Society was invoked. The steps leading to this contact with Basel are not clear. Suffice it to say, on December 2, 1835, a communication from Hartford presenting the needs of the German population in the "Mississippi Valley and West Connecticut" lay before the Basel Committee. The society offered financially to support any German missionaries whom Basel would send. These should be sent immediately, since Catholic agents of France and Germany were already on the field. Basel accepted this offer, and the two oldest students, Joseph Rieger and Georg Wall, were ordained and commissioned to America. These two young men had recently been assigned to a field among the Mohammedans at Shusha, north of Persia, in transcaucasian Russia, which, however, had been abandoned in compliance with the Czar's ukase of 1835.⁹¹ Coming at this opportune moment, the Hartford

⁹⁰ On this journey he visited Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Columbus, Cincinnati, Louisville, finally arriving at St. Louis. Later he visited Belleville, Collinsville, Lower Alton, and Jacksonville in Illinois and Palmyra in Missouri. At Pittsburgh, on his return to the East, he arranged a meeting of five American preachers (attended by Büttner) to further discuss the needs of the West. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 103 ff. Upon his return to the East, a Western agency was established, served by Wm. Lewis, Milo P. Jewett, M. H. Wilder, and Theron Baldwin of Jacksonville, Ill. The letters of Baldwin (A. H. M. S. Cor.), who had visited Illinois and Missouri before Gallaudet, are replete with references to the rise of Catholicism in the West. Writing from Jacksonville, Ill., under date of Dec. 24, 1834, he appealed for a man "*who could preach both in English and German*"; for "there is a considerable German population in St. Clair County and its proximity to St. Louis doubles the danger from Catholic influence. *Could a man be obtained from the Lutheran Seminary in Pennsylvania?* He should be a man designated . . . for Americans . . . but still one who could reach the Germans with advantage." Note also how Philander Chase, the "Bishop of Illinois," referred to "the Roman Catholics who claim the Mississippi and its tributary waters as their own." *Bishop Chase's Reminiscences: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1848), II, 249, *et passim*. See illustration facing p. 90.

⁹¹ Schlatter, *op. cit.*, I, 91 ff., 114; Mag., XXI (1836), 432 f.; R. E., III, 264; "Schuscha und Karass," E. H. (1835), 97. Russian guides

appeal was welcomed as a providential call directing attention to an open field in America.

Joseph Rieger (1811-1869) was peculiarly fitted for the work of the L. U. P. O. S.⁹² He was born of Catholic parents at Aurach, Bavaria, on April 23, 1811. At the age of six, upon the death of his mother, he was sent to a convent school in the hope that he would become a priest. At the age of seventeen he experienced a definite conversion and openly announced his intention of leaving the Catholic Church. Four years later he officially severed his ecclesiastical connections and entered the Basel Mission Institute. His austere disposition sometimes led to misunderstandings with his fellow students, whose buoyant natures caused him to question their piety. He himself expressed the doubt whether he had laughed a single time during his first year at Basel. Arriving in America, he found in the puritanic New Englander a man after his own heart.

The companion of Rieger, Georg Wendelin Wall (1811-1867), was a native of pietistic Württemberg. Little is known of his early life. At the age of nineteen he entered Basel, where he remained for five years. After his ordination he was commissioned with Rieger to proceed to Hartford.⁹³

describe Shusha as located in the autonomous territory of Montane Karavakh which is in Azerbaidjan.

The problem raised by the ukase was discussed by the committee in its meeting of Oct. 28, 1835. B. P., XIII, 69-73. A letter of C. A. Goodrich of Yale and a letter of Gallaudet marked "strictly confidential" were presented to the meeting of Dec. 2, 1835, at which time Wall and Rieger were designated for the American field. B. G. B., Fascicle 1831-35, G-H; B. P., *ibid.*, 79 f. We may note in passing that J. Wilkes, minister of an American church in France, had raised the question in October, 1834, of providing pastors for German immigrants settling in Michigan and on the Mississippi. The suggestion had been favorably received. B. G. B., *ibid.*, St-Z; B. P., *ibid.*, 10.

⁹² His full name was Johann Georg Joseph Anton Rieger. See L. Häberle, *Joseph Rieger. Ein Lebensbild aus der Evangelischen Kirche Nord-Amerikas* (St. Louis, Mo., 1871, the actual authors being Mrs. Rieger and W. Binner); *Diary of Rieger*; Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XVIII (1924), 212 ff.; Ed. Huber, *Pastor Joseph Rieger, ein Pionier der Deutschen evang. Kirche*.

⁹³ They were accompanied by J. G. Schwabe, commissioned to assist Schmid at Ann Arbor. *Supra*, p. 48, n. 15. *Zum Gedächtniss des Ehrw. Herrn Georg Wall* (St. Louis, Mo., 1867). Obituary of Wall, F.,

Christian Blumhardt, the first inspector of Basel, had prepared the way for their reception. In a letter to Gallaudet, dated March 14, 1836, he stated:

To meet their travelling expenses we gave them the amount of \$350 (1260 Swiss francs), on your account; of which sum they will keep and deliver to you a particular account. Probably you will have easy opportunity to send us at your convenience a bill of that amount upon London or any of the mercantile places of our continent. . . .

With his own hand he added the words:

We shall feel ourselves much obliged to you if your circumstances should permit you to give us, from time to time, further information about your Christian proceedings, and the work of our dearly beloved brethren, with whom we hope, by the grace of God and Saviour, to remain intimately connected and who will be the blessed link by which we shall be enabled to have a lively interest in the great object of your Christian zeal and affection.

Gallaudet, in reply, remitted a bill of exchange on London for eighty pounds, requesting secrecy concerning the relations. Whereupon Blumhardt replied:

We will be much obliged for your further communications on your operations by our brethren, and you may always be assured that we

XVIII (1867), 116. Wall also matriculated at the university in Basel and passed his theological examination in 1834.

Temperamental differences between Rieger and Wall evidently led a Basel classmate to give them the parting advice (in English): "Do not strive with one another on the way." Ba. Cor., C. Essig, Dec. 7, 1836. On their westward trip Wall refused to accompany Rieger when the latter joined a number of American preachers, among whom was A. Peters of the A. H. M. S. and T. Baldwin, who refused to travel on a Sunday. Wall took this position firmly convinced, as he said, "*dass ich den Sonntag auf dem Steam-boat ebenso feyern könne, wie auf dem Lande, und dass es mir wenig von Segen seyn würde, wenn ich ans Land stiege, vielleicht an einem Orte, wo nicht einmal eine Kirche ist, und wenn ich nun da in ein Hotel hineinsitzen müsste. . . . Bruder Rieger stieg ans Land, und hatte einen gesegneten Tag. . . . Der Sonntag war aber auch für mich nicht ohne Segen, und ich konnte mein Verfahren bis jezt nicht bereuen, so übel auch meine Handlungsweise da und dort gedeuet worden seyn mag; und so sehr auch diese Sonntags-Geschichte in einigen News-Papers gerügt worden ist, jedoch ohne Nennung irgend eines Namens.*" Ibid., Jan. 23, 1837. Thus Wall arrived in St. Louis on Nov. 15—two days earlier than Rieger.

Nollau, from Africa, on one occasion sent a bottle of wine to be shared by both Rieger and Wall, but addressed the package to the latter, slyly remarking: ". . . *um deinen Ruf als Apostel der Mässigkeit nicht zu gefährden.*" N.-R. Cor., Stellenbosch, Africa, Aug. 3, 1847.

For letters of Gallaudet to Blumhardt (1835-37), see B. G. B. A copy of the instructions given to Wall, Rieger, and Schwabe, under date of Basel, March 15, 1836, is found in B. C. B., IX, 1836-37, 41.

keep the strictest confidence. . . . In the annual report of our institution we were obliged to state the departure of the two brethren but we did not say more than that they were called to be itinerant preachers of the Gospel to their forsaken countrymen in the wide countries on the Mississippi . . . what we then understood to be their chief occupation. No name of persons or places being mentioned, and several of our brethren being here and there called and sent as ministers to German congregations, I am sure nobody will look at these two brethren in any other light than as those of their fellow students who preceded them, and have their sphere of labour in your country. In our future reports, it is not necessary to mention more of the operations of these brethren than *you* like, and besides that, will our reports hardly be known in your country. May our gracious Lord and Saviour abundantly bless you and the work He has committed to your hands! With affectionate regards to yourselves and your dear friends Messrs. Bigelow⁹⁴

On May 31, 1836, the Basel delegation arrived in New York. For a period of three and one-half months Rieger and Wall remained in Hartford at the expense of the Connecticut friends. Here they improved their knowledge of the English language and made the intimate acquaintance of various Americans whose friendship in later years proved invaluable to the *Kirchenverein*. Through the Hartford contacts they were sympathetically introduced to American life—an advantage not always enjoyed by the German immigrant.⁹⁵ This was particularly significant for Rieger, whose

⁹⁴ L. U. P. O. S. Cor., Blumhardt, Basel, Sept. 29, 1836. The original English version is quoted.

⁹⁵ Rieger's description of their experiences at Hartford reveals the beginnings of their Americanization. On October 1 both appeared before the court at Hartford. "*Wir nahmen einen Eid, alle Treue gegen Deutschen Fürsten und Potentaten abzusagen, und erhielten ein Zeugniß, das wir in zwei Jahren irgendwo vorweisen können, um Bürger zu werden. Es kostete 72 cents.*" *Diary*, 16.

During their visit to New York they became acquainted with, and enjoyed the hospitality of, Richard Townley Haines and William Halsted, who had been active in the founding of Union Theological Seminary in N. Y. (1836) and who breathed a conciliatory spirit in the theological controversies of the day. They also met David Leavitt, wealthy philanthropist and later a director of Union Seminary. While in New York, they made the acquaintance of Prof. Calvin Stowe of Lane Seminary, about to depart on a visit to Europe. At Hartford they were heartily received by Gallaudet—recognized at the time as one of America's foremost philanthropists. Here Rieger became the warm friend of Richard Bigelow (1797-1863). In G. B. Howe, *Genealogy of the Bigelow Family of America* . . . (Worcester, Mass., 1890), 279, Bigelow is characterized as having been a "man of considerable wealth, large influence and great charity . . ." Rieger was also attracted to George Burgess of Christ Episcopal Church, afterward Bishop of Maine, whom he recognized as one of the main mem-

understanding of American ways and appreciation of American culture subsequently made him, rather than Wall, the keyman in the relations of the *Kirchenverein* with the American friends in the East.

On October 17, 1836, the L. U. P. O. S. missionaries left Hartford for the West, provided with letters of introduction to various ministers along the way.⁹⁶ They had agreed with

bers of the L. U. P. O. S. and who conversed with him in German. He also was befriended by Joel Hawes of the historical First Church (Congregational), engaged at the time in a series of revival meetings. Among the Hartford friends are to be included Seth Terry, the lawyer, who "was noted for his strict integrity and piety," and Henry Hudson, owner of a paper mill and mayor of the town from 1836-40. Soon after Wall and Rieger arrived at Hartford, they were visited by Horace Bushnell. Attending the commencement exercises of the Theological Institute of Connecticut at East Windsor, they heard Prof. Bennet Tyler and became acquainted with Drs. Patton and Samuel Spring. The latter had preceded Bushnell at North Church and was now serving the Congregational church in East Hartford. Attending the annual meeting of the A. B. C. F. M., they heard Lyman Beecher of Lane Seminary and Abraham Jarvis, Bishop of Connecticut, who had visited Basel in 1832. Nor to be omitted is their meeting with the poetess Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, the "Hemans of America." J. H. Trumbull, *The Memorial History of Hartford County, Conn.* (Boston, 1886), *passim*. References to Hartford are also found in letters of Wall and Rieger in Ba. Cor.

⁹⁶ At New York they made the acquaintance of Absalom Peters, secretary of the A. H. M. S., who provided them with an introductory letter to many of his friends in the West. They visited, among others: the Lutheran pastor Karl R. Demme in Philadelphia; S. S. Schmucker at Gettysburg, in whose home they also met E. Keller; H. W. Lauer at Cincinnati; and Geo. Brandau at Louisville, Ky., whom Rieger described as "*geneigt für die Union*." Lauer, in 1832, and Brandau, in 1835, had been licensed by the Free Synod (Reformed). Lauer later joined the Lutherans. On board ship at Louisville they met Dr. Patton, on his way to Knox County, Ill., in behalf of a school to be founded at Galesburg, and Theron Baldwin, who immediately suggested Belleville, Ill., as a future field for Rieger. See *Diary*. Also see letters of Wall and Rieger in the Ba. Cor. The most important letter contains a detailed report of Wall written from St. Louis on Jan. 23, 1837—the double-spaced typewritten transcript of which covers 63 pages. This letter enumerates the eight points of the agreement with the Hartford society, lists some of the donations received from the A. T. S., A. B. S., and Hartford "ladies," and in various other ways complements Rieger's *Diary*. Referring to the Gettysburg students, Wall added the following touch: "*Sie verstehen fast alle Deutsch, doch weit besser Englisch. . . . Wenn die lieben Brüder [of Basel] aber wieder einen Brief hierher schreiben, so sollen sie denselben nur ganz getrost und dreist in deutscher Sprache schreiben, aber nie wieder etwas gegen Temperance-Societies, da diese Leute den reinen Wein nicht zu schützen wissen, und in Basel man keinen Begriff hat von dem Amerikanischen Getränke.*" Lauer at Cincinnati, according



New England Friends of the *Kirchenverein*:
T. H. Gallaudet, Richard Bigelow.

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the Hartford friends that they could best fulfill their mission in the West by not immediately accepting a parish. They could, however, accept support from local sources whenever feasible, with the privilege of arranging such details according to circumstances. Each was granted one hundred dollars for the trip.

About the middle of November they arrived in St. Louis. Wall was provisionally engaged as the pastor of the German church which was known as the German Protestant Evangelical Church of the Holy Ghost. Circumstances soon arose, however, which led him to accept this church as a permanent charge.⁹⁷ The congregation, widely scattered throughout the city, was composed mostly of the poorer class. He was immediately aroused to indignation by the irreligious sentiment prevailing in the community, and met his first rebuff when, in the election of three new board members, a "pietist" was rejected. Wall was severely criticized for the rigor of his preaching and his austere outlook on life. Yet the church flourished. He won the confidence of his people and the respect of the cynical community by refusing to accept baptismal fees. A singing society of twenty-five male and five female voices was organized under the guidance of F. Steines, who received fifty dollars a year for this service.⁹⁸ He found the community intensely interested in the

to Wall, raised the question of organizing a new synod. "*Er wünschte wir möchten im Westen eine neue Synode unter dem Namen 'Die Deutsche Evangelische Synode' errichten, er würde ihr mit mehreren Anderen mit Freuden beitreten. Fünf Prediger—wenn ich nicht irre—haben das Recht eine neue Synode zu constituiren; allein ich bin ferne davon, als dass ich den Anfang machen wollte, da dies unter den deutschen Predigern im Osten ein fürchterliches Geschrey verursachen würde. Zwar wären nun schon mehr als 5 hier im Westem, die eine solche wünschen, allein ich für meine Person entscheide mich dies Jahr noch nicht dafür, obgleich zu erwarten ist, dass eine Evangelische Synode mit der Zeit entstehen wird*"

⁹⁷ For early experiences of Wall in St. Louis, in addition to the above, see W.-R. Cor.

⁹⁸ W.-R. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, Mo., May 1, 1837, to Rieger at Alton, Ill. "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XVI (1921), 125. Steines relates the following incident which occurred during his stay at the St. Louis church. "At present several chiefs of the Sac and Fox Indians are in town. They are said to be here on business arising from their quarrel with the Sioux. Yesterday [Dec. 24, 1837], immediately after

newly established school which had been sponsored by Kopf, his predecessor, who, with the assistance of American Christians, had also organized a Sunday school in July of the previous year. In addition thereto Wall started a confirmation class at the beginning of the new year. In all these activities he enjoyed the hearty support of the Methodist and Presbyterian pastors, in whose churches the German congregation held its services.

With the building of a church, a substantial structure sixty feet long and forty-two feet wide and designed to cost \$8000, the attacks on Wall by the "*Vernunftler*," of whom he claimed there were legion, became more intense.⁹⁹ By

the first song had been sung, two of them came into the church. The pastor was just beginning his discourse. The Indians were curiously painted, all wore various kinds of head ornaments, and bells on their legs. They could not speak English, so they tried to make the people understand by their unintelligible words and by gestures that they wished to have seats in one of the benches. They caused more or less disturbance in this attempt to communicate their thoughts, so the pastor requested the people to give them seats. They sat down and remained perfectly quiet, except for occasional, curious gestures. When I arose, after the pastor had concluded his address, their attention was directed to me, as I led in the singing. They were evidently highly amused, for they laughed and carried on in such a manner that I was almost convulsed with suppressed laughter. When the pastor later descended from the pulpit, they marched solemnly and majestically all the way up the aisle, pressed the pastor's hand, and then very frankly requested that he give them the money which had been collected for the poor. Without a doubt they thought that the collection had been taken up for their benefit." "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XV (1921), 689.

⁹⁹ The *Königliches Polizei Präsidium* of Berlin (May, 1837) reported to the ministry for "*geistliche Angelegenheiten*" that a request had been received from the German Evangelical Church of St. Louis for permission to publish appeals for assistance in building the church. The matter was referred to the king, who granted permission in a *Cabinetordre* of Aug. 20. *Acta betreffend: Die nachgesuchten und bewilligten Kirchen- und Haus-Collecten für Kirchen- und Schulanstalten, Bd. II* (MS).

W.-R. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, April 22, 1839, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill.; *ibid.*, July 29, 1839. Having, unknowingly in violation of the state law, performed the marriage between a white and colored person, which was punishable with a fine of from \$100 to \$500 or one to five years imprisonment, Wall fell into disrepute with a faction of his congregation. The rising storm came to a head in the attempt to separate the functions of the building committee from those of the church board. Several exciting scenes were enacted, in one of which Wall was commanded: "*Herr Prediger! Sie schweigen. Wissen Sie, dass Sie keine Stimme haben? . . . Sie warten bis zum März wenn*

April, 1839, the sum of \$2000 had been subscribed. In five months this had increased to \$4000. On August 9, 1840, two months before the founding of the *Kirchenverein*, the German Protestant Church in St. Louis—the first German church in the city—was dedicated. The communion service on the following Sunday was attended by five hundred persons. The congregation, ultra liberal, was served by a pietistic pastor. In this discrepancy lay the seed for continual controversy.

Rieger's field of labor lay in Illinois, where he began his work as itinerant saddle-bag preacher. Arriving in St. Louis, he had first intended to proceed to Quincy, Illinois. However, he made the acquaintance of a farmer from High Prairie, Illinois, and was induced to visit Centerville, where he surprised his old friend Riess living contentedly in his crowded log cabin. After a short visit he proceeded to Alton, with its strong Catholic population. The Rev. Mr. de Puy, the first rector of the newly organized St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, introduced him to some German settlers, who persuaded him to preach in their homes. He decided to establish his headquarters at Alton and took up residence with Elijah Lovejoy, whose abolition views he shared.¹⁰⁰ Here he ministered to widely scattered German communities by preaching, distributing tracts, administering the sacra-

die Court sitzt, dann wird man mit Ihnen reden!" Whereupon Wall replied, "*Wenn ich nicht mehr für das Wohl meiner Gemeinde und gegen ihr Wehe reden darf, still schweigend warten muss bis die Court sitzt, so habe ich hier nichts mehr zu thun!"* Calmer minds, however, prevented him from leaving the meeting. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1838, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill.

¹⁰⁰ Huber, *op. cit.*, 25, states that among Rieger's papers he found the minutes of the first meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Illinois. Among those present at this meeting were the two Lovejoys, President E. Beecher of Illinois College, and Rieger, who was secretary. The meeting, which Elijah Lovejoy had called to organize an antislavery society, convened at Upper Alton, Oct. 26, 1837. Because of opposition the organization was not effected, and interested friends met the next day at the home of the Rev. T. B. Hurlbut, in Upper Alton, and organized the State Anti-Slavery Society of Illinois, with an enrolment of 60 members. W. T. Norton, *Centennial History of Madison County, Ill.* (Chicago, 1912), I, 61 ff. The martyrdom of Elijah Lovejoy occurred in November, 1837. Rieger had moved to Beardstown the preceding August.

ments—everywhere admonishing and reproving for the cause of Christ.

During his nine months' stay at Alton, extended tours into the neighboring communities at various times brought him to Upper Alton, Middletown, Marine Settlement, Edwardsville, Looking Glass Prairie, Jacksonville, Rock Spring,¹⁰¹ Belleville, Beardstown, and Clary's Grove. Numerous German settlements urged him to become their permanent pastor. On a visit to St. Charles, Missouri, he was induced to preach a trial sermon, only to be informed later that Heyer had decided to remain. John Peck invited him to preach to the Germans at Rock Spring, where he also visited Catholics and priests, encountering on his way "Campbellists," Unitarians, Universalists, and "Ironside Baptists." When Gallaudet, on account of money stringencies in the East, urged him to care for himself as much as possible, he contemplated a visit to the Rocky Mountains, which, however, did not materialize.

Because of a persistent fever and the indifference of the Alton congregation, Rieger moved to Beardstown in August, 1837. Here he succeeded W. Bolenius, who had been dismissed by the congregation.¹⁰² During the winter months of 1837-1838 Rieger taught school; whenever possible, he visited the neighboring settlements as before, not hesitating to preach in English when called upon. He journeyed beyond the points previously touched, on one occasion (1838) visiting Fort Madison, Iowa, and West Point, twelve miles farther west, ministering in English to the Catholics in the region frequented by the famous Indian chief Black Hawk, and holding "the first sermon and the first communion ser-

¹⁰¹ Rieger preached his first English sermon in the Baptist chapel at Rock Spring. Rieger met J. M. Peck in May, 1839. *Diary*, 96. Peck had established a seminary at Rock Spring, Ill., in 1827. Here, in May, 1829, he began publishing the *Pioneer of the Valley of the Mississippi*, the name being changed in 1836 to *Western Pioneer and Baptist Standard-Bearer* (Alton), and then to *Western Pioneer*. Austen K. de Blois, *The Pioneer School* (Chicago, 1900).

¹⁰² Bolenius became a veterinarian. Gumbull claimed to have founded the German church at Beardstown. The community was known for its wealthy and educated Germans.

vice among the Germans in the Territory."¹⁰³ At Quincy, Illinois, he met Kohler, the Pennsylvania missionary, and also Gumbull, whom he found "proselyting" for the Lutheran Church.

The people at Beardstown objected to Rieger's long absences and began to oppose his ministry. Again he considered going to the Indians in the Far West, but Gallaudet dissuaded him, since, as he said, many Americans could be found for this work, but few who were so qualified as he to combat the Catholic menace in the West. Passing a teacher's examination, he received a government appropriation and during the winter of 1838-1839 taught a school composed of about forty German and American children and some German adults. The assistance from Hartford did not suffice, and he received additional financial aid from Basel. His unmarried state and recurring sickness caused him much concern, and in May, 1839, he left Beardstown for a visit to Germany. His roving commission, during this first American ministry, led him from his chosen base so frequently that permanent organizations were effected neither at Alton nor at Beardstown. Only indirectly did his labors lead to the founding of Evangelical churches, all of which arose at a later day.

En route to New York he visited friends at St. Charles, Troy, and Palmyra, Missouri, Fort Madison, West Point, Burlington, and Davenport, Iowa, and Quincy, Illinois, and journeyed by horseback to Ann Arbor, Michigan, to visit Schmid and the grave of Schwabe.¹⁰⁴ Presenting Schmid with his horse, he continued by boat and train to Hartford. Here, it seems, he had a misunderstanding concerning the continuance of his support in the event of his marriage.

¹⁰³ With reference to the communion service at West Point, Rieger stated: "We had only cornbread and a common tincup as chalice but the people were glad and did not harp on externalities." *Diary*, 62.

¹⁰⁴ For an interesting account of this journey and of a visit to the Fox Indians in Iowa, see "Ein Ausflug zu den Indianern jenseits des Mississippi," E. H. (1840), 75 ff., 190. His Iowa friends, especially James G. Edwards of Burlington, editor of the *Hawkeye and Patriot*, urged him to settle among them on his return from Germany. *Diary*, 101.

The uncertainty of his status with Hartford disturbed him throughout his visit to Germany.

However, when Rieger returned to America with a bride¹⁰⁵ in September, 1840, the Hartford friends assured him of their continued support for so long as he would require it, and held out to him a permanent pastorate at Quincy, Illinois. Discovering that Daubert had located at Quincy, he continued to St. Louis, arriving too late, however, to participate in the founding of the *Kirchenverein* in the following month.

With the arrival of Wall and Rieger the Basel contingent in the West was increased to four. Although the activities of Rieger were in greater accord with the plans of the L. U. P. O. S. than those of Wall, the wider needs of the German communities engaged the attention of both from the first. With the founding of the *Kirchenverein*, both cast their fortunes with this organization and distinguished themselves in its behalf.

Thus we see how the Western regions in which the *Kirchenverein* had its origin were charged with a variety of religious and ecclesiastical forces which, continually projecting themselves into the picture, determined the life conditions in which the new organism must learn to function. The factors which most immediately and effectively determined the religious development among the Germans on the frontier were of German origin. Long before the *Kirchenverein* came into existence, religious forces, emanating from the long-established German Churches of the East, ambitiously sought to extend their fatherly benediction over the new Zions arising in the West. Lutheran and Reformed, conservatives and liberals projected their *mores* into the new country and thereby created the environment in which the newly arrived immigrants must work out their religious destinies. The East soon realized, however, that the West

¹⁰⁵ How Rieger discovered his first bride, Minette Schemel, is related by L. Häberle, *op. cit.*, 25 f. Note account of her pathetic death in *Diary*, 216 ff. In 1845 Rieger married Henrietta Wilkens, daughter of a Bremen merchant.

was not to be claimed and possessed as a gift of the gods. The maladjustment of East and West influenced the developments of the day. The institutionalized, ritualized, and denominationalized religion of the East was not congenial to the adolescent mood of the West, which, far from assimilating these foreign elements, was bent on making its own vital adjustments and establishing its own forms.

Furthermore, the German immigrants brought with them certain traditional attitudes toward religion, which, in the non-restraint of frontier life, tended to obscure more vital issues. Liberal and non-religious elements, once restrained by an established paternalistic régime, now asserted their animus with unprecedented vigor; not, indeed, without vicious reaction against Old World conservatism, equally zealous in asserting its rights in this land of freedom and democracy. The initial stages of the clash were marked by extravagant emphases and radical outbursts—which only served to show how the element of maladjustment characterized the new environment.

In the effort to effect a vital adjustment to the fundamental spiritual needs of the day, the *Kirchenverein* emerged upon the scene as the resultant of diverse forces. An initial effort was made to retain certain *mores*, which, however, did not function so effectively in the new environment as in the Old World. Physical, social, and religious elements of the new environment subtly modified the *mores* and institutions emerging from the conflict, the old adjustments remaining where they functioned, but new forms arising where they proved inadequate.

CHAPTER III

FOUNDING OF THE *KIRCHENVEREIN* *DES WESTENS*

It soon became apparent that the focal point for the further development of "Germanism" in the West at this time lay in east-central Missouri and southwestern Illinois. By the year 1840 the population of Missouri numbered 381,102—of which 16,469 lived in St. Louis. By 1850 the population in St. Louis had increased to 77,860, of which number 22,340 were born in Germany.¹ The Germans had been important contributors to the economic and cultural development in these regions and had succeeded in establishing the rudiments of a new civilization among their American neighbors. However, in the vortex of the religious and anti-religious forces which marked the German life of the period, the ecclesiastical establishment of religion had not proceeded much beyond the founding of a few small congregations, usually located in the most densely populated German communities. German churches prior to 1840, and for a long time thereafter, fought shy of denominational affiliations. Even the founding of the *Kirchenverein* in that year did not immediately suggest the rise of a new denomination. The

¹ Federal Census of 1850. See "Impress of German Immigration," E. H. S. L., II, 889. G. Engelmann of St. Louis, in a letter to *Legationsrat* Eichhorn at Berlin under date of May 28, 1840, requesting the founding of a consulate in St. Louis, states that the population of St. Louis during the past eight years had increased from 7,000 to 20,000. During the same period the German population had increased from 20 or 30 to 6,000. Illinois and Missouri together had 50,000 Germans. *Acta des Ministeriums der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten betr. die angetragene Errichtung eines Preuss. Consulats zu St. Louis, Staat Missouri . . . Juni 1840 — Oct. 1861*, fascicle listed under A. A., II, Rep. 6, *Preussische Consulate ausser Europa* (MS), 1.

The manner in which the German emigration to America assumed new aspects during this decade may be observed by perusing the columns of such papers as the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* (Rudolstadt, 1846), published by G. Froebel, assisted by J. Büttner. A feature of this widely read paper was the *Intelligenzblatt* with private and official announcements and advertisements. Every aspect of the subject was discussed. Wisconsin and Texas were increasing, Missouri was decreasing in popularity. "*Missouri kann mit vollstem Rechte ein ungesunder Staat genannt, vor ihm muss daher gewarnt werden.*" I (1847), 219.

time was at hand, however, when the forces of orthodox religion needed to organize to meet the spiritual needs of the day.

OCCASION FOR ORGANIZATION

With unabated interest and rising hopes the Lutheran and Reformed churchmen of the East viewed the religious stirrings among the Western Germans. A union of the Germans in the West with already existing denominational organizations of the East seemed to be the next logical step. The American Lutherans had vainly sought to win the good will of the Western settlers. On their way to the West (1836), Heyer, Niess, Rieger, and Wall had visited Schmucker at Gettysburg Seminary and were urged by him to join the newly organized Synod of the West. Arriving at Cincinnati, Rieger was similarly advised by Lauer, who mistakenly informed him that the Barmen brethren had agreed to affiliate. Meeting Rieger at Alton, E. Keller also invited him to affiliate with the General Synod, for which connection, however, Rieger had "no desire, . . . what he would do later he did not know."² In the spring of 1838 D. Kohler, also a representative of the Lutheran Synod and holding the views of Schmucker, visited the Basel and Barmen missionaries—Rieger at Beardstown, Illinois, Wall at St. Louis, and Niess and Nollau at St. Charles, Missouri—and urged closer rapprochement with the English synod.³

The Episcopalians, likewise, looked forward to absorbing the Germans in the West.⁴ Bishop Abraham Jarvis of Con-

² The reserve with which Rieger viewed the Lutheranism represented by Schmucker is reflected in a letter to the Basel students, where, speaking of Gettysburg Seminary, he says: "*Viel wird von Luther gesprochen, es ist aber wenig von seinem Geist u. Glauben u. seiner Busslehre zu finden. Sie geben allem Raum, aber den Namen lassen sie sich nicht streitig machen.*" Ba. Cor., Alton, Ill., Feb., 1839. See also Rieger's *Diary*, 20, 22, 35.

³ W.-R. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, Mo., May 26, 1838, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill. Wall described Kohler as a Pennsylvania German, pious and zealous for his Church. Both Wall and Rieger rejected his advances—the latter quite vigorously.

⁴ It is instructive to note how, in the midst of the instability resulting from denominational controversy, etc., High-church movements and ideas occasionally swept through German frontier churches, both Lutheran and Reformed.

necticut had freely expressed the hope to Rieger and Wall, at Hartford, that a union could be effected between the Lutherans and his Church. He presented Rieger with a letter of introduction to Bishop Chase of Ohio and Illinois, whom Rieger visited at Alton. Chase was much interested in the Germans and had received a grant of twenty-five pounds from Queen Adelaide of England for the translation of the *Book of Common Prayer* into German. Again the question of union was broached, the bishop urging Rieger to introduce the Episcopal liturgy and be ordained according to the Anglican rite.⁵

How can we account for the undisguised reluctance of Western Germans to merge their fortunes with German denominations in the East? German missionary societies, on the whole, did not favor such affiliations. Rieger and Wall were indifferent to such connections, since they were definitely committed to serve the interests of the Hartford society.⁶ The tension between Eastern and Western Churches, as we have seen, however, was rooted in more fundamental differences. In spite of their common religious heritage they were widely separated by diverging problem interests and social outlook. Some of the problems peculiarly agitating the West no longer concerned the East, whereas the religious, spiritual zeal of Eastern Churches was not

⁵ Rieger's *Diary*, 18, 39. Ba. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, Jan. 23, 1837. Bishop Chase, the pioneer Episcopal bishop of the West, was a son of New England, where, prior to his permanent removal to the West, he was rector of the church at Hartford, Conn. (1811-17). In 1819 "the first mitre of 'the West' was placed upon him" as the bishop of the diocese of Ohio. In 1823 he visited England and with the assistance of Lords Gambier and Kenyon collected \$30,000 with which he built Kenyon College at Gambier, Ohio. In 1835 he again visited England, this time in behalf of his "wilderness diocese of Illinois." See Chase, *op. cit.*

⁶ W.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 11, 1839, to Rieger in Germany. Wall implied that the Hartford society had taken advantage of their good nature as "pious individuals," and he hoped to become sufficiently independent to be able to "eat his own bread and enjoy the freedom to contemplate matrimony." See *ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1837, where Wall referred to the original understanding that they report to Hartford every two or three weeks. This ideal relation had not been continued, however, since Wall considered this correspondence to be voluntary and not as binding as that with Basel.

always congenial to the newcomers in the West. Both Reformed and Lutheran synods of the East had already made notable concessions on the language question. The synodical minutes of both bodies had long since been printed in the English language; which practice, together with the appearance of such names as Jenkins, Olmstead, etc. on membership rolls, is strongly indicative of the rise of an American-born clergy. In the West, on the other hand, a fresh German immigration emphasized anew certain racial characteristics which widened the chasm between German- and English-speaking churches.

The German church constituency, on the whole, regardless of what the attitude of the pastors might have been, was opposed to an organic relation with American synods and was content to work out its problems in the sectional smugness of the West. Large numbers of the Western settlers had come from the unionistic provinces of Prussia, Bavaria, Kurhessen, Baden, and Nassau, and were, therefore, not attracted by the overtures of Lutherans and Reformed of the East. In some communities, under the pressure of frontier conditions, Lutherans and Reformed joined in the founding of a church, so that "union" churches actually existed before the *Kirchenverein* was organized. The enlightened American Germans of the East were forced to admit, sometimes grudgingly, the expediency of permitting the newcomers to organize into Evangelical congregations. Prior to 1836 such churches had been founded in St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Washington, New Orleans, and Cincinnati.⁷

⁷ "Nachrichten-Nordamerika," E. K. Z., XXXVI (1845), 213. Cf. *supra*, p. 79, n. 77. That such religiously indifferent "Evangelical" congregations constituted a problem for Eastern Churches may be gathered from *Proceedings* of both Lutheran and Reformed synods. J. W. Müller stated that his congregation at New Orleans paid no attention "to the points of difference subsisting between the Reformed and the Lutheran churches. The congregation," he said, "is desirous of being received under the guardianship of our Synod as a *United Evangelical Church*, until a union of the two denominations shall have been effected in this country as it has been in many parts of Germany." See "Missions in New Orleans," *Mess.*, IV (1835), 91. For union features of the Cincinnati church, see Appendix II.

Describing the church life among the Germans in the Far West and its significance for the founding of the K., a letter signed by Wall,

Chief among the religious leaders of the East who recommended a "united" church for the Germans of the West was F. Rauch, who, as we have seen, objected to the commissioning of Lutheran or Reformed preachers into the new territory when Evangelical ministers were able to supply all needs.⁸ The desire to unite was widespread. Could it be crystallized into action?

It was also quite obvious that the Evangelicals were too numerous to be absorbed by a Lutheranism divided against itself. Schmucker was willing to have the German churches of the West organize as independent Evangelical churches "on the principles of our Congregational brethren of New England." He further espoused the idea that the pastors of such churches might consociate with their brethren of the Lutheran or Reformed denominations or form a separate organization.⁹ Since the European Germans of the West were being served increasingly by non-confessional pastors from Basel and Barmen and by such irenic individuals as Garlichs and the union-minded Daubert, closer relations with Eastern synods became less attractive.

The physical isolation of the German pastors widely scattered on the frontier suggested the need of founding an organization in which their common problems could be sympathetically discussed. The actual distance separating them was not very great; yet the frequently impassable roads aggravated their plight when a word of counsel or advice was needed. The morale of the Basel brethren was upheld

Knauss, Riess, and Jung and addressed to Prof. Hagenbach of Basel under date of St. Louis, Oct. 14, 1845, states: "*Es lag in der Natur der Sache, und die Verhältnisse brachten es so mit sich, dass sich die Lutheraner und Reformirten vereinigten und gemeinschaftliche Sache machten, da weder die Einen noch die Andern für sich Kirchen bauen, Schulen anlegen und einen Prediger hätten erhalten können.*" Thus individual congregations arose "*die dem Wesen nach Congregationalisten waren, jedoch ohne deren Glauben, Kirchenordnung und Kirchenzucht zu haben.*" The letter continued: "*Nach vorausgegangener Berathung etlicher Brüder, die sich nach Ort und Herz näher standen, wurden die übrigen Prediger vereinigt Gemeiden im Westen zu einer brüderlichen Conferenz eingeladen*" *Acten des Leipziger Hauptvereins der Gustav-Adolf-Stiftung, 1843-1847* (MS), 54.

⁸ Rauch, "German Characteristics," H. M., VIII (1836), 191 ff.

⁹ "Benevolent Efforts in Behalf of the Germans," *ibid.*, 209 ff.

by correspondence maintained with the Basel brotherhood. Nevertheless, the sense of loneliness had a depressing effect upon backwoods preachers—especially in the face of physical illness and when confronted by the antagonism of infidels or dissensions within their own churches.¹⁰ It became increasingly evident that the German Evangelical forces must unite against the rising tide of rationalism and an opposition which at times bordered on physical violence.

Impetus toward the founding of the *Kirchenverein* was also given by the Saxon Lutherans who had developed a militant, antagonistic attitude toward the unionistic groups in St. Louis and vicinity. The story of the emigration of the Saxon Lutherans to Missouri under the leadership of "Bishop" Martin Stephan reads like a romance. The groups which had arrived at St. Louis by February 19, 1839, from New Orleans, consisted of about 600 persons. Prior to their departure from Germany they had "purchased a large theological library, a pipe organ, a collection of church music, instruments for a band, three church bells, the sacred vessels, etc." Duden's roseate descriptions directed them to Missouri. In Perry County on the Mississippi, 110 miles south of St. Louis, a tract of 4473 acres was purchased, and four parishes were established. A small number remained in St. Louis and became the nucleus of Trinity Church, which was served first by G. H. Loeber and then by Otto Hermann Walther, who was succeeded by his younger brother Carl Ferdinand in 1841. Before building their own church they held services in the Episcopal Cathedral.¹¹ Thus

¹⁰ W.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Mo., March 13, 1838, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill.

¹¹ In response to their request for the use of Christ Church, Bishop Jackson Kemper, missionary bishop of the Northwest (Missouri and Indiana), read the following notice to his congregation (March, 1839): "A body of Lutherans, having been persecuted by the Saxon government because they believed it their duty to adhere to the doctrines inculcated by their great leader and contained in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, have arrived here with the intention of settling in this or one of the neighboring States, and having been deprived of the privilege of public worship for three months, they have earnestly and most respectfully requested the use of our church that they may again unite in all the ordinances of our holy religion. I have therefore, with the entire approbation of the vestry, granted the use of our

St. Louis "was to become the center from which light and knowledge were to emanate over the whole country."¹²

Wall was the first of the Evangelical pastors to be confronted by what he referred to as the "papal Protestant Stephanists, who consider it a sin to serve a united church, since, according to their opinion, the Reformed are the children of Satan" In September, 1839, Wall reported to Rieger that O. Walther had established himself in St.

church for this day from 2 P. M. until sunset to a denomination whose early members were highly esteemed by the English Reformers, and with whom our glorious martyrs Cranmer, Ridley, and others had much early intercourse." The basement of the church was occupied for three years (1839-42), during which time Trinity Church was organized. See J. T. Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1735.

¹² D. H. Steffens, *Doctor Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther* (Philadelphia, 1917), 122. *Ebenezer, Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century* (St. Louis, 1922).

The manner in which certain Lutheran pastors in Saxony rejected the contentions of Stephan may be seen in the "Erklärung" published by nine pastors in the *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, I (1838), 90.

The B. A. K., III (1841), 59, contains a letter from a certain Mr. Bimpage, under date of Perryville, Mo., September, 1840, in which he relates in some detail how he assisted the Stephanists in effecting their settlement and how he personally participated in the exposé of their leader. That German circles followed these developments may be seen in the series of articles "*Die Stephanianer im Muldenthale*," A. K. Z., XIX (1840), 625, 633.

After the exposé of Stephan the Saxons and their preachers were moved to deep repentance and humble contrition. Note, for example, the following extract of the sermon preached by O. H. Walther in St. Louis and quoted in the A. K. Z., XX (1841), 375: "*Von einem Ende der Erde zum andern ruft uns die Stimme der Wahrheit zu: 'Ihr habt gesündigt' Die Gläubigen und die Ungläubigen klagen uns an, dass wir eine Thorheit begangen. Unser Gewissen bejaht es und dein heiliges Gesetz bestätigt sein Urtheil. . . . So soll auch uns, eure Lehrer, die Erinnerung an unsere schweren Sünden . . . in den Schranken erhalten. . . . Wir werden nicht mehr auf Andere herabsehen sondern fein niedrig einhergehen. Wir werden nicht mehr in das Geschrei einstimmen: 'Hier ist des Herrn Tempel! Hier ist die lutherische Kirche! Hier ist wahres Lutherthum!'*"

Baltzer preached the funeral sermon for Stephan, and Wall for O. H. Walther. See illustration facing p. 106. The B. A. K., *ibid.*, 866, quoting the *Bremer Kirchenbote*, reported the death of Walther as follows: "*Der auch von Stephan verführte Pastor Walther, aus dessen trefflicher Busspredigt (auch von uns) Einiges früher mitgetheilt ist, ist an einem gebrochenen Herzen in St. Louis gestorben. Auf seinem Kranken- und Sterbebette sprach er nicht mehr von der Kirche, sondern von dem Herrn Jesus und von seiner Liebe gegen alle, die seinen Namen anrufen, um selig zu werden. An seinem Grabe redeten ein luther. Kandidat und der evangel. Prediger Wall.*"

Louis and was extending his missionary work into Long Prairie, Illinois; that a candidate of theology by the name of G. Kluegel had violently opposed his method of confirmation; that elaborate plans had been evolved for the founding of an educational institution in the Perry County settlement. And in a conciliatory spirit he concluded: "These people may yet become a blessing for the community. I could only desire this. May the Lord entrust their leadership to no bishop like Stephan."¹³

The Saxon Lutheran clergy, thoroughly acquainted with the European-German point of view, were well qualified to serve the German settlers in the West and thus share with the Evangelical pastors the burden of a common struggle against the rationalism and infidelity of the day. However, this was not to be. Instead, there was planted in Missouri a new Lutheran denomination, which, by its energetic opposition to the labors of the Evangelical pastors, forced the latter in self-defense to effect an independent organization.¹⁴

¹³ "Diese Leute mögen indess ein Segen des Landes werden. Ich will es wünschen, möge nur der Herr sein Ruder unter ihnen keinem Bischof, wie Stephan, anvertrauen." W.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Mo., April 22, 1839, to Rieger, departing for Germany; Sept. 11, 1839, to Rieger in Germany. For exposé of Stephan, see Köstering, *op. cit.*, 23 ff. Expelled from Perry Co., Stephan settled in Illinois. D. K., II (1849), 368.

¹⁴ L. U. P. O. S. Cor., Wall, St. Louis, Mo., May 11, 1840, to T. H. Gallaudet: "We need it [the new church] very much, because only two hundred persons can meet to our public services on Sunday, whilst a greater number either stays at home or attends the services of the Stephanists, who are very zealous in making proselytes. Mr. Walther, their minister, even uses not always the purest means for the enlargement of his congregation. He tells his hearers, freely and openly, that his Old Lutheran Church, or better, his own sect, which so never prevailed in Germany, was the *only* true and pure church of Jesus Christ, although he can't show from or by the Holy Bible. They hope to get our church for their services, when it will be finished; and many of our congregation are inclined and regard it their duty, to open it for them, although I can never consent, because the Stephanists only would—as they already did—bring into our congregation disharmony. Rev. Mr. Bullard says, 'Let them alone!' Mr. Walther once called on me, and I repaid him with my dear brother, the Rev. Mr. Nollau, his visit. I must confess, that I have to regard him as a true Christian, but at the same time as a man, whose heart is too narrow towards other Christians, and towards all other forms in the church, than he has them among his Saxonians. He thinks it the irremissible duty to condemn every doctrine, which is against their symbolical books. He thinks, that every thorough, true Christian must

THE MEETING AT GRAVOIS SETTLEMENT, MISSOURI

Thus the time arrived to consolidate the labors of the Evangelical pastors scattered throughout the regions of Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and Indiana. Utterly independent of any ecclesiastical connections in Europe or in America, the *Kirchenverein des Westens* was born—the indigenous product of socio-religious conditions prevailing in the West.

Under date of September 28, 1840, Nollau, of Gravois Settlement, dispatched a letter to a number of German Evangelical ministers which read as follows:

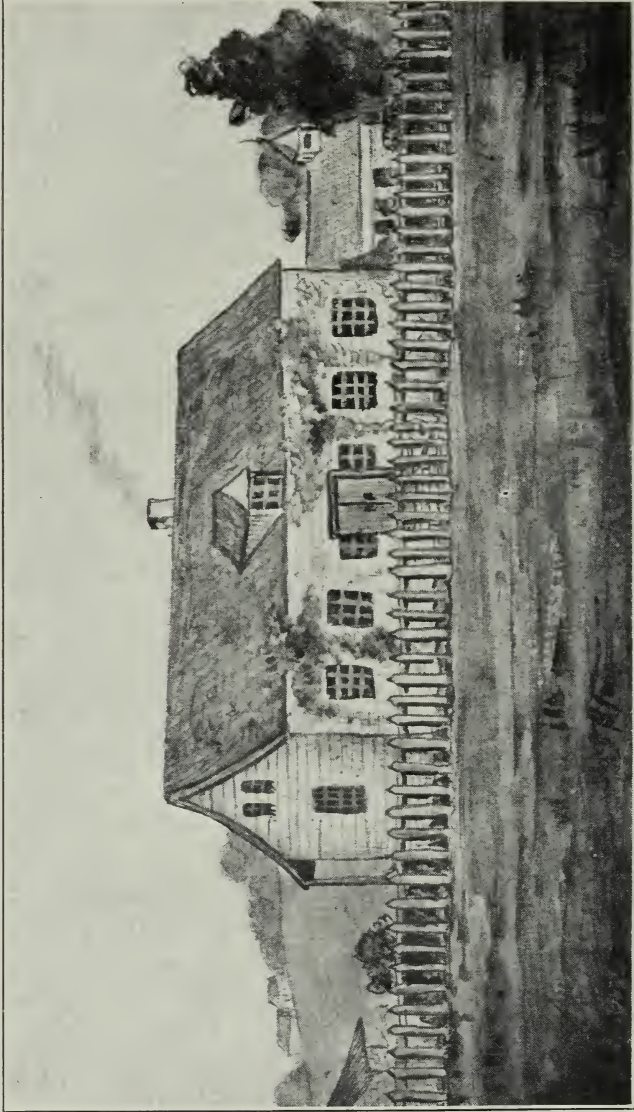
DEAR COLLEAGUE:

For some time a number of German Evangelical brethren who are in charge of United Evangelical congregations have felt in their solitude and isolation the need of fellowship and fraternal cooperation. This feeling has become stronger of late on account of opposition of

consent with Luther, therefore or erga—you may make conclusion after conclusion”

Wall, in a letter to Rieger under date of April 22, 1839 (W.-R. Cor.), stated that a large number of “German Evangelical ministers” had arrived in St. Louis, most of whom were “faulenzen” and caused him difficulties; indeed, “since yesterday estranged relations with them have developed.” An incident showing the strained relations existing in St. Louis is related by Nollau in a letter to Barmen under date of Nov. 19, 1840: “*Der lutherische Prediger O. H. Walther zeigte sich erst feindlich gegen Pastor Wall, später aber sehr freundlich gegen uns beide. Das Gesuch um Benutzung der Kirche war einzig in seiner Art. Sie schrieben an den Vorstand, sie hätten gehört, die neue Kirche sei für deutsche Protestanten ohne Unterschied der Konfession bestimmt, in der jeder Prediger predigen dürfe. Da sie nun auch Protestanten seien, so glaubten sie ohne Zweifel, die Kirche ebenfalls benutzen zu können, und erböten sich, einen Theil der Zinsen oder andere Lasten zu tragen. Sie wollten auf diese Weise nach und nach einen rechtlichen Anspruch auf die Kirche sich erwerben. Das Gesuch erregte Unwillen; der Vorstand lehnte es ab, und die Lutheraner appellierten an die Gemeinde in fast unverschämten Ausdrücken. Bruder Wall erklärte dem Vorstand seiner Gemeinde, dass er augenblicklich sein Amt an der Gemeinde niederlegen werde, sobald selbige den Stephanisten die Kirche einräume*” Quoted by Koehler, *op. cit.*, 121 f.

It is of interest, in this connection, to note the attempt of Nast to fraternize with Stephan, whom he first regarded as the “*liebenswürdigen frommen und trefflichen Stephan*” See C. A., I (1839), 47. However, he was coldly rejected: “*Sie wollten sich nicht mit uns in eine christliche Unterredung einlassen, ehe wir Ihnen sagten, ob wir zum Prediger- oder Laienstand gehörten. . . . Kaum hatten wir Ihre Fragen mit der möglichsten Bescheidenheit beantwortet, so wurde das Verdammungsurteil über uns in einem sehr harten Tone ausgesprochen.*” *Ibid.*, May 24, 1839. In the issue of June 21, 1839, 99, the “*Erklärung*” concerning Stephan was reprinted from the A. d. W. of May 27, 1839.



Recently Discovered Drawing of the Old Parsonage at Gravois, Missouri,
the Birthplace of the *Kirchenverein*.

the English Lutheran synods, and, for those living in the neighborhood of St. Louis, of the Ultra Lutherans.

In order to establish and foster such fellowship, we purpose, if God wills, to hold a fraternal gathering on Wednesday, October 14, 1840, in Gravois Settlement. It is not intended at this time that this meeting shall be a gathering of a "synod," but for the time being it shall simply afford an opportunity to become mutually acquainted. Some important matters will be deliberated upon, and a covenant of fraternal fellowship will be made.

The venerable Reverend Mister Wall of St. Louis joins me in the cordial and fraternal wish that you honor us on that day with your presence. Should this, however, be impossible, we request you to send us in writing, on or before said date, your proposals and wishes concerning a closer alliance of the Evangelical clergy.

With cordial greetings,

Your

LOUIS EDUARD NOLLAU¹⁵

This formal invitation, originating from German Evangelical ministers, may not have been restricted to their own group. How many invitations were extended is not known. However, only five pastors responded: Hermann Garlich of Femme Osage, Philipp Heyer of St. Charles, and Georg Wall of St. Louis, Missouri; Karl Daubert of Quincy and Johann Riess of Centerville, Illinois. All sympathized with the Evangelical cause, although Gerber and Daubert had joined the Reformed Church. Gerber acknowledged the receipt of the invitation but begged to be excused "on account of business." He signed the minutes in the following year, as did Rieger, who, at the time of the meeting, was returning from Germany with his bride.¹⁶ The Basel and the Barmen men were already mutually acquainted. It is not certain that they were all acquainted with Garlich; very probably Daubert, newly arrived from the East, was the least known to them. Since it was the stated purpose of this meeting to "afford the opportunity to become mutually acquainted," it would appear that the invitation was extended

¹⁵ The original German version has disappeared. The above translation was first published by Henry Bode, "The Evangelical Church in the Making," E. T., I (1915), No. 43.

¹⁶ Nollau had informed Rieger of this meeting and had urged him to make haste. Rieger might have attended the meeting had he not been delayed by an accident which occurred to his wife in crossing a bridge near Medina, Ohio, on October 9th. See *Diary*, 179. L. U. P. O. S. Cor., Rieger, Medina, Ohio, Oct. 12, 1840, to Gallaudet at Hartford, Conn.

to others less intimately associated with the Basel and Bar-men group.

The meeting had been called for Wednesday, October 14. In the course of that day the five pastors arrived at Gravois Settlement. The deliberations began on the morning of the fifteenth in the hall which separated the two rooms of the log-cabin parsonage at Gravois.

Recognizing the importance of their calling and fully aware of the responsibility resting upon them, cognizant of their weakness and unworthiness but trusting in the power and the assistance of the Lord, they first knelt before Him with the prayer that for His name's sake He would guide them aright in their deliberations and fill them with wisdom and abundant grace and blessing.

Thus the first session was opened with prayer and the singing of a hymn. Daubert was elected president *pro tem.*, and Nollau, secretary *pro tem.*, whereupon the deliberations were immediately begun.¹⁷ A total of twenty-four resolutions were adopted, covering a wide range of subjects. Although not designed as a constitution, they paved the way for the subsequent development.

It was unanimously decided not to organize a synod at this time. The heavily charged antisynodical atmosphere augured difficulties for such a step. Yet a definite organization was effected. After a lengthy discussion, it was decided, at the suggestion of Garlichs, that those present should constitute themselves *Der Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens*.¹⁸ A studied effort was made to avoid a rigid institutional organization and to eliminate the bureaucratic features traditionally associated with synodi-

¹⁷ *Protokollbuch des Deutsch-Evangelischen Kirchenvereins des Westens, 1840-1851* (MS), 2. Page references are to the verbatim typewritten transcripts in Historical Archives, Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, Mo. Minutes, from 1840-1851 will be referred to as K. P., I; 1852-1866 as K. P., II. Printed minutes will be quoted according to years. An abbreviated English translation of the Minutes of 1840 may be found in Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XVIII (1923), 47 ff. All English quotations from K. P. are translations from the original. See illustration facing p. 107.

¹⁸ The term "*Verein*" was variously translated in contemporary documents as "Society," "Association," "Conference," "Synod," "Union." The seminary at Marthasville was incorporated (1854) and the hymnal of 1862 was copyrighted under the name of the "German Evangelical Conference of the West."

cal bodies.¹⁹ Thus the denomination later known as the Evangelical Synod came into existence as a simple pastoral conference.

The membership was to consist of ordained pastors, lay delegates, and advisory members. After the stipulation that only ordained pastors could be admitted as full members, the provision was immediately added that the respective congregations be urged to select delegates who should also be entitled to seat and vote in the sessions. If a pastor served more than one congregation, these must agree among themselves concerning the one delegate who should represent them. Thus the parity of clergy and laity would automatically be established. Precisely this question of winning the confidence and cooperation of the laity constituted a most vexing problem for the *Kirchenverein* in years to come. No effort was made at this time to induce individual churches to join the new organization. To ward off any suspicion that the Society was harboring a bureaucratic synod in its bosom, it was explicitly stated that neither the internal nor external affairs of local congregations could be made the business of the Society. Local congregations, however, had the privilege of seeking the good offices of the Society when desired.

Since only ordained pastors were eligible to full membership, the only hope for growth lay in the arrival of ordained pastors from Germany or the admission of candidates of theology. The latter group constituted the third class of members. The American field had become attractive to some theological students who, having passed their theological examinations in Germany, left for America before being ordained. Confronted by the danger of admitting unworthy persons, the young Society decreed that all such applicants were to be closely examined with reference to their characters, no mention being made of their theological position. Non-ordained candidates could thus be admitted as advisory or probationary members. Prior to their ordination they

¹⁹ Note how the founding of "The Synod of the German Reformed, Free and Independent Congregations of Pennsylvania" in 1822 expressed this spirit in the East.

were again to be examined, this time by a committee which was to be chosen annually for this purpose. Only in emergencies, and with the consent of the president, was the examining committee empowered to authorize an ordination in the interim between conferences. Ordained pastors, on the other hand, could be admitted on probation during the interim, although such action must be ratified at the next regular conference. In these provisions we find a studied effort to safeguard the high moral, intellectual, and spiritual standards of the ministry. The raising of barriers against questionable characters, as practiced by German synods of the East, was even more necessary in the unsettled conditions of the Far West. The confessional statement consisted of only sixteen words. Any uncertainty as to the meaning of the term "Evangelical" was removed by the simple subscription to the symbolic writings of "our Evangelical mother church in Germany"

The non-sectarian and irenic spirit prevailing at this meeting found expression in the decision to "whole-heartedly cooperate with such benevolent societies as are laboring for the advancement of the Kingdom of God." This did not refer only to German societies. The American Tract Society had assisted Riess, Rieger, and Wall. The L. U. P. O. S. had just granted Rieger an appropriation of two hundred dollars.²⁰ Nor had the zealous activities of the American Bible Society and of the American Home Missionary Society passed unobserved. It was a period of intense religious activity on the part of Eastern Christians, and a sympathetic understanding of their projects marked a definite step in the Americanization of these Germans from abroad. The little Society was willing to accept its share

²⁰ L. U. P. O. S. Cor. contains the following document:

Agreement with Rev. J. Rieger, made Sept. 26, 1840. We have agreed to allow Mr. Jos. Rieger for this year, commencing this day, as salary two hundred Dollars, and seventy-five Dollars towards his travelling expenses, together 275\$ and agree to see that he has a further sum of two hundred Dollars, making 475\$ for the first year,—and for the next year, if necessity should require it, we engage a further sum of two hundred Dollars.

Hartford, the 26th of September, 1840
H. HUDSON

of responsibility in the current interdenominational activities of American Protestantism.

The above reference to benevolent activities applied particularly to the support of schools and educational projects for which Garlich, as a trained pedagogue, would naturally be the chief advocate. The crying educational needs of German frontier communities would thus be met. "To meet the needs of our youth," the problem of procuring a catechism was also considered. A committee composed of Wall, Garlich, and Nollau was appointed to prepare the draft of a catechism which was to be presented to the Society. One of the primary interests of the *Kirchenverein* was religious education.

Although the use of vestments in public services was not made obligatory, the members of the Society, in the performance of their official duties, were encouraged to appear in the customary vestments used in the "Evangelical mother church." It was agreed that the unique conditions of the new environment required radical changes in forms of worship. A committee consisting of Daubert, Riess, and Nollau was therefore appointed to present the prospectus of a book of worship at the next meeting of the Society. Thus another movement toward independence from the German mother church had begun.

This mixture of formal, constitutional clauses with routine business provisions constituted a basic declaration of principles which guided the subsequent development. The so-called "fundamental articles," which pertained to the creedal position, having been accepted and declared unchangeable except by a two-thirds' majority vote, the secretary was instructed to present a copy of the proceedings to other clergymen who might be interested and might thereby be induced to join. Nollau was instructed to invite a number of such ministers to the next meeting, which was to be held at St. Charles the following year. In the election of officers Daubert was made president, Nollau, secretary, and Riess, treasurer. A final resolution instructed the secretary to present a clear version of the resolutions to the

next meeting, when each member was to attach his signature.²¹

The conference of the following year, which convened at Heyer's church near St. Charles (Friedens) on May 3, 1841, was the formal constitutional assembly of the *Kirchenverein*.²² This meeting, with only Daubert, Heyer, Garlichs, and Wall present, from the view-point of attendance was even less auspicious than the first. Riess and Nollau were in Germany—the first in quest of a wife and the latter preparatory to entering the African mission of the Barmen Society. Before leaving, however, the meticulous Nollau had revised the twenty-four resolutions of 1840. By omitting the business resolutions, the number was reduced to sixteen. The seventeenth—a new paragraph—was now added, which prohibited a member of the Society from performing ministerial duties in the congregation of any other member without his specific permission.

Aside from this addition several other changes should be noted. It was stipulated that, if the number of lay delegates at a conference was not equal to that of the clergy, parity should be established by drafting the necessary number from the congregation entertaining the conference—a studied effort to allay any suspicion concerning the synodical designs of this "pastoral clique." Another change was effected in the decision not to grant ordination to candidates in the interim between conferences. Having satisfactorily passed his examination, a candidate was merely granted the right to preach and administer the sacraments until the following conference. Thus was established the order of "licen-

²¹ The minutes of 1840 were signed by the eight charter members with the following notation: "*Zur Zeit, da diese Versammlung gehalten wurde, befand sich Herr Pastor J. A. Rieger auf der Rückreise von Deutschland, und Herr Pastor Johann Gerber Geschäftshalber abwesend. Beide aber wünschen dem Vereine nicht nur beizutreten, sondern denselben mit zu gründen, und haben in Folge die obigen Verhandlungen im Original ebenfalls unterzeichnet.*"

²² K. Witte, *Der Evangelische Kirchenverein des Westens. Seine Gründung, Fortschritt und Wirksamkeit* (1862; MS). The unusual and unaccountable claim is here made that the Society was organized on May 4, 1841, at St. Charles, Mo. For a similar statement see "Geschichtliche Ent. unseres Pred. Sem.," F., XXVI (1875), 65, and an article in D. K., II (1849), 249.

tiates," generally prevailing in the Eastern synods, although the term "license" was not employed at this time. The most significant change, however, involved the doctrinal paragraph, where subscription to the symbolic books was made secondary to acknowledgement of the Old and New Testaments as the sole criterion of faith in the exposition of which the consensus of the symbolic books of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches was to be the norm. The constitution was thus formally accepted and a copy sent for publication in the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* and the *Christliche Zeitschrift* of Chambersburg (Reformed).

OPPOSITION TO THE KIRCHENVEREIN

Thus in the freedom of the Far West, on the unrestricted expanse of the Western frontier, where new interpretations of American freedom were constantly arising, there emerged an entirely new and independent German Church, a unique sociological development in the history of American religious life. No sooner, however, did it raise its feeble voice than a wave of opposition arose to crush its life.

Opposition of the Rationalists

The founding of the *Kirchenverein* created a veritable sensation in the ranks of the rationalists. The principles for which they had fought in Germany, and in the quest of which they had come to America, seemed to be threatened anew. They had successfully repelled the threatened invasion of the Pennsylvania synods only to find that from their own soil a similar "*Verdummungsanstalt*" was beginning to raise its head. The strategy to be followed in combating this menace was soon revealed. The cause of the "synod" must be thoroughly exhibited to public gaze. The founders—by hook or crook, by friendly invitation, reasonable argument, or through biting sarcasm and invective—must be driven from their retreat and forced into public controversy.

Quite naively, and with the air of one purely interested in ascertaining the intentions and the purpose of the Society, a self-styled "Non-Partisan," in an open letter in the *Anzeiger des Westens* addressed to the "members of the Evan-

gical Synod of the West and to Mr. Garlichs in particular," importuned the Society to come out into the open, if possible to refute the calumniators and justify the righteousness of its cause. The editor of the *Anzeiger* appended a characteristic foot-note to the effect that it was preposterous to expect this "spiritual coalition" to forsake its policy of silence and its hypocritical evasion of issues which in the cause of truth should be discussed in the open.²³

This challenge of "Non-Partisan," originating in the Femme Osage region, which was second only to St. Louis as a center of rationalistic agitation, had the effect of eliciting from Garlichs the only public statement to emanate from *Kirchenverein* circles at this time. It read as follows:

With reference to your request which appeared in the above number of this paper I can only make this brief reply. I am sorry that it is impossible for me to enter into a public defense of the Society against the attacks which have hitherto appeared in this and other papers; for I have come to the personal conclusion that they have proceeded, not from an interest in the matter under discussion, but rather from personal animosity. Furthermore, I note that the language in which the articles are written is not of a nature which would invite a reply, even though others would deem it proper and necessary. You may be able to convince yourself concerning the purity of our motives in a better way than through me, who am myself a partisan in the matter. Moreover, if you should insist upon a public explanation on my part, it will be necessary for you to abandon the cloak of anonymity and also to choose a non-partisan paper which I may use, since I do not care to see my statements embellished with gratuitous marginal annotations—which seems to be the custom in this paper. Should you, however, desire to discuss this matter in private or by letter, I shall always be glad to serve you.²⁴

"Non-Partisan" had but paved the way for the attack now viciously pursued by a number of other anonymous writers. The first to take up the assault identified himself as X—evidently a Latin farmer of the Femme Osage region. He did not consider the seven "synodical lords" (*Synodalherren*) combined capable of the diplomatic skill manifested

²³ A. d. W., May 26, 1841. In the only file of the A. d. W. of which the writer has knowledge the issues from Oct., 1838 to Oct., 1840 are missing. The attack which began in the issue of May 26, due, most likely, to the publicity of the May meeting of the Society, was the continuation of the editor's previous challenges to the Society to defend itself. For participation of the *Antipaff* in this controversy, see A. d. W., June 2, 1841.

²⁴ For original German version, see *ibid.*, June 16, 1841.

by Garlichs in his reply, which he dubbed "a masterpiece of priestly subtleness and cunning." He challenged Garlichs to explain his pure motive in attempting to foist on his church a constitution of fourteen articles whereby the congregation, losing all self-governing rights, would be surrendered into the hands of a synodical commission representing the bigoted synods of the East. Not only had the church at Femme Osage, with righteous indignation, rejected this insipid proposal, but other churches also had revolted against such presumptions. The "synodical lords" had therefore been forced to hold a secret conclave at the home of Heyer, where the "priestly conspiracy of St. Charles" had decided that, since the obstinacy of the German farmers and the tense feeling of the populace prevented the immediate subjugation of local Protestant congregations under synods, they would for the time being best serve the designs of the "mother synod of Pennsylvania" by organizing the "daughter synod of St. Charles." At any rate, he continued, even if these were but rumors, it was incumbent on Garlichs to reveal the "sacred mysteries of the synods." In the event that he should remain silent, "one of our neighbors at Femme Osage" would procure a copy of the fourteen articles for publication.²⁵ The effort to provoke Garlichs to further public utterance, however, did not succeed. The members of the *Kirchenverein* continued their "conspiracy of silence."

Six months later another broadside was fired, this time by F. Münch, who was serving a rationalistic church at Dutzow, a few miles from Femme Osage. Although his article appeared under the pseudonym of *Photophilos*, its tempered spirit and analytical and theological perspective sufficiently betrayed its author to the discerning reader. The writer proposed to analyze the seventeen articles of the statutes in order to demonstrate how the new organization was essentially akin to similar institutions in the East. The non-interference clause—assuring affiliated congregations of freedom from synodical interference—was ridiculed as

²⁵ *Ibid.*, June 30; July 2, 1841.

preposterous and self-contradictory. In another paragraph he discovered an attempt to beguile educational institutions into the serfdom of "benighted orthodoxy and priestly presumption." However, the major and most telling attack was directed against the theological implications of the confessional paragraph. Recourse to the Bible as the Word of God was ridiculed, since that could also be the recourse of the wildest and most irresponsible fanatics. Indeed, what was meant by referring to the Bible as the Word of God and the "infallible norm for faith"? As a figurative expression it was meaningless, since it would admit of endless individual interpretations. If, on the other hand, both Old and New Testaments were equally the Word of God, then no distinction could be made between the God of Moses—interested in agricultural pursuits, haberdashery, and tonsorial arts—and the God of Jesus, who must be worshipped in spirit and truth. The desire to interpret the Bible on the consensus of Lutheran and Reformed creeds, he claimed, portrayed the ignorance of these "*Vereinsherren*" concerning the flagrant contradictions of the respective authors of these symbols, who themselves did not propose to make of them infallible guides for faith. Indeed, "how is it possible for the cultured man of our day, in the light of the progress of science during the past centuries or even of the last decades, to retain the views expressed in ancient theological documents!" Is all progress—scientific and cultural—meaningless to these clergymen; and do they actually propose, after the manner of Joshua, to command the sun to stand still and to return to the darkness of the Middle Ages? In all seriousness he warned German churches, according to Ephesians 5: 1, not to be "entangled again in a yoke of bondage"—particularly in the most free country of the world.²⁶ Finally, if the "*Synodalherren*" were really interested in effecting an understanding, they would find the writer willing to continue the discussion and further to support his contentions. The article, on the whole, was remarkably free from personal aspersions. The attack was based

²⁶ Ironically enough this is an erroneous reference to Gal. 5: 1.

on the principles which were at stake if the West should be saved from obscurantistic pietism and priestly ecclesiasticism.²⁷

For the moment the controversy was diverted into another channel when Franz A. Hoffmann of Dunkley's Grove in Du Page County, Illinois—not a member of the *Kirchenverein*, but personally acquainted with some of its pastors—essayed an answer to *Photophilos*.²⁸ In orthodox, pious strain he upheld the use of symbolical books and defended the Bible as a consistent system of religious truth. The mere interest of the *Kirchenverein* in religious education was sufficient, so he claimed, to justify its existence. Münch considered Hoffmann worthy of a reply and again showed his theological superiority.²⁹

Neither Münch nor the unknown X succeeded in eliciting a reply from the *Kirchenverein*, and hence a new opponent ventured to try his hand. This was a self-styled "friend of pure Christianity which has been distorted by the priests." This champion of rationalism, next to Münch, was the most redoubtable opponent to attack the Society. He lacked the theological acumen of Münch, but in analysis of the statutes showed a discerning mind. Most of the Germans, he assumed, had seen the widely distributed constitution which was a document of primary importance for Germans intent

²⁷ In the A. d. W., Dec. 22, 1841, Koch referred to the "seventeen beautiful synodical eggs laid by the seven wise, intelligent black hens."

²⁸ A. d. W., Jan. 26, 1842. Hoffmann (Hans Buschbauer), of Westphalia, Germany, had emigrated to America in 1839 and settled in the German colony at Dunkley's Grove, now Addison, Ill., where he was first engaged as school-teacher. After a course of study in a German Lutheran seminary in Michigan (most probably the teacher seminary founded by Löhe at Saginaw in 1852) he returned as itinerant preacher to the Germans in Cook, Du Page, Will, and Lake Counties in Illinois. His ministrations also brought him to Chicago, where, as early as 1837, German services had been held in private homes and later in the court-house. Thus Hoffmann helped build the foundation of St. Paul's congregation—the German Evangelical mother church in Chicago (1843). See Körner, *op. cit.*, 279; G. J. Zeilinger, *A Missionary Synod with a Mission* (Chicago, 1929). Cf. "Kleine Kirchenbuchstudien" (pertaining to St. Paul's Church), D. A. G. (I, 1901), *Heft* III, 43. "History of St. Paul's," *St. Pauls Bote*, XLIV (1933), 209 ff.

²⁹ A. d. W., Mar. 5, 1842.

on preserving the freedom and liberty of the social institutions which they had raised in the West. The very name "*Kirchenverein*," according to this critic, contained a contradiction. By what right could only seven ordained ministers, apart from their congregations, arrogate to themselves the status of a Church! Perhaps the congregations were not entitled to a voice in these matters, since, after all, they were but as sheep to be made ready for the shearing! "Did we escape the misery of Europe and did we build our homes in the freest land on earth in order now to bow ourselves again under the most abominable servile yoke which human ignorance and malice can devise?"

A second critical shaft was directed by this "friend" against the statement in the preamble of the statutes that, according to the command of the Lord and His apostles, all Christians and especially the leaders and representatives of the Church, should strive to effect a union of divided Protestantism. By what right, asked this critic, could these seven men assume to be the leaders and representatives of the Church? A cutting attack was directed against the so-called domineering attitude of pastors toward their churches. According to this constitution pastors alone had the right to accept clerical members into the Society (§3: 2), examine and ordain candidates (§4: 3), elect officers and control finances (§9: 3), supervise school and educational matters (§7: 5), and make alterations in the constitution (§9). What then remained of the rights of the laity? Summing up his objections, he challenged the *Kirchenverein* pastors to answer the following questions publicly: By what right did they presume to call their insignificant Society the "German Evangelical Church," and establish themselves as heads and monarchs over churches and schools? How did they justify the claim of being truly authorized builders of the Kingdom of God, and how could they dare assume a monopoly in the administration of the so-called sacraments and admit only such ministers whom they chose? By what credentials were they personally qualified to exercise the privileges arrogated to themselves? If,

in the face of this challenge, the men of the *Kirchenverein* remained silent, continued the critic, it must be assumed that the organization no longer existed.³⁰

Since no response was forthcoming, the "Friend of Pure Christianity," after waiting for five weeks, concluded that the Society must have passed away. All that remained was for someone to deliver the funeral address, which, however, was a difficult service to perform, since so little was known of its past. After the manner of Julius Caesar "it came, it passed laws, it died."³¹

Still the *Kirchenverein* held its peace. Four months elapsed and then in rapid succession came the final outbursts of its foes. In August, 1842, the "friend" sardonically admitted that the funeral rites had been too hastily conducted, since the *Kirchenverein* had shown new signs of life. Indeed, its "seven ecclesiastical knights," in a meeting at Femme Osage, had ordained another member into its body, so that one had now to contend with an "eight-headed synodical monster." Nothing now remained but to subject the members of the Society to the "*Hungerkur*" until they would capitulate. Equally interesting was Münch's belated admission that he was "Non-Partisan" and "*Photophilos*." At the same time he accused Garlichs of having been well

³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 10, 12, 1842.

³¹ In lieu of a formal funeral address he would permit himself the following necrological remarks: "*Ohne Zweifel können wir dieses lautlos verschiedene Geschöpf als legitimes Kind des grossen über Pennsylvanien waltenden Synodal-Geistes ansehen, von ihm erzeugt durch Befruchtung einiger frommen, um den verwaorlosten religiösen Zustand unter uns Halb-Heiden im Busche des westlichen Amerika's ernstlich bekümmerten Gemüther. Schon in den Kinderwindeln wurde dieser Sohn von dem eifervollen Vater als Apostel und muthmasslicher Märtyrer in unsere, der wilden und hartnäckigen Buschmänner, Mitte geschleudert, lediglich mit dem Kinder-Lutscher der Statuten im Munde als einziges ihm mitgegebenes Subsistenz-Mittel. Mit Gewissheit lässt sich annehmen, dass die Bestimmung des zarten Kindes eine erhabene war. Ohne Zweifel sollte es, nach Vaters Beispiel, und wie es sich selber ankündigt, das Reich Gottes nach seiner Weise unter uns verbreiten, sonach ein wahrer Mehrer des Reichs werden. Als gesetzgebender Apostel ist es unter uns erschienen, als Märtyrer hat es geendet! Es sei denn Friede mit seiner Asche, und möge es Ruhe im Schosse des guten alten Erzvaters Abraham finden, zu welchem es sich auf Erden durch ruhiges Dulden und Stillehalten so wohl vorbereitet hat*" A. d. W., April 23, 1842.

aware of his identity throughout the discussion. The *Kirchenverein* stood vindicated in its policy of silence; the opposition was crumbling in its efforts to maintain itself.

At this psychological moment a final stroke was effected by Garlichs' church at Femme Osage which, in a statement signed by the officers and members in an open meeting, came to the defense of its pastor. Here it was maintained that not a word of the previous attacks on Garlichs was true. Their constitution contained but ten articles, so that the reference to fourteen articles was unintelligible. Could the uninformed critic have meant the so-called "fundamental principles" which Follen, who was not even a member of the congregation, had gratuitously proposed to the church during the previous winter? Let the opponents cast aside the cloak of anonymity and reveal whether they were the proper persons to criticize their pastor, who for ten years had conscientiously labored among them. Nor were they in the least alarmed that Garlichs would betray them to an Eastern synod. More to be feared was the yoke of those who paraded under the seductive banner of the "Enlightenment," and the efforts of outsiders to insinuate themselves for selfish purposes into their congregational affairs. Was it not commonly known that many of these "noble" gentlemen had for years maligned the character of Garlichs in the hope of displacing him for one of their own clique! Garlichs had made many sacrifices in their behalf so that "in the future we shall not consider it worth the trouble to answer any further attacks which might be made."³²

After a silence of four months Münch produced a feeble reply. He accused the "Evangelical mystics of the West" of attempting to save their face behind the statement of the

³² *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1842. The rationalists deliberately planned to drive Garlichs from the church, revise the constitution to their liking, and install as their pastor either F. Münch or his brother Georg, who since 1837 was located at Augusta, Mo. See *Erinnerung an den Ehrwürdigen Hermann Garlichs*, 34. Of similar import were the developments at the church in Charette Township. On February 2, 1840, a constitution of twelve articles was signed by thirty men, who thereby established a liberal German Evangelical church. Garlichs was soon dismissed and an independent preacher of doubtful character engaged. He was also expelled and succeeded by another "free"

Femme Osage church.³³ He also voiced his suspicion of collusion with a Methodist by the name of F. Knigge, who had lauded the pietism of Garlichs and condemned Münch as a *Vernunftprediger*.³⁴

About this time the scene of the controversy shifted to St. Charles, Missouri, where P. Heyer became the object of a devastating attack. In focusing the attention on Heyer the enemies of the Society discovered the weakest link in the chain. Heyer's refusal to accompany Nollau to Oregon, for which the Barmen Society had expelled him, revealed a lack of the moral fiber usually found in German mission-house men. In 1837 he had married an elderly woman, whom

preacher and doctor, who in turn was followed by one of the Münch brothers. However, the church did not flourish under such loose auspices and in the year 1843 was again ready to listen to the preaching of Garlichs and later of Kaspar Bode, who succeeded him in 1846. *Ibid.*, 41. See illustration facing p. 59.

³³ A. d. W., Jan. 7, 1843.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1843. The statement of F. Knigge, Marthasville, Mo., appeared in an article published in the C. A., IV (1842), 199 (Nov. 11). In this article Knigge, a self-styled uneducated layman, stated that upon his arrival at Marthasville he interviewed the three preachers of the neighborhood before deciding which church he would join. He first visited Johann Zwahlen and the Methodist class meeting. "Dann," he continued, "*besuchte ich Herrn Prediger Garlichs am Femme Osage und konnte ich mit diesem über Gottes Wort und Geheimniss aus Erfahrung sprechen; derselbe gibt es mit Wort u. That zu erkennen, auch sieht man an einigen Mitgliedern seiner Gemeinde deutlich, dass der Anbruch Christi vorhanden ist. Ich freue mich jedesmal, wenn ich dieses Predigers gedenke, und es ist mein herzlichstes Gebet, dass der Herr ihm beistehen und das angefangene Werk in ihm und durch ihn an Andern zu Stande bringen möge.*" He also visited F. Münch, whom he challenged to a debate. He claimed that Münch, afraid to meet him, had excused himself because of ill health although he had preached twice on the day proposed for the debate. Münch vigorously denied this in the *Anzeiger*. The above-mentioned Zwahlen was a Swiss by birth who had emigrated to America in 1832 and settled in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he was converted by Nast in February, 1836, becoming a charter member of the first German Methodist congregation organized in the United States (1838). For a short time he labored as colporteur among the Germans in Wheeling, West Virginia, where the third German Methodist church had been organized in the same year. After his ordination in 1840, he preached at Pittsburgh, where the second German Methodist church in the country had been organized in 1838. In 1841 he was sent to Pinckney, Mo., where he remained until 1842, organizing a circuit of from ten to twelve preaching places. See C. Golder, J. H. Horst, and J. G. Schaal, *Geschichte der Zentral Deutschen Konferenz* (Cincinnati, 1905), 16, 21 ff., 33, 99 ff.

Rieger described as utterly unattractive. At times he offended the Basel friends by his uncouth behaviour. Located in the second largest town in Missouri, such a man could not escape the carping critics of the day. The conference of 1841 had also attracted wide-spread attention to the Friedens Church at St. Charles and its pastor. In fact the *Kirchenverein* was sometimes called the "Synod of St. Charles," and Heyer was variously referred to as the "president" and the "keystone" of the synod.

In August, 1842, the public was startled when the St. Charles church advertised in the *Anzeiger* for a pastor. It was specifically stated that he must not have been ordained by an American synod. Nor should he belong to a synod or contemplate joining one. He should be thoroughly educated, of good moral character, and willing to preach the Word of God free from superstition and priestly cunning.³⁵

The steps that led to this action are not clearly discernible but may be followed through the accusations and reports which were gleefully received by the *Anzeiger* from its observers on the scene. The initial attack occurred in January, 1843, when an anonymous "observer on the Femme Osage" directed attention to Heyer as one of the apostles sent to America by the "notorious priest factory at Basel." This was followed by such other statements as that Heyer was responsible for the organization of the *Kirchenverein*; had inveigled Garlichs and his congregation into the Society; and could be considered the corner-stone of the synod. In fact, had he not been canonized by the venerable K. R. Demme of the Lutheran Michael and Zion Church in Philadelphia!³⁶ Then followed an account of how Heyer had betrayed a simple-minded deaf and dumb girl of his congregation and had stirred the indignation of every noble German to rise in self-defense against the immoral "pietistic

³⁵ A. d. W., Aug. 6, 1842.

³⁶ The occasion for this reference is not clear. Demme was a recognized leader in the mother synod of Pennsylvania, thoroughly orthodox and unsympathetic toward the General Synod. See Morris, *op. cit.*, 120. Demme's first question on meeting Büttner was: "*Sie sind doch orthodox, Herr Doctor?*" Büttner, *op. cit.*, II, 29.

rabble of the German missionary factories and Eastern synods."³⁷ The case caused enormous excitement in religious and ecclesiastical circles far and near, reaching its peak in the libel suit brought by Heyer against the *Anzeiger* and the *Antipfaff*. Whatever may have been the shortcomings of Heyer, the clergymen of other denominations rallied to his support against the attacks of the loud-mouthed rationalistic press.

The trial, which began on May 15, 1843, continued throughout the week and was fully reported in the *Anzeiger*.³⁸ It was an exciting week for the scandal-loving public of St. Louis and vicinity, with lawyers, doctors, apothecaries, and preachers taking the witness stand. The initial charge against Heyer was that of personal immorality. The controversy took a new turn, however, when the issue of rationalism was injected. The character witness for Heyer, the Rev. Ludwig S. Jacoby of the German Methodist Episcopal Church of St. Louis, was attacked on the grounds of his admittedly strong bias against German rationalism.³⁹ Put

³⁷ A. d. W., Jan. 21, 1843.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Mar. 16—Aug. 3, 1843. A distinguished array of legal talent adorned both sides. The German lawyer Henry S. Geyer, a devout Episcopalian, was chief counsel for Heyer. For more than forty years he was one of the foremost figures of the St. Louis bar, was favorably known because of his participation in the Dred Scott case, and was later destined to become the successor of Thomas H. Benton. He was assisted by William McPherson, a young lawyer recently arrived in St. Louis. The *Anzeiger* was defended by the illustrious B. Hudson, known for his duel with Colonel A. B. Chambers in 1840; Wilson Primm, a distinguished linguist; and the two Germans Alexander Kayser, who had arrived from Nassau in 1833, and Christian Kribben, who had arrived in 1835 and had first practised law at St. Charles. Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, chap. xxxiv. Cf. index in Körner, *op. cit.*

³⁹ The entrance of German Methodism into St. Louis had been vigorously opposed by the German rationalists. In the early spring of 1841, Richard Bond of the Baltimore Conference arrived in St. Louis, followed in August by Ludwig S. Jacoby, a German Jew, at first converted to Lutheranism and by Nast to Methodism. Bond invited Jacoby to preach in the Little Mound Market House in the vicinity of Fourth and Convent Streets. Whereupon Weber of the *Anzeiger* warned him not to preach again. The next meeting, according to Jacoby, was attended by many "red whisky-faces," and when Bond attempted to preach, he was interrupted by the mob, which pulled him from the platform. Not able to continue the service, Jacoby began to distribute tracts. He was attacked, but, rescued by an

on the defensive, the *Anzeiger* complained that the principle of freedom of conscience was at stake, since the "German-American mission-pietists" planned to expel the scientific theologians, destroy liberal-minded congregations, and erect a tyrannical synodical system. It was unfair for the pietists, so averred the *Anzeiger*, to cast suspicion on the German immigrants as being French revolutionists, heathens, and blasphemers. The most eloquent speech of the trial in defense of Heyer was that of Geyer against rationalism.⁴⁰

According to the *Anzeiger*, Heyer ignominiously lost his case and retired to St. Charles, where he found his church

American, found refuge in the home of a friend. Later, venturing on the street, he was followed by a rabble and met Bond, whom two Germans by the name of A. Schreiber and H. Weidemann were taking to jail. Again some Americans intervened, and they proceeded to preach from the steps of a house. The case was brought before the grand jury, which subpoenaed both Jacoby and Bond. Schreiber and Weidemann were each fined \$50 for disturbing the peace. The Americans, reported Jacoby, were much displeased at the irreligious attitude of the Germans. Thus German Methodism entered St. Louis, and Salem Church, the first German Methodist church west of the Mississippi, was founded. See letter of Jacoby to Nast under date of Sept. 7, 1841, in C. A., III (1841), 147 (Sept. 17). For contemporary account, see *St. Louis New Era*, Sept. 8, 1841.

⁴⁰ Reports of the Heyer affair caused general concern in religious circles; for it seemed that another impostor had been exposed. See, e. g., a notice in the L. K., Feb. 23, 1843, which, however, expressed doubt concerning the reliability of its information, since it was derived from an antireligious paper. In reply to the request for more information, both Nollau and Garlichs submitted letters in defense of Heyer, which appeared in the issue of Apr. 20, 1843.

The only official reference to this case which has been preserved is found in the *Criminal Court Record of the City of St. Louis*, III, 96, where, under date of May 22, 1843, it is stated that in the libel case of the state of Mo. vs. William Weber the verdict was rendered "that the said defendant is not guilty in manner and form as charged upon him in the said indictment—therefore it is considered by the court that the state take nothing by said indictment, but that said defendant be acquitted and go thereof without day."

The *People's Organ* of St. Louis, in the issue of April 11, 1843, reprinted an editorial of the *Anzeiger* which, referring to the Heyer case, among other things caustically attacked "our weak headed, peewish and splenetic Grand Jury" To correct the impression that these outpourings of the A. d. W. reflected current German opinion, a writer, who signed himself *Germanicus*, in the issue of April 14 explained that indeed such "effusions are concocted and scattered about, but they are read by 99 out of every 100 Germans with disapprobation and disgust."

divided into two factions. The majority forbade Heyer the use of the church, confiscated the church documents, and rewrote the constitution. When Heyer insisted on his right to preach, he was forcibly ejected from the church,⁴¹ whereupon he instituted a damage suit for three thousand dollars. The complaint filed by Heyer⁴² recounts in detail the wrongs

⁴¹ Heyer, attempting to preach, was indicted for disturbing a religious assembly. The grand jury, however, failed to find a true bill, and it was "therefore considered by the court [July 19, 1843] that the state of Missouri have and recover against . . . , the prosecutor in this proceeding, all the costs of the aforesaid prosecution." *Circuit Court Records, St. Charles Co., Mo., Vol. E, 338 f.*

⁴² The complaint, quoted below and filed by Heyer under date of June 29, 1843, named seven men as "Defendants of a plea of trespass with force and arms for that the said Defendants, heretofore, to wit on the twenty first day of April in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty three, at St. Charles County aforesaid, and on divers other days and times between that day and the time of the commencement of this suit, with force and arms broke and entered into the close of the Plaintiff situated in said county of St. Charles and then and there took, seized through out, broke, injured and destroyed the house-hold and kitchen furniture and other personal property of said Plaintiff of great value to wit of the value of One Hundred Dollars and carried away the same and converted it to their own use and then and there broke into the dwelling house of said Plaintiff and took and kept possession of the same, and drove the said Plaintiff and his family therefrom, and kept and prevented him and his family from the use and enjoyment of the same hitherto; and by shooting guns, and loud noises, and by menaces, threats, and violent words, gestures and actions annoyed and disturbed said Plaintiff and family, and thereby prevented him from using his said premises and from following his regular employment, and other grievous wrongs and injuries then and there did to said Plaintiff to the damage of said Plaintiff of one thousand dollars.

"And at another time to wit on the twentieth day of February in the year eighteen hundred and forty three, at St. Charles County aforesaid, and on divers other times since that day said Defendants broke into certain other close of said Plaintiff, to wit a church in which said Plaintiff was then engaged in exercising his occupation as a preacher of the gospel and did then and there by loud noise and threatening and violent words, actions and gestures greatly annoy, disturb and insult said Plaintiff and his family, and did then and there violently and unlawfully drive said Plaintiff from the possession of the said church in which he was engaged in his vocation as a preacher of the gospel and did keep him out of the possession of the same by violence and a strong hand, and did prevent him from discharging the regular duties of his vocation from that time hitherto and other wrongs and injuries to said Plaintiff then and there to his damage one thousand dollars.

"And at another time to wit on the fifteenth day of January in the year 1843 and on divers other days since that day at St. Charles County aforesaid said Defendants broke into a certain other close

and injuries inflicted by his opponents even prior to the St. Louis trial. The defendants, on the other hand, among other things claimed that before the alleged disturbances Heyer had been dismissed, that a successor had been elected, and that Heyer had himself given notice that he would no longer preach. The case did not come to trial; for when Heyer failed to give "bond with security for the costs of this case according to the order of the Court," the action was dismissed.⁴³ Thus the second skirmish of the rationalistic group seemed to have ended in greater triumph than the attack which had been directed against the impeccable Garlichs.

The third center of the controversy was St. Louis, where, as we have seen, the cause of rationalism was mainly upheld by the *Anzeiger*. When the *Kirchenverein*, in the person of Wall, made its entrance into St. Louis, the foregone conclusion was that its cause would be hotly contested. Apparently Wall did not mince matters. Soon after his return from the St. Charles meeting of 1841, he proposed that the original name of the congregation, "German Protestant Evangelical," as attested by the official seal of the church, be retained instead of the abbreviated form of "German Protestant." No reference was made to the *Kirchenverein*, but the emphasis on "Evangelical" aroused suspicions, and the congregation divided into factions. The controversy which followed almost led to blows.⁴⁴ Final action was de-

of said Plaintiff to wit a Lutheran church in the County aforesaid, where he, the said Plaintiff was peaceably engaged in conducting the exercises of divine worship and then and there with loud noise, and violent, threatenings, menacing words and actions annoyed, disturbed and terrified said Plaintiff, and violently and unlawfully drove him the said Plaintiff from the pulpit of said church, and deprived him of the possession of said church, and other wrongs and injuries to said Plaintiff then and there to the damage of said Plaintiff one thousand dollars and for damages aforesaid said Plaintiff sues amounting in all to three thousand dollars damages." See *Circuit Court Files* (St. Charles Co., Mo.) Box 101, No. 3842.

⁴³ *Circuit Court Records*, loc. cit., 426.

⁴⁴ A. d. W., May 26, 1841. An editorial of April 28, 1842, entitled "Aufgepasst, Landsleute!" read as follows: "Die 'böse Sieben' langt nach der deutschen protestantischen Kirche hiesiger Stadt, welche sie nebst Gemeinde in den Synodalsack zu schieben gedenkt. Ein Vorschlag wurde gemacht, in Besitztitel der Kirche den Synodalnamen 'Deutsche evangelische Gemeinde' einzuschwätzen und die Anstellung

ferred for two weeks. In this interim the fear spread that Wall was attempting to surrender the church to the "synod." To strengthen their cause, the liberal group quickly sought new members, one of whom was the notorious Heinrich Koch, later to become the founder of the *Antipfaff*. Tumultuous meetings were held. When the liberal faction found itself in the minority, recourse was taken to the *Anzeiger*, where its tirades against Wall and the *Kirchenverein* gained wide publicity.⁴⁵

For the moment, public attention was held by the controversy with Garlichs. However, it was the quiet before the storm. In April, 1842, the notorious *Antipfaff* was founded by Koch, who in previous articles in the *Anzeiger* had used this title as a pseudonym. Koch, a watchmaker by trade, was a born agitator who, having discovered his literary abilities, dedicated his talents to overcome "the efforts of the *Pfaffen* to force their priestly yoke upon us." The *Antipfaff* soon gained the reputation of being a rude and turbulent journal. Even Weber of the *Anzeiger* early admonished Koch to moderate the bitterness of his utterances and not to create hard feelings by an intemperate display of zeal. The manner in which Wall and the affairs of the St. Louis church were attacked was characterized by Weber as unfair and not conducive to a profitable discussion of the issues involved. To which Koch coolly replied that the *Pittsburg Courier* had expressed the hope that his paper would be read by all rationalists and attain a circulation of twenty thousand.⁴⁶

von Predigern von einem Synodal-Examen abhängig zu machen. So weit unsere Berichte" Note the previous encounter of Wall with his church, *supra*, p. 92, n. 99.

⁴⁵ "Protestation," *ibid.*, June 9, 1841.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, April 14, 21; July 28, 30; Sept. 1, 1842. In the issue of August 4, 1842, Koch introduced his reply to one of his Latin-farmer critics as follows:

*Mein lieber Bauer, guck,
Was treibst du hier fuer Spuck,
Von des Kollegen Gnick,
Nimmst du den boesen Strick,
Und steckst, O armer Tropf,
Ihn selbst an deinen Kopf.*

Nor did the Old Lutherans, it may be added in passing, escape the ire of Koch and the rationalists. The opprobrious term of "Stephan-

The issue in Wall's church again came to public gaze in November, 1842, when the question of engaging a new school-teacher arose. Karl Meier, who had filled the position for the past six years, proved objectionable to the pietistic group and was dismissed. The rationalists now accused Wall of being a church despot and of having resorted to irregularities in the school elections. Abusive articles appeared in the *Anzeiger*, which castigated the "Baselschen" church, commiserated with Meier on having fallen prey to the "Basler Totentanz," and urged Wall, who was engaged in writing a catechism, to pay especial attention to the three commandments which he had transgressed: Thou shalt not steal, kill, or bear false witness.⁴⁷

ists" continued to be applied to the Lutherans. In view of "zu befürchtender Störungen" the corner-stone service of 1841 was not held at the building-site of the new church (Trinity), but in the basement of the Episcopal church. Cf. Steffens, *op. cit.*, 186. See Luth., I (1844), 12, where, in a sharp rejoinder, Koch was exhorted, for his edification, to meditate on the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Large Catechism.

For biographical references to Koch, see Körner, *op. cit.*, 323, 337. In later years Koch espoused the cause of communism in the *Vorwärts* and the *Reform*. C. A. Hawley, "Swedenborgianism and the Frontier," *Church History*, VI (1937), 21. Anton Eickhoff, "Erinnerung an einen Freund aus alter Zeit," in Rattermann, *op. cit.*, XI, 208. In December, 1842, the *Antipfaff* was reduced from a semi-monthly to a monthly. The opponents of Koch provided him with a specimen of his own sarcasm when, in the *Anzeiger* of November 22, 1842, the following "Todesanzeige" was inserted by "Mehrere Subscribenten des Seligen": "In dem zarten Alter von kaum sieben Monaten entschlummerte vor kurzem zu einem bessern Erwachen unser innigster Freund, Der Antipfaff. Er starb an völliger Geistesschwäche, welche in Folge der öfters gehabtten Gallenfieber in den letzten Monaten ihn befallen hatte, und wozu sich das Ausbleiben der Goldnen Ader gesellte. Zwanzig Tausend Subscribenten beweinen mit uns den unersetzlichen Verlust, welcher hierdurch jeden guten Antichrist trifft, jedoch bitten wir nur um stille Theilnahme, um den Schmerz eines unglücklichen und trauernden Vaters nicht zu vermehren."

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, Dec. 3, 1842. The opposition became so violent that on one occasion, for a period of two weeks, Wall's friends watched over him with loaded pistols. Häberle, *op. cit.*, 34. A. H. M. S. Cor., Rieger, Highland, Ill., June 14, 1842, referred to the first appearance of the *Antipfaff*, which "contains so much of slander, especially of brother Wall, that it would not be difficult to prove it against the editor. It is especially about the recording of a lot of ground and a church edifice thereon, which the Evangelical congregation bought and built. They (the infidels) wanted to stir up the congregation against their minister and not let a confession of faith be recorded (by which the infidels as such, of course, have no vote nor member-

Continuous criticism and attack weakened Wall's health and spirit. Rationalistic opposition developed such strength that in 1843 a constitution was adopted by the church which so sheared the pastor of his rights that he resigned and on June 16, with loyal pietistic adherents, organized the *Deutsche Evangelische Gemeinde in St. Louis, Missouri*.⁴⁸ This church (North Church) was destined in later years to become the bulwark of the *Kirchenverein* in the West.

Against such rationalistic opposition, which voiced the prevailing German views of the day, the *Kirchenverein* made slow progress. Perhaps a more courageous public exposition of its purpose and aims would have helped dispel the suspicions pressing on honest and inquiring minds. On the whole, however, the members realized full well that any public discussion, particularly under the auspices of the *Anzeiger* or *Antipfaff*, would merely have aggravated the situation. Steadfastly, therefore, the members proceeded in their pastoral duties, quietly sponsoring the cause of the Society.

Attitude of Lutheran Synods

If the founding of the *Kirchenverein* created a sensation among the rationalists in the West, it aroused no less startling fears and apprehensions among some of the Lutheran synods of the day. The avowed purpose of this new body to effect a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in America⁴⁹ could not pass by unchallenged.

The action taken by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West was motivated by lofty considerations. This synod, it will be remembered, had attempted to draw the German

ship). Yet, blessed be the Lord, they have not succeeded, and had, when the vote was taken, but five percent on their side."

⁴⁸ In 1843 a very liberal constitution was adopted by the mother church, which also continued to be known as the Church of the Holy Ghost. Successors to Wall were independent preachers: G. A. Detharding (two months in 1843); F. Picker (Oct., 1843 — Jan., 1855); H. Krebs (1855-1867). Cf. *Protestantisches Familien-Blatt*. "Neue freie Gemeinde in St. Louis," Luth., VII (1851), 75 f. It should also be noted that this crisis in the St. Louis church coincided with the Heyer trial of that year.

⁴⁹ "Statuten," A. d. W., Dec. 15, 1841; Mar. 10, 1842. Reactions of Reformed Churches were less direct. Cf. *supra*, p. 79, n. 77.

ministers of Missouri and Illinois into its organization and had actually secured the membership of Garlichs and of Heyer and his church. The attention of the synod at Indianapolis, in 1841, was directed to the *Kirchenverein* by a letter from Garlichs requesting an honorable dismissal for himself and Heyer, since they had joined the "Evangelical Church Union of the West." The committee on correspondence reporting on this communication recommended that the request be granted. The same committee also reported on the preamble and constitution of the *Kirchenverein*, expressing satisfaction with the doctrinal paragraph, but regretting that "the brethren composing the Evangelical Church Union do not see the propriety of connecting themselves with the Evangelical Lutheran or Reformed Synods, as the formation of a separate body in America only adds one more to the number already formed, and is more calculated to divide than to unite." Nevertheless, the committee recommended that the brethren composing the new Church be encouraged in every effort made by them to extend the doctrines of the Gospel of Christ.

The synod, however, objected to granting an honorable dismissal to Heyer and Garlichs and instructed the committee on church union, composed of G. Yeager, J. J. Lehmanowsky and A. Reck, to formulate the policy of the synod concerning this new organization. The little *Kirchenverein* group in Missouri had raised the issue of church union from an entirely new angle, so that the synod was constrained to take some formal action. The report, as finally adopted, conceded the purity of motives and intention of those most active in the promotion of the project, but failed to see the faintest reasonable prospect of any good arising from it. The report continued:

On the contrary, we have just reason to apprehend the very worst of consequences. That the Lutheran and German Reformed churches in the United States will ever join in the above named union, we have not the slightest reason to hope. Their peculiar relations are such as to confirm the belief that they will maintain their distinctive characters. If the above named brethren, therefore, look to an ultimate falling into their measures of these churches, they are clearly doomed to disappointment; the hope is vain. If, therefore, they succeed in their measures, what do they do? Nothing; literally nothing, but to

add another name to the already by far too extended catalogue of Christian sects. And shall it be said that these brethren, professedly desiring Christian union with so much ardor, are of all men most ready to interfere with the peace and harmony of the churches and to promote disunion? We hope this may not be said. Whilst therefore, not in any sense wishing to interfere with the proper rights of these brethren, let us fraternally and affectionately advise them, by all means to enter into union with the one or the other of the above named churches, and abandon forever a project that can only result in the erection of a new sect in these United States of America. We also respectfully solicit the attention of the German Evangelical Lutheran and German Reformed papers to this subject, with a view to counsel these brethren against the project in which they are engaged. And further we solicit from all the synods of the Evangelical Lutheran and German Reformed churches in the United States, an expression on this subject; so that these brethren may clearly see what are the sentiments of the churches in regard to the measures they are pursuing.⁵⁰

The proximity of the Lutheran Synod of the West to the territory embraced by the new organization explains its keen interest in the new project. It did not succeed, however, in raising the issue to general prominence in the other German Churches of the land. A few other synods expressed themselves on the subject and, as was the case with the Lutheran Synod of Ohio, counselled the members of the *Kirchenverein* to unite with either the Lutheran or Reformed Church.⁵¹ In other instances the subject was passed over in silence.

⁵⁰ *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the West* (1841), 10.

⁵¹ Thus the Synod of Ohio: "Whereas we have learned through the medium of *The Lutheran Observer*, as well as from other sources, that some esteemed brethren residing in Missouri have formed themselves into an association, called *Kirchenverein*, and whereas we fear that this will only add another to the already numerous sects in our beloved country, therefore *Resolved*, that we disapprove of this, and would rather see them unite either with the Evangelical Lutheran, or the Reformed Church." *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio* (1841), 20. In the membership roster of this synod we find such American names as: Lane, Emmerson, Sloan, Surface, Rathbun, etc.

In this connection may also be noted the pronouncement on "Christian Union" in *Proceedings of a Convention of Ministers and Delegates from Evangelical Lutheran Churches in the State of New York*. Cf. also *Minutes of the Franckean Synod* (1841), 25; (1842), 12.

According to Schmucker, the pastors who founded the K. should have joined the General Synod, ". . . dieweil, erstens, unsere General Synode beinahe denselben liberal dogmatischen Standpunkt behauptet, wie die Unirte Kirche. Zweitens, ist wenig oder gar keine Aussicht dass die vorhandenen lutherischen und reformirten Synoden oder Kirchen sich für jetzt vereinigen werden; und also die Zahl der Sek-

Thus we see that the *Kirchenverein* was founded not only at the time when European Lutherans were establishing themselves in Missouri, but also when American Lutheranism was about to launch its most ambitious advance into the West. A profound conviction dominated the European Germans of the West that the future belonged to them. Americanized Lutheranism of the East, with its elaborate synodical organization, did not appeal to the freedom-loving Germans newly arrived from the fatherland. Most of those who were religiously inclined favored the Evangelical position. Furthermore, since the West was in the throes of frontier problems which the East had long since solved, it became increasingly clear that the ultimate success of any Western body depended on its inherent ability to meet the needs peculiar to the West. Indeed, in conjunction with the Saxon Lutherans, representing another wave of Germans from abroad, the *Kirchenverein* was destined to hold the field in Missouri against the encroachments of German church bodies of the East. In the process of such an adjustment it was possible that both the *Kirchenverein* and the Saxon Lutherans might succumb to the danger of sectional sectarianism. This was less of a danger for the *Kirchenverein*, which, as we shall see, in principle and practice continued to nurture fraternal relations with other religious bodies of that day.⁵²

ten nur vermehrt wird. Drittens, diese unirten Brüder hätten dann viel mehr Hülfe erhalten von unserer Kirche zur Beförderung ihrer kirchlichen Zwecke. Viertens, sie hätten mit besserem Erfolg mit uns zusammen wirken können der schroffen altlutherischen Richtung so vieler eingewanderten Deutschen im Westen eine mildere Stimmung zu geben." Letter of S. Schmucker, Gettysburg, Pa., Feb. 27, 1854, to Hoffmann, Berlin. *Acta des Evangelischen Oberkirchenraths betreffend: Das Prediger-Seminar zu Marthasville und die für dasselbe gesammelte Kirchen-Collecte*, two fascicles listed under *Auslandsdiaspora Nordamerika*, No. 4a (MS), I, 47.

The main opposition to the K. was not based on moral or spiritual grounds, which might have been suggested by the loose standards prevailing in so-called "Evangelical" churches of the East. Nor did Eastern churches join the confessionalistic synods of the day, who were prone to subject the K. to theological castigation. Rather the practical feasibility of the new movement was being questioned.

⁵² The opposition of the Old Lutherans manifested itself in various ways, but chiefly in the friction between rival congregations and between factions within local churches—to which we shall refer later.

CHAPTER IV

PIONEER PASTORS OF THE FIRST DECADE (1840-1850)

Throughout the first decade the *Kirchenverein* was primarily a society of ministers. Indeed, was it ever to become a denomination in the strict sense of the word? As late as 1844 Nollau was not convinced of its future and considered joining a Lutheran synod.¹ Persecuted from without and disturbed from within, it was threatened with extinction. Lack of solidarity manifested itself in irregular attendance at conferences during the first five years—the most precarious in the history of the Society. During this period (October, 1840 - October, 1845) nine conferences were held, at not one of which the attendance exceeded that of the first meeting. Difficulties in transportation, inclement weather, sickness, and absence in Germany accounted for most of the absences.² Since the fall conference of 1842, at Highland, Illinois, was attended by only three of the seven members, only an informal meeting could be held. The hope was urgently expressed that conference obligations would be taken more seriously.³

LOSS OF CHARTER MEMBERS

The growth of the *Kirchenverein* was seriously affected by the loss of several charter members and the lack of new accessions during the early years. The first to resign was Nollau. From the beginning he felt that his stay at Gravois Settlement depended upon the plans of the Barmen authorities.⁴ To definitely establish his status with his *alma*

¹ Rieger accounted for this by saying that Nollau was still captivated by the "German pastoral system." This is especially striking since the K. had convened a week before this remark was made. Rieger's *Diary*, 241, under date of May 9, 1844.

² Thus Riess was absent from the May conference of 1841 because of a visit to Germany, where he remarried, not returning before July, 1842. Nollau had also returned to Germany. Rieger and Gerber were ill.

³ K. P., I, 19.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 55, n. 30; A. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 15.

mater, he surrendered his congregation to Gerber, resigned from the Society, and returned to Germany (1841). Thus the membership had been reduced to the "seven synodical lords" so loudly attacked by the rationalistic press at this time. Only four of these were present at the fall meeting of 1841. Nollau, it must be said, soon returned. Having married, he returned to America in 1842, perhaps not entirely in accord with the wishes of the Barmen Society, and resumed his pastorate at Gravois.⁵ He had been absent from the summer and fall conferences of 1841 and the informal meeting of 1842, being readmitted in June, 1843. After the loss of his wife, Nollau again considered his obligation to Barmen, relinquished his congregation to Wall, and in 1846 returned to Germany. In the same year he married a sister of Rieger's wife—Meta Wilkens of Bremen—and accepted a mission assignment to Capetown, Africa. The revolutions of 1848 impaired the mission work to such an extent that in the fall of the following year he returned to America directly from Africa, again taking over the church at Gravois.⁶ Nollau was readmitted to membership in 1851.

The enigmatical figure of Gerber is conspicuous by its absence from all conferences. Since February, 1839, Gerber had been located at Madison, Indiana. He did not attend the fall session of 1841 because of sickness in his family. After the return of Nollau he settled for a while at Pinckney, Missouri, and then entered the medical profession at Gravois, where he continued to practice at least until 1846. At his own request he was dismissed from the *Kirchenverein* in 1843. The accusation that he joined the Mormons seems unsupported; in fact he takes Wall severely to task for spreading this report. In 1848 he discontinued his medical practice in St. Louis and moved to Tennessee.⁷

⁵ His bride was Luise Wipperman of Westphalia, a childhood friend of Minette Rieger. See *ibid.*; obituary, F., XX (1869), 30, 34, 38, 42. Rieger stated, apprehensively, that Gerber was slow in surrendering the charge to Nollau. *Diary*, 201.

⁶ A. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 18 ff. Cf. letters in N.-R. Cor.

⁷ Häberle, *op. cit.*, 34. Mag., IV (1848), Part IV, 30. W.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Mo., April 2, 1839, to Rieger at Beardstown, Ill.; March

The most painful loss occurred when, for reasons already mentioned, Heyer was dropped from membership. He had been a faithful attendant and active participant at the first three conferences, at the last of which he had been elected treasurer. At the conference of 1843 (October), when Gerber resigned and which was attended by only four members, President Garlichs was authorized to request Heyer voluntarily to withdraw from the Society and, in case he refused, to suspend him pending the outcome of the court proceedings. Heyer accepted the first alternative. Apart from these references the minutes are silent concerning the affair. Subsequently Heyer's name appeared several times in the records. He attended the conference of 1846 as an advisory member and returned the amount of \$9.50 which was in the treasury at the time of his dismissal. In 1845 he was granted a certificate of dismissal—the only English document recorded in the minutes—which read as follows:

The Rev. Ph. J. Heyer has been a member of the Evangelical Synod from the year 1840 till 1843, and has at his particular request at that time received his dismissal from the said ecclesiastical body which is to be certified herewith. And because the Rev. P. J. Heyer now intends to join the Presbyterian Church, I further certify that he is an orthodox minister, praying our blessed Lord and Saviour to bless him, that he also in this part of His Church may labor with success to the honour of his holy name and to the salvation of many immortal souls.

Gravois, Mo., October 16th, 1845

THE EVANG. (UNITED LUTHER. REFORMED) SYNOD OF THE WEST
*Lewis Nollau, Stated Clerk*⁸

The fourth charter member to withdraw was Daubert, who, located at Quincy, Illinois, was farthest removed from

16, 1841, to Rieger at Highland, Ill. See A. d. W., Oct. 31, 1846, for Gerber's announcement as "*homöopathischer Arzt*," with an office on Market St. between Sixth and Seventh Sts.

Wall in a letter to W. Hoffmann of Berlin, May 3, 1855, stated, "*Dr. Gerber ist in die Salt Lake City, das Jerusalem der Mormonen, gezogen—der arme Mann.*" Acta E. O. K., I, 101. Gerber, in letters to Hoffmann, confessed but also repented an interest in the Mormon cause. B. P. F., Pinckney, Mo., Jan. 8, 1841; Gravois, Mo., June 15, 1841.

⁸ K. P., I, 47. The ready use of the terms "synod" and "stated clerk" and the spelling of "Lewis" indicate the adoption of American and Presbyterian terminology. Having joined the Presbyterian

the center of activities. He had been present only at the first and second conferences. At the meeting in 1843 the Daubert affair, the details of which are obscure, received its first airing. The secretary was instructed to "inform the Rev. Mr. Daubert concerning the evil rumors abroad concerning him and demand that he vindicate himself before the next meeting." At the fall conference he was informed that the Society desired his resignation. Daubert agreed to resign if the welfare of the organization demanded such action. His congregation, however, presented a favorable testimony and requested that he be retained. Whereupon it was resolved that, since the evil reports antedated his membership in the Society, they did not constitute sufficient reason for his dismissal at this time.⁹ In 1841 he assumed the pastorate of St. Paul's Church at Louisville, Kentucky, but, not able to attend the conferences regularly, resigned from the Society in 1845. To assist the church in its financial straits, he visited Germany, lecturing and collecting funds for his congregation at Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin, and other centers.¹⁰ He was held in high esteem at St. Paul's, where he remained until his death. Throughout his pastorate at Louisville he espoused the cause of the *Kirchenverein* and was readmitted to membership in 1864.

The difficulty of Garlichs at Femme Osage had not subsided. Garlichs was deeply grieved when the antagonistic faction in his church affiliated with a neighboring rationalistic society. During the first years of his ministry he had

Church, Heyer became the first pastor of Bethlehem Church, of that denomination, in Union, Mo. A large number of German names appear among the charter members of this church. In 1848 he organized Zion Presbyterian Church at Morrison, Mo. See *History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford, Gasconade Counties, Missouri* (Chicago, Ill., 1888), 361, 695.

⁹ K. P., I, 20, 37, 42.

¹⁰ A. d. W. (1843), July 11, 13, 15. Note his encounter with Wichern, *infra*, p. 142, n. 21. Records of this trip are scattered through various German archives. The Acten G. A., I, for example, contain a letter of Daubert dated Leipzig, March 1, 1843, and a copy of his ordination certificate and of the credentials of the Louisville church board. See *infra*, p. 151, n. 32.

received no salary, the combined five churches which he served finally succeeding in subscribing two hundred dollars annually, most of which consisted of provisions. His health was severely affected in consequence of the flood of 1844. He resigned his charge in April, 1846, and returned to Germany, where he affiliated himself with the Langenberg Society. He had planned to continue his work in Missouri, but, upon his return to America, was called to serve the German Evangelical Church at Brooklyn, New York, where he remained for eighteen years. During the greater part of this period he also edited the *Amerikanischer Botschafter* for the American Tract Society (at first in conjunction with Rauschenbusch) and served as adviser for newly arrived German missionaries bound for the West.¹¹

Thus, at the end of the decade, five of the eight charter members had withdrawn—some under a cloud. Only the Basel missionaries Wall, Rieger, and Riess remained. It was not a very encouraging picture.

¹¹ *Erinnerung an Hermann Garlichs*, *op. cit.*, 37, 54 f. See also Garlichs' letter in *Fünfter Bericht* of the Langenberg Society (1851), 7, in which he tells of his affiliation with the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania (1850-1855), of the "new measures" controversy he there encountered and of his impressions concerning Gettysburg Seminary. In 1856 he joined the New York Ministerium. The high esteem in which he was held may also be noted, not only in the publication of the *Erinnerung* by his colleagues of the New York Conference after his death, but also in the laudatory references in the *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of New York* from 1848-65. In his last report to the Ministerium, in 1864, this statement occurred (p. 21): "To the great Brooklyn Fair for the U. S. Sanitary Commission, we contributed about \$2000 worth. As an interesting incident of last year, I mention that I ministered the sacrament to several hundred marines and sailors of the Prussian fleet lying in New York harbor." In the report of President H. Pohlman in 1865 we read: "The Rev. Hermann Garlichs fell asleep in Jesus on the 24th of June. I need not remind you of that gentleness and simplicity of character which so endeared him to us all, nor of that ripe judgment and sound learning which rendered him so useful to the church, nor yet of how unwearied he was in the service of the Master in the upbuilding of his kingdom. These things are written in our hearts. At no time of robust constitution, his abundant labors had latterly so affected his health that he was about to embark for his native land, to seek its restoration amidst the scenes of his youth and in companionship of his earlier friends, when it pleased our Heavenly Father to call him home to that better land" See also Nicum, *op. cit.*, 345 f., and references in *Der Kirchenfreund*, VI (1865), 383.

ADMISSION OF LICENTIATES

Nor did the Society benefit appreciably by the so-called "advisory members." Not qualifying for ordination, a number of candidates of theology who applied for admission were granted a license to preach and perform the *actus ministeriales*. Indeed, the first five years of the *Kirchenverein* constitute the licensure period, for during this time practically the only accessions to membership occurred by this method. The practice of granting licenses was adopted as a precaution against too hasty acceptance of undesirable applicants. Pending their final acceptance, the licentiates could prepare for examination and otherwise prove themselves worthy of membership. Eastern synods had learned from bitter experience the necessity of subjecting all applicants to close scrutiny, and the *Kirchenverein* could not afford to be less scrupulous.¹²

This procedure was first invoked in the May meeting of 1841, when Eduard Arcularius, of whom very little is known, applied for a license. The matter was referred to the examining committee which had been appointed for such an emergency. Having preached a trial sermon and presented his university and other sundry credentials, the candidate was not recommended for ordination but merely granted a "license to preach and administer the holy sacraments, however, only until the next conference, this right to be exercised only in congregations which could not secure the services of an ordained pastor."¹³ Nor did the urgent need to increase the membership cause the Society to lower its standards of admittance. At a meeting held at Femme Osage in April, 1842, attended at least by Wall, Rieger,

¹² The German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania in 1836 stipulated that, before admitting men from Europe to membership, their moral character should be thoroughly investigated. The Reformed Synod of Ohio in 1839 decreed that newly arrived immigrant preachers from Europe who applied for membership should be admitted for the first year as advisory members without vote and admitted subsequently only on presentation of proper testimonials. Other Reformed and Lutheran synods passed similar precautionary regulations.

¹³ K. P., I, 12.

Heyer, Garlichs, and Arcularius, the latter passed an examination in Greek, Latin, church history, and dogmatics which was considered satisfactory in view of the circumstance that for the past seven years he had not continued his studies. Accordingly, on April 24, 1842, Arcularius was formally ordained with laying on of hands and granted an ordination certificate, the ordination sermon being preached by Garlichs.¹⁴ This constituted the first ordination granted by the *Kirchenverein*. Arcularius favored the Reformed position and never heartily joined in the affairs of the Society. In fact he was never again referred to as a member. For a few years (1841-1845) he served the German Evangelical Church of Des Peres, Missouri. At the election of a successor to Heyer at St. Charles, he received nine votes, the second highest number.¹⁵ He was the first pastor of the newly organized St. Peter's Evangelical Church at Washington, Missouri (1845-1851).

A second request for membership was received at the conference of 1841 from G. Bartels of Peoria, Illinois. Bartels was a missionary of the *Stader Verein zur Unterstützung der deutsch-protestantischen Kirche in Nord Amerika*, but lack of more detailed information concerning the applicant led to caution. He was informed that, according to the constitution, he could not be admitted *in absentia* and should present himself at the next meeting. This he failed to do; for we next find him at Dayton, Ohio, where he joined the Lutheran Synod of Ohio.¹⁶

¹⁴ Strangely enough this meeting is not recorded in the K. P. Rieger refers to it, *Diary*, 96, and also in A. H. M. S. Cor., Rieger, Highland, Ill., June 14, 1842. Note also "An die Deutschen im Westen," A. d. W., 1842, Aug. 20, and *supra*, p. 119.

¹⁵ A. d. W., March 16, 1843. F. S., St. Peter's Church, Washington, Missouri (1919). After the short pastorates of Franz Stiebold and H. Klingsohr (1851-54), Rudolph John of the K. was elected. With respect to Klingsohr, see *infra*, p. 203, n. 23.

¹⁶ In 1843 a group of people left the Evangelical church (Pilgrim) at Zanesville, Ohio, on account of doctrinal differences and started a separate church of the Ohio Synod, which was served by Bartels. Cf. Peter and Schmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 100. Wyneken's appeal for pastors in the West (*supra*, p. 68, n. 58) resulted in the publication by the *Stader Verein* (organized in 1840 as auxiliary to the Bremen Society) of an "*Aufruf zur Unterstützung der deutsch-protestantischen Kirche*,"

The third applicant for membership was Johann Friedrich Köwing (1806-1883). While preaching and distributing tracts to German emigrants at Bremen, Köwing became acquainted with a group of Germans, who, upon their arrival in Missouri, requested him to become their pastor.¹⁷ Under the auspices of the Bremen Society he followed this call and ministered to German communities in Gasconade, Osage, and Moniteau Counties, venturing as far west as Boonville and Sedalia, Missouri. Köwing was not present at the June conference of 1843, where he applied for membership, but was informed that ordination was conditioned upon passing a theological examination. However, he did not press the point, and the matter rested until the spring conference of 1844, when his application was again considered—the right of membership, in the meantime, having been restricted to ordained pastors. It was agreed that his

which enlisted the interest of Löhe and his friend J. J. F. Wucherer in the American field. According to the *Erster Jahres-Bericht des Stader Vereins* (1841), 3, Jensen and Bartels were the first emissaries, the latter, who at one time had been *Oberlehrer* in the *Rauhes Haus*, being described as having "*eine entschieden lutherische Richtung.*" They had been designated to take over Wyneken's church at Fort Wayne during his proposed visit to Germany. The society had received contributions mainly from "*kirchlichen Corporationen, d. h. von Superintendenten aus ihren Inspectionen, von städtischen Ministerien,*" also from the theological faculty at Göttingen. Reference is also made to the founding of similar societies in Dresden and Hamburg. Confessional commitments were definitely rejected: "*Wenn wir nun zwar mit Freuden bekennen, dass wir den Doctor Luther für einen Mann Gottes halten und die lutherische Kirche als diejenige preisen, in der wir die feste Zuversicht unserer Seligkeit und die Vergebung der Sünden durch Christum empfangen haben: so kann uns das gleichwohl nicht hindern, denen, die einer andern Confession angehören, brüderlich die Hand zu reichen und eine deutsche Kirche zu erstreben, d. h. eine Union nicht im Wort, sondern in der Tat.*"

Stader annual reports were occasionally printed in the K. M. Thus the "Third Report," Nov. 10, 1847, contains a reference to Bartels. Although in principle also supporting Reformed pastors, five of its representatives were Lutherans. These were: Bartels; P. Biewend, 1843, at Washington (?); Aug. Hoyer at Baltimore; G. Jensen, 1842, serving Wyneken's church during the latter's visit to Germany, and then at Pittsburgh; and J. F. Wilken, 1846, in Wartburg, Morgan County, East Tennessee. K. M. (1848), 26 ff.

¹⁷ Rieger, in his *Diary*, under date of Oct. 18, 1839, states that he met Hiestand and Köwing, the Bible agent, in Bremen and ordered a number of books from the latter. Perhaps he also directed Köwing's attention to Missouri. The latter was also recommended by Treviranus.

orthodoxy, moral life, and cultural background would admit him to examination for ordination. He was requested to present himself at the next conference for an examination "restricted" to the old languages, dogmatics, exegesis, homiletics, pastoral theology, and church history, which examination was to be conducted by Garlichs and Riess. It was further agreed at this time to extend the ordination privilege only to those who had been called by a congregation or "in some other manner had been sufficiently recommended to the Society"—a rigorous provision to be made by an organization whose membership, amounting now to only six, had fallen to the lowest level in its history. Sickness prevented Köwing's attendance at the next meeting, at which time, however, in view of the fact that he had been unavoidably detained and was serving several congregations, he was granted a license *in absentia*. Finally in 1845, having satisfactorily passed the examination, he was admitted to ordination.

With him was ordained another candidate who had passed through a similar probationary period—Kaspar Heinrich Bode (1814-1892).¹⁸ Bode was a native of the kingdom of Hanover. While in Germany, he came under the influence of the evangelistic preacher Karl August Döring (1783-1844)¹⁹ and also became acquainted with the work of the Basel and Barmen Societies. Arriving in America as a youth of eighteen years, he found employment in canal- and railroad-building projects in the East. For a short period he taught school in New Bremen, Ohio, where he received a life certificate as a public school-teacher. We next find him at Beardstown, Illinois, where he came under the observation of Rieger, who gave him theological instruction. For five months he served as vicar to Rieger in his difficult charge at Burlington, Iowa. Although granted

¹⁸ Obituary, F., XLIII (1892), 52.

¹⁹ Döring, the gifted pastor at Elberfeld, was one of the founders of the *Christliche Jünglingsvereine* and of the *Christlicher Verein im nördlichen Deutschland* and was especially interested in the *Handwerksburschen*. See Water Rauschenbusch, *Leben und Wirken von August Rauschenbusch* (Cleveland, 1901), 19; "Jünglingsvereine," R. E., IX, 596 ff.

a year's license in the fall of 1844, the *Kirchenverein* admonished him to continue his studies. Having passed the prescribed examination, he was ordained with Köwing at the conference at Gravois in 1845 and was presented with the following certificate:

Whereas, Mr. K. Heinrich Bode, after three years of diligent study of the theological sciences, has prepared himself for the Evangelical ministry, a satisfactory testimony of which he has given us in an examination, therefore has the above named Mr. Bode on this day been ordained to the Evangelical ministry and the authority has been conferred on him with the laying on of hands, to preach the Gospel and to administer the holy sacraments, whereunto the gracious Father may grant His blessing through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The certificate presented to Köwing on this occasion stated that he had satisfactorily served several congregations for a number of years and had satisfied the Society concerning his piety and practical qualifications.²⁰ Thus, both Bode and Köwing, after a probationary period of one year, were admitted to ordination and automatically became full-fledged members.

By this time a number of other candidates from Germany had begun on the same course. Two of these were products of the *Bremer Verein*. The city of Bremen, an important outlet for emigrants to America and therefore referred to at times as a suburb of New York, was a stronghold of the Reformed Church in Germany and blessed with such preachers as G. Treviranus, Friedrich A. Krummacher, and Friedrich Mallet. In Johann Hinrich Wichern's discussion with Mallet, during his first visit to Bremen in 1837, both agreed that the Reformed Church had excelled the Lutheran in enlisting the laity in religious activities. Treviranus was especially interested in safeguarding the German emigrants from the perils of Roman Catholicism and American sects and discussed this subject at length with Wichern. In 1839 (1837?) the *Evangelischer Verein für deutsche Protestanten in Nordamerika* was organized.²¹ Wich-

²⁰ K. P., I, 36, 48, 49. It has been maintained that Bode, not Köwing, was the first ordained. In view of the ordination of Arcularius in 1842, neither Bode nor Köwing may claim this distinction.

²¹ See letters of Wichern from Bremen in J. Wichern, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Hamburg, 1901), I, 217 ff. Note Wichern's characteriza-

ern warmly supported the society and accepted its project as within the scope of *Innere Mission*—a term which he had coined as early as 1836. The Bremen Society assumed responsibility for raising the necessary funds and forth-

tion of Treviranus and Mallet and particularly his visit to the latter, Aug. 14, 1837. "*Hier traf ich,*" he says (p. 221), "*zwei nach Amerika bestimmte Prediger, die von einem Barmer Verein über New-York unter die deutschen Auswanderer nach Amerika gesandt werden, und Missionar Nollau, der unter die nordamerikanischen Indianer geht. In Bremen konstituiert sich jetzt ein gleicher Verein, welchem sich später der Barmer als 'Hilfsverein' anschliessen will. Der Bremer Verein will sich grade heute abend in Bürgermeister Nonnens Haus konstituieren. Es liegt dieses in Bremen sehr nahe, wo alles mit Auswanderern angefüllt ist; jährlich passieren hier 15-20000 solcher Unglücklichen die Stadt, um ihrem gewissen Elend entgegenzugehen. Für sie in Nordamerika in kirchlicher Beziehung zu sorgen ist notwendig, weil sie dort entweder von den Katholiken angezogen werden oder zur englisch-bischöflichen Kirche übertreten—oder ins Heidenthum fallen, wie es dort thatsächlich ganze Ortschaften giebt, in denen seit achtzeh'n Jahren niemand mehr getauft wird.*"

The name of the Bremen Society is here given as "*Evangelischer Verein für protestantische Auswanderer in Nord-Amerika*, and its origin in 1837 seems substantiated by the further reference *ibid.*, 227. Heyne, *loc. cit.*, states it was founded in 1839. See also F. Oldenberg, *Johann Hinrich Wichern* (Hamburg, 1882-87), I, 423 f. The *Aufruf* for the founding of the society is found under "*Kirchenchronik und Miscellen,*" A. K. Z., XIX (1840), 245. The appeal was signed by: *Bürgermeister Nonnen, Präsident; Senator Fritze; Pastor Mallet; Pastor Pauli, Protocollführer; Pastor Treviranus; Gottfr. Bagelmann, Correspondent; and Johann Karl Vietor, Cassenverwalter.*

Active in the support of the Bremen Society was the *Hilfsverein* at Frankfort-on-the-Main, which on the occasion of its fifth anniversary (Oct., 1842) reported having 283 members (85 pastors) scattered through Frankfort, Hamburg, Hesse, and Weimar. B. A. K., V (1843), 142. The early success of the society was also due to the support of Christian laymen. Thus Wichern testified that the "*Kaufleute Bremens wissen es noch, dass sie ihre Schätze nicht besser auf Zinsen legen können, als durch Darlehen für Gottes Reich.*" "*Der Kirchentag in Bremen,*" F. B., IX (1852), 293.

The vigorous, activist spirit of the Reformed group in Bremen is reflected in Wichern's rejection of the "Lutheran" preaching of Daubert, concerning which he writes, under date of April 27, 1843: "*Sehr gespannt ging ich heute in die Kirche, weil Daubert, der amerikanische Präsident, für ihn [Treviranus] predigen wollte. Du hast keinen Begriff von der Erbärmlichkeit dieser Predigt über die hohen Worte Matth. 16, 15-18. 'Die Religion Jesu soll durch sanftmütige Belehrung und Beispiel verbreitet werden. Das haben uns die Apostel gezeigt, die unter all den guten Menschen, die unsere Vorfahren sind, ganz besondere Verdienste um uns haben durch die Belehrungen, die sie uns haben zu teil werden lassen, und durch ihr Beispiel. Jedes der Worte wirkt wie ein Eimer kalten Wassers.—Meine ganze Hoffnung, dass durch Dauberts Erscheinen hier das Werk für Amerika einen neuen Aufschwung erhalten würde, ist gradezu vernichtet. Ich habe nun auch nächsten Sonntag hier nicht zu predigen, da Treviranus*

with five candidates for the American field were accepted at the *Rauhes Haus*, Wichern's establishment at Hamburg. The work among the Germans in America was thus recognized as an integral part of the German program of *Innere Mission*.²²

vor seiner Gemeinde den schlechten Eindruck, den jene Predigt gemacht, selbst wieder verwischen will. Mallet wird dem Daubert aber auch die Missionsstunde nicht überlassen, so dass derselbe hier weiter nichts ausrichten wird." Wichern, *op. cit.*, I, 305.

Treviranus in his address before the diet of 1852 stated that the Bremen Society was the first German society to have been founded for the Germans in America. *Die Verhandlungen des 4. Congresses für die innere Mission der Deutschen evang. Kirche auf d. 5. deut. Kirchentage* (Bremen, 1852), 75. Langenberg, however, had been founded in 1837.

The minutes and proceedings of the Bremen Society are preserved in the *Stadtsarchiv* at Bremen. The *Bremer Kirchenbote* also contains valuable references. See illustration.

²² J. Wichern, *Das Rauhe Haus* (Hamburg, 1883). Wichern met Wyneken in Jan., 1842. "Ich habe Wyneken gesehen und eingehend gesprochen; um seinetwillen war ich ja recht eigentlich hergekommen [Bremen]. Die Besprechungen mit ihm haben mich über die Zustände und Bedürfnisse Amerikas zu viel grösserer Klarheit gebracht und mir viel deutlicher gezeigt, welchen Weg wir mit den für Amerika designierten Brüdern zu gehen haben. Im ganzen ergiebt sich, dass wir auf dem rechten Wege sind: Bibelkenntnis, Übung im freien Vortrag, speziell Behandlung der Menschen in der Seelsorge scheinen die drei Hauptfordernisse dessen, was bei ihnen zu erzielen ist." J. Wichern, *Gesammelte Schriften*, I, 292.

A break with Wyneken is indicated in Wichern's account of a meeting of the Bremen Society, concerning which he writes under date of April 28, 1843: "Hätte ich nicht die Wynekensche Schrift über 'Die Not der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika' u. s. w., die hier niemand kennt, herübergebracht, so wäre der Ausgang vielleicht ein anderer geworden. Auf Veranlassung dieser Pièce, die eine Verbindung mit den Ultra-Lutheranern in Bezug auf Amerika bezweckt, kam der Beschluss zustande, den ernstlichen Versuch zur Vereinigung von Basel, Württemberg, Barmen, Berlin für die Deutschen in Amerika zu machen. Es wird deswegen sogleich dorthin geschrieben werden." *Ibid.*, 307. This proposed union was not effected.

See also Martin Gerhardt, *Johann Hinrich Wichern. Ein Lebensbild* (Hamburg, 1927), I, 265 f.; Geissler, *op. cit.* (Leipzig, 1930), 99 ff. Geissler (p. 99) repeats the interesting observation of Freytag that the appearance of the term "*Innere Mission*" coincides with the great home-missionary efforts in America and England during the '30's. The influence of Langenberg in the founding of the Bremen Society is also discernible. Heyne, *op. cit.*, 60 f., also states that, whereas the Langenberg Society desired to place men in urban communities in the East, the Bremen Society was more interested in rural communities. Treviranus at the Bremen Diet in 1852 (*Verhandlungen, ibid.*) admitted that one of the reasons for the failure of the Bremen Society, which had sent a total of twenty-five men to America, lay

1839.

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*Protokoll
der Versammlungen*

der wissenschaftlichen Versammlungen für die hiesige Hochschule in

Vorlesungen

I.

den 12. Nov. 1839.

Vorlesung des Prof. Dr. ...

§1.
Vortrag von dem ... über die ...

Vorlesung des Prof. Dr. ...

§2.
Vortrag von dem ... über die ...

Vorlesung

§3.
Vortrag von dem ... über die ...

Vorlesung des Prof. Dr. ...

§4.
Vortrag von dem ... über die ...

- 1. ...
- 2. ...
- 3. ...
- 4. ...
- 5. ...

Bremer Staatsarchiv.

Minutes of the First Meeting of the Komitee of the Bremen Society, November 19, 1839.

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In accord with the spirit of his Reformed friends at Bremen, and perhaps of Merle d'Aubigné of the French-Reformed church at Hamburg, Wichern sympathized with the non-confessional position based on the "*Anerkennung der einzig WAHREN katholischen Kirche.*" Indeed this position, almost that of outright unionism, was warmly espoused by the society. It advised its missionaries to adopt the Augsburg Confession as the credal norm, but expected them, in mixed congregations, to nurture an Evangelical fellowship. "The Lutherans should not become Reformed nor the Reformed, Lutheran." Radical Lutheran candidates were not accepted.²³ The society agreed to provide the

in the fact that the German Church in America required "experienced and scientifically trained men." Of the sixty applicants to the Bremen Society up to 1841, only seven had been theologically trained. Bremen's primary interest was to provide teachers.

Wichern's institution for destitute boys (*Rauhes Haus*) was begun in 1833. To meet the growing demand for teachers the *Brüderanstalt*, where Christian young men could develop their pedagogical abilities and practical talents, was established in 1844. It was here that the "*Amerikanische Zöglinge*" were trained to become "*Kolonistenprediger.*" See letter of Schaff to Wichern urging the need of theological education for American missionaries. "Aus und über Amerika," *F. B.*, II (1845), 81. "Die Brüderausbildung im Rauhen Hause," *Monatsschrift für Innere Mission*, XVIII (1898), 327 f.

²³ Wichern on one occasion referred to himself as a "*reformierter Lutheraner.*" *J. Wichern, op. cit.*, I, 304. In 1839 Treviranus received a letter from Wyneken of Fort Wayne, Ind., who at that time was under the mission board of the Pennsylvania synod. Wyneken sought the support of the society in introducing a circuit system to be attended by six ministers, urged that regenerate membership requirements be upheld, and recommended that the German language be retained among the Germans in America. Note references quoted by Heyne, *op. cit.*, 64. On his visit to Germany in 1839, Rieger found the Bremen pastors much interested in German missions in America, and conferred with Treviranus concerning Wyneken. See *Diary*, 125-128. The Bremen Society provided Wyneken with four missionaries in 1840, finally breaking with him when he became associated with Löhe. The Bremen Society suspected that Löhe's "*Zuruf*" of 1845 contained a direct attack upon its non-confessional position. *Fünfter Bericht* (1846), 7. Wyneken was more successful in his approach to the confessional Lutherans in 1841-42.

It seems that the Bremen Society felt rebuffed by the suggestion of Evangelical Lutheran synods of the East that the name "Evangelical" be abandoned. *Supra*, p. 65. This circumstance led to an early approval of the *K. Erster Bericht* (1841), 41. The society reported in 1842 that Georg Saul and Joh. E. Schneider had been instructed to report to Wall and Garlichs. The first, however, located at New Albany, N. Y., and the latter remained in New Orleans. *Zweiter Bericht* (1842), 16. For rejection of Löhe's confessionalism,

necessary clothing, books, and equipment, defray the traveling expenses to the West, and supply financial support until the candidate was established in a congregation.²⁴

At the Gravois meeting in October, 1844, Heinrich Anton Eppens (1815-1884) and Wilhelm Schünemann (1814-1896), both educated at the *Rauhes Haus* and commissioned by the Bremen Society, received a license for one year. Less is known of Schünemann, who was a native of Hajen, Hanover, than of Eppens, who hailed from Hastedt near Bremen.²⁵ In 1840 Eppens entered the *Rauhes Haus* for a four-year course. Treviranus directed both to St. Louis, where they met Wall, who presented them to the *Kirchenverein*. They requested either ordination or licensure, and were licensed for one year. During Rieger's second visit to Germany (October, 1844-1845) Eppens served Rieger's churches at Burlington and Augusta, Iowa, and then became pastor of a congregation on the Springfield Road near Edwardsville, Illinois. Schünemann, on the other hand,

see *Fünfter Bericht* (1846), 7. For appreciation of Mallet, the gifted Bremen pastor and close friend of Rieger, see "Mallet," R. E., XII, 126 ff. With the inauguration of the annual church diets in 1848 and the founding of a *Central Ausschuss für Innere Mission* in 1849, the work of home missions in Germany, under the direction of Wichern, was widely extended, and increasingly embraced within its scope the care for German emigrants at home and abroad. See *Verhandlungen* of the Diets and of the Mission Congresses and *Acta des Central Ausschusses für Innere Mission* (MS).

²⁴ For instruction of the society to its candidates, see H. Baltzer, *op cit.*, 18 ff. In June, 1840, the first *Rauhehäusler*, J. Schladermundt, joined the Lutheran Synod of Ohio, uniting the Lutheran and Reformed elements at Springfield, O., into the St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church. Up to 1845, the Bremen Society had sent at least sixteen men to America. Four of these, Schünemann, Eppens, Baltzer, and Binner, joined the K. The Bremen Society continued to cooperate with Wichern's establishment at Hamburg. By 1851 nine students had been educated at the *Rauhes Haus*. Of these, Siebke (1846), Theiss (1848), and Holls (1851) were supported by the *Rauhes Haus*; Philipp and Adolph Konradi (1844), by the Hessian Society for German Protestants in America (Hanau); Schladermundt (1840), Schünemann and Eppens (1844), Hunsche (1845), by Bremen—the entire number joining local synods in America and being ordained by them. See Gerhardt, *op cit.*, III, 408 ff.; *Fünfter Bericht* (1846), 16. For activities and interest of Wichern in American missions, see J. H. Wichern, "Principielles zur Innern Mission," Vol. III of *Gesammelte Schriften*.

²⁵ Obituaries, F., XXXVI (1885), 12, and XLVII (1896), 223.

repaired to Femme Osage to complete his studies under Garlich's, assisting him in congregations at Washington, St. Charles, Charette, New Melle, Mt. Pleasant, and on the Upper Charette River (Strack's Church). Thus, in the fall conference of 1844, licenses were granted to Köwing, Bode, Eppens, and Schünemann according to the following form:

The undersigned Church Society grants to Mr., on the basis of his attested credentials and our personal acquaintance with him, the authority to preach the Word of God, and to administer the Holy Sacraments for the period of one year from date, and requires him at the expiration of this period to present himself for examination preparatory to ordination into the Evangelical ministry.

Witnessed County in the State of in the year of our Lord 18....

..... Präses
 Scriba²⁶

Had they not been prevented from attending the October meeting of 1845—Schünemann because of sickness and Eppens because of transportation difficulties—both would have been ordained with Köwing and Bode. As it was, their licenses were extended until the spring conference of 1846, at which time they were ordained with Tölke and Johann Wettle.

Heinrich Tölke (1818-?) of Lippe-Detmold was an emissary of the Langenberg Society. Upon his arrival in America in 1843, he ministered for one and one-half years to the Germans in the city of New York and Williamsburgh, New York, and for a time as licentiate under the care of the Reformed Classis of Philadelphia.²⁷ Arriving in the West, he applied to the *Kirchenverein* for a license, which was granted on condition that he declare himself heartily devoted to the "United Evangelical Church" and determined to labor in her interests. He was directed to Evans-

²⁶ K. P., I, 39.

²⁷ Five ministers of the Philadelphia Classis, among them Bibighaus and three pastors by the name of Helfenstein, recommended him for service in the West. See also A. H. M. S. Cor., S. Sneed, Evansville, Ind., Nov. 10, 1847, to Secretary Badger, referring the latter to Rauschenbusch for information concerning Tölke. *Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1848. The A. H. M. S. Cor. contains 16 letters of Tölke. See references to the Williamsburgh church in P., IV (1847), 139.

ville, Indiana, where he first preached to the Evangelical Lutheran congregation and finally became the first pastor of Zion Evangelical Church of that city. Prevented from attending the fall conference of 1845, his license was extended until the spring of 1846, at which time he was ordained. With evangelistic zeal he engaged in wide itinerant activities among the Germans in southern Indiana, penetrating as far north as Edwardsport. He remained in constant correspondence with his friends in the fatherland and persuaded hundreds of Westphalians to emigrate to Indiana.²⁸ Tölke nurtured warm relations with Presbyterian pastors in southern Indiana, attended meetings of the Vincennes Presbytery, and was urged by the synod at Crawfordsville, in 1848, to apply to the American Home Missionary Society for a commission. In 1852 he joined the Presbyterian Church, returned to New York, and, under the auspices of the Home Missionary Society, became pastor of the Brainerd Church on Rivington Street.²⁹

The spring of 1846 marked the end of the first wave of

²⁸ A pamphlet written by Tölke entitled *Das Morgenroth des Westens* (Meurs, 1848) was widely read in Germany and induced many emigrants to go West. Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana* (Dayton, O., 1923), III, 257. This tract of barely two pages was warmly commended by the A. A. Z., II (1848), 616. See also Tölke's *Einladung nach dem Westen von Amerika und gründliche Beschreibung desselben* (Leonberg, 1849). The Langenberg Society repudiated Tölke because of his propagandizing for America. See *Vierter Bericht* (1848) 21; *Fünfter Bericht* (1856) 6. Wettstein takes Tölke severely to task for preferring Indiana to Wisconsin. Th. Wettstein, *Der nordamerikanische Freistaat Wisconsin . . .* (Elberfeld and Iserlohn, 1851), 361. A number of Lippe-Detmold colonies migrated to America about this time, among which may be mentioned the Reformed group in Wisconsin which founded the Mission House at Franklin in Sheboygan County in 1860-62. See J. C. Arpke, *Das Lippe-Detmolder Settlement in Wisconsin* (Milwaukee, 1895). Arpke (p. 42) also refers to a settlement of Lippe-Detmolders in Gasconade Co., Mo., in 1847. Reference to these immigrants and their organization into Bethel Church by Presbytery of St. Louis (Old School) may be found in Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1701.

²⁹ Desiring to find an able man for this strategic church, the A. H. M. S. sought the advice of Prof. S. S. Schmucker (2160), Ph. Schaff (?), H. Allen (1759), Wm. Dewitt (2203), J. C. Holbrook (1763), Prof. F. W. Conrad (1870), and J. Rieger (1762). (Numbers refer to letters in A. H. M. S. L.-B., 1850-51.) For description of his work among the Germans, see letter of Tölke, "The German Missionary in the City of New York," A. F. C. U., IV (1853), 51 ff.

new members who attained to ordination after previous licensure. The six licentiates had been ordained. All were men of limited education and ability and did not distinguish themselves in the subsequent history of the Society. Two, Eppens and Schünemann, commissioned by the Bremen Society, had been educated by Wichern at the *Rauhes Haus*; one, Tölke, although not sent directly to the *Kirchenverein*, came by way of the Langenberg Society and did not long remain a member; Bode had been privately tutored by Rieger; Arcularius, with university background, seems to have been a casual find; and Köwing, lacking any specialized training, by chance became associated with the Society. All, with the possible exception of Arcularius, were of pietist extraction.

Dealing with such a diverse group, the license method at first seemed to be indispensable. In the first five years licenses were issued on nine occasions to six persons; the reissuance of licenses in three cases was due to the unavoidable absence of the licentiates who were to have been ordained. Yet it was not an ideal method, and a drastic change occurred in the next five years, during which period a license was granted to only one applicant and was renewed only once.

This latter instance, which bridged the gap to the non-licensure policy, involved the case of the school-teacher Konrad Riess (1809-1893), the brother of J. Riess. Riess was a native of Württemberg and had received his pedagogical education at the teachers' seminary at Beuggen, near Basel. In 1839 he emigrated to America at the request of his brother, whom he assisted in his varied duties. He first served as teacher at Centerville, Illinois, and then as pastor of Zion Church, four miles distant, and of Zoar Church (Hanover, Illinois, 1844-1848), also preaching occasionally at Salem Evangelical Church near Waterloo, Illinois. In the summer of 1847 he was granted a license for one year, becoming the first licensed lay preacher of the Society.³⁰ In

³⁰ Obituary, F., XLIV (1893), 127; K. P., I, 59, 62. This license was renewed for another year.

the meantime he moved to Muscatine, Iowa, and, not being present at the conference of 1849, nor informing the *Kirchenverein* of his intentions, he was requested to return the expired license. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Society was about to discontinue the granting of licenses.

Thus the policy of granting licenses came to an end at the close of the first decade, no license having been granted after the renewal of the one to Riess in the summer of 1848. It had proved serviceable as a temporary measure. In view of the increasing objection to licentiates functioning as pastors, it was now abolished.³¹ This was all the more feasible since a higher type of applicant was arriving. If the growth of the *Kirchenverein* had been conditioned solely on admission of licentiates, a lowering of the standard of the ministry would have resulted. As it was, matters now rested until the summer of 1850, when K. Riess was examined with two other laymen—Ludwig Austmann and Diedrich Kröhnke—and admitted with them to ordination.

ADMISSIONS BY IMMEDIATE ORDINATION

A change in the fortunes of the *Kirchenverein* occurred with the arrival of men directly from Germany who had received ordination in the fatherland or were sufficiently qualified to be ordained immediately. To this latter group belong Johann Wettle and the two laymen Kröhnke and Austmann—the latter two marking the transition to the new procedure.

The policy of immediate ordination was first applied in the case of Johann Wettle (1819-1888). Wettle was born in Guensbach, Alsace, was educated as teacher in France, and, having completed his studies at Basel, was "ordained" in

³¹ *Ibid.*, 62, 71. Löhe approached the question from another angle. He had urged the Lutherans in America (1845) to put aside ". . . die Missbräuche im Sacrament, — das verkehrte Wesen der Lizenzen, welches mit Eurem Nothstand keineswegs entschuldigt werden kann, da Ihr Unbewährten und Vagabunden . . . eine Lizenz zum heiligen Amte, im Grunde eben so wenig als die Ordination ertheilen konnt." *Zuruf* , 27.

1844 by the *Gustav Adolf-Verein*³² and commissioned to America. At the spring meeting of 1846 he was welcomed as an advisory member and forthwith ordained with Tölke, Schünemann, and Eppens.

Similar to Wettle's were the cases of the above mentioned laymen, who, under the old policy, would have been eligible only for licensure. Diedrich Kröhnke (1808-1882) was born at Drochtersen, Hanover.³³ Because of ill health he discontinued his theological and medical studies and in 1840 emigrated to Missouri, where he taught in a district school at Femme Osage. Garlichs engaged him in the church school and encouraged him to continue his theological studies. As a school-teacher he signed the *Kirchenverein* constitution of 1848. The following year he was engaged as steward of Marthasville Seminary and was ordained in 1850.

Greater uncertainty surrounds the case of Ludwig Austmann (1816-1897) of Lippe-Detmold, of whom we know little more than that he had only received a common-school education and had been fairly successful in conducting religious meetings in the fatherland. Persecuted by the government for these activities, he emigrated to America. In June, 1849, he applied for ordination, but was granted permission only to sign the constitution of 1848. He was referred to as president of a congregation near Evansville, Indiana. An examination revealed that he "was entirely unacquainted with church history, and that, although he had

³² Obituary, F., XL (1889), 12. The *Gustav Adolf-Verein* was founded in 1832, on the 200th anniversary of the death of the savior of German Protestantism, for the purpose of serving the unchurched Germans scattered throughout the world (*Diaspora*). It was reorganized in 1840-41 through influences emanating from Basel. It centered in Saxony, was opposed by the strict Lutherans, and favored the unionistic position. Hermann Wolfgang Beyer, *Die Geschichte des Gustav Adolf-Vereins* . . . (Göttingen, 1932).

In 1843 the *Frankfurter Statuten* enlarged the scope of the society's interest to include "die Noth ihrer protestantischen Brüder, die der Mittel des kirchlichen Lebens entbehren, und deshalb in Gefahr sind, der Kirche verloren zu gehen."

Daubert, on his visit to Germany in 1843, also appealed to the society for assistance for his church at Louisville and urged the sending of able theologians to America. A Schröder, *Die Gustav-Adolf-Stiftung* (Berlin, 1844), 31. Acten G. A., I.

³³ Obituary, F., XXXIII (1882), 132.

some doctrinal understanding, he was not able to explain satisfactorily the significance of the Sabbath." Ordination was deferred until he should be better prepared. In the meantime, however, he was not even granted a license. Tölke became established as the first permanent pastor of Zion Evangelical Church at Tersteegen, Posey County, Indiana, which church now importuned the Society to ordain Austmann.³⁴ Finally with some reluctance, in the summer of 1850 Austmann, with Kröhnke and K. Riess, was admitted to ordination.

UNCONDITIONAL MEMBERSHIP

The tide turned about the year 1846. The perils of the first five years had been successfully withstood. With the arrival of highly accredited pastors who had been ordained in Germany and could unconditionally be accepted as full-fledged members, the future of the *Kirchenverein* was assured. Pietistic devotion was now supplemented by consecrated scholarship, these two strands being woven into the warp and woof of the Society.³⁵

Individuals of this accredited group had already arrived during the licensure period. Chief of these was Jacob Knauss (1819-1881). Knauss was a native of Schorndorf, Württemberg, and a graduate of Basel. A group of Württemberg Christians, interested in the American field, through the offices of the *Stuttgarter Verein*, auxiliary to Basel, urged the mother society to send Knauss to America. This was done in 1842. The first winter in America was

³⁴ Obituary, F., XLVIII (1897), 395. K. P., I, 103, 109. In the course of the deliberations concerning Austmann, Tölke voiced some objections against him. In recommending Austmann to the A. H. M. S., the Presbyterian minister of Evansville, Ind., described him as "a man, though not liberally educated, of a remarkably strong mind" A. H. M. S. Cor., W. H. McCarer, Evansville, Ind., July 17, 1850.

The Posey County community was named after the Reformed, pietistic pastor and hymn-writer, Gerhard Tersteegen of Mühlheim—many of the Indiana settlers having come from this place. No traces of this name remain in the memory of the present inhabitants.

³⁵ Not all of the individuals now to be mentioned are distinguished for scholarly attainments. Even where scholarly standards prevailed the pietistic spirit dominated.

spent with Bibighaus of Salem Church in Philadelphia.³⁶ When presented to the *Kirchenverein* (1844) by Wall, "this dear brother was heartily welcomed by the other members."³⁷ His first charge was at Manchester, Missouri. In 1866 he succeeded J. Riess at Centerville, Illinois.

Johann Christoph Jung (1819-1886) was also a native of Württemberg. For two years he studied at a "branch of the Heidelberg University" and for five years at Basel. He was ordained in London in 1844 and commissioned to America, proceeding immediately to Quincy, Illinois.³⁸ The veteran Basel representative, Wall, introduced Jung to the *Kirchenverein* conference of 1845, where, upon presentation of his certificate of ordination, he was admitted as the tenth member of the Society.

Without further preliminaries Knauss and Jung were admitted to membership. Both were devout pietists and did much to preserve the Basel tradition. A striking deviation from this tradition occurred with the arrival, in 1846, of Wilhelm Binner and Adolf Baltzer—forerunners of a group which may be designated as the "Forty-eighters."

Wilhelm Friedrich Binner³⁹ (1805-1875), born in Silesia, was the son of a Prussian official and a Polish countess. Graduating from the University of Breslau, he served an

³⁶ Obituary of Knauss, F., XXXII (1881), 52. Mag., XXVIII (1843), *Heft* IV, 187. We have already noted the warm interest of the Philadelphia church and its venerable pastor in the Germans in the West. The desire of the aged Bibighaus for a permanent assistant was fulfilled in December, 1845, with the arrival of W. J. Mann, an intimate friend of P. Schaff. See also letters of Knauss (1844) in B. P. F.

³⁷ K. P., I, 33. The membership at this time, through the resignations of Heyer and Gerber, had been reduced to six.

³⁸ Jung later changed his name to Young and is said to have joined an American denomination. Concerning Jung's coming to Quincy, see Mag., XXX (1845), *Heft* IV, 13.

³⁹ Hypathia Boyd, *Paul Binner and His Noble Work among the Deaf* (Milwaukee, 1901). Obituary, F., XXVI (1875), 61. See Binner letters in A. H. M. S. Cor. For further details concerning Binner, see C. G. Scholz, *Meine Erlebnisse als Schulmann* (Breslau, 1861), 206-15, 217 f.; *infra*, p. 317, n. 94. Among other things Scholz states that Binner had been called to Breslau from a pastorate in Münsterberg and lauds him for his administrative ability, capacity for work, homiletical gifts, and social grace.

Evangelical church in Münsterberg, was *Direktor* of the Royal Normal College of Breslau (1838), inspector of schools, and "chaplain" at the fortress of Glatz. In 1845 he placed himself at the disposal of the Bremen Society, which directed him, with his wife and two children, to America. Because of the reports of Rieger to his Bremen friends on the occasion of his second visit to Germany in 1844, both Binner and Baltzer were directed by Bremen to proceed to Missouri. In a letter to Gallaudet, Rieger stated that he had had "considerable success in getting good Evangelical men for the West, well educated and some with great natural talent, two . . . are with me . . . two have gone and four will come yet."⁴⁰

Binner was accompanied by Adolf Hermann Franz Baltzer⁴¹ (1817-1880), a native of Berlin, where he had attended the *Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster* (1829-1835). His early religious instructor was the court preacher Franz Theremin, the well-known defender of the faith against the rationalism of his day. His student days at Berlin were spent under Neander, Marheineke, Twesten, Ullmann, and Hengstenberg. For one year he attended the University of Halle where Tholuck was in his prime. Having passed the required examinations, an oversupply of theological candidates prevented immediate appointment to a charge. After tutoring for several years, he applied to the Bremen Society, received an encouraging reply from Treviranus, and proceeded to America with Binner and Rieger—arriving at New York in October, 1845. After a brief visit with Bigelow, they proceeded to Illinois, where Binner founded the church at Waterloo (1845-1849) and Baltzer settled at Red Bud on Long and Horse Prairies (1845-1849). At the spring conference both were presented to the Society by Wall and were joyously admitted.⁴²

⁴⁰ L. U. P. O. S. Cor., New York, Oct. 10, 1845. See illustration.

⁴¹ H. Baltzer, *op. cit.*; obituary, F., XXXI (1880), 25. According to the records of the *Berlinisches Gymnasium zum Grauen Kloster*, Baltzer was a "*Kommunitäter d. h. Schüler der dem Gymnasium angeschlossenen Kommunität für besonders fähige und minder bemittelte Schüler.*"

⁴² Baltzer was immediately elected corresponding secretary, and

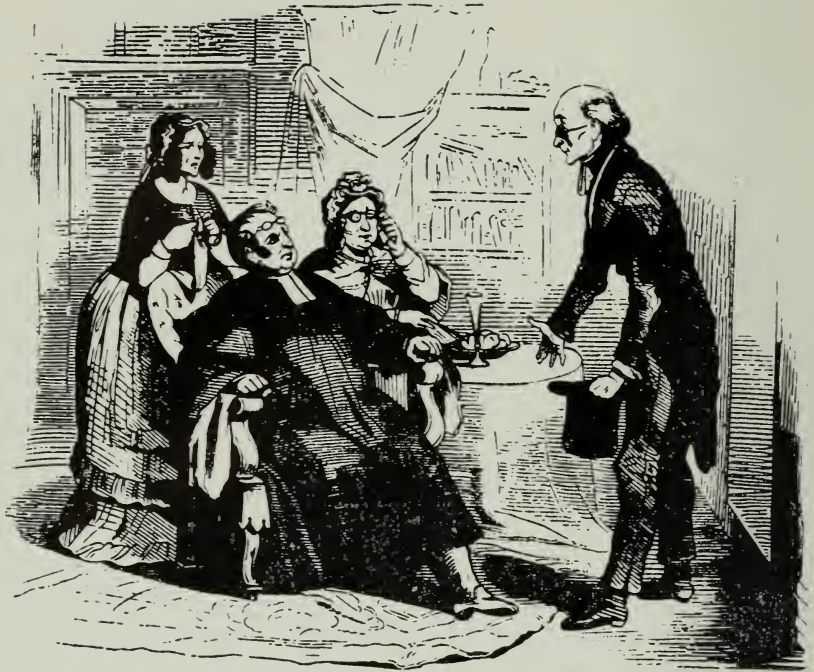
New York Decr 10th October 1845

My dear friend & brother.

I arrived in this City with W^m Dizerl and two missionaries for the West, last Sabbath evening and would have written to you sooner, but we intended to make a visit to Hartford ourselves, but as money must be saved at least on my part, and those of my ~~old~~ friends who have large houses & small families are not fixed now, - I will not trouble anybody, though I should like very much to see you and some other friends. - I have had considerable success in getting good, evangelical men for the West, well educated and some with great natural talents, two, as above mentioned, are with me, ^{one of them with his wife & 2 children} two have gone, and 4 will come yet. If anybody in your place feels interested in our Mission, and ~~I offered~~ ^{I offered} a great many would, if they knew the precise state of things, - we shall hear of it. Our people is poor, these missionaries, some of whom have families, are poor, but your people of their abundance might minister to our wants, - and we are hard laboring people, soon contented.

We intend to start for the West by next Tuesday with Dr. Binner & his family & brother Baker, - the latter stays with W^m Dizerl as we do also the former with W^m Dizerl. - W^m Dizerl & his eldest daughter left for the West day before yesterday. - My intention was, when I left last fall for Germany, to take a commission from the Am. Society to visit the distant settlements with books and tracts and preach the Word of Life to them, and at the

Rieger informs T. H. Gallaudet of Hartford, Connecticut, of His Arrival in New York with W. Binner and A. Baltzer.



Aus dem Candidatenleben.

„Ich bin Ihr väterlicher Oberer. Wissen Sie nicht, daß es Ihnen nach § 4519 zur Pflicht gemacht ist, allenthalben in anständiger Kleidung zu erscheinen? Sie sind jetzt 45 Jahre alt, haben an 22 Orten gedient und noch nicht so viel Lebensart gelernt!“

„Ja, Herr Oberkonsistorialrath, mein kümmerliches Einkommen!“

„Undankbares Geschwätz. Von den 19 Jahren Ihrer Expectanz haben Sie volle 12 Jahre durch *U n s e r e* Gnade Verwendung gefunden, und dafür eine Summe bezogen, welche ich, ein ergrauter verdienter Mann, Ihr väterlicher Oberer, nicht ganz in *e i n e m* Jahre beziehe. Uebrigens gehört es zu Ihrem Berufe, mäßig zu sein, § 3009. Aus Ihrer letzten Arbeit hat man wieder ungern gesehen, daß Sie wenig in der neueren Fachliteratur bewandert sind, wie es doch schon die Prüfungsordnung Ihnen befiehlt § 10899. Sie müssen Ihre Bibliothek besser completiren. Sie haben sich jetzt unverzüglich nach Schmalhausen zu begeben, mit dem Auftrage, bei Vermeidung einer Zurücksetzung von 6 Jahren sich jedes Angehörigens gegen Großmutter, Mutter, Frau, Tochter, Enkelin und Urenkelin Ihres neuen Herrn zu enthalten. Im Falle es auch, wie Sie neuerlich ganz ungebührlich klagten — man wird es Ihnen gedenken — in Ihre Wohnung geregnet und geschneit hat, so sollten Sie doch endlich einmal gelernt haben, daß es mehr auf geistige als leibliche Gesundheit ankommt. Adieu!“

Die Frau zur Tochter. „Guttelchen, wenn der Mensch nur etwas härte und für dich paßte, so könnte man ihm eine Anstellung geben.“

Fliegende Blaetter, Muenchen, VII (1848), 158.

Plight of the German Candidate.

One of the truest sons of Württembergian Pietism was Christian Schrenk (1819-1882).⁴³ Renouncing his inheritance, this consecrated youth proposed to devote his life to the German *Diaspora* in Russia. At the age of eighteen, with this project in mind, he entered Basel, where he was a colleague of Knauss. Instead of being sent to Russia, however, he was commissioned to America in 1844, having received his ordination in London. Arriving at New Orleans, he became pastor of the German church, which, after the departure of J. W. Müller (1839), had fallen into the hands of free and independent ministers. In addition to the First Church (Clio Street), he also served the "German Orthodox Evangelical Congregation of the Cities of New Orleans and Lafayette"—the present St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church on Port and Burgundy Streets—which had fallen into the hands of the previously mentioned Korndörfer. He was assisted in this arduous task by his brother Martin and, for a while, by Heinrich Kleinhagen, a former student of the Gossner Mission School.⁴⁴

He remained at this post for three years, the church council granting him permission also to minister to the people in Lafayette, where he occasionally preached in the chapel of an Episcopal church. After a short pastorate at Columbia, Illinois, from 1848 to 1849 (at which time [1848] he joined the *Kirchenverein*), he returned to his old church in the South. While at New Orleans, Schrenk had made the acquaintance of some German immigrants who later moved north and now (1852) called him to Zion Church in Evansville, Indiana. From 1858 to 1863 he was pastor of St. John's Evangelical Church in St. Louis, Missouri, and then returned to Evansville to spend the last nine years of his life at Zion.

The important year 1848 marked the arrival of seven ordained candidates of theology. The fortunes of the Ger-

Binner preached at the ordination service of Schünemann, Eppens, Tölke, and Wettle. K. P., I, 54 f.

⁴³ Obituary, F., XXXIII (1882), 76.

⁴⁴ J. H. Deiler, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana*, 24 ff.

man theological candidate, who was usually recruited from the lower classes, had fallen on evil ways. Having finished his university course and passed the two required theological examinations,⁴⁵ he frequently had to wait four or five years before securing an appointment—being preceded in some instances by from fifty to sixty applicants. Awaiting an appointment and thrown upon his own resources, receiving little sympathy or support from the synods and the clergy, many a candidate resorted to tutoring in private homes. Everywhere he was subject to the taunt of being merely a *Kandidat*. The *Kandidatenstand* had fallen into disrepute.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ The *examen pro licentia concionandi*, relating to theoretical knowledge and qualifying to preach, was conducted by members of the theological faculty and was followed after two years by the *examen pro candidatura*, which was conducted by the consistory and qualified the candidate for ordination and a call to a church.

⁴⁶ The number of theological students at Prussian universities had steadily decreased from 962 in 1840, 658 in 1847, and 654 in 1850 to 576 in 1851. Note also, in this connection, the illuminating series of articles, "Über die Ausbildung der Kandidaten für das Predigtamt" by the "*Berliner Wesley*," Otto v. Gerlach, E. K. Z., XXX (1842), 161. One of the best analyses of the situation may be found in *Die Stellung der Kandidaten zur Kirche. Resultate der zu Dresden am 30. Sept. 1848 gehaltenen Versammlung der theologischen Kandidaten Sachsens* (Dresden, 1848). For statistical survey of decade 1840-50, see "Erlass des Evangelischen Oberkirchenrathes . . . Kandidaten der Theologie betreffend," E. K. Z., XLVIII (1851), 613.

Referring to this situation, Ph. Schaff, in a letter to W. J. Mann in Württemberg, under date of May, 1844, said, "In Württemberg candidates long for churches, here churches yearn for candidates," and added that this need was most critical among the Germans in the West. Quoted by Späth, *op. cit.*, 29. The plight of candidates is also discussed by Hengstenberg in "Vorwort," E. K. Z., L (1852), 44. See also discussion of "Die Stellung der Kandidaten in der Kirche," by Prof. Schmieder at the fourth church diet at Elberfeld, *Verhandlungen* (1851), 54. See illustration facing p. 155.

That German candidates were not indifferent to the American challenge may be seen in a student movement which arose about this time. The F. B., II (1845), 87, announced that a number of theological students at Kiel contemplated going to America as missionaries and that seventeen theologians, mostly students, had organized a society to study the subject. A similar society, it was reported, had been organized at Berlin. On Feb. 18, 1846, on the occasion of the observance of the tercentenary of Luther's death, it was proposed to organize a national society of theological students, to be called *Concordia*, for the purpose of arousing interest in the welfare of German emigrants to America. Since the *Bestätigungsurkunde* from the civil authorities was not forthcoming, the plan was abandoned. *Ibid.*, III (1846), 54. Theological students at Göttingen had organized a society for the purpose of sending candidates to America, which was to join with similar so-

It thus became a matter of course that, through communications from friends and German churches in America and through the activity of the German missionary societies, German candidates were continually being directed to the open doors in the New World. Not all the "Forty-eighters" came solely because of this trying situation, but none entirely escaped its influence.

Friedrich Birkner⁴⁷ (1824-1862) upheld the university tradition begun by Binner and Baltzer. He was born in Erlangen, Bavaria, and studied philosophy, art, and theology at the university in his home town. A casual acquaintance with Inspector Hoffmann, the successor to Blumhardt, led him to spend two semesters at Basel, preparatory to going to China. Impressed by the needs of the American *Diaspora*, however, he placed himself at the disposal of the Langenberg Society on the condition that if not accepted he would proceed to the Basel field in China. However, Langenberg forthwith commissioned him to America with H. Grote, K. Hoffmeister, and Beussel. The party, which was accompanied on the journey by M. Krönlein of Basel, arrived in New Orleans in June, 1848.

The father of Birkner was a distinguished pastor of the Reformed church at Erlangen and, perhaps in view of his Reformed background, the Langenberg Society directed young Birkner to confer with Philipp Schaff, who was affiliated with the German Reformed Synod. He was also instructed to establish contacts with August Rauschenbusch of the Langenberg Society.⁴⁸ Since Rauschenbusch was ab-

cieties to be founded at other universities. Both state and church authorities desired more mature leadership than the students could offer and advised them to affiliate with the Gustav Adolph Society. *A. K. Z.*, XXV (1846), 1136. Students at Jena met on Feb. 18, 1846, and, supported by the theological faculty and the university *Senat*, requested the consistory for permission to organize a similar society. The permission was not granted, and the Jena project was also abandoned. *F. B.*, IV (1847), 318.

⁴⁷ Obituary, *F.*, XIII (1862), 93. See biographical sketch of Birkner in *Evangelisch-reformirte Kirchenzeitung*, XIII (1863), 113-128. His full name was Johann Friedrich Karl Heinrich.

⁴⁸ Continuing its relations with Germany (*supra*, p. 81), the Reformed Church, in 1843, sent a delegation to Germany to secure F. W. Krummacher of Elberfeld for a professorship at Mercersburg. In-

sent from St. Louis, Birkner deviated from his instructions and appealed to Riess and Baltzer, who directed him to congregations at Horse Prairie and Round Prairie, Illinois, where he became the successor to both Binner and Baltzer. In 1850 the *Kirchenverein* gladly accepted his offer to teach several classes at the newly founded seminary at Marthasville, Missouri.

The second of the "Forty-eighters" to arrive was Theodor Hermann Dresel (1822-1887), a native of Altena, Westphalia, the home of Rauschenbusch. Like Rauschenbusch he was probably of Lutheran descent. Having completed a civil engineering course at the *Gymnasium* at Hamm, he entered the Basel Mission Institute in 1843, taking, as was frequently the custom among the students, a course in medicine at the university. The immediate occasion for sending Dresel to Missouri may be traced to the request received by the Basel Committee from the mission society of North Church in St. Louis for a missionary to labor among the Indians in the Far West.⁴⁹ Arriving in St. Louis, he discovered that financial conditions prevented the carrying out of this plan. Thus Dresel, who had been ordained in Basel (1848), was admitted to the *Kirchenverein* in June, 1849, and repaired to Burlington, Iowa, where, as the successor to Eppens, he remained until 1857.

The third representative of this group was Gotthilf Weitbrecht (1816-1884?). Rieger had known him from childhood and had studied with him at Basel. Before graduation Weitbrecht returned to his home in Württemberg. He stud-

stead, upon the recommendation of Tholuck, Schaff was secured. Several years later relations were effected with Basel and Langenberg.

Rauschenbusch had been commissioned by the Langenberg Society in June, 1846, in the Lutheran church at Elberfeld. Rieger most likely directed his attention to Missouri. Some unpublished letters of Rauschenbusch to Rieger are preserved in the Eden archives. Arriving in St. Louis, he made the acquaintance of Wall and Riess, was engaged by the American Tract Society to distribute tracts among the Germans, and in the summer of 1847 began an itinerant ministry which brought him to Köwing on the Gasconade River. W. Rauschenbusch, *op. cit.*, 129 ff. See also *infra*, pp. 175 f.

⁴⁹ Obituary, F., XXXVIII (1887), 100. Dresel brought with him a chest of medical supplies and sundry trinkets to be used in his work among the Indians.

ied theology in Tübingen and preached a few years before coming to America in 1848. On being presented by Knauss to the conference of 1849, he was admitted to membership and was immediately directed to two congregations near Columbia and Waterloo, Illinois, to release a "sick brother [Binner] from his charge." Here he remained until 1850, when he moved to Horse Prairie. With permission of the *Kirchenverein*, Weitbrecht in 1852 moved to Wisconsin, where, on Mühlhäuser's recommendation, he served a Lutheran church at Sheboygan. He was present at the conference of 1853, but during the same year joined the Methodists, whom, however, he found to be uncongenial to his spirit. The following year he received his dismissal from the *Kirchenverein* and joined the Wisconsin Synod, first serving a church at Port Washington, Wisconsin. In 1855 he moved to Bethel Church at Freedom, Michigan, where, it seems, he had contacts with Schmid.⁵⁰

Also belonging to this group was Johann Michael Krönlein (1811-1883) a native of Segnitz, Unterfranken (Bavaria), Germany.⁵¹ Interest in foreign missions characterized his early environment; a younger brother had labored for Barmen in South Africa. For four years he studied with Wall and Rieger at Basel. The sudden death of his father temporarily interfered with his plans, but in the spring of 1848, at the age of thirty-seven, he placed himself at the disposal of the Langenberg Society and was sent to America with Birkner, Grote, Hoffmeister, and Beussel. Upon examination he was admitted to the *Kirchenverein* in 1849. We find him, first of all, teaching and preaching in a filial congregation of the Gravois church, "across the Merimac" in Jefferson County. In the fall of 1849 he became a neighbor of

⁵⁰ See letters and minutes in archives of Joint Wisconsin Synod at Northwestern College, Watertown, Wis.; Koehler, *op. cit.*, 201 ff.; A. H. M. S. Cor., Weitbrecht, Columbia, Ill., July 4, 1849. Various records and documents pertaining to Weitbrecht, including an account of his experiences in America, are preserved in the archives of the *Evangelischer Oberkirchenrat* of Württemberg at Stuttgart. Weitbrecht returned to Germany in 1857.

⁵¹ Obituary, F., XXXIV (1883), 76.

Dresel at Franklin Center, Iowa (St. Paul's, Donnellson), where he remained until 1857.

The most erudite of the "Forty-eighters" was Gottlieb Steinert (1813-1876)⁵² of Prussia. Steinert received his theological education under Tholuck at Halle, with whom he formed an intimate friendship. Upon passing the state examination, he received the doctor's degree and, when appointment was delayed, found occupation as a teacher. The revolutionary turmoil of 1848 placed before him the alternative of accepting an important church at Erfurt or being delegated to the Frankfort Diet. He escaped this dilemma by emigrating to America under the auspices of the Bremen Society. In the summer of 1848 he arrived in St. Louis, where he was directed to assist Binner in serving the rural churches in the neighborhood of Waterloo, Illinois. At the June conference, with Grote, Krönlein, and Hoffmeister, he was ordained without further examination on the basis of his German credentials.

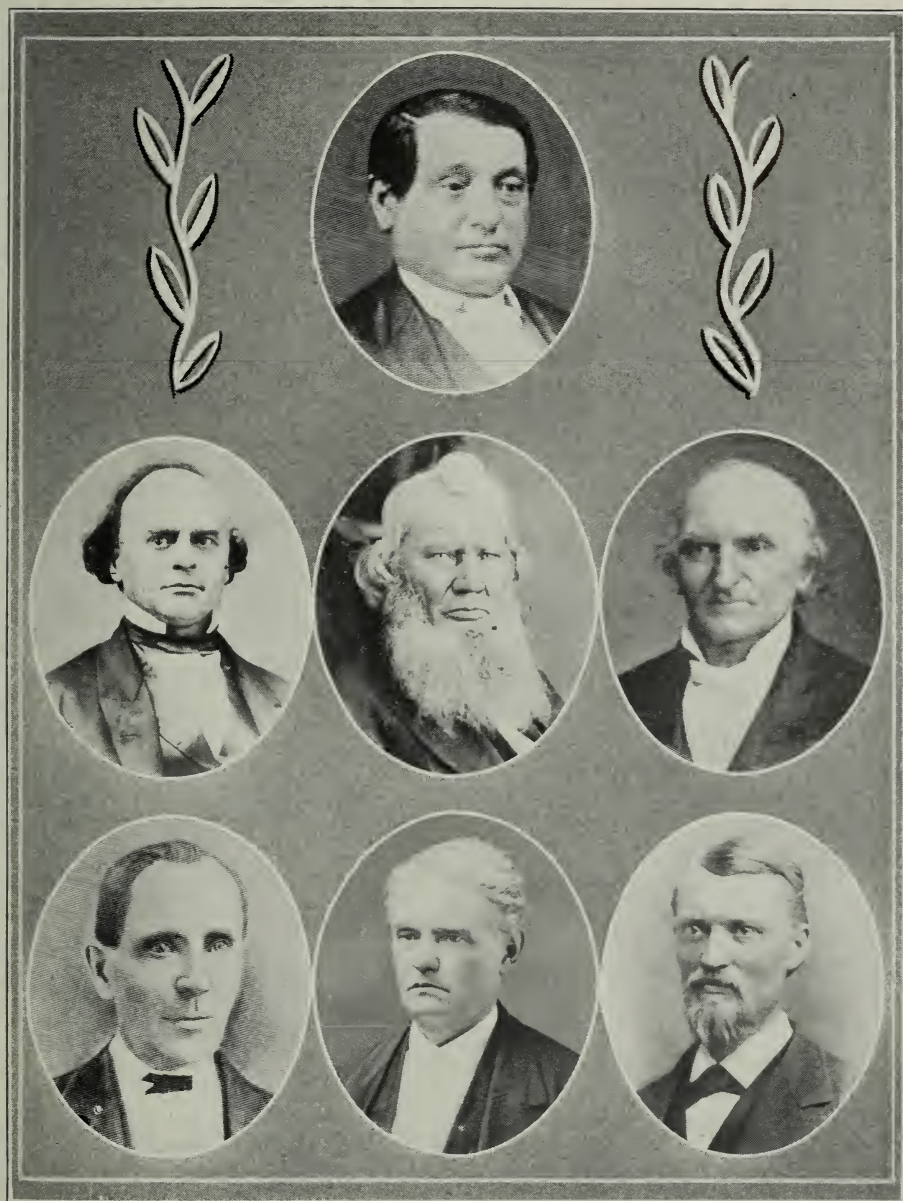
Heinrich Grote (1815-1853)⁵³ was a native of Hiddesen near Detmold. For three years he studied at Barmen. In 1848, under the auspices of Langenberg, he emigrated to Missouri and after his ordination located immediately at St. John's Creek, in Franklin County, whence he extended his activities to the surrounding counties. To establish his independence he unsuccessfully attempted to combine agricultural pursuits with the ministry—a rare experiment among the German preachers of the West. The death of Grote in 1853 was the first loss thus to be incurred by the *Kirchenverein*.

Also a native of Lippe-Detmold was Karl Hoffmeister (1819-1897),⁵⁴ who had been converted during a revival at a pietistic prayer-meeting. Hereupon he entered Barmen and was sent by the Langenberg Society to Missouri. Locat-

⁵² Obituary, *ibid.*, XXVII (1876), 69. A. H. M. S. Cor., Binner, St. Louis, Mo., June 18, 1849.

⁵³ Obituary, F., IV (1853), 77.

⁵⁴ Obituary, *ibid.*, XLVIII (1897), 404. "Der Bote aus Amerika," P., IV (1847), 107, refers to Grote as the *Steinhauergeselle* and to Hoffmeister as the *Schustergeselle*.



Pioneer Pastors of the First Decade (in the order of their arrival): J. J. Knauss, J. C. Jung, J. Köwing, K. Bode, W. Binner, A. Baltzer, and H. Eppens. Missing are the charter members and the following, whose pictures could not be procured: E. Arcularius, W. Schünemann, H. Tölke, J. Wettle, G. Weitbrecht, H. Grote, and K. Riess.



Pioneer Pastors of the First Decade (in the order of their arrival): C. Schrenk, Fr. Birkner, T. Dresel, J. Krönlein, G. Steinert, K. Hoffmeister, L. Austmann, D. Kröhnke, and J. Will.

ing in Moniteau and Cooper Counties in August, 1848, he engaged in a wide itinerant ministry with notable success.

The last of this group was Johannes Will (1821-1898),⁵⁵ a native of Württemberg, who entered Basel at the age of twenty-three with the intention of going to Africa. Instead, the Basel committee in 1848 directed him to America, where he located at Lippstadt in Warren County, Missouri. Although a member of the "Forty-eight" contingent, Will was not present at the conference in 1849 and was not admitted to membership until June, 1850.

Thus six of the thirty-one pastors admitted to membership in the *Kirchenverein* in the course of the first decade had dropped out, leaving a total of twenty-five at the end of the period.⁵⁶ Only three of the charter members remained. Two, Daubert and Nollau, had resigned, Heyer was suspended, Gerber had turned to the medical profession, and Garlichs had moved to Brooklyn, New York. Arcularius had also relinquished his membership. Without exception they were all Germans from abroad—directly or indirectly products of German Pietism and sympathetic toward the Evangelical Church of Germany. Most of the members were sons of German missionary societies. Basel led the list with eleven representatives: Riess, Wall, Rieger, Knauss, Jung, Wettle, Schrenk, Dresel, Krönlein, Will, and Weitbrecht, to which list Birkner may be added.⁵⁷ Of these, eight had been

⁵⁵ Obituary, F., XLIX (1898), 308.

⁵⁶ For list of K. pastors, see Appendix III. See illustrations facing p. 160 and this page.

⁵⁷ Although most of the Basel men located in the West, they did not all affiliate with the K. According to Basel records, the twenty-four who arrived in America up to 1850 inclusive, and who did not affiliate with the K., were distributed in the first years of their arrival as follows: 1833, F. Schmid, Ann Arbor, Mich.; 1834, W. Metzger, Liverpool, Ohio; 1836, J. Schwabe, Detroit, Mich.; 1837, F. Müller; 1840, M. Schaad, Detroit, Mich.; 1844, S. Dumser, Mich.; 1845, F. C. Judt, Louisville, Ky., J. Zahner, Mercersburg, Pa.; 1846, A. Bargas, Louisville, Ky., D. Gackenheimer, Somerset, Pa., K. Besel, Coontown, N. J.; 1847, W. Sigelen, D. Mayer, and C. Braun, Pittsburgh, Pa., J. Bühler, New Orleans, La., J. Steiner, Canal Dover, Ohio, E. Schoene, New Orleans, La.; 1848, F. Walz, Illinois, J. Schwankowsky (East); 1849, I. Wurster, Gettysburg, Pa., J. Ritter, Mich.; 1850, Vogelbach,

commissioned by Basel and considered Basel their *alma mater*. In addition to the three trained at Barmen—Tölke, Grote, and Hoffmeister—the Langenberg Society had also commissioned Krönlein and Birkner of Basel. The Bremen Society had commissioned six men — Köwing, Binner, Baltzer, Schönemann, Eppens, and Steinert—, two of whom had been trained at the *Rauhes Haus*, three had attended universities, and one had been instructed privately. The remaining four—Bode, K. Riess, Kröhnke, and Austmann—were self-educated or had received private theological instruction after their arrival in America.

The theological training of most of these men was not of the highest order. Indeed a widespread opinion prevailed in certain German circles that scientific training was not required by missionaries truly called of God. This extreme view was held by Gossner, and Wichern's commendation of Gossner's position suggests that this was also the view of the Bremen Society with respect to the missionaries trained at the *Rauhes Haus*.⁵⁸ Practical-minded preachers seemed to be needed especially in the Far West, in whose widespread rural areas they were peculiarly fitted to labor. To

Pittsburgh, Pa., F. Schiedt, Baltimore, Md., W. Streissguth, New Glarus, Wisconsin.

⁵⁸ The manner in which these two points of view had developed in German missionary circles may be noted in the Basel *Quartalschreiben* of Nov. 2, 1838 (the last circular letter dictated by Inspector Blumhardt before his death), in which the following statement occurs: "*Die Missionssache wird in Deutschland und der Schweiz immer allgemeiner. . . . So wird nun nach allen Richtungen hin experimentirt. Der Eine meint, es bedürfe zum Missionsberufe einer wissenschaftlichen Vorbereitung, der Andere hält gar nichts darauf, und will die frommen Jünglinge von der Strasse hinwegschicken, wie sie gestaltet sind.*" Ba. Cor.

That Wichern sympathized with, although not entirely accepted, Gossner's informal methods may be seen in the following account of his meeting with the latter in 1841: "*Ich trat mit grosser Freude bei ihm ein. Grade seine Missionsthätigkeit hat mir von jeher mehr gefallen als jede andere. . . . Meine Frage hatte gelautet: 'Wie bereiten Sie Ihre Heidenboten zum Missionsdienst vor?' Er, unwillig: 'Warum fragen Sie so?' u. s. w. Sein Unmut erklärt sich daher, dass er in mir einen von denen zu sehen glaubte, die seine Praxis in der Mission tadeln wollten. . . . Mir war das aber unbekannt. . . . Heftiger Unmut sprach sich dann bei ihm gegen jede andere Art der Vorbildung von Missionaren in den Missionshäusern aus. Mir lag die Besprechung der Sache mit Gossner nahe, da er ebenfalls Leute*

this non-theological group also belonged the self-educated pastors who with limited education yet qualified for useful service. What was lacking in scientific training was amply supplied by their zeal and fervor.

The dominant pietistic spirit, however, was supplemented from the beginning by the presence of such university-trained men as Garlichs, Binner, Baltzer, Birkner, and Steinert. They were few in number at this time and were outweighed by those who lacked both mission-house and university education. The scientific training of these men was not held against them—a number had indeed been commissioned by the Bremen Society. Differences in education and in temperament did not disturb the unity of the spirit which inspired the educated and the non-educated in common devotion to a single cause. Whatever chasm existed between them was bridged by the Barmen and Basel missionaries, the latter particularly recognizing the value of academic training. The practical interests of mission-house graduates, however, so towered above their theological and speculative interests that also in these circles a disesteem for scientific pursuits was occasionally voiced. Where such attitudes manifested themselves openly, they were promptly repudiated not only by the university group but by the fellow Basel and Barmen missionaries, who always exercised a wholesome moderating influence.

Common to all these pioneer pastors on the frontier was the passionate interest in the building, not of a Lutheran, Reformed, or Evangelical Zion, but of the Kingdom of God. Arriving in the West in widely scattered fields, each in his own way began to serve German communities wherever they could be found. Under their ministrations the pioneer *Kirchenvereine* churches of the first decade were faithfully served.

nach Amerika ausschickt, wie er denn weiss, dass ich mich mit dergleichen Aufgaben ebenfalls beschäftige." J. Wichern, *op. cit.*, I, 270. See also *ibid.*, 276.

A similarly practical trend is reflected in Löhe's instructions to his first American missionaries: "*Ihr reiset mit dem Wanderbuche als Handwerker.*" Deinzer, *op. cit.*, III, 7.

CHAPTER V
PIONEER CHURCHES OF THE FIRST
DECADE (1840-1850)

Upon reaching St. Louis the stream of German immigrants branched to the north and south along the Mississippi and continued westward along the Missouri River as far as Boonville. The prairie land farther west was less attractive to German settlers.¹ *Kirchenverein* pastors followed in the wake of this movement, and at the end of the first decade a line of churches stretched as far west as Cooper County on the south and to Warren County on the north of the Missouri River. These were all small churches unaffiliated with the Society and were served by pastors who from some central point visited the outlying preaching places at least once a month.

MISSOURI CHURCHES

St. Louis

The city of St. Louis, which had increased from a population of 16,469 in 1840 to more than 77,000 in 1850, continued, during this period, to be the center of *Kirchenverein* activities. At the end of the decade three churches with resident pastors had been established in St. Louis.

The new congregation founded by Wall in 1843, which met at first in the Benton schoolhouse on Sixth between Locust and St. Charles Streets, did not immediately affiliate with the *Kirchenverein*.² To meet the needs of the widely

¹ D. K., I (1848), 40, contained extracts from a letter of Rauschenbusch under the heading: "Das Deutsche Missionsfeld in Missouri," written from the home of Köwing at Mount Sterling, Mo., Aug. 6, 1847, in which he described a four weeks' tour of 180 miles through seven counties of western Missouri. This article originally appeared in P., IV (1847), 341 ff. under the caption "Der Bote aus Amerika." A description of early Missouri churches is also found in Rauschenbusch's *Nacht des Westens*, extracts of which were published in P., IV (1847), 180, 243.

² The preamble to the constitution of 1844 read as follows: "We do not consider ourselves a new church or a distinct sect nor would we have others consider us such. We claim to be and want others to consider us as a church which is and shall be what its name implies:

scattered congregation two houses of worship were built in 1845—the one at Carr and Fifteenth Streets, known as the “North Church” (*Obere Kirche*), and the other at Soulard and Third, generally called the “South Church” (*Untere Kirche*). Because of ill health Wall resigned in December, 1845, and assumed charge of the Gravois church during Nollau’s second visit to Germany. After the brief, unsatisfactory ministry of T. G. Caviezell,³ J. Riess served both churches from 1846 to 1847. In May, 1847, Baltzer was secured for South Church, the two ministers preaching alternately in both churches. When separate organizations were effected in January, 1848, South Church assumed the name “German Evangelical St. Mark’s Church.” North Church on Carr Street, in the meantime, had experienced a phenomenal growth amidst the densely populated German community. An addition to the old structure proved inadequate, and in 1850, under the ministry of Riess, a large brick edifice was erected—the largest German church in St. Louis.⁴ In the year 1855 the name “German Evangelical St. Peter’s Church” was adopted.

a German Evangelical congregation, which is a part of the Evangelical, i. e. United Lutheran and Reformed Church as founded in Germany and elsewhere. Although by the ties of a common faith and hope we cherish the most intimate fellowship with the Evangelical Church of Germany, yet as an individual congregation we claim the privilege of self-government and the right to frame our own constitution and by-laws, which, as they conform to the Word of God and the laws of our land, will, we are convinced, help foster true godliness and assure the welfare, growth and future existence of our organization. For our own welfare, and in order to maintain the peace of our congregation, we feel obliged to draft such a constitution and subject ourselves and all members of the congregation to such rules and regulations as are in accord with the Holy Scriptures; for ‘God is not a God of confusion, but of peace,’ I. Cor. 14: 33; for which reason we shall also attempt to follow the apostle’s injunction: ‘Let all things be done decently and in order,’ I. Cor. 14: 40.” This translation is taken from F. S., St. Peter’s Church, St. Louis, Mo., 1918, 27, and *Gemeinde-ordnung der deutschen Evangelischen St. Petri-Gemeinde*, St. Louis, Mo. (*Neuer Abdruck*; St. Louis, Mo., 1880).

³ Caviezell was present at the fall conference of the K. in 1845 and preached at the ordination of Köwing and Bode. K. P., I, 48. Riess’s *Diary*, 45, refers to him as “*der berühmte Caviezell, alias Jahn, derzeit [1846] Prediger in St. Louis.*”

⁴ Laying of corner-stone and dedication of North Church are described in F., I (1850), 48, 85. Affiliation with the K. was effected in June, 1851.

The early history of St. Mark's was not very auspicious.⁵ To assure for itself the property rights of the church, the orthodox faction proposed to include in the constitution a definition of its doctrinal position. The majority opposed the inclusion of this so-called "fundamental article," and in October, 1848, under the leadership of Baltzer, twelve families, including four of the six trustees, organized the German Evangelical St. Paul's Church.⁶ Composed of one hundred "souls," but only thirty voting members, mostly hard-working laborers of small means, the congregation soon found itself in such straitened circumstances that, despite the assistance granted by the American Home Missionary Society,⁷ a merger with the First Presbyterian Church or a reunion with the mother church was seriously considered. However, assisted by donations from Artemas Bullard of the First Church and "other congregations both German and American," this struggling congregation, in February, 1850, was able to dedicate a comfortable brick church located at Ninth and Lafayette Streets.⁸

St. Mark's in the meantime had fallen on evil days. An eloquent vagabond Swiss preacher by the name of Meier, on the basis of fraudulently acquired credentials, purporting among others things to be a missionary of the Reformed Synod of Pennsylvania, brought such distress upon the congregation that it again adopted the original constitution. Thereupon, in 1849, Binner of Waterloo accepted the pastorate.⁹ He, however, soon followed a call to Marthasville Seminary, and in 1850 Wall emerged from his quasi-retirement at Gravois to become the third Evangelical pastor in St. Louis. Thus, by 1850 three substantial Evangelical

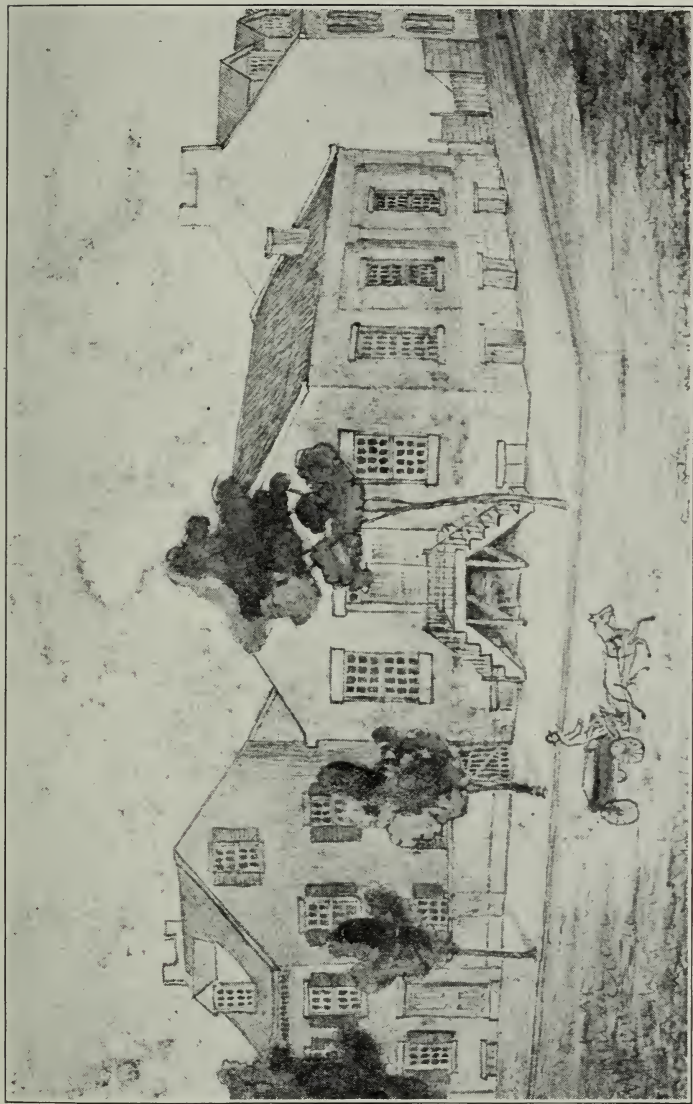
⁵ F. S., St. Mark's Church, St. Louis, Mo. See illustration.

⁶ F. S., St. Paul's Church, St. Louis, Mo. (1898, 1924). See illustration facing p. 170.

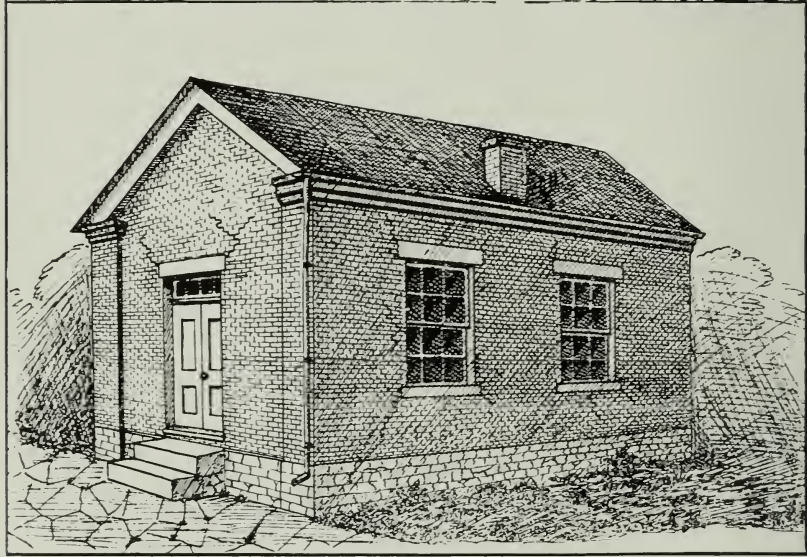
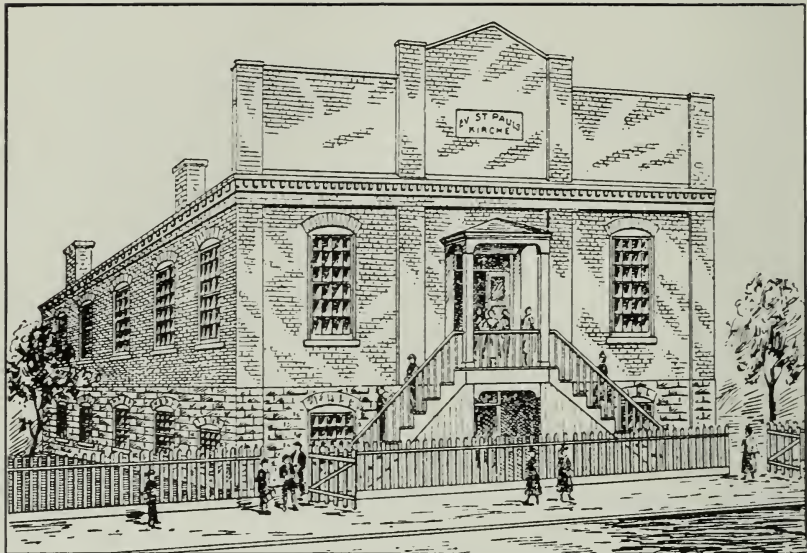
⁷ Twice Baltzer received an annual appropriation of \$200.

⁸ F., I (1850), 22. St. Paul's voted to join the K. in Dec., 1848, and was admitted in June, 1849, the first church to become officially identified with the Society. See illustration facing p. 167.

⁹ A. H. M. S. Cor., Binner, St. Louis, Mo., June 18, 1849. Binner had left Waterloo, Ill., for his health's sake, but felt constrained to prevent St. Mark's falling into the hands of rationalists.



Recently Discovered Drawing of St. Mark's Evangelical Church and Parsonage at
Souard and Third Streets, St. Louis, Missouri, 1845.



St. Paul's Evangelical Church at Ninth and Lafayette Streets, St. Louis, Missouri, 1850.

St. Paul's Evangelical Church, Waterloo, Illinois, 1847.

churches had arisen in the city served by *Kirchenverein* pastors. The members of these churches in the main belonged to the laboring class, and, surrounded by indifference and suspicion, infidelity and ungodliness—especially rampant, according to Baltzer, in south St. Louis—pastors and churches battled against seemingly insuperable difficulties.¹⁰

St. Louis County

The further spread of *Kirchenverein* churches into St. Louis County proceeded from the churches at Gravois and Des Peres. A German settlement south of the Meramec in Jefferson County was served by Nollau at least as early as 1844 and perhaps before 1841. For a while this congregation, known as St. James's, was also served from Gravois by Wall, who in 1846-1847 preached there every other Wednesday. During the summer and fall of 1849, Krönlein, as noted above, was teaching and preaching in the neighborhood.¹¹ Under Nollau, in the year 1844, a preaching station

¹⁰ During this period Wall, Baltzer, and Riess also served various preaching places in the neighborhood, one of which was Carondelet in south St. Louis.

¹¹ The St. John's Ev. Luth. Church at Beck, St. Martin's Ev. Church at High Ridge, and St. Luke's Ev. Church on Glaize Creek evolved from this preaching place, first referred to as the "*Gemeinde bei Monnier's*"—where the Meramec was crossed (Lemay?). The first mention of this congregation is found in a letter of Wall to Rieger under date of June 5, 1844, where reference is made to Nollau's "*frühere Gemeinde bei Monnier's*." This leaves the question open as to whether the congregation was being served before Nollau's first visit to Germany in 1841 or after his return in 1842.

Among other pastors roving about in the neighborhood was a Lutheran by the name of Toelkemeier and a free-lance by the name of Sabbat (?)—evidently posing as Evangelical. According to local versions of the founding of St. John's, a group of 18-20 men were preparing to build a log church near the present site of the Ulrich Cemetery when the offensive behavior of Sabbat led a number among them to secure the services of C. F. W. Walther and J. F. Büniger of St. Louis (1848). The Evangelical group, it seems, was served the following year by Krönlein and had developed such strength by 1850 that it offered as a building site for the seminary a tract of 6 acres on which a schoolhouse was located. The second issue of the F. in 1850 lists 4 subscribers at Sulphur Springs, the post-office of this community: H. H. Jacob Müller, Johannes Pitz, John Gilmann, and Jacob Steuber. These names, as also that of the above-mentioned Ulrich, are associated with the St. Luke's and St. Martin's Evangelical Churches on Glaize Creek and at High Ridge.

I am indebted to G. H. Hilmer, pastor of St. John's Lutheran

on Mattese Creek, which was served from Gravois until 1850, organized itself as the German Evangelical St. Paul's Church on Mattese Creek (St. Paul's, Oakville). In the same year a log church was built, forty by thirty feet in dimension, with a seating capacity of three hundred. This was used for almost three-quarters of a century.¹² Upon Wall's return to St. Louis in 1850, these churches were again served by Nollau, who had returned from Africa in the spring of that year.

The Evangelical congregation of Des Peres was destined to become the mother of three churches in St. Louis County. After Nollau's departure from Gravois on his first trip to Germany (1840), this congregation was served by Arcularius. In 1843 a division occurred when the minority, dissatisfied with the location of the newly built church on Ballas and Manchester Roads, organized the "German United Lutheran-Reformed St. Paul's Church" in Central Township, St. Louis County (St. Paul's, Stratmann), and erected a log church on the Bonhomme Road, which was served by pastors of the mother church until 1859.¹³

In the meantime the mother church on Ballas and Manchester Roads, which in 1846 had adopted a constitution

Church, Beck, Mo., for personal direction in securing this information. W.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Mo., June 5, 1844 to Rieger. K. P., I, 65, 85, 99. Obituary (Krönlein), F., XXXIV (1883), 76.

¹² F. S., St. Paul's Church, Oakville, Mo. (1918). A cemetery still marks the location of the original church on Baumgartner Road, one mile east of Oakville. Note the preamble to the constitution of 1844:

Es haben sich im Laufe der letzten Jahre die zerstreut wohnenden Glieder der Evangelischen Kirche deutscher Abkunft nach ihrer Einwanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten und ihrer Anstellung an der Mattese Creek wieder zu einer Gemeinde gesammelt und in der dort erbauten Kirche die Gottesdienste ihrer Vaeter gefeiert. Während wir nun mit unserer Evangelischen Kirche nach wie vor durch die Gemeinschaft des Glaubens und der Hoffnung verbunden und vereinigt bleiben, halten wir uns doch fuer berechtigt und fuer notwendig uns selbst als eine Gemeinde zu regieren und fuer das Wohl derselben, so wie fuer ihr ferneres Bestehen und Gedeihen uns eine solche Gemeinde-Ordnung zu entwerfen und zu geben, die dem Worte Gottes gemaess ist, mit den Gesetzen unseres Staates und Landes nicht in Widerspruch steht, und die wir fuer das geistliche Wohl der Gemeinde, so wie zur Foerderung im wahren Christentume fuer notwendig und zweckmaessig erachten, und wollen uns als Glieder einer Gemeinde auf freiwillig unter ein Gesetz und unter eine christliche Ordnung stellen, denn Gott ist nicht ein Gott der Unordnung, sondern der Ordnung und des Friedens wie in allen Gemeinden der Heiligen: I. Cor. 14: 33.

¹³ F. S., St. Paul's Church, Stratmann, Mo. (1918). Knauss served here 1844-46 and Wettle 1846-50. It was merely a preaching station during the first decade. The locality was also known as Central, Mo.

and the name "Evangelical Protestant Manchester Road Church," again divided, the mother church becoming Lutheran. Two years later, under the leadership of Wettle, the officers and thirteen members built the German Evangelical Zion Church on Ballas Road, near Clayton Road¹⁴ (Smith Road). Soon after the completion of the church in 1850, a parsonage was erected, and in April of the same year Wettle was succeeded by Schünemann of St. Charles, Missouri. In addition to preaching at Bonhomme every Sunday, Schünemann also preached fortnightly at the little village of Ballwin, located on the Manchester Road, twenty miles west of St. Louis.¹⁵

Thus the Evangelical churches in St. Louis County sprang directly or indirectly from the mother church in St. Louis. Many were formed through factional division and redivision due to differences with respect to doctrine, polity, or church property. A lack of unity is also seen in the type of names adopted, reflecting a desire to effect an "Evangelical" yet independent, non-synodical organization. None of these churches were affiliated with the *Kirchenverein*, and all fought shy of synodical connections, many of them being served at times by independent preachers.

St. Charles and Warren Counties

This period saw little development in St. Charles County. After the Heyer scandal a remnant of Friedens Church at St. Charles withstood the liberal faction, which had elected a Lutheran pastor by the name of Doelle, and met in private homes, where Garlichs of Femme Osage preached once a month during the summer of 1844. Disillusioned by their

¹⁴ F. S., German Evangelical Zion Church, Des Peres, Mo. (1913-28). F., I (1850), 15, describes the dedication of the Evangelical church on Manchester Road—evidently Zion Church on Ballas Road. The old church on Manchester Road was reorganized as the *Evangelisch-Lutherische St. Pauls-Gemeinde in Des Peres, Mo.* (Missouri Lutheran). The division, according to the account in the F., was due to dissension concerning church location.

¹⁵ It is a bit confusing that K. P., I, 172, refers to the main church as being on Manchester Road. Obituary of Schünemann, F., XLVII (1896), 223, states that at this time Schünemann served "in St. Louis County on Middle Road and at Central."

experience with Doelle, who proved to be anything but Lutheran, the congregation in the following year accepted the regular ministrations of Schünemann—Garlichs' erst-while vicar.¹⁶ Fully reestablished and prospering, the congregation now applied to the *Kirchenverein* for a pastor. When Baltzer arrived from St. Louis in October, 1850, he reported to the American Home Missionary Society, which continued to support him in his new field, that a stone church, forty by twenty-five feet in dimension and equipped with a small organ, had recently been built and that a brick parsonage was being completed.¹⁷ Baltzer also served a number of preaching places, the most important being located at Old Monroe (St. Paul's), twenty-two miles northwest of St. Charles, in Lincoln County. Another filial charge was established at Cottleville (St. John's), ten miles distant, where Baltzer preached in the schoolhouse and in private homes. We may assume that Baltzer also preached at Hamburg (Friedens) and at New Melle (St. John's)¹⁸ before the arrival of Rieger at Charette.

¹⁶ It seems that for a time Schünemann, the "Reformed" pastor, shared the field with Doelle, the "Lutheran," both preaching in the same church. This was probably the H. C. Dölle who served the Evang. Prot. St. Paul's Church of Covington, Ky., 1847-52. F. S., Friedens Church, near St. Charles, Mo. (1934). Schünemann's legalistic zeal occasioned another division in 1848-49. See Schünemann's correspondence with Wichern in archives of the *Rauhes Haus*.

¹⁷ A. H. M. S. Cor., Baltzer, St. Charles, Mo., Dec. 3, 1850. Baltzer's installation at Friedens was considered a triumph for the Evangelical cause. See report in F., I (1850), 95. Baltzer's biographer, *op. cit.*, 44, states that, prior to Baltzer's arrival, the membership of the church had been reduced to one-third its size by an indiscreet pastor of the K. who, through his opposition to the strict confessionalists, had driven the Lutheran element to the Old Lutheran church in St. Charles and the Reformed element to the German Methodists. The passage refers to Schünemann. The Lutheran church in St. Charles (Immanuel) was organized in 1847.

¹⁸ According to K. P., I, 85, Schünemann in 1848 was preaching (1) near St. Charles (Friedens), (2) at Cottleville, and (3) occasionally in St. Charles. See also H. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 51. The church at Cottleville is only four miles from Weldon Spring, where a group separated itself from the Cottleville church and organized a congregation in 1867. According to the obituary of Schünemann, F., XLVII (1896), 223, he preached at Old Monroe, New Melle, Hamburg, Cottleville, and Weldon Spring, which may be a reading of modern history into the old situation. It is more probable that in 1850 New Melle was being served by Rieger from Charette.

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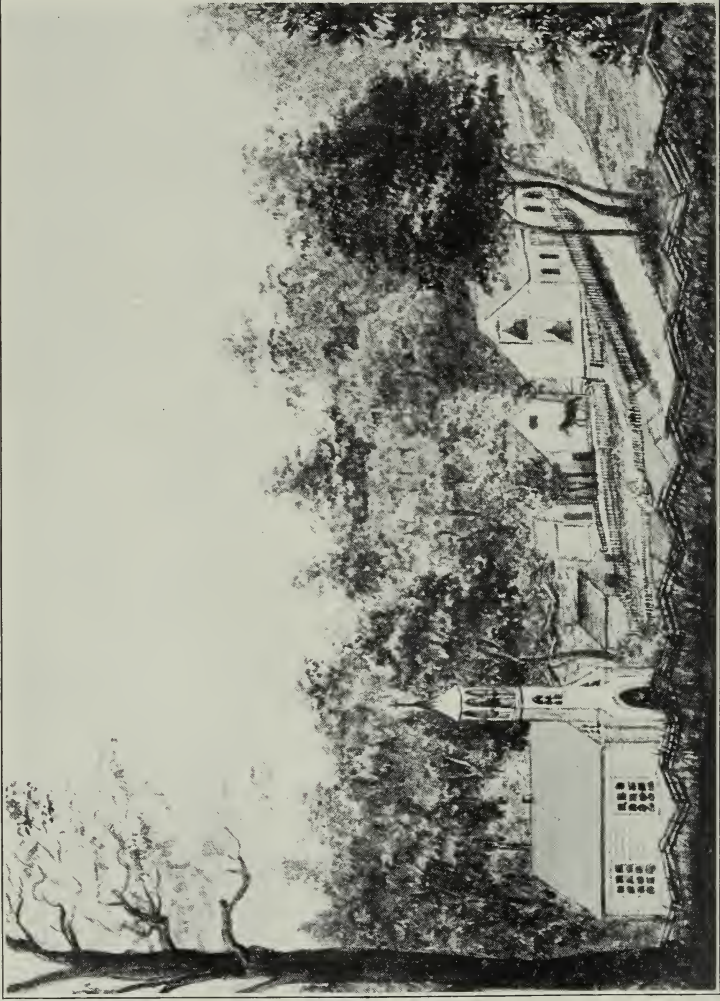
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Drawing by Mrs. J. Rieger of the Evangelical Church and Parsonage at Holstein, Missouri, Enclosed in a Letter of Rieger to Basel, January 26, 1852.

In spite of opposition encountered at Femme Osage, Garlichs extended his labors in all directions. Six miles from Femme Osage, also in St. Charles County, was the little town of Mount Pleasant (now Augusta), where a union church for both Germans and Americans had been built (1842). Here Garlichs began to preach every other Sunday afternoon (1843), sometimes in the English language. When this preaching station was abandoned two years later, the remnant joined the church at Femme Osage. It was not until 1851 that the church at Augusta (Ebenezer) was organized by Georg Maul, a recently ordained seminary who became the first pastor.¹⁹

More extensive itinerant preaching occurred toward the north and west, especially at Charette (Holstein, Warren County), where, not without interruptions by independent liberal preachers of doubtful moral character, Garlichs prepared the way for Rieger's arrival in 1847. From 1842 to 1843 Garlichs preached every four weeks to a congregation on the Upper Charette River (Harmony), thirteen miles from Femme Osage, and distributed tracts throughout the region. In 1846 an unordained minister assumed charge, although it seems that, with the arrival of Rieger at Charette, old contacts were reestablished.²⁰ Another preaching station was established among the Osnabrückers at New Melle, in St. Charles County, six miles from Femme Osage, where in 1844 Garlichs began to preach every other Sunday—a ministry which was continued by his successor, Bode, and at times from St. Charles and Charette. Pioneer preaching services were also conducted by Garlichs across the river at Washington, in Franklin County. It was not until 1845 that St. Peter's Evangelical Church at Washington was organized by Arcularius (1845-1851) with twenty-five members.²¹ Garlichs claims to have been present at the dedication of the first frame church.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II (1851), 72. The present Ebenezer Church at Augusta was dedicated in 1861.

²⁰ The original log church was erected in 1846. The present building, known as Strack's Church and *Harmonie*, was erected in 1856 at a place called Pitts.

²¹ According to F. S., St. Peter's Church, Washington, Mo. (1904,

Having weathered the onslaughts of liberalism, the German church at Charette in 1847 persuaded Rieger, who was engaged in colporteur activities between Marthasville and Pinckney, to become its first resident pastor. A new Evangelical constitution, proposed by Rieger, was now adopted by the thirty-two members, and the Charette church, now known as the Immanuel Church at Holstein, definitely cast its fortunes with the *Kirchenverein*.²² Another preaching station, not of much significance before the founding of the seminary in 1850, was located at Marthasville, where Rieger preached once a month from 1848 to 1849. The following year Binner was listed as pastor. A second preaching station for Rieger at this time was located on Smith Creek, seven miles from Holstein, and known as Bethlehem, presumably situated four or five miles northwest of Pinckney.²³ In addition to this, Will in 1850 was serving churches at Pinckney and Lippstadt²⁴ during that year having held eighty-seven services at the former and fifty-three at the latter place. Originally St. John's Church at Pinckney, Warren County, was located on the south side of the Missouri River. When the river began to wash away the bottom land, the church was moved back into the hills, where it is now located.

Franklin County

The next advance brought the line of churches served by *Kirchenverein* pastors into Franklin County, which was

1919), the first church was erected in 1845 at a cost of \$2,000. See also *History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford, Gasconade Counties, Missouri*, 352.

²² For Rieger's arrival and experiences at Charette, see Häberle, *op. cit.*, 56, 62. Cf. also the *Festbericht* prepared by the Rev. F. Egger in 1923 (MS). For the first nine months Rieger and his newly wedded wife lived "in einer Hütte, da weder für Tisch noch Stühle Raum war." B. P. F., Pinckney, Mo., Jan. 26, 1852. Enclosed in the letter was a pen drawing by his wife of the church buildings erected under his direction. See illustration facing p. 171. The constitution of 1847 was in use for 58 years. The congregation joined the synod in 1874.

²³ K. P., I, 122. The church is no longer being used, but the place is still called Bethlehem.

²⁴ The first church among the "Lipper" was founded by Will on Sept. 4, 1853, the remains of the old cemetery still marking its location on the highway from Warrenton to Marthasville, Mo. *Protokoll-Buch der Gemeinde Lippstadt*, 1853-79. This also contains the constitution of 1853 and the financial record of 1850-79.

more densely populated by Germans than any other county in Missouri and was also one of the most destitute counties in the state. As early as 1847 the widely itinerating Köwing, located at Second Creek in Gasconade County (Little Bay), was conducting services once every three weeks at *Bethanien*²⁵ on Big Berger Creek in Franklin County (Bethany, Big Berger), where he preached once a month in the home of a Mr. Oberwartmann, located one-half mile from the present church. A log church was soon erected, and after the departure of Köwing services were continued by a Lutheran pastor by the name of Oberwahrenbrock (1850-1852). About 1848-1849 Köwing preached at Boeuf Creek (Ebenezer, near Gerald), nine miles north of the present Stone Church at Gerald (St. Paul's), which was built in 1863.

Köwing also called the attention of the *Kirchenverein* to the needs of the German community on St. John's Creek in Franklin County, also reporting that the elders of Ebenezer Church "*in und bei Union,*" the Messrs. Osick and Otte, desired a pious Evangelical pastor for their congregation.²⁶ In response to this plea, Grote in the summer of 1848 established his residence at St. John's Creek, where he served a congregation of forty families (St. John's, Casco). From this base he also visited the congregation previously served by Köwing at Boeuf Creek, where services were held in a private home with an average attendance of fifty. Grote soon encountered opposition from the bibulous members of his congregation, who demanded that "since they paid him, he should preach as they desired." He was peremptorily dismissed, whereupon Rauschenbusch, who was well acquainted with his plight, helped secure for him the support

²⁵ K. P., I, 86.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 81 f. Cf. *History of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Crawford, Gasconade Counties, Missouri*, 353. This is probably the present St. John's, or *Mantels Kirche*, which was organized in 1844 as the "*Evang.-Lutherische Gemeinde*" in St. John's Township, Franklin Co., Mo. This congregation had previously been served by itinerant preachers such as Hundshausen, Rauschenbusch, and P. Heyer; under the latter's pastorate a log church was built in 1843. "Diamantenes Jubiläum," F., LXIX (1918), 713.

of the American Home Missionary Society.²⁷ Under these conditions Grote felt justified in personally procuring from the Government a tract of forty acres, on which the small congregation of ten families who remained true to their pastor erected another church on a "regenerate membership basis, intending to join the 'Evangelical Synod of the West.'"²⁸

Gasconade County

Before Grote's arrival in Franklin County, the intrepid Köwing had firmly established himself in Gasconade County to the west. Friendship with German immigrants, dating back to Germany, induced him to settle in this obscure region, which was the farthest western German outpost at the time. Until he moved to St. Louis in 1851, the church at Second Creek, or Mt. Sterling, as the region was also known, was the center of his activities.²⁹ From here (1844-1845) he preached more or less regularly at Sugar Creek and Osage Point, two unidentified places probably located in the southwestern part of Osage County. In 1847-1848

²⁷ Grote's correspondence with the A. H. M. S. extends from Oct. 2, 1849, to Apr. 8, 1853. The first letters were sent from the post-office at Enon, Mo., which was established in May, 1846, "probably named after the Enon or Middle Fork Creek Methodist Episcopal Church. . . . The name is apparently based on St. John, 3: 23. . . ." Cf. Herman G. Kiel, *The Centennial Biographical Directory of Franklin County, Missouri* (1925), 201. Beginning with July 2, 1850, Grote's letters were sent from Beaufort.

²⁸ The new church was described as being located in township 43 of Franklin County. The mother church in the meantime had secured the services of a Lutheran minister, "but he drinks . . . and permits his people to plow on Sunday" A. H. M. S. Cor., Grote, Beaufort, Mo., April 4, 1851. Cf. H. U. Rahn, *A Brief History of St. John's Evangelical Church, Casco, Mo.* (1935). According to K. P., I (1850), 152, Grote preached at Boeuf Creek once every two weeks. The present Ebenezer Church on Boeuf Creek modestly claims to have been founded in 1854 by twelve members under Schünemann, at which time a log church was built. Schünemann at this time was located at Casco (1854-58). See historical note in *Festprogramm* at celebration of the 75th anniversary of Stone Church near Gerald (1930). In 1852 a third church was organized, four miles southwest of St. John's Creek.

²⁹ The church at Second Creek, located about four miles from Köwing's residence at Mt. Sterling, was the forerunner of St. Paul's Church at Bay, the first structure under that name having been erected in 1851. See F., II (1851), 92; "Der Bote aus Amerika," P., IV (1847), 244.

he served German communities at Big Berger in Franklin County, California and Midway in Moniteau County, and Boonville in Cooper County. During the next two years he served in the northeastern part of Gasconade County (St. John's at Little Berger), Boeuf Creek in Franklin County, the southern part of Gasconade County (St. John's at Bem), and, in 1851, at an unnamed preaching place.³⁰ Thus Köwing deserves the honor of having been the pioneer German home missionary in the West, having opened up new fields in Franklin, Gasconade, Moniteau, and Cooper Counties, where thriving Evangelical churches are now to be found.

On three occasions, Rauschenbusch visited his friend Köwing at Mt. Sterling, a romantic outpost in the Far West. During his first visit, in 1847, as representative of the American Tract Society, he wrote *Die Nacht des Westens*, which was printed as a tract by the Langenberg Society and widely circulated in Germany, and also a letter, which was reprinted in *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund* under the title *Das Deutsche Missionsfeld in Missouri*.³¹ His

³⁰ K. P., I, 53, 86, 123, 152, 172. These congregations are also referred to in P., IV (1847), 244.

³¹ This letter, see D. K., I (1848), 40, was subtitled: "Auszug aus einem Schreiben des Hrn. Pastor Rauschenbusch, an den Langenberger Verein, Mount Sterling, den 6. August, 1847, (S. Palmbl. October 1847)." Rauschenbusch's *Einige Anweisungen für Auswanderer nach den westlichen Staaten von Nordamerika und Reisebilder von August Rauschenbusch* (3rd ed.; Elberfeld and Iserlohn, 1848) was written in St. Louis, Mo., in October, 1846. For early American impressions of R., see "Reisebilder aus N. A.," P., IV (1847), 17. See also "Ein Schreiben von Pastor R. in Nord-Amerika," written from Chambersburg, Pa., Nov. 11, 1847, on the way to Philadelphia and describing conditions among the Reformed in Pa. in *Stimmen aus und zu der streitenden Kirche*, III (1848), 25, 90. Rauschenbusch's criticism of Hengstenberg's account of German churches was answered by the latter in "Erwiderung . . .," *ibid.*, 90.

The practical interest of Rauschenbusch in the welfare of prospective emigrants may be noted in the following articles appearing in A. A. Z.: "Ansiedlersleben in den Vereinigten Staaten," I (1847), 422; "Brief," II (1848), 536.

When Rauschenbusch arrived in St. Louis, expecting to succeed Caviezell at the North Church, he discovered that Riess had been elected. *Supra*, p. 165. Riess and the congregation urged him to remain as associate pastor. Rauschenbusch, however, concluded: "*Ich bin von Deutschland herübergekommen, nicht um ein schon ohnedies versorgtes Arbeitsfeld, sondern um ein Brachfeld zu übernehmen, das*

knowledge of conditions among the Germans in the West was largely derived from personal observations made in the Gasconade region. He was, in short, describing Köwing's parish when he stated that on a trip of eight days he had traveled one hundred and eighty miles on horseback; crossed the Gasconade, Osage, Moreau, Moniteau, and Lamine Rivers; passed through seven counties; and preached in two towns and six German settlements. In 1849-1850, prior to his defection from the Evangelical faith to that of the Baptists, Rauschenbusch again visited Köwing. Upon his return from a visit to Germany in 1854, he again repaired to Köwing's old haunts on Second Creek, rented the erstwhile parsonage at Mount Sterling, and for ten years engaged in extended missionary activities, establishing numerous German Baptist churches in the surrounding country.³²

Moniteau and Cooper Counties

Cole County, barren of German settlements, was quickly traversed by Köwing in his efforts to reach the Germans in Moniteau and Cooper Counties. In the spring of 1846 Köwing, and occasionally Rauschenbusch, began to preach to between twelve and sixteen families in the German settlement on North Moreau Creek in Moniteau County—the present McGirk, six miles from California. At the June conference of 1848, when Köwing called attention to the unoccupied fields in Franklin County, he also pleaded for the vacant places at California Settlement and Midway, in Moniteau County, and at Boonville, in Cooper County.

ohne mich völlig unbestellt daliegt. Ein solches hoffe ich weiter gegen Westen zu finden. . . . Denn es wohnen in diesem Staate unter 500,000 Einwohnern nicht weniger als 150,000 Deutsche, von denen noch grosse Schaaren predigerlos sind." Dritter Bericht (Langenberg, 1847), 21.

³² W. Rauschenbusch, *op. cit.*, 178 f. The first of Rauschenbusch's foundings was the German Baptist Church on Pin Oak Creek at Mt. Sterling in 1855. The catholic spirit of Rauschenbusch became manifest in the founding of the Gasconade County Bible Society, May 12, 1857, which became auxiliary to the American Bible Society and was supported by most of the German preachers in the county. Annual meetings are still being held. The original constitution is in the possession of St. Paul's Church at Bay, Mo. See illustration.

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In fact, Köwing at Second Creek, in addition to serving Bethany, in Franklin County, once in three weeks, also preached at each of the other places mentioned once in five weeks, so that the church at Second Creek received his services only twice in five weeks.³³ The distance from Bay to Boonville is more than eighty miles and from Bay to Boeuf Creek fifteen miles, so that, preaching at Second Creek twice every five weeks and at Bethany once every three weeks, Köwing might well desire to surrender the extreme Western churches to someone else.

Thus it occurred that in August, 1848, Köwing personally introduced Hoffmeister to the congregation on North Moreau Creek (Salem Church, McGirk), which consisted of but thirteen families. Since the congregation was not able to support him, two laymen, H. Sewing and D. Meyer, successfully negotiated with fourteen German families on Moniteau Creek in Cooper County to assist in his maintenance (Advent Church, Moniteau). Hoffmeister agreed not only to divide his time between the two places but also to visit other settlements in Cooper County. Discovering that his residence at North Moreau was not strategically located for extended missionary excursions toward the west, he moved into the neighborhood of the Pleasant Grove church with its sixteen families (St. Peter's, Prairie Home). From this base (Midway,³⁴ 1849-1850), in addition to the above-mentioned churches on the North Moreau and Moniteau Creeks, he served congregations at Boonville, Charles' Bottom, and Pilot Grove. His largest congregation consisted of twenty families and was located at Boonville, where he enjoyed the confidence and fellowship of W. B. Bell, the Presbyterian minister. The congregation at Charles' Bottom, seven or

³³ K. P., I, 82, 85.

³⁴ Miss Kathryn Lammert of California, Mo., is authority for the statement that "Midway was the name of the stage-coach stop 2½ miles southeast of Prairie Home—being the half-way stop between Boonville and Jefferson City." Midway may thus be identified with the Pleasant Grove community. The records of this church state that Köwing was succeeded by Rauschenbusch, who was followed by Hoffmeister. "Einweihung der Evangel. Salemskirche," F., VI (1855), 12; "Entstehung und Fortgang der Ev. Gem. an der North Morro, bei California, Monito Co., Mo.," *ibid.*, VII (1856), 28.

eight miles east of Boonville, has long disappeared.³⁵ The church at Pilot Grove (St. Paul's Church), consisting of eleven families, was located fifteen miles west of Boonville—the extreme western outpost of the first decade.

It was a difficult frontier field. At the time of its widest extension (1850), Hoffmeister's "parish" was sixty miles in length and required a journey of from 120 to 130 miles on horseback every two weeks. The six congregations under his care did not number, altogether, more than eighty families. Their total annual salary subscription amounted to but one hundred dollars, to which was added a similar amount contributed by the American Home Missionary Society. Although log churches were begun at North Moreau and Pleasant Grove, lack of funds, decrease in population, and general indifference, especially at North Moreau, prevented their completion until 1854.³⁶

At the end of the decade, fourteen out of a total of twenty-seven *Kirchenverein* pastors were located in the state of Missouri.³⁷ One of this number, Kröhnke, the steward at Marthasville Seminary, was not serving a church. The thirteen active pastors were stationed at as many main churches and in addition were serving at least twenty-six preaching places. Several of these may have been abandoned by the year 1850.

ILLINOIS CHURCHES

Adams County

Second in importance to that in Missouri was the development of *Kirchenverein* churches in the state of Illinois,

³⁵ Charles' Bottom evidently refers to a stretch of Missouri bottom land in the vicinity of Woodridge, originally called Jolly's Bottom after its owner.

³⁶ Cf. A. H. M. S. Cor., Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., Feb. 1; March 1; May 1; Aug. 1; Nov. 1, 1850. *Ibid.*, letter of the trustees of the Midway church, Nov. 1, 1850.

With the arrival of new immigrants in 1853, Hoffmeister was induced to settle at North Moreau, personally offering to defray the cost of building the parsonage. He gradually restricted his operations to the immediate vicinity.

³⁷ Although Nollau had returned to America in the spring of 1850, he was not formally received into membership until the May conference of 1851.

where Daubert, Riess, and Rieger had pioneered the way. After Daubert left Quincy (October, 1841), the church was torn by discord and confusion. Immediately before the arrival of Jung in the spring of 1845, the services of Wilhelm Baumeister had been secured. The latter attempted to steer the church into Lutheranism and had divided the congregation against itself. When, in addition thereto, German Methodists injected themselves into the controversy, Baumeister, lamenting the confusion which had arisen, joined the Methodists and surrendered the church to Jung. For a period of two weeks, Jung conducted revival services for the purpose of healing the schism. New dissensions arose, however, and in 1848 a constitution was adopted which was unacceptable to Jung. With a number of Lippe-Detmolders he organized Salem Church on Easter Sunday of that year, the original St. John's (*Bergkirche*) becoming Lutheran.³⁸ Governor John Wood, we are told, "presented" the struggling congregation with the northeast lot on Ninth and State Streets, and in the fall of 1848 a brick building forty-eight by thirty-six feet in dimension was dedicated.³⁹ Jung did not confine his attention to the Quincy church, but established a preaching station at Liberty, Illinois, also preaching at another unnamed German settlement in the neighborhood.

St. Clair and Washington Counties

From the home base established by J. Riess at Centerville, in St. Clair County, a number of other churches originated; Konrad Riess, the school-teacher, assisted in these labors from 1839 to 1848. In 1842 a preaching place was established three miles northwest of Centerville (Salem Church), which, however, was united with the old Zion Church at Freivogel's in 1850. By the end of the decade

³⁸ The K. sent a commission to Quincy to investigate the conditions which had arisen. K. P., I, 81, 83, 113.

³⁹ F. S., Salem Church, Quincy, Ill. (1898). Mag., XXXII (1847), Heft IV, 193. Wood was elected lieutenant-governor in 1856 and became governor in 1860. He was not governor at this time, nor was the property presented, as the F. S. states. Official records show that lots 11, 12, 13, Block 66, Wood's addition to Quincy, were sold to J. C. Young for \$350. Lot 11 and part of 12, with improvements, were sold by Young to the congregation in 1852 for \$2300.

the congregation at Turkey Hill had been lost. Despairing of the future of the church at Centerville, which had been undermined by the indifference of its members and by what Riess called the "*unselige Proselytenmacherei der Ultra-Lutheraner*" and that of the Methodists,⁴⁰ Riess, in 1846, accepted a call to North Church in St. Louis. He was succeeded at Centerville by his friend Jacob Knauss (October 1846-1866). In the summer of 1850 Knauss began to preach to a German community on Grand Prairie, in Washington County, the early settlers of which worshipped at the Lutheran church at Venedy, five miles distant. Before the building of the church in 1851, when Karl Witte became the pastor, services were held by Knauss in the home of Mr. F. Kersick. Thus St. Paul's Church at Okawville had its origin.⁴¹

At Belleville, Flickinger resigned in 1840 and was succeeded by A. Dony (1842-1849), under whom religious interest began to wane. Binner, in describing conditions at Belleville, referred to the pastor as "an infidel and an immoral man too, who spread the abomination of destruction by word and action. Profanity is fast gaining ground in that region."⁴² At this critical moment Wettle arrived on the scene. To escape the liberalism running rampant in St. Paul's at Belleville, the minority faction founded St. John's Church. However, Wettle did not long survive the invasion of the rationalistic "Forty-eighters" and was forced to leave in the following year (1851).

Madison County

In spite of the many Germans at Alton and Highland and of Rieger's work among them, only a single church marks the entrance of the *Kirchenverein* into Madison County. In

⁴⁰ Riess's *Diary*, 34.

⁴¹ F. S., St. Paul's Church, Okawville, Ill. (1925). For a sketch of the early religious history of Johannsburg, Venedy, and Stone Church (Petersburg), describing the origin of St. John's Church at Johannsburg, the Lutheran church at Venedy (1842), and St. Peter's Church at Stone Church, see F. S., St. John's Church, Johannsburg, Ill. (1927). Cf. "Brief History of Our Church at Venedy, Ill.," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*, I (1928), 53.

⁴² A. H. M. S. Cor., W. Binner, Waterloo, Ill., May 20, 1848.

the year 1850, Eppens, previously located at Burlington, Iowa, arrived in Madison County to serve a congregation which had been organized on the Old Springfield Road, three miles north of Edwardsville. This church has long since disappeared. The present St. James's Cemetery marks the old location.⁴³

Randolph County

Eight months after his arrival in Illinois, as we have seen, Riess preached in a German settlement on Prairie du Long, in Randolph County, where he established a preaching contact about ten miles from Waterloo, near the present town of Red Bud.⁴⁴ Soon after his arrival from Germany (1845), Baltzer was directed to this congregation, which he described as having recently been one of the strongest German churches in the entire West. It numbered about sixty families but had lately suffered under rationalistic preachers, one of whom was the above-mentioned Dony. The congregation possessed a tract of forty acres on which stood a church and a schoolhouse but no living quarters for the pastor. Baltzer, therefore, took up his residence in the home of Philipp Sauer, on Round Prairie, sharing with eleven other persons the one-room log cabin. He soon gathered a congregation of about thirty families from Long and Round Prairies and also preached every two weeks to a congregation on Horse Prairie (St. Mark's). These were his two main congregations, one of which had two additional preaching stations, the names and locations of which are unidentified.⁴⁵

Soon after Baltzer's removal to St. Louis (May, 1847) the Long Prairie congregation was absorbed by the Lutherans. Binner, who now took over the remaining prairie congregations, reported thirty-five families at Horse and Round Prairies—the church at Horse Prairie being located

⁴³ The records were lost when the church was destroyed. It is not to be confused with St. John's Church at Moro, also on the Springfield Rd. and about 10 miles north of Edwardsville, but organized in the fifties as a German Presbyterian church.

⁴⁴ Riess's *Diary*, 5.

⁴⁵ H. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 27. K. P., I, 65.

seventeen miles and the one at Round Prairie twelve miles from Waterloo.⁴⁶ The preaching places are no longer mentioned. Birkner, arriving in 1858, took up residence at Round Prairie and the following year built an Evangelical church at Horse Prairie, six miles distant. In addition thereto, Birkner also preached at an unidentified place close to St. Mark's. Weitbrecht, who arrived in 1850, considered Horse Prairie his main charge and preached every fourteen days at Round Prairie and at a new place located at Horse Creek, which at one time numbered thirty families,⁴⁷ and which may have been one of the unidentified preaching places served by Baltzer.

Monroe County

Another cluster of churches developed in Monroe County, the origins of which may also be traced to the Riess brothers. The first of these was Salem Church at Bluff Precinct, about twenty miles from Centerville. Since services were originally held at the home of Mr. Philipp Baum, the church came to be called "Baum's Church." Throughout the decade it was merely a preaching place served from Waterloo, six miles distant.⁴⁸

Binner had originally been called to St. Martin's Church, four miles from Waterloo, where a whiskey dealer had been preaching the Gospel since 1842. Not able to support a pastor unaided, the congregation appealed for assistance to the Germans at Waterloo, with the result that Binner settled at Waterloo, where, with thirteen families, he organized St. Paul's Evangelical Church and founded a German school. The liberal Germans had indulged the hope that a German church would increase their economic prosperity. Interest in the church waned perceptibly when the pious spirit of the pastor became manifest, and concern for the school alone prevented his expulsion. With the financial support of the

⁴⁶ K. P., I, 85. A. H. M. S. Cor., Binner, Waterloo, Ill., May 20, 1848.

⁴⁷ K. P., I, 122, 171; F., I (1850), 7.

⁴⁸ Riess's *Diary* states that the church was dedicated on June 16, 1844. F. S., Salem Church, Bluff Precinct, Ill. (1920).

American Home Missionary Society he was able to eke out an existence until a severe sickness in 1848 forced his resignation. Shortly before, Steinert arrived, assisted Binner at St. Martin's Church, and conducted his school at Waterloo. In April, 1849, Steinert assumed complete charge of Waterloo and the preaching stations at St. Martin's and Salem.⁴⁹

The name of K. Riess is also associated with the early history of the German congregation near Columbia, in Monroe County (Zoar, New Hanover), which in 1844 called Riess to become its pastor. The organization of the church was completed in 1846. Two years later Weitbrecht was called to Zoar, where he found a congregation consisting of about twenty-five families. While at Zoar, Weitbrecht also preached to the "wicked population" at Columbia, where a brick church was built in 1849 (St. Paul's).⁵⁰ Although the records are silent, we may assume that Weitbrecht preached both at Zoar and at Columbia until 1850, when he left for Horse Prairie. The Zoar congregation then, unsuccessfully, extended a call to Knauss at Centerville.

Thus in the year 1850 there were located in Illinois six pastors of the *Kirchenverein* serving six main charges and about eleven preaching places scattered through five counties. In the course of the first decade at least five preaching places had been abandoned or merged with other churches. None of these churches were members of the *Kirchenverein*, and some, even to this day, are not affiliated with any church body.

It should also be noted, in passing, that the work of Rieger at Alton, Highland, and Beardstown did not reap any tangible results during the first decade. After his return from Germany (1840) Rieger remained at Highland until 1843, when, led by the "prospect of a more enlarged field of labor and a more liberal support from the people," he moved to Beardstown. From that time on, the church was served

⁴⁹ F. S., St. Paul's Church, Waterloo, Ill. (1896, 1931). Cf. F., VII (1856), 82. See illustration facing p. 167.

⁵⁰ A. H. M. S. Cor., Weitbrecht, Zoar, Ill., July 4, 1849; Feb. 26, 1850. Weitbrecht was granted an annual subsidy of \$100. See F. S., St. Paul's Church, Columbia, Ill. (1924).

mostly by independent pastors, some of whom we have already encountered at other places. Similarly the atmosphere at Alton continued antagonistic to the founding of a church, and it was not until 1852 that an independent church was organized. The church at Beardstown, because of the lack of available pastors, was lost to the Society. In the spring conference of 1845 it was suggested that Tölke accept a call from the Beardstown church. Instead, he went to Evansville, Indiana, and Beardstown fades from the picture.

INDIANA CHURCHES

The third important expansion of the *Kirchenverein* during this period was toward the east into Indiana, where German settlements had sprung up along the rivers in the southwestern part of the state. The first notable German settlement was composed of Württembergers, who, under the leadership of Georg Rapp, had first settled in Pennsylvania, but in 1814-1815 founded the town of New Harmony (*Harmonie*), in Posey County, on the Wabash. More permanent German settlements were established along the Ohio River at Madison, Jefferson, New Albany, Rockport, Evansville, and Mt. Vernon; and names such as Elberfeld, Westphalia, Haubstadt, Darmstadt, and Lippe give modern testimony to early German foundations.⁵¹

Vanderburgh County

In 1836 a colony of Evangelical Christians from Lippe, Germany, settled in Vanderburgh County. At least four years later J. H. Settelmeier was preaching at what is now the St. Paul's Church in German Township.⁵² The church

⁵¹ W. A. Fritsch, *Zur Geschichte des Deutschtums in Indiana* (New York, 1896) and *German Settlers and German Settlements in Indiana* (Evansville, Ind., 1915).

⁵² According to Brant and Fuller, *History of Vanderburgh County, Indiana* (Madison, Wis., 1889), 662, a German Lutheran church was established "near the homestead of the Fauquhars, now on Cynthiana Road, in the northeast part of the township" about the year 1838. Polack, *loc. cit.*, states that St. Peter's Lutheran Church in German Township had been founded by A. Saupert in 1847. The records of St. Paul's Evangelical Church were destroyed when the parsonage burned in 1870. It has been assumed that the church was founded

had evidently been organized in that year and may be rated as the oldest German Evangelical church in the county. Settelmeier was followed by men whom we know only obscurely by such names as Blochte, Knie, Schmidt. The neighboring St. John's Church on New Harmony Road, in the northwestern part of German Township, near Posey County, was organized as early as 1842 by Friedrich Grassow, trained by Gossner of Berlin, who extended his ministry into Posey County.⁵³ Although not definitely so stated, it appears that at the end of the decade Tölke at Evansville was occasionally preaching in both of these churches.⁵⁴

The most important German settlement in Vanderburgh County, however, was at Evansville, Indiana, a thriving trading village on the Ohio—the “outlet for two of the richest productive valleys of America” and, as the prospective terminal of the Central Canal, frequently referred to as the “landing of the Wabash.” In the year 1849 the population of Evansville numbered seven thousand. Of this number twenty-five hundred were Germans, many of whom had come from Lippe. During the summer of 1848 one hundred and thirty immigrants arrived from Westphalia alone.⁵⁵

We have seen that as early as 1839 an Evangelical Lutheran church was being built under the leadership of Kroh,

not later than 1840, since the oldest grave on the cemetery is dated Jan. 14, 1840. *Historical Sketch* (MS), compiled by the Rev. I. Neumann. F., LXXI (1920), 585.

⁵³ In the year 1840 Gossner sent seven missionaries to America: G. Kratz, J. G. Kunz, J. Isensee, H. Isensee, A. F. Knape, C. Schulz, and J. F. Grassow. The B. A. K., III (1841), 883, laments the fact that, although designed for the West, they all remained in the East, where they fell into the hands of the United Brethren. “*Diese Brüder verfehlen ganz den Zweck ihrer Sendung, indem sie in einer Gegend arbeiten, wo durchaus kein Mangel an Predigern ist.*” Gossner missionaries assisted in the founding of the Indianapolis, Minnesota, and Nebraska Synods. Grassow, referred to in local records as Krassauer, settled in Pa. in 1840, was sent by Ministerium of Pa. to F. Schmidt, editor of the *Luth. Kirchenzeitung*, who directed him to Evansville. See L. K., July 28, 1842.

⁵⁴ K. P., I, 65; A. H. M. S. Cor., Tölke, Evansville, Ind., Feb. 28, 1849. Tölke stated that he was “occasionally preaching in two settlements near Evansville” One of these may have been the Salem Church mentioned below.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Tölke, Evansville, Ind., Jan. 12, 1849.

the Reformed pastor. Kroh was succeeded in 1841 by the Lutheran minister H. W. Lauer, whom we previously encountered at Cincinnati, Ohio. Disheartened by their experiences with a number of later itinerant preachers such as Böttiger and Freigang, the congregation petitioned the Lutheran seminary at Columbus, Ohio, for a permanent pastor. Shortly before the arrival of the two Lutheran candidates Andreas Saupert and H. Schürmann (June, 1845), commissioned by the Ohio Synod to serve in southern Indiana, Tölke arrived from St. Louis and was invited to preach. This was the beginning of a schism in the congregation. The group which remained loyal to Saupert—consisting of twelve families—organized the Lutheran church, known first as St. Philip's and later as Holy Trinity, whereas Tölke, with twenty-nine members, continued to hold regular services in the old court-house. Beginning with 1848, Tölke received assistance from the American Home Missionary Society, and matters prospered so that on January 1, 1849, Zion Evangelical Church was formally organized.⁵⁶ At the end of the decade Tölke was the key man for the *Kirchenverein* in southern Indiana.

Posey County

A large number of German immigrants settled in Posey County in 1836, where, at a distance of about ten miles from Evansville, the community of Tersteegen was established.⁵⁷ It was in this settlement that Zion Church was

⁵⁶ Polack, *loc. cit.*, "Anniversary Meditation," *Trinity Lutheran*, V (1930), No. 6. The first Presbyterian church in Evansville (Walnut Street Presbyterian) organized in 1821, also used the old log court-house (south cor. Main and Third Streets), which was described as being "without floors—'puncheon' seats being placed on the hard ground: the fire in winter was against the wall in a poorly framed fireplace; the smoke too often for the convenience of worshippers, choosing to find its way up through the entire space of the building, and out by numerous accomodating chinks and cranies." Brant and Fuller, *op. cit.*, 269. See also *Kirchenbuch der Deutsch-Evangelischen Gemeinde* in Evansville, Ind. (1849-) (MS), and Tölke letters in A. H. M. S. Cor.

⁵⁷ F. S., Zion Church in Lippe, Ind. (1920). W. McCarer, Presbyterian minister of Evansville, maintained that "almost half of the population of Posey County is German." A. H. M. S. Cor., McCarer, Evansville, Ind., July 17, 1850. Cf. *supra*, p. 152, n. 34.

organized in 1844 by Grassow of St. John's Church in Vanderburgh County. After the removal of Grassow in the following year, Saupert served the congregation in Posey County and erected a clapboard log church. When, shortly thereafter, Saupert characteristically refused to admit Reformed members to the Lord's Supper, he was dismissed in favor of Lauer of the more liberal Immanuel Lutheran Church of Evansville (Franklin Street). Lauer was succeeded by Friedrich Dulitz, a Langenberg missionary, who had been called to St. John's Church in 1848.⁵⁸ It was not until March, 1849, that the first representative of the *Kirchenverein* arrived in the person of Louis Austmann. The Tersteegen congregation, consisting of twenty to twenty-five members, applied to the American Home Missionary Society for assistance, and Austmann soon reported that more than thirty men had joined the church and that the average attendance at Sunday services amounted to fifty members and twenty visitors.⁵⁹

Soon after his arrival in Evansville, we find Tölke preaching to another German congregation in the southern part of Posey County, located eight miles from the city in a hilly section near the Ohio River. Here he preached every Sunday afternoon and soon organized the twelve families into a congregation, giving it the name of "Salem," which was

⁵⁸ Dulitz (1796-1892), who arrived in America in 1841, was ordained by the N. Y. Ministerium and first served churches at Maysville, Ky. (founded by Raschig), and New Albany, Ind. He joined the K. in 1862. Obituary of Dulitz, F., XLIII (1892), 28.

Fr. Dulitz, commissioned to America by Langenberg in 1841, is usually referred to as Dulitz I in distinction from Dulitz II, who was commissioned by Langenberg in 1847. The latter joined the Wisconsin Synod.

⁵⁹ A. H. M. S. Cor., Committee of Zion Church, Tersteegen, Ind., June 22, 1850. The A. H. M. S. Cor. contains 11 letters of Austmann. In supporting Austmann's request for a commission, McCarer stated that nearly all of the Germans in Posey County were "nominally connected with churches of a liberal character," but that Rauschenbusch, in passing through the city, had commended the piety of a large number. The congregation could raise but one-half of the \$200 salary. *Ibid.*, McCarer, Evansville, Ind., July 17, 1850. The road from New Harmony, where the liberal spirit of Robert Owen held sway, to Evansville led directly through the German community.

suggested by its location.⁶⁰ When Austmann arrived in Posey County, in March, 1849, he also served this congregation, which was eight miles from Tersteegen. With what regularity he visited his filial congregations, we do not know; and with what success, we can only vaguely surmise.

Tölke's roving itinerant ministries into the adjacent counties brought him into contact with numerous other German congregations; for which he was highly commended by Presbyterian ministers of the neighborhood. In September, 1848, he visited a few German communities in Dubois County and "preached in three settlements, one of twenty-six families, one of forty and one of more than sixty." On this visit he secured thirty subscribers for the *Amerikanischer Botschafter*, the German publication of the American Tract Society.⁶¹

Dubois County

The communities at Jasper, Dubois, and Duff, in Dubois County—later served by Evangelical pastors—may have been visited by Tölke at this time.⁶² On the occasion of his visit to Dubois County he made the acquaintance of J. Lord, the Presbyterian minister at Jasper, the county-seat, and accompanied Lord to the meeting of the presbytery at Bedford and to the meeting of the synod at Crawfordsville. Of Tölke's success in founding churches we are left in ignorance.

⁶⁰ A. H. M. S. Cor., Tölke, Evansville, June 9, 1848; Austmann, Posey County, March 1, 1851.

⁶¹ A. H. M. S. Cor., Calvin Butler, Boonville, Ind., Nov. 8, 1848. Butler stated that Tölke had just visited him on his way to a German congregation in Dubois Co., forty to forty-five miles from Evansville. He estimated that there were 200,000 Germans and only 20 German ministers in the state; indeed, "within the bounds of our Presbytery there are about forty congregations of Germans." *Ibid.*, Tölke, Evansville, Ind., Jan. 10, 1849.

⁶² The oldest German Evangelical churches in Dubois Co. today do not trace their origin to Tölke. Salem Church at Huntingburg, Ind., was founded in 1842 by the Lutheran pastor H. W. Lauer. St. Paul's at Holland was organized in 1845 by Hunderdosse, of the Huntingburg church. When Tölke visited Dubois County, Salem at Huntingburg was being served by C. Strater and St. Paul's by J. H. Settelmeier.

Knox County

Soon after Tölke's arrival in Evansville, he visited a colony of his fellow countrymen from Lippe who had settled in the wooded regions of Weidner Township in Knox County, seventy-six miles north of Evansville. In the fall of 1847, accompanied by a youth named Conrad Mesch, he made his first appearance in this community. With twenty-one families he organized the Evangelical-Lutheran and Reformed Bethel Church (Bethel Church, Freelandville). The pious settlers called the locality Bethlehem—the region four miles northeast being named Judaea. Until 1850, when Tölke moved to Bethlehem, he visited the settlement sometimes as often as twice a month.⁶³

In 1848 the *Kirchenverein* was informed that the church at New Albany, which had been served by Dulitz, desired a pastor. No one was available, however, and the congregation, which had been organized in 1837 as the "German Evangelical (Lutheran and Reformed) Church," fell into the hands of the rationalistic pastor Karl H. Blecken.⁶⁴

IOWA CHURCHES

The territory of Iowa had been organized in 1838 with a population of 21,859. During the same year Rieger, while stationed at Beardstown, Illinois, made his first visit to Fort Madison and West Point.

When Rieger severed his connections with the church at Highland, Illinois, in 1843, he again turned his attention to Iowa. On a visit to Burlington he encountered the rationalistic preacher Christ Niemann of Cincinnati, Ohio, who had won the support of the Low Germans of the community, but was opposed by the High Germans, who urged Rieger to become their pastor. Rieger and his friends were forced to use the Presbyterian church, whereas Niemann

⁶³ F. S., Bethel Congregation, Freelandville, Ind. (1922). Tölke's successor at Evansville was Gerhard H. Zumpe of the Miami Classis of the Reformed Church in the U. S., previously located at Zion Church in Clay County, Indiana. *Kirchenbuch der Deutsch-Evangelischen Gemeinde in Evansville, Ind.* (MS), 2.

⁶⁴ K. P., I, 82. F. S., St. Mark's Church, New Albany, (1922).

and his cohorts occupied the German church, maintaining that Rieger was undesirable since "he did not drink whiskey and was a Methodist." Rieger replied by demanding, as a condition for his acceptance of the charge, that the congregation adopt the constitution which he presented. After much heated discussion the consent of the majority was secured, and thus, in August, 1843, the first *Kirchenverein* pastorate was established in Iowa (First Evangelical Church). Within one year the membership increased from thirty to fifty-four. Upon the death of his wife, Rieger returned to Germany and was succeeded by Eppens. During Eppen's pastorate (1844-1849), monthly preaching engagements were undertaken at Dodgeville (St. John's in Flint River Township), eight miles northwest of Burlington, and at Augusta, on the Skunk River (St. John's), nine miles southwest of Burlington. In 1850 Dresel added an unidentified preaching station on Walnut Creek, Jefferson County.⁶⁵

An outstanding pioneer for the *Kirchenverein* in Iowa was Konrad Riess, who, in July, 1848, moved to Muscatine, a town of two thousand inhabitants—known at that time as Bloomington. A large German immigration from Württemberg had just arrived, and with eighteen families Riess finally effected the organization of the German Evangelical Protestant Church, which worshipped in the court-house until the new church was dedicated in 1850. Riess did not confine his ministrations to the church at Muscatine, but also preached in the log church of a rural congregation situated "*auf der Prairie*," eight or ten miles from the town.⁶⁶

A third nucleus of German churches developed in Iowa in 1849, when Krönlein began his preaching ministry to the

⁶⁵ Rieger's *Diary*, 213-215. F. S., First Evangelical Church, Burlington, Ia. (1896). K. P., I, 53, 65, 86, 122, 152, 171. See Rieger letters in A. H. M. S. Cor. St. John's Church at Augusta and a church named Zion were served from Burlington until 1853, when J. Schmeiser became resident pastor at Augusta. F., IV (1853), 93. The Walnut Creek church in 1852 consisted of 30 families. See A. H. M. S. Cor., Madoulet, Muscatine, Ia., Apr. 15, 1852.

⁶⁶ J. Jans, *Geschichte der deutschen evangelisch-protestantischen Gemeinde in Muscatine, Iowa* (1909). F., I (1850), 83. After a short pastorate in Ill. in 1852, Riess returned to Fort Madison, Iowa.

German settlers in the vicinity of Franklin Center and Sugar Creek, in Lee County. Here he built a small "*Blockkirche im Busche*," one and one-half miles east of Franklin (St. Paul's, Donnellson), which was attended by a rapidly increasing number of members, many of whom were required to come a distance of from five to nine miles. This journey involved such hardship during the short days and bad weather of the winter months that the congregation peaceably divided into two sections to be served by the same pastor. The members living nearest the log church constituted themselves as St. Peter's Church, and in 1850-1851 a group of twenty-five men erected a stone building on the prairie about one and one-half miles north of Donnellson which retained the original name of St. Paul's.⁶⁷

At the end of the decade three *Kirchenverein* pastors were located in Iowa, serving, in addition to their main charges, not less than five preaching places.

LOUISIANA CHURCHES

Farthest removed from the center of *Kirchenverein* activities was Christian Schrenk at the Clio Street Church in New Orleans.⁶⁸ During his short stay at Columbia, Illinois,

⁶⁷ Krönlein, in a letter to Rieger under date of Dec. 12, 1850, commented on the building of the stone church as follows: "*Ach, was ist das ein Stück Arbeit, wenn solche Leute eine Kirche bauen, wo auch noch kein kirchlicher noch weniger ein christlicher Sinn vorhanden ist! Da hatte ich meine liebe Noth schon—sie hätten können längst fertig sein, wenn's nach Art gegangen wäre—allein welche Streitigkeit u. Arbeit bis etwas berathen u. noch mehr bis es geschehen! So wird sie erst bis Frühjahr fertig werden. Sie bekommt einen herrlichen Platz auf der Prairie u. beherrscht einen grossen Kreis. Die alte Kirche . . . ist für die St. Peter's Gemeinde auch zu klein u. wird's auch da zum Bauen kommen, doch hoffe ich geht es besser da. Es ist mit diesen Leuten ganz anders als mit den Prairie-Leuten, sie sind solider u. besser fürs Gute u. kirchlich gesinnt.*" "Einweihung der evangelischen St. Paul's Kirche bei Franklin, Lee Co., Iowa," F., III (1852), 7. Note cynical comments concerning the dedication service in letter of Gumbull of Fort Madison to Rev. Julius Reed under date of Nov. 5, 1851 (A. H. M. S. Cor.). When in 1855 St. Peter's built a large stone church, a schism arose on the question of location. F., VI (1855), 68; VIII (1857), 3.

⁶⁸ F. S., First Evangelical Church, New Orleans, La. (1925), 15. J. H. Deiler, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Kirchengemeinden im Staate Louisiana*, 24.

his brother Martin had served this church. Schrenk returned to the South in 1849 and again assumed charge of the New Orleans churches—this time as a member of the *Kirchenverein*.

Thus we see how the physico-geographical features of the new environment exposed the German immigrants to conditions which in a very vital manner determined their development in the New World. Immigrant groups, more than American pioneers, sought their new homes along the waterways and other beaten paths of communication. At the end of the decade most of the *Kirchenverein* pastors were located in certain restricted areas in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and Indiana, where local churches, following the line of least geographical resistance, were widely scattered.⁶⁹

In all these regions of the Far West missionaries from the Old World were establishing new socio-religious centers. Whether located in rural, prairie communities or in towns and cities, a common peasant-pietistic spirit predominated. Although a close observer might have distinguished between rural and urban types, these distinctions did not characterize the West so much as the East. The immigrants settling in the West at this time came mostly from the rural communities of Germany, so that a rustic complexion was discernible even in city churches. And whether urban or rural, all had to cope with the same economic difficulties, the same educational problems, the same rationalistic opposition, and the same spiritual needs. How would the newly founded churches fare under such conditions?

Without the coercion and restraints imposed by an established state church, a wide freedom of development was assured. In a setting which permitted the most abandoned competition, Old World forces continued to assert themselves, but always subject to the levelling influence of common frontier experiences and needs. On the other hand, many American agencies were kindly disposed toward the rise of these new churches in the West. Although the assim-

⁶⁹ See map in back of book.

lation of native *mores* was inevitable, as long as the German element remained dominant, the impact of these strange forces did not constitute an immediate problem. Thus, where a German church in busy St. Louis or on some far distant Iowa prairie lifted its spire to the skies, it indicated that a religio-cultural struggle was there occurring in the lives of a group of immigrants whose common religious interests banded them together in a church organization. In these little religious centers scattered throughout the West, where helpless, inarticulate German groups were attempting to find themselves, *Kirchenverein* pastors began to exert an ordering influence and made a definite contribution toward the consolidation of German culture in this section of the American frontier.

The key men in this development were, of course, the pastors. Uneducated, zealous, devout preachers on the one hand, learned and cultured scholars on the other—each group in its way shared in a common pietistic and cultural heritage. Whatever differences in culture or disparity of gifts marked the various pastoral types, they were welded together in a common loyalty to the *Kirchenverein* and to the cause for which it stood. The manner in which the various challenges of the frontier were met must now be more clearly described.

CHAPTER VI

PASTORAL LABORS ON THE FRONTIER

The common interest of both German and American religious leaders on the frontier centered in the task of saving souls. Confronted by quite unprecedented conditions, the Christian religion was challenged to function anew in its age-old task of breathing forth the spirit of life in the dark places of the earth. Again, certain European traditions and methods were put to the test in the unconventional environment of the West. Not only the peculiar nature of the religious challenge arising from frontier conditions but also unique social economic factors affected the pastoral activities in spiritually destitute immigrant communities.¹ How would the diverse ministerial types represented in the *Kirchenverein* respond to the pastoral problems common to them all?

THE RELIGIOUS CHALLENGE

Hardly a community in which *Kirchenverein* pastors labored was without its liberal, rationalistic elements, for whom the church and religion were an abomination. This situation, which prevailed throughout the thirties, became more intense with the arrival of the political, freethinking "Forty-eighters"² who, as a whole, denounced religion as an impediment to the welfare of the human race. Among other groups characterized by these views were the so-called "Social Reformers," who held, among other things, that the

¹ For general description of conditions prevailing in German communities in the West about the year 1858 see "Correspondenz aus dem Westen . . . ," D. K., XII (1859), 44ff. This article was evidently written by a member of the K.

² Every large German community had its coterie of self-styled defenders of liberty and freedom. F., V (1854), 53, notes the founding of societies by "Free Germans" of Cincinnati, Ohio, to agitate for abrogation of Sunday laws, Thanksgiving Day, prayer in Congress, and for the removal of all religious books from public schools. These views were to be propagated through lectureships, organization of branch societies, distribution of literature, and founding of English papers to inform Americans concerning the true meaning of freedom. The founding of *Der Bund Freier Männer* was largely inspired by antislave sentiments.

belief in the immortality of the soul was the fruitful source of all wars and prevented the return of the Golden Age. Christians were generously denounced as simple-minded persons who retarded the progress of an advancing age.³

The Christian cause was everywhere subject to scorn and ridicule. Sacred rites were rudely satirized in German drinking haunts whose noisy proximity to churches disturbed the worshippers. It commonly occurred that on the Sabbath scoffers congregated on street corners to mock the worshippers on their way to church. A pastor serving such a community was scarcely shocked to find a beer keg in the pulpit on a Sunday morning or an inscription such as: "Priests and apes the devil creates."⁴ When a St. Louis newspaper uttered the prayer: "Lord, do not meddle with us, we will take care of ourselves,"⁵ it mildly expressed the

³ A. H. M. S. Cor., Wettle, Belleville, Ill., Dec. 10, 1851; Wm. Homeier, Belleville, Ill., June 6, 1855.

⁴ Konrad Riess related how in mockery and derision a dog was baptized in a saloon. *Ibid.*, K. Riess, Ft. Madison, Ia., March 1, 1853. A similar incident occurred at Belleville, Ill. Griesinger finds the spirit of this group characterized in the sentence: "*Wir können unsern Wein im Wirthshause trinken . . . und brauchen das Abendmahl nicht dazu.*" *Op. cit.*, I, 288. A. H. M. S. Cor., K. Riess, Ft. Madison, Ia., Oct. 19, 1853; Schünemann, Manchester Rd., Mo., Dec. 1, 1853.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Wettle, Boonville, Mo., Sept. 10, 1854. German communities were honeycombed with rationalistic papers such as Samuel Ludvigh's *Wahrheitsverbreiter*, published at Baltimore, 1840-41, and later succeeded by the *Fackel*. Note the cynical references to church and religion in the article "Nach dem Norden" in the *Fackel* (1858), 48, in which Ludvigh concludes an attack upon the *Pfaffen* with the words:

*Amerika ist ein grosses Land,
Da schlaegt man sich mit Wort und Hand,
Und kann man mit Wahrheit nicht siegen,
So kaempft man mit Dolchen, Rêvolvern und Luegen.*

A reaction against the A. d. W. began to manifest itself in the fifties, as may be gathered from an article in the *Belleville Zeitung* which reappeared in the *Tribune* of St. Louis and was reprinted in the *Missouri Republican* of August 20, 1851. "It affords us peculiar satisfaction," said the *Republican*, "that in the German press of St. Louis, voices, at last, are raised to thrust the editor of the *Anzeiger* on the spot back into his proper position. . . . The literary attainments of the editor may, perhaps, be sufficient to fill up the feuilleton of a paper of the third rank in a small German country town; but to edit a German political paper in so important a locality as St. Louis properly, and with tact, it requires other intellects, other characters" See similar references to the "Spirit of the German Press" running through the issues of August and September.

Under the caption "A New Lord's Prayer" the *St. Louis Daily*

blasphemous mood of a large section of the German population among whom the pastors of the *Kirchenverein* ministered. Nor were the onslaughts of the freethinkers restricted to any given communities. Pastors in Wisconsin and Missouri alike joined in the common complaint that the "Freemen" were intent on destroying all churches.⁶

Morning Herald of June 16, 1853, referred to Boernstein, editor of the *Anzeiger*, as "Our Father Boernstein, who art in the '*Anzeiger des Westens*,' praised and magnified be thy name. To us come thy paper, thy will be done in the city and county of St. Louis. Give us our daily rubbings, forgive us our stupidity, as we forgive your wit, tempt us not with High Spirited articles, but relieve us of our money, for thine is the beer hall, the '*Anzeiger des Westens*,' the divan saloon, forever and ever. Amen."

⁶ A. H. M. S. Cor., Fernando Lenschau and Pott, Sheboygan, Wis., June 1, 1855. It is interesting, in this connection, to note how Birkner became the first Evangelical minister at Hermann, Mo. In his own words he tells the story as follows: "After the colony had subsisted for eight years, several inhabitants joined themselves to a united Lutheran and Reformed congregation whilst others formed a General Congregation styling themselves rationalistic. The first chose a preacher, who was a great admirer of the ill-famed David Strauss. This man, however, knew how to manage it in such a way, that the community subscribed to a constitution, which was composed so, that the most unbelieving could screen himself behind those general confessions, though it contained nothing specially anti-Christian. You will spare me the painful task of saying more about my predecessor, than that his whole care for the souls of his flock consisted in playing at cards and drinking wine with them. . . . The public service was very little frequented, and yet even *this* preacher was scolded as a 'priest'! A journal called 'The Friend of the Light' (*Licht-Freund*) manifested in the most profane and wicked scoffings and revilings about Bibles and Christianity, the spirit that was domineering here and served to propagate it. Two years ago, yonder preacher resigned his place. At that time, circumstances had brought me to the resolution to return to my native home. I was already busy in preparation for my return, when again particular circumstances prevailed me, together with two of my brethren, Professor Binner and Rev. Kröhnke, both teachers at the Evangelical Seminary at Marthasville, to take a trip to Hermann. We heard that next day, a Sunday, a man would preach, who was known to us for a wolf in sheep's clothing, and we thought it our duty also to make a public profession of our faith. After this man had preached in the forenoon, we announced a sermon for the afternoon, at which a large congregation assembled. The man had openly asserted that even the blackest crimes were only the unsuccessful attempts of human nature to struggle for liberty; that according to the word of Christ, 'Judge not,' we should, instead of punishing the criminal, rather embrace him and comfort him about his unsuccessful attempt! 'Then,' he cried with enthusiasm, 'only then will real liberty be flourishing also in America when the criminal laws that disgrace it, are totally abolished; when the walls of the prisons are broken; when the freed nation, instead of shedding the blood of a brother, embraces on the scaffold him, who is sentenced

Infidel opposition, especially in urban communities, did not stop short of violence.⁷ Thus the enemies of Witte, the pastor at Okawville, Illinois, threatened to "shout him to death" or drive him away. Intent on carrying out this threat, one Christmas night at twelve o'clock shots were fired through the window of his study and later a "ball" was sent through the church door. Birkner, at Hermann, was assaulted one night by drunkards attempting to force their way into his bedroom, where he was lying ill, so that, as he said, he had no defense but prayer. His successor was likewise harassed by opponents, who, in the dead of night, hurled huge stones into his home. One of the elders of his church was similarly attacked.⁸ The fury against the *Kirchenverein* continued to burn high in the Femme Osage region, where, under cover of darkness, vandal hands wrecked the newly begun church at Marthasville and prevented the immediate completion of the structure.⁹

Another problem confronting the frontier pastor was that of the self-righteous, non-churchgoing German who did not

to death, and feels at his bosom the pulsation of general divine philanthropy!' I abhor to repeat the blasphemies of a still worse kind, which that man uttered in the church, whilst a choir, even as in scorn, sung the beautiful hymn: 'Follow me! says Christ our Lord!' My brethren assigned the sermon to me, wherein I, by the grace of God, made open profession of Christian faith. . . . Many of the congregation wished to have me for their preacher, whereas one of the elders did all he could to hinder this and enlisted as voting members even Catholics, atheists and enemies of the Gospel of all kinds, who all joined in preventing the choice of a 'Jesuit.' And yet I was chosen—and it was particularly the miserable condition of this people, that determined me to resign the quiet prospects in my native home and to accept the choice hither. . . . A succession of offenses and insults began, which are not ended as yet. All those Freemasons, Odd Fellows, store-keepers and others that had become members in order to prevent my election, could not quietly behold the light of truth invading the darkness and joined those of the old congregation who were averse to hear the truth." *Ibid.*, Birkner, Hermann, Mo., March 18, 1853.

⁷ Note, e. g., the opposition to Wall at St. Louis. Häberle, *op. cit.*, 34. *Supra*, p. 128, n. 47.

⁸ A. H. M. S. Cor., Witte, Okaw, Ill., July 12, 1853; March 24, 1854; Birkner, Hermann, Mo., March 18, 1853; Charles Nestel, Hermann, Mo., Aug. 11, 1856.

⁹ Reference to similar incidents may be found in the German letters of the A. H. M. S. Cor.

deny the benefits to be derived from Christianity, yet questioned his particular need of them. A German merchant holding such views defended his position as follows:

Do not believe that I am an enemy of Christendom, rather I rejoice if my family go to church. But for my part I do not want to make use of it for I have sufficient power in myself to rule my life. But for all those who are not intelligent enough to conduct themselves in a good way, no better medium can be found than the teaching of the Bible. But I believe that worship to any object, for example the sun and the moon, which makes men virtuous, will give them everlasting life.¹⁰

In the home of such an individual one would probably have found a Bible or even a hymn-book, and probably a rationalistic catechism to be invoked as the final court of appeal.

The patience of many a pastor was challenged by members who contentedly rested on their good morals.¹¹ It was difficult for some to grasp the pietist's conception of sin and repentance; for, as one remonstrated: "In our country thieves, murderers and such people have to do repentance, but we are Christians by birth, baptism and confirmation." Many congregations continued the German practice of admitting to church membership without serious regard to spiritual qualifications anyone having reached the confirmation age of thirteen or fourteen years. It thus occurred that almost every church had its group of nominal Christians, who, although quite blameless in moral conduct, lacked the essential spiritual devotion.

The continued presence of fraudulent and irreligious pastors likewise constituted a vexing and embarrassing problem for all who were interested in establishing the integrity of true religion on the frontier. German newspapers stud-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Homeier, Belleville, Ill., Sept. 6, 1856. K. Riess, *ibid.*, Ft. Madison, Ia., Oct. 19, 1853, complained that "there are many families who do not reject the Word, much less will they accept the preached Word"

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., Feb. 1, 1850. Note Rieger's predicament when, arriving at the home of a member of his church to baptize two children, he found, to his great surprise, a great mass of people assembled and every preparation made for nothing less than a ball. "I was wholly taken with surprise for I had never before seen the infidels and scoffers of religion of this town and vicinity in such a trimm." *Ibid.*, Rieger, Helvetia, Ill., Feb. 2, 1843.

ously spread whatever scandalous stories could be found concerning such questionable characters, the slur always falling on the orthodox rather than on the rationalists. American churchmen became wary of all German preachers and candidates who could not prove their derivation from Basel, Barmen, Bremen, Berlin, or some other recognized German missionary society.¹² There was scarcely a *Kirchenverein* church which at one time or other was not exploited by such a roving impostor. The pious pastors vigorously denounced these "*Herumläufer*." They "allow the people to do and believe what they please, to drink whiskey, etc., to break the Sabbath, to gamble, to dance and all other kinds of sin" Birkner described his predecessor, who was finally driven from the community, as being mainly interested in playing cards and drinking with his parishioners.¹³ That these so-called pastors could be induced to perform religious services only by supplying them with plenty of whiskey, beer, and lively dance music is an eloquent commentary on conditions prevailing in some sections.¹⁴

It was necessary that this type of minister be ruthlessly exposed, and notices began to appear in the *Friedensbote*, the official organ of the *Kirchenverein* (1850), warning unsuspecting communities to be on their guard. Beginning their nefarious exploitations in the East, these impostors gradually worked their way into the West, to find, at times, that the Westerners had been forewarned.¹⁵ When, on one

¹² "Nachrichten—Amerika," E. K. Z. (1845), 213.

¹³ A. H. M. S. Cor., Witte, Okaw, Ill., March 1, 1855; Birkner, Hermann, Mo., March 18, 1853. The first minister at Hermann was the notorious Jörgens, Oct. 1, 1841 — March 31, 1842 (*supra*, p. 37, n. 82), the author of the hymn "*Wo findet die Seele die Heimat, die Ruh?*" The immediate predecessor of Birkner was Fr. Hundhausen. F. S., St. Paul's Church, Hermann, Mo. (1919).

¹⁴ "Dresel als Reiseprediger," F., VI (1855), 11. Puritanic New Englanders were especially shocked at conditions prevailing in such a "free" church in which "its members may celebrate the Lord's Supper in the morning, be found in the bar-room drinking and playing cards in the afternoon and in the ball room in the evening—and that on the Lord's Day." A. H. M. S. Cor., W. H. McCarer, Evansville, Ind., July 14, 1852.

¹⁵ From Tonawanda, N. Y., emanated a warning concerning a brewer and baker by the name of Jacob Werth, who had been engaged

occasion, the civil authorities at Boonville, Missouri, had forcibly expelled a man by the name of Derbert, who purported to have references from Nollau at St. Louis, the *Kirchenverein* explicitly instructed its members never to trust unknown pastors and always to scrutinize official credentials carefully. The officials, it was stated, never recommended pastors except through written credentials.¹⁶ But sometimes even the officers were duped by the pleasing manners, conversational dexterity, and convincing documents of these vagabonds. President Baltzer admitted having been deceived by the credentials and the engaging personality of the Rev. Fr. Feysel, securing entrance for him to the congregation near California, Missouri (McGirk).¹⁷

Typical of the problem of unworthy preachers was Dr. von Krapf, who claimed to have been court preacher of the Electoral Prince of Hesse. Wherever he appeared he posed as an orthodox believer, eager to render spiritual service. He claimed to have served two churches in Iowa, but, upon arriving in Iowa, explained that these churches were located in Illinois. Thus he appeared at German Creek, Keokuk County, Iowa, to reappear in Burlington as *Pfarrer* Rockwitz. A warning in the *Friedensbote* concerning him concluded: "He is an old man approaching eternity. Whoever encounters him should attempt to stir his conscience that he might be saved."¹⁸

as colporteur by the A. T. S. but had been dismissed because of drunkenness. "Warnung," F., II (1851), 56.

The pastors K. Klaussen of the United Evangelical Synod of the East and A. Schröder of the Reformed church in Rochester, N. Y., joined in exposing an individual who, under the name of Dr. Ahrens, and in Buffalo under the name of Schmidt, had abused their confidence in gathering funds to rebuild his church in Stratford, Can. Arriving in the West, this same individual assumed the name of Wagner, claiming to be a much traveled philologist. *Ibid.*, VI (1855), 32, 40.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VII (1856), 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII (1857), 32, 16. Warnings also appeared *ibid.* concerning Karl H. Blecken, of Louisville and New Orleans, IV (1853), 32; Louis Seibold of Newport, Ky., VII (1856), 72; Hoffmeister and an accomplice at Franklin Center, Ia., XI (1860), 88; H. C. J. Rosenberger, Sandusky, Ohio, XI (1860), 128; and Louis Herr, Louisville, Ky., XII (1861), 8.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XIV (1863), 13, 37. Typical of other localities was the situation in New Orleans, where "these pretended knights of spiritual

The claims of other religious groups attempting to establish themselves on the frontier constituted another challenge to *Kirchenverein* pastors. The opposition of Catholicism to the rise of the *Kirchenverein* varied according to locality. No single pastor was more zealous or successful in working among the Catholics than Rieger.¹⁹ The *Friedensbote* undertook to expound the errors of spiritualism (*Geisterklopfen*), which was having its vogue in the fifties and sixties. Occasional contacts with Swedenborgians at Belleville, Illinois, and with some followers of Wilhelm Keil were less significant.

More disturbing was the aggressive attitude of Methodist groups. Although Tölke was far from being the mouthpiece of the *Kirchenverein*, yet we note with interest his appraisal of the German Methodists, Evangelical Asso-

liberty came and went, boasting as their principal credential their non-apostolic succession. Most of them had sunk the story of their past in the depths of the ocean, also their honest occupation (if ever they had one) and fished out of the blue water that could not betray them, a noble title, such as Candidate of Theology, Doctor of Philosophy, or Doctor of Divinity. The congregation trembled when it engaged their services, it trembled again when it had to dismiss them, knowing that invariably these hirelings loved the wool more than the sheep and would not leave the congregation behind unfleeced if they could help it. Several times the congregation had to regain possession of church records, communion set, and baptismal bowl through costly legal procedure; and yet, whenever someone suggested to write to some synod for a pastor, the leaders thought they saw a medieval ghost and cried out, 'We are a free congregation and will not sell our liberty!' So one sad experience followed another." F. S., First Evangelical Church, New Orleans, La. (1925), 19.

¹⁹ Note Rieger's letters from Highland, Ill., in A. H. M. S. Cor. Catholics generally seemed favorably disposed toward him, frequently attended his services and visited him in his home. Rieger admitted some to communion, baptized their children and continued preaching to them until finally some priests arrived from St. Louis, "not with the gospel of peace but with threatenings of hell and purgatory, and with a shrine filled with bones which they called relics. . . . They were especially severe with those who had become attached to the Evangelical Church." Rieger also had the rare faculty of gaining the good will of Catholic priests and relates how on one occasion he visited Father Allemann in Fort Madison, Ia. "*Er bat mich sehr ich möchte bei ihm übernachten, wozu ich mich auch bereden liess. Er ist eine gute Haut; sein Garten beschäftigt ihn viel. . . . Wir sprachen über Allerlei. . . . Wir beteten miteinander, und dann ging ich zu Bette. Er war offenherzig gegen mich. Ich war beflissen mit ihm klar und deutlich über die Heilswahrheit zu sprechen,—er hat viel Liebe und Schonung.*" *Diary*, 240.

ciation, and United Brethren. Members of these sects, he said, disturbed the peace of mind of his people by insinuating that, being members of the *Kirchenverein*, they could not have experienced a real conversion. Indeed, "Come and see how lively and lovely it is in our church . . . you can also do more good in our church because the door of usefulness is open to all."²⁰

The main opposition to *Kirchenverein* pastors and churches, however, emanated from Lutheran circles. Due allowance must be made for errors of judgment, mistaken zeal, and too ready generalization on both sides. Yet there is no mistaking the militant aversion shown by Lutheran pastors and laymen toward the Evangelical and Reformed groups. The exclusive authoritarian spirit of the Saxon Lutherans in the West made it a strong stabilizing factor in the chaotic religious conditions on the frontier, but also developed a sense of superiority over other Christian groups which was little short of sectarian.²¹ Against the European background, the antagonism to the Evangelicals can readily be understood. Proceeding on the principle that unionism was inherently sinful, Lutheran pastors logically concluded that it was their God-given mission to crush its development. On the premise that everything Lutheran *a priori* belonged to them, the Lutheran group in Missouri suspected a *latrocinium* wherever Lutherans were found in non-Lutheran

²⁰ A. H. M. S. Cor., Tölke, Evansville, Ind., May 10, 1850. C. Conrad, Quincy, Ill., Sept. 23, 1861, complained, "We would have an increase everywhere if sectarianism did not prevail so much by all means of deceit and falsehood."

²¹ "Our persecutors," said Witte, "are not all enemies of the cross—we have to suffer (also) from some members of the Stephanist Church: They cry, 'We are the only true Christian church, we have the only true doctrine and way to salvation.' These people are . . . zealots . . . with a powerful spirit of persecution and I believe . . . if it were not for the government . . . these people would persecute with fire and sword . . . as the Roman Catholics. One of the Stephanists said, when we were building our church, 'It would be better for you to build a grocery,' and on another occasion, 'You condemned Evangelicals shall fetch the devil,' and on another occasion, 'I would that the devil would fetch all the churches,' and many other vulgar ballads and profanations. . . . The best we can do is pray for them" A. H. M. S. Cor., Witte, Okaw, Ill., July 12, 1853. Note defense of the Lutheran position by Köstering, *op. cit.*, xvii ff.

congregations. Wherever such remnants could be snatched from the flames, such action had the sanction of God.²²

Thus, many *Kirchenvereine* churches, at one time or other, were confronted by a Lutheran schism. Sometimes a Lutheran pastor achieved election to an Evangelical church, and, after winning the confidence of the Lutheran group within the congregation and gaining the support of some of the officials, would suggest changes in the constitution which would logically lead to the acceptance of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the introduction of the Lutheran catechism or hymnal, and finally affiliation with the Lutheran synod.²³ Again and again we read how a Lutheran minority seceded from the mother organization and founded another church in the immediate vicinity. Less frequently the Evangelical contingent was compelled to leave the home church and organize anew.

The Old Lutherans also vehemently opposed the liberalism which dominated many of the independent so-called "Evangelical" churches. When a similar attack, however, was directed against *Kirchenverein* pastors, the issue was

²² The K. was accused of having seceded from the Lutherans and of being intent on exterminating them. See "Die Evangelische Kirche in Nord-Amerika," Luth., I (1845), 42 ff. The article "Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nordamerika," *ibid.*, I (1844), 31, quoted with approval Wyneken's strictures against the "subjectivism" and the "indifference and laxity in matters of doctrine" and defended the opposition to the K. because in the West such a Church must grow mainly at the expense of the Lutherans and because, although of humble origin, it threatened the existence of the Lutheran Church. For Lutheran opposition to unionism and the K., see *infra*, pp. 372 ff., other early references, Luth., I (1844), 7, and the series of articles "Die Evangelische Kirche in Nord-Amerika," *ibid.* (1845), 42, 45, 50, 56. Note also the series "Antwort auf die neueste Verteidigung der Union," *ibid.*, 78, 82, 86, 95, 97.

²³ Thus the constitution of St. Peter's Church at Washington, Mo. (1855), evidently in protest against the machinations of a pastor by the name of Klingsohr, stipulated that: "A newly elected pastor, prior to his installation, must publicly declare that he is free and independent and does not belong to any synod, sect or religious society." The Lutheran versions are equally insistent that the K., was the *spiritus rector*. Note the account of the founding of the "purely Lutheran church on Illinois Prairie," in which the "friends of the union and the enemies of pure doctrine attempted to absorb the Lutheran groups so that the faithful remnant seceded and erected its own church based on the pure doctrine." "Danksagung," Luth., X (1853), 7.

obscured, since the Evangelical pastors were equally vehement in their denunciation of the rationalistic spirit. And yet, strange to say, Lutheran groups often accused the Evangelicals of rationalism and of abetting its development. Their doctrinal "indifferentism," it was claimed, supported the rationalistic cause; for, was not their freedom of Biblical interpretation similar to that of the rationalists, who, on identical premises, rejected the entire Scripture?

THE ECONOMIC STATUS

German pastors were constantly handicapped by the lack of economic security; for most of the *Kirchenverein* pastors served in poverty-stricken communities. Indigent immigrants, coming from an impoverished nation and not accustomed to supporting ecclesiastical institutions, found it difficult to provide their pastors with the bare necessities of life. Their first concern was to become established in their new homes. Numerous economic problems arose.²⁴ Arriving suddenly and in large numbers, they sometimes taxed the benevolence of established congregations and pastors. Because of change of climate and exposure on the journey, newly arrived immigrants were peculiarly subject to diseases. Among the first expenses incurred were those for medical attention. During periods of financial depression debts contracted during good times had to be paid at oppressive rates. In one of these periods Rieger complained that scarcely any money at all was forthcoming, and that although he could find substitutes for "foreign articles" such as coffee and tea, he could not meet the need for clothing. Another pastor related how a member of his church who had bought forty acres of land was compelled to make an annual interest payment of forty dollars.²⁵

²⁴ Some of the people among whom Rieger lived had "no floor in their huts and no leather shoes and only four wagons to 70-80 families" A. H. M. S. Cor., Rieger, Pinckney, Mo., Oct. 2, 1849. The Bremen Society, Wichern, Gossner, and later Löhe encouraged young emigrants to prepare themselves for economic independence in the New World by adopting some trade. Note *supra*, p. 162, n. 58.

²⁵ A. H. M. S. Cor., Rieger, Highland, Ill., June 14, 1842; Feb. 2, 1843. Witte, requesting aid from the A. H. M. S., stated that corn cost about a dollar a bushel and oats 50-60 cents, for which reason

Under such conditions the raising of the pastor's salary was for many congregations a major problem. Particularly difficult were the hard times of the Civil War period, when high prices for food and dry-goods involved all salaried classes. Should the spiritual leaders of the community betray an interest in the size of their salaries? The problem of satisfying irreducible needs was not solved by eliminating luxuries. If certain basic needs were not supplied (it was argued in the *Friedensbote*), not only the pastor and his family would suffer, but also the congregation would be affected; for a "spiritual office can not be administered if the heart is burdened by sorrow and affliction." Crying want existed in many parsonages during these times, and congregations were admonished of their Christian duty to provide for the needs of their pastors and not to say, "This is all we can give; if he is not satisfied he can go." Reluctance to raise salaries of pastors could be justified, the *Friedensbote* contended, only if members were selling their products at pre-war prices and if the common laborers were receiving wages on the old scale.²⁶

But even during normal times pastors' salaries were meager at best.²⁷ Although they were satisfactorily sub-

there had been a great loss of horses, cattle, and swine, since his people had nothing to feed them. The expense of feeding his own horse the last three months amounted to fifteen dollars. At five dollars a barrel his outlay for flour during the winter amounted to fifteen dollars. *Ibid.*, K. Witte, Okaw, Ill., March 31, 1855; March 24, 1854.

²⁶ Note the experience of Wettle, *ibid.*, Sandersville, Ind., Feb. 29, 1864. "The difficulty here is this, I have for two years received from my congregation \$150 in good times, why not in hard times, when the necessities of life cost twice as much? Our church constitution states that the pastor should receive his support from the congregation in an annual fixed sum stipulated by the trustees. The case is plain . . . that my salary was fixed by trustees at \$300 . . . which amount I have received annually during five years, ending in 1861 from which time additional aid from the society ceased." See also, "Ein Wort an die Evangelischen Gemeinden," F., XV (1864), 13.

²⁷ In comparison with German pastors, some of the American preachers seemed to be luxuriating in their parishes, and the suspicion was voiced that they desired to get rich quickly. On the other hand American preachers were impressed by the ability of German pastors to get along on small salaries. Rieger, at Pinckney, Mo. (1849), receiving a salary of \$80-\$100, admitted, "We have to struggle but most of us can live on less than native Americans." Under date of

scribed in advance, collection was frequently a difficult task. Petty grievances against the pastor or against members of the church justified cancelling pledges. Binner at Waterloo, Illinois, attributed the small subscription of his prosperous congregation to the fact that the wealthiest Germans were "grocery-keepers," who withdrew their support when the pious spirit of their pastor became known. Although his congregation increased from a membership of thirty-eight families in 1845 to fifty-nine families in 1848, his salary decreased from \$122 to \$120.50. Some subscribers had removed to other localities, others had oversubscribed, some were bankrupt, and still others were tempered by the fear that the "*Pfarre*" would become too wealthy and live with unbecomingly comfort and ease. The experience of Hoffmeister with some of his parishioners may be taken as typical. In appraising their attitude, he wrote:

They say, "The preacher tells us not to seek the things of this world, that he himself might get rich. Why else has he such a large circuit?" Some who had subscribed something for my support left the neighborhood without paying; others told the collector they had paid everything to me and all was right, whilst I had received nothing. Others again concluded to deduct the third part of their subscribed two dollars because I could not preach as often as I had promised. Was that not malice and avarice mixed together?²⁸

A distinction must also be made between the larger and wealthier city congregations and the churches in rural communities where a congregation of fourteen members might,

June 25, 1839, Bullard stated (A. H. M. S. Cor.): "In most parts of this state it is absolutely necessary that at least 500 dollars a year should be given a minister." Salaries of K. pastors varied from less than \$100 per year to as high as \$500 during the later part of the period.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., May 1, 1850. Birkner commented on the desirability of permanency in pastoral relations as follows: "Because in Germany the preachers receive their salary from the state, the Germans have imbibed the notion that the preacher is working for money. Do they now perceive a preacher changing his position, they are confirmed in their opinion without thinking that it might be their fault." *Ibid.*, Birkner, Hermann, Mo., July 11, 1853. A somewhat different attitude is revealed in the statement of Weitbrecht (a Basel missionary), *ibid.*, Red Bud, Ill., Feb. 12, 1851: "It is not well for a minister of the Gospel to have too high a salary; it only leads him to trust in that instead of depending on His God, who daily gives us more than we are worthy to receive"

with much effort, raise the sum of one hundred dollars annually.

Unable to pay in cash, members frequently donated articles of food, fire-wood, etc., but, in the nature of the case, such assistance was unsatisfactory as a permanent arrangement. Rural churches frequently not only provided the pastor with ample farm land but also agreed to raise his crops.²⁹

Few additional sources of income were available. In some larger congregations fees for teaching school, until teachers were engaged for this task, added appreciably to the pastor's income. Fees for ministerial services varied and were sometimes stipulated in constitutions; two dollars might be expected for weddings, one dollar for funerals, and usually nothing for baptisms. For catechetical instruction, not in-

²⁹ The unmarried Witte, in a letter to Rieger under date of Jan. 3, 1853, stated that during Nov. and Dec., 1852, he had received the following donations: 17½ lbs. butter, 9½ dozen eggs, 87 lbs. beef, 89½ lbs. pork, 12 lbs. venison, 10 lbs. sausage, 3 hens, 13½ lbs. lard, 8½ lbs. tallow, 125 lbs. flour, 50 lbs. cornmeal, 59 lbs. bread, 5 cakes, 4 lbs. coffee, 32 lbs. salt. Wi.-R. Cor.

The *Gemeinde Ordnung der deutsch Evangelischen Gemeinde am St. John's Creek* (1856, MS), which also embodies the minutes of this church from 1854-1916, contains this entry under date of March 3, 1856:

Die ganze Gemeinde bestellt dies Jahr das Pfarrland in folgender Ordnung:

a. *Haferland durch Stolte, Johanning und Bruns.*

b. *Kornland: Jeder etwa zwei Tage.*

aa. *Zum Pflanzen: Stolte, Boehmer, Broeker, Lefmann, Johanning.*

bb. *Erstes Durchpfluegen: Bermann u. Eggert.*

cc. *Zweites Durchpfg.: Bruns-Blaue.*

dd. *Dritt.: Krueger, Twelker (Boehmer-Blaue).*

ee. *Viertes Durchpfluegen: Broeker-Breipohl (Boehmer-Blaue).*

Jeder bekommt seinen Zettel von mire zwei Tage vorher ins Haus gesandt.

Note the more detailed nature of the work-list in 1866, when, after it had been decided "dass das Pfarrhaus auf drei Seiten gewetterboardet werde," the following "Feldarbeit" was assigned to various members of the church:

a. *Hafer u. Heustecken . . . ; b. Haferbinden . . . ; c. Hafermaehen . . . ; d. Grassmaehen . . . ; e. Das letzte Korn durchpfluegen . . . ; f. Das dritte Korn durchpfluegen . . . ; g. Das zweite Korn pfluegen . . . ; h. Korn ablegen . . . ; i. Das erste Korn pfluegen . . . ; j. Fensreinmachen . . . ; k. Mistfahren . . . ; l. Wennenlegen . . . ; m. Hafereggen . . . ; n. Haferpfluegen . . . ; Kornland pfluegen: wird besorgt.*

Thus nine acres were "cultivated for the benefit of the pastor [Schünemann] by us and the amount of work done in this way constitutes a part of the \$85 we have agreed to give him." A. H. M. S. Cor., Church Board, Beaufort, Mo., March 15, 1855.

For economic reasons erudite ministers were frequently put to the necessity of fulfilling menial duties not in consonance with inherited traditions of the German pastorate. See, e. g., "Correspondenz aus Nordamerika," *Neue Reformierte Kirchenzeitung*, I (1854), 127, an article which may have been submitted by Birkner.

cluding the regular school tuition, a fee of five dollars was considered equitable.³⁰

Usually the congregation provided its pastor with a parsonage, although in the early days of his ministry at a newly founded church an unmarried minister might live in the homes of his people. Rents in urban communities were so high that the erection of a parsonage was an economic necessity. One pastor (Homeier) related that he spent two-thirds of his salary of one hundred and fifty dollars for rent. After three years his congregation built a parsonage for \$1000 (borrowing four hundred dollars at ten percent) and, with an appropriation of one hundred and fifty dollars from the American Home Missionary Society, raised his salary to three hundred dollars. Rural churches were equally concerned in providing living quarters for their pastors.³¹

Under the pressure of economic conditions a few pastors sought to procure for themselves an independent income. Some individual instances may be noted. K. Riess, at Muscatine, Iowa, repaired shoes during the week. Grote, at St. John's Creek, Missouri, bought a farm, cultivated the soil, and built a house in order to lessen the financial burden resting on his people, it being understood that the congregation could purchase the building at cost when desired. His congregation finally held that it was undesirable and unprofitable for a minister to "till the ground." Hoffmeister and Köwing also took up farming in order to supplement

³⁰ See *Constitution of St. Paul's Church*, Oakville, Mo. (1844). The constitution of St. Peter's Church at Washington, Mo. (1855, MS), stipulated fees as follows: baptism \$1.50, confirmation \$1.50, wedding \$2.50, funeral \$1.00, and \$.25 for each attendant at communion. For non-members, Zion Church at Millstadt, Ill. (1841), exacted a baptismal fee of one dollar if the child was brought to the church and two dollars if the baptism occurred in the home. This did not apply to non-members living more than six miles from the church. All fees for members were declared voluntary. According to the *Gemeinde-Ordnung* of St. Paul's Church, Steinhagen, Mo. (1865), a fee of 50 cents was exacted for a baptism in the church. The fee varied according to distance if performed in a home—non-members paying more.

³¹ A. H. M. S. Cor., Homeier, Belleville, Ill., June 6, 1854; June 6, 1857. An unmistakable note of pride marks the report of Baltzer that his rural church near St. Charles had erected an unusually well-built brick dwelling with two large rooms, a kitchen, a cellar and a garret at a cost of \$700. *Ibid.*, Baltzer, St. Charles, Mo., Dec. 3, 1850.

their meager incomes.³² The *Kirchenverein*, however, never approved of having its pastors engage in secular occupations.

And yet, in spite of the simple demands of pastors and the heroic efforts of congregations to supply their needs, many of the churches of this period could not have continued without the financial assistance of the American Home Missionary Society, which granted salary subsidies on condition that the congregations would raise one-half the total sum. From 1841 to 1861 not less than twenty-one members of the *Kirchenverein* received appropriations from the American Home Missionary Society, ranging from a single payment of \$24.50 to Schrenk in 1852, to the amount of \$1,422.50 to Wettle from 1850 to 1860. All told, between seven and eight thousand dollars was appropriated for their support during this period.

In addition to the financial support provided by the American Home Missionary Society, congregations and church societies in the East, informed of the needs of the German missionaries, sent boxes of clothing and other necessities of life. When applying for a commission from the society or when submitting the quarterly statistical report, each applicant was requested to provide full information concerning the size of his family and the personal needs of each member. *Kirchenverein* pastors were repeatedly put under obli-

³² In view of the secular interests of Grote and Hoffmeister, the A. H. M. S. hesitated to assist them, and inquired of Rieger concerning their economic status. Rieger replied that "Mr. Grote spends a considerable part of his time with secular labor and he was nailing, nine days ago, on the top of his house though he does not plow, as he states. I recommended Mr. Grote last year on the express condition that he would dispose of his land, which he promised but! . . . Br. Hoffmeister's influence, as far as preaching is concerned, seems to be extensive, as he visits six places; but Br. Grote has, according to his own statement, very small congregations . . ." *Ibid.*, Rieger, Pinckney, Mo., Feb. 25, 1851. Rieger advised against granting Hoffmeister a commission. In requesting a commission for Grote, the congregation at St. John's Creek wrote: "But our minister, as well as we also, learned very soon that it was not well done, for by tilling the ground the most important duties in the ministry can soon be neglected." *Ibid.*, St. John's Creek Church, March 30, 1854. Grote's difficulties were aggravated by persecutions which also affected the congregation. F., IV (1853), 77. Köwing finally agreed that "*die Farmerei mit der Führung des Predigtamtes durchaus unvereinbar ist.*" *Ibid.*, 83.

gation to unknown friends in the East for articles of clothing, which did not always fit the recipients and sometimes were too well worn to serve their purpose long.³³

SPIRITUAL MINISTRATIONS

How then, in the face of these conditions, religious and economic, were German pastors able to fulfill their primary spiritual mission of saving souls? The German conception of this task and of the method to be employed in its accomplishment was not based on doctrinal or historical traditions, as was generally the case with American preachers operating in the West. The influence most strongly shaping the pastoral labors and outlook of this first generation of Evangelical pioneers was the pietistic spirit of Basel and Barmen. In these foreign-mission training schools, without any denominational regimentation, the evangelistic ideals of pure missions had been instilled in their souls and, instead of being applied in foreign fields, were now being directed with equal zeal in behalf of their fellow countrymen in America. Here again, both the social and physical environment of the frontier determined the types of pastoral adjustment necessary to meet the spiritual needs of the people.³⁴

³³ In A. H. M. S. L.-B. references are made to gifts sent as follows: Oct. 19, 1852, a box sent to Grote at Beaufort, Franklin Co., Mo., by Female Benevolent Society of Worthington, Mass.; (no date) box containing sundries sent to Tölke by ladies of the Presbyterian church at Shorturn [?], N. Y.; Oct., 1855, box of sundries sent to Witte at Okawville, Ill., from Ladies Benevolent Society of Morris Plains, N. J. (via Chicago); Oct. 18, 1855, box of sundries sent to K. Riess at Ft. Madison, Ia., from ladies at Campton, N. H. (Mrs. E. A. Shedd); Aug. 20, 1859, box of clothing sent to J. Welsch from ladies of the Congregational church (Mrs. Hannah A. C. Jewett), Plymouth, N. H.; Sept. 8, 1854, box of sundries sent to K. Riess at Ft. Madison, Ia., from the Ladies' Sewing Circle of West Bethel, Me.

See statement of Grote, A. H. M. S. Cor., Beaufort, Mo., Mar. 1, 1851: "Through the Rev. Mr. Rauschenbusch I made a request for some clothing and bedding. Last week I received from the Rev. Mr. Rieger 2 coats and 2 pr. of trousers—pretty much worn out. Dr. Bullard informed me a few days ago that he had received a box with clothing for adults and children and would be willing to let me have it. Thus I think I shall be provided with clothing. If your society can and will do something for me with regard to bedding, shoes, or perhaps some kitchen utensils, I should be very thankful. Shoes for myself are to be No. 7, and for my wife No. 5 and 6."

³⁴ What might be termed the first definition of home missions pointed to the need "*den Verirrten nachzugehen und Verlorenen auf-*

Whereas American settlers in the West scattered over wide territories, the Germans usually settled in colonies so that even the few Americans among them felt constrained to sell out and move on. American observers were keen to note that "where an Evangelical church was organized, the congregation could generally muster the strength to sustain itself."³⁵ The usual practice was for the pastor to establish himself more or less definitely in a congregation which was strong enough to guarantee the greater part of his support and where the duties of parish and school demanded most of his time. At the same time, the newly arrived immigrants, finding the fertile areas occupied either by their fellow countrymen or by the Yankees, were constrained to settle in regions more remote. Thus, at best, German communities remained small in numbers, a situation which made the organization of congregations and the stationing of resident pastors among them exceedingly difficult.³⁶

To meet the spiritual needs of the wider parish, the German pastor approximated the circuit-riding method generally in vogue on the frontier. Although not always exten-

zusuchen." Nowhere were such practical efforts made to prepare students for their subsequent labors in America as at the *Rauhes Haus*. Note, e. g., the schedule of studies devised by Wichern and his "Pastorallehre für Colonistenprediger," *Archiv des Rauhen Hauses*, Hamburg, quoted by Heyne, *op. cit.*, 61. Note also the practical nature of the instructions of the Langenberg Society to its missionaries, *ibid.*, 58.

For description of life and labors of German pastors, most of which pertains as much to the West as to the East, see Büttner, *op. cit.*, II., chap. vi.

³⁵ *Eighth Report of Society for Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West* (1851), 53.

³⁶ "Nachrichten—Amerika," E. K. Z. (1845), 213. Note Löhe's comment on the difficulties of ministering to scattered Lutheran groups: "Ohne Ende steigt dem Betrachter des jenseitigen Elends der Gedanke auf, dass sich diese Massen deutscher Lutheraner von vornherein gemeindeweise, ja gemeindenweise möchten zusammen gesiedelt haben. Immer erneut sich der Seufzer: Ach, dass man sie so heraus-suchen muss aus allen möglichen Stämmen!" Quoted by W. Fugmann, "Wilhelm Löhe und Deutsche Lutherische Auslandsarbeit," in *Schriften zur Einwandererfürsorge* (Ponta Grossa, 1932), Heft II, 4.

On the other hand, President Baltzer in 1856 lamented the unusual circumstance that Pastors Kruse, Witte, and Maul were serving three parishes within an area which could have been supplied by two pastors. K. P. (1856), 9.

sively following the itinerant method adopted by Rieger and Köwing, most of the *Kirchenverein* pastors, in addition to caring for their main charges, as we have seen, preached regularly at a number of churches in the neighborhood and also in houses, in the streets, or wherever hearers could be found. Since new arrivals, in particular, were not inclined to spend their hard-working week-days in religious devotion, German pastors found it exceedingly difficult to arrange for week-day services and, by alternating among their churches, usually arranged a series of Sunday services, sometimes preaching three or four times on that day.

If not provided with horses, they made visits on foot until they could procure better transportation. The transition from the settled German pastoral tradition to the horseback method was not without its aches and pains; but the cause of the Lord brooked no delay. When warned that horseback-riding during the heat of the day would be ruinous to his health, one of these frontier horsemen of the Apocalypse replied:

Hell would be a far hotter place for unpardoned sinners and therefore I could not allow myself to lose any time. My journeys were, therefore, uninterrupted and I raised my voice like a trumpet to tell my people their sins and their transgressions.

Winter also had its terrors, as the experiences of Grote testify. Uninterruptedly he labored through the coldest winter months. On one occasion, after traveling four hours in a snow-storm, he arrived at Boeuf Creek covered with ice and with limbs frozen stiff. After preaching to the few people who had assembled, he immediately left for his charge at St. John's Creek, where he preached again the same afternoon. Prolonged rains in the spring made travel over Missouri roads almost impossible. Riding through a torrential rain on his Indian pony, with boots filled with water, Baltzer arrived one Sunday at the Horse Prairie church to find only three elderly women present, to whom he preached, however, with a warmth and zeal never experienced before or after.³⁷

³⁷ A. H. M. S. Cor., Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., Nov. 1, 1850; Grote, Enon, Mo., April 6, 1850; Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., May 1, 1850. See also H. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 28.

In all these ministrations the vicious antagonism of rationalistic scoffers was met by kindness and patience. Rieger was particularly adept in finding the soft answer which turneth away wrath. One night he was attacked by a band of drunken ruffians, one of whom stumbled through the door into his arms. The following morning the intruder, awakening from his drunken stupor, discovered himself in a clean, comfortable bed in the home of the man whom he had set out to attack. On another occasion, Rieger, passing the home of an erudite Latin farmer who was having difficulty in erecting a lightning-rod on his house, was accosted with the sarcastic suggestion that, since he was professionally interested in the higher things of life, he might assist in this task. Accepting the challenge, he dismounted from his horse, climbed the roof, and completed the job, much to the chagrin of his mocker.³⁸

Family visitation was the generally accepted pastoral practice. "Since in church people appear in their better clothes only, it was necessary to visit them at their firesides where they could be seen as they really are. In church," continued Grote, "nobody will speak on the state of his soul, but at home people will disclose their hearts" In a day when social visits were taken as a matter of course, pastors were expected to call on their members diligently. Negligence in this matter brought sharp reprimand from devout congregations.³⁹ To assure regular pastoral visits, the church at Burlington, Iowa, decreed that the pastor, accompanied by an elder, visit every home at least once a year to inquire whether family devotions were regularly observed, what prayer- or devotional books were used, and whether the children were being properly disciplined and instructed in evangelical doctrine. The irreligious objected to the pastor's visits—especially if others had observed his coming. Such a disgruntled person once remonstrated with his visitor that preaching should be restricted to the pulpit

³⁸ Häberle, *op. cit.*, 46.

³⁹ A. H. M. S. Cor., Grote, Enon, Mo., Jan. 23, 1850; Austmann, Posey Co., Ind., Jan. 27, 1853.

—whereupon the pastor explained that, if the heedless would not come to church, the church must go to them.⁴⁰

At no point did German pastors function so effectively as when called upon in times of sickness and disaster. Visits to the sick and dying were considered of primary importance. Garlichs, on one occasion, traveled forty miles on such an errand of mercy. Not uncommonly the German minister was equipped with an assortment of medicines in the use of which the graduates of Basel and Barmen had been especially trained. Medical care went hand in hand with the spiritual ministry. Particularly challenging was the cholera epidemic of 1849, which claimed 4000 lives in St. Louis, the epidemic of 1854, and the more devastating one of 1866. In the densely populated section of St. Louis, in the vicinity of the court-house, entire families perished. During the day the funerals of the higher classes were held, and at night endless corteges of wagons of every description deposited the coffins of the poor in the neighborhood of the arsenal, where they were burned. Everywhere the pastors visited the stricken, many of whom had been forsaken by all other friends, baptizing their children, praying with the dying, giving communion, and administering the last rites.⁴¹

Pastoral care was of an intensely personal nature. The private life of everyone on the frontier was constantly open to public gaze, and religion easily came to be identified with morality. The ascetic ideals of German Pietism blended

⁴⁰ F. S., First Evangelical Church, Burlington, Ia. (1896), 3. Jung, at Warsaw, Ill., inquired "in every house after the Bible, whether the people use it and if the house-father kept morning and evening prayer with the family, if the people came to church" A. H. M. S. Cor., Dec. 4, 1854. See also *ibid.*, Jung, Warsaw, Ill.

⁴¹ For a description of the cholera epidemic in St. Louis in 1866, see F., XVII (1866), 147. Here we are told how one pastor, aroused at midnight by a father imploring him to baptize his dying child, arrived at the home to discover that in the meantime the mother had died. Or, we find another pastor accompanying families to cemeteries, there to witness the fatal collapse of a father or mother. When entire families were stricken, some pastors volunteered to assume the household duties. Witte relates that in such an emergency he undertook to "shave and wash the father and brother-in-law because there were no men who would or could do that work of love," and came to the assistance of another indigent family by taking two sick children into his home.

easily with the rigorous puritanic conceptions espoused by New England preachers in the West. Thus there developed among the pietistically tempered pastors of the *Kirchenverein*, especially if they were being tutored by the American Home Missionary Society, a strong evangelistic spirit, which, crusading against the frontier evils of immorality, sinful amusements, Sabbath-desecration, and intemperance, at times bordered on the revivalistic.⁴²

The quarterly reports to the New York office of the missionary organization were replete with the eloquent and verbose recitals of "hopeful conversions," which, we are tempted to suspect, were designed to impress the patron society. Thus arose the practice of enumerating conversions.⁴³ Sudden and spectacular conversions, inside and outside the church, were eagerly considered the signs of a successful ministry. A brimstone theology, suffused with the fear of hell and eternal punishment, quite foreign to the German mind, showed itself in many of the reports.

Even children were not excluded from such pastoral severity, as the following conversation of Witte with a boy of his congregation might indicate. "'Henry, do you recollect that you told a lie to me?' 'O yes, yes, it is true, I have done it,' he replied. 'Now, my dear, dear boy, tell me what you think if you had died, at this time without confession and repentance—where would you now be?' 'Oh I would

⁴² Note the following exuberant testimony of J. Wettle: "Our prospects are in general encouraging; cloud after cloud is disappearing, and the sky of moral reforms is becoming brighter. Men are commencing to be ashamed of things they formerly have been bold with. Men who formerly carried the jug full of liquor from the store to their respective homes at day time, do it now only in the night. Yes, in many families I have found such an impression in regard to this matter that they will not even carry a jug filled with vinegar or molasses over the street during the day for fear or shame people might think they keep whiskey. This is indeed a change in the moral sky worthy of notice among this generation . . ." A. H. M. S. Cor., Wettle, Boonville, Mo., Dec. 10, 1854. Note Witte's reference to the "cardinal sin of Sabbath breaking," *ibid.*, Okaw, Ill., Sept. 14, 1853.

For general clash of German views with New England Puritanism, see articles in D. K. on "Sonntags-Heiligung," I (1848), 58, and "Der Puritanismus und die Kirche," II (1849), 117.

⁴³ Witte at Okawville, Ill., once reported 9 conversions; Wm. Homeier at Belleville and C. Conrad at Quincy, Ill., 6; Austmann at Newburgh, Ind., 70; and Hoffmeister, 8. See illustration facing p. 218.

be lost, I would be in hell,' was the answer. Whereupon," so the report continued, "he stopped and could not say more, but wept bitterly and prayed very much . . . that he might receive salvation. As a result he became a boy with a new heart." We also wonder at the sophistication of the child described by Witte as a "little light in the world of infidelity." When the father forbade his little daughter to attend a prayer-meeting, the child replied, "Dear father, I owe you obedience in all that concerns my body, but in all that regards my soul I must tell you that the Word of God tells me, we must obey God more than men." Riess in particular commented on the many works of grace—repentance and conviction of sin—to be found among the children and found no scruples in commending the prayer of a little girl of eight who sobbed aloud in public for the forgiveness of her sins.⁴⁴

Many of the so-called "hopeful conversions" occurred under the stress of sickness and misfortune. Tölke was especially fond of relating such cases. Once it was a Catholic girl, dangerously ill, who, having freely agreed that she was a lost sinner deserving eternal punishment, was led to the throne of grace and confirmed. Again, he told of a young man of twenty years, afflicted with consumption and plagued with the question: "Is there yet grace for me?" who a few hours before his death testified that Jesus was his Savior and King. Or he was reminded of the unbelieving young man fatally injured while at work. Tölke prayed with him, but soon a mere "corpse lay before us and the soul was soaring on its way to the judgment-seat." Again it was Tölke who, in the course of his pastoral visits, came upon a home where the parents and all five children were ill of fever. Convinced that the Lord had placed him upon this bed of sickness, the father was filled with thanks; for he now felt that his soul was saved.⁴⁵

Thus, in some of the early ministries there developed a

⁴⁴ A. H. M. S. Cor., Witte, Okaw, Ill., June 11, 1853; K. Riess, Ft. Madison, Ia., March 1, 1853; Dec. 3, 1853.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Tölke, Evansville, Ind., March 2, 1848; May 27, 1849; Aug. 13, 1850.

warm evangelistic spirit, characterized by a vocabulary and a psychology which has now become obsolete if not objectionable. "Eyes filled with tears," "tears running down the cheek," and "crying bitterly" during the service were considered indisputable signs of the regenerative power of the Holy Spirit and an indication of a successful pastorate. No higher commendation of a pastor's ministry could be given than that souls were seeking the "peace of our Lord Jesus with tears and meekness."

On the other hand, not all German pastors were committed to the revivalistic type of evangelism. Even the pietistic Schrenk replied to the inquiry concerning conversions: "The number of hopeful conversions I can not tell because the Lord might discover an error when I number them. He looks in the hearts and we discover that we have always to convert ourselves" On another occasion he stated that he could not point to many converted sinners, since he served a congregation "whose members are all convinced that Jesus is the only begotten Son of God." Similarly Schünemann disclaimed any ability to count the number of conversions. "You yourself know," he said, "how uncertain any human judgment is in such a case. I have had the experience that those whom I consider regenerate today may in a very short time turn obstinate . . . and that the best disciples of Christ are those who remained long unobserved." Dresel also confessed difficulty in counting conversions and instead rejoiced in the gradual growth of Christianity under his ministry. Likewise Baltzer modestly stated that, although he could not indicate a definite number of conversions, he hoped that some of these who joined his church were converted. Typical of the German attitude was that of Birkner. "Seven families," he said, "have decidedly begun a new course of life—but I should not like to think myself more sharp-sighted than Elijah, who knew nothing of the seven thousand that had not bent their knees to Baal."⁴⁶

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Schrenk, Evansville, Ind., Sept. 28, 1852 and March 1, 1853; Schünemann, Des Peres, Mo., Dec. 21, 1852; Dresel, Burlington, Iowa,

Although a certain fundamental religious heritage was common to them all, there was a sufficient diversity in the education, temperament, and traditional background of *Kirchenverein* pastors to prevent the immediate rise of a uniform pastoral type. Frontier needs could best be met by diverse gifts. Characteristically individualistic Germans required specialized attention. Equipped with diverse gifts and variously trained, either by private individuals or by European mission schools, missionary societies, or universities—certainly with no common training behind them—, *Kirchenverein* pastors were individually dependent on their own resources to cope with new situations as they arose. No formalized system of theology, academically acquired, directed their ministrations.

The outstanding common trait which characterized these men and which unified their efforts was their zeal to save souls. To deal effectively with the ethical and religious problems of these early days required men of indomitable faith and of moral courage—men undergirded, not by devotion to doctrine nor by the authority of the Church, but by an experience of the spiritual power of Jesus Christ their Lord.⁴⁷

On the whole, the *Kirchenverein*, because of its strong pietistic orientation, exerted little positive influence on its rationalistic opponents. Whether, on the other hand, the

Feb. 28, 1854; Baltzer, St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 27, 1850; Birkner, Hermann, Mo., March 18, 1853.

The pietistic leanings of the European Germans of the West account for the adoption of revivalistic methods by K. pastors similarly inclined. Some of the Basel and Barmen men and especially the academically trained pastors were more critical. See, in this connection, *infra*, pp. 272 f.

⁴⁷ It is interesting to note how, approaching this problem from an altogether different angle, the confessionalistic group, insisting on the primary significance of sound doctrine, questioned the ability of German pioneer preachers on a strictly individualistic spiritual basis to meet the religious challenge of the frontier. Rigorous ecclesiastical regimentation and centralization of authority were necessary to undergird pastors not strong enough either in faith or doctrine to withstand the disintegrating forces rampant in the West. See Wyneken, "Aufruf an die lutherische Kirche Deutschlands," *Zeitschrift für Protestantismus und Kirche*, V (1843), 124 ff.

*Post Office Newburg
Warren County*

Office of the American Home Missionary Society,
BIBLE HOUSE, ASTOR PLACE, NEW YORK, Feb. 10th, 1858.

DEAR BROTHER. By the rules of this Society and its Auxiliaries, a STATISTICAL REPORT is due from each Missionary on the FIRST OF MARCH. The data supplied by such reports are indispensable for making a full exhibition of the Society's doings for one year.

Desiring to make these returns as complete as possible, we send you a blank form of a REPORT for the present year, and earnestly request that, if it has not been attended to when this reaches you, you will supply the particulars indicated, and return them TO THE OFFICE OF THE SOCIETY, in New York, on the FIRST OF MARCH, or as soon thereafter as practicable.

You will also do us a favor by appending to your statistical report such REMARKS respecting the condition and progress of the missionary work, and the remaining destitutions of the general region where you labor, as will enable us to present in the Annual Report a correct view of that field.

Affectionately yours,

MILTON BAKER,
DAVID B. COE, } Secretaries
DANIEL R. NOYES, }

1. Name of the church or churches, with the township, county, and state, and also the Post-Office address of the Missionary, *Lions Church Newburg and Peters Church in Boonville Warren Co. Indiana P.O. Newburg*
2. Number of stations where you have preached at regular intervals during the year, *Newburg and Boonville 2*
3. Number of Church Members, male and female. *100. Newburg 60. Boonville 40.*
Female 32 10
4. Average attendance on public worship, *70 50*
5. Number of hopeful conversions, *12*
6. Number added to the church, by profession,* *0*
7. Number added to the church by letter,* *16*
8. Number of Sabbath school and Bible class scholars, *26 Bible class 12*
9. Number of churches organized during the year, *1 Boonville*
10. Contributions to benevolent objects, such as
Home Missions, \$ *20* ; Foreign Missions, \$ *6* ; Bible Society, \$ - - - ; &c. *Martha's ville \$ 4*
Total for all objects, \$ ~~26~~ *32*

Other interesting facts, such as the erection and completion of church edifices, institution of the pastoral relation, number of young men preparing for the ministry, &c.

Louis Austmann?

* To be reckoned from March to March, if you have been in commission the whole year; if not, for the portion of the year between these dates which your commission covers.

Annual Statistical Report of L. Austmann of Newburg, Indiana,
Submitted to the American Home Missionary Society in 1858.

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importunities of pure doctrine and ecclesiastical authority were more successful in coping with this latter group may also be questioned. A naive sense of religious superiority to the claims of science and the arts, so characteristic of hard-pressed orthodoxy, was interpreted as obscurantistic indifference to the more important *Weltanschauungsprobleme* which were engaging the cultured Germans of that day. Pietistic zeal and ardor were not qualified realistically to appreciate the wide-flung cultural values of life.

With all their spiritual zest and moral enthusiasm it was not possible to remain free from the taint of the formalistic. The concreteness of the frontier evils to be combated all too often suggested cures legalistically moral and ethical rather than spiritually dynamic. As the impact of native Calvinistic Churches thus made itself felt, German pastoral emphases were more or less unconsciously accommodated to American practices—all of which was particularly the case with pastors receiving direction from American Home Missionary Society. Where German ministers uncritically adopted American practices in their pastoral labors on the frontier, a loss of spiritual power resulted. On the whole, however, *Kirchenvereine* pastors, in meeting the religious challenges of their day, did not succumb to the dangers of clerical officiousness, but in the traditionally German sense remained primarily pastors of souls.

CHAPTER VII

FRONTIER CHURCHES AND THEIR ORGANIZATION

Many of the early German churches in the West were organized, not by pastors, but by laymen. Frequently some pious individual took the initiative and persuaded his neighboring friends to cooperate in establishing a religious organization. The origin of some churches may thus be traced to prayer-meetings held in private homes and conducted by lay leaders. At times a formal organization was effected before a minister was procured. In the course of an itinerant ministry, pastors frequently discovered such religious communities in various stages of development. These would hail with delight the appearance of a minister and attempt to secure his settlement among them.

BUILDING OF CHURCHES

Before the building of the first church, which was usually constructed of logs, services were held in private homes or barns suitable because of their size or favorable location. Occasionally the meetings rotated among the members. In villages and towns, permission to meet in schoolrooms, court-houses, or public halls could easily be secured, and not infrequently carpenter shops were used for this purpose. Churches of other denominations were generally used during building operations.¹ In some rural communities it became the accepted practice for congregations of various denominations to use the same buildings interchangeably.

The use of strange churches, to say nothing of barns and court-houses, especially for sacramental services, offended the piety of devout Germans and hastened the desire to possess their own houses of worship. With the arrival of a pastor and the establishment of regular services, with

¹ Presbyterian churches served this purpose most frequently, e. g., at Belleville, Ill., 1851; Warsaw, Ill., 1854; Okawville, Ill., 1855; Zanesville, Ohio, 1864. The Cumberland Presbyterian church was used at Piqua, Ohio, and Presbyterian and Methodist churches were used at St. Louis.

growth in membership and increased financial ability, it became feasible to build.² When a prosperous member presented a building site, the church was often named in his honor. Some churches to this day carry the name of a benefactor of many years ago.³

Churches built under such primitive conditions were correspondingly simple—mere log or frame houses, less frequently stone buildings—and were erected by the members of the church, who, in addition to their time and energies, donated the building materials. Construction of churches was a cooperative enterprise, in which the pastor sometimes participated.⁴ Some of the members provided the logs,

² Witte described this procedure as follows: "I called a meeting for the 18th of July near Nashville for the purpose of forming a church. The meeting was opened with a public service to God. I preached on Acts 2: 36-42 and we felt that the Lord with his spirit was upon us. Seventeen, 11 heads of families and 6 young men (some converted in Germany), organized a church on disciplinary lines according to II Thess. 3: 6, 14, 15; Matt. 18: 15-17; I Tim. 5: 19; Gal. 5: 19, 20; I Cor. 5: 1-5, 9-13. . . . After the members had signed the order and discipline, I commenced a subscription paper to build a church at Nashville and the amount was 250 dollars. Then we commenced a subscription among our American friends and raised 150 dollars." A. H. M. S. Cor., C. Witte, Okaw, Ill., Sept. 15, 1854.

³ Thus Salem Church at Bluff Precinct, Ill., is known as "Baum's Church." Some churches are still known by the name of the first pastor. The symbol of a rooster was sometimes placed on church steeples as a warning against the sin of Peter (Matt. 26: 74, 75). Accordingly, some churches were called "rooster churches," as was the case at St. Matthew's in New Orleans.

⁴ Tersely describing the beginning of building operations at Pleasant Grove, Mo., in 1850, Hoffmeister said: "We were on the spot at eight in the morning and opened the meeting with singing, after which I spoke on Haggai I. When I had finished my discourse we again joined in singing and prayer after which the foundation stone was laid." *Ibid.*, Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., Nov., 1850.

When the log church was built by Grote at St. John's Creek, Mo., "eight or ten men engaged every day to prepare the great and heavy logs. Every day they were exposed to the ridicule of members of the old congregation . . ." *Ibid.*, Grote, Enon, Mo., Jan. 23, 1850.

Some of the early log churches cost less than \$100. The log church built at Huntingburg, Ind. (Salem), in 1843, for which a subscription of \$2.00 per member was solicited, cost \$99.55, which was itemized as follows: "Hewing, \$6.23½; log hauling, \$11; church windows, \$6.48; a keg of nails, \$5.50; 3100 clapboards, \$2.25 per 1000, \$7.75; church roof, \$13; keg of nails, \$4.30; building material, \$23; 22 church benches, 50 cents each, \$11; 3 dozen spikes, \$1.50; 2 hinges, \$2; 1 lock, \$1.25; 2 latch bolts, \$1; labor, \$3.50." F. S., Salem Ev. Church, Huntingburg, Ind. (1932), 25.

others hewed them, still others laid them in the building, some filled the chinks, some made the doors and windows, and others hauled the stones. That this was not always done in a haphazard manner is seen in a provision incorporated in the constitution of the church at Holstein, Missouri, which was signed by thirty men, among whom was Garlichs. It was here stated that "every member, from this day on, who fails to perform his work in the building of our church, shall pay fifty cents into the church treasury for each day he fails to work. He is to be notified of the days when he is to work and the kind of labor he is to do, and only sickness will excuse him."⁵

⁵ This constitution was dated Feb. 2, 1840, and consisted of twelve articles. See illustration facing p. 59.

Progress in building the church on St. John's Creek, Mo., may be traced in the following excerpts from the "Protokollirte Beschlüsse," *Gemeinde Ordnung der deutsch Evangelischen Gemeinde am St. John's Creek*, recorded by H. Schünemann. Note the barbaric German. It was resolved:

(Dec. 28, 1854)

4. *Das Holz dazu schneide W. Gehring a Tag 5 Buet bei Boehmer, Breipohl u. Blaue.*

6. *Boehmer lasse das Gemeinde Eigenthum recorden, u. reiche ihr zur Aufbewahrung darueber e Handschrift ein.*

(Nov. 5, 1855)

1. *Das Fahren der Gruende, Steiner u. Balken zur Kirche thun Alle.*
2. *Die Querbalken sollen, wenn moeglich, aus einem Baum geschnitten werden.*

3. *Im November soll noch Alles an den Bauplatz gefahren werden.*

4. *Ein Jeder liefert 500, 18 zoellige Schindel im Monat Februar, 1856.*

5. *Die neue Kirche erhaelt 2 achtkantige Pfeiler.*

8. *Das Feuerholz fuer Kirche, Schule u. Pfarrwohnung faehrt die Gemeinde in der Reihenfolge bei halb Court Weise hier an den Platz. Ich besorge das Spalten.*

(Jan. 9, 1856)

3. *Beide Kirchen Floors werden gemacht von gekauften Diehlen aus Washington 2200 Fuss.*

(March 3, 1856)

3. *Die Unterschreiber fuer unsern Kirchen Neubau wollen binnen 2 Monaten die Haelfte ihres Unterschreibens einsenden.*

5. *Der Grundstein der Kirche werde gelegt am Tage Christi Himmelfahrt. Zu dieser Feier werde eingeladen Inspector Binner and Pastor Kroehnke u. gebeten, uns den Kirchen Deet zu machen.*

7. *Die Gemeinde breche die Steine zu allem Mauerwerk der Kirche in volgender Ordnung u. Reihenfolge der Gemeinde Ordnung: Nur zugleich je zwei und zwei, dazu sie ihr Billet zwei Tage vorher ins Haus bekommen.*

8. *Das Fahren der Steine geschehe mit Fr. Bebermeier's Rollwagen, wobei ihm jeder etwaige Schade verguetet werde. Damit die Steine den Arbeitern nicht im Wege liegen, soll jedesmal der an dem die Reihe zum Brechen ist, wenn die Quantitaet gross genug ist, wenn er Pferde hat, bescheid zum Fahren haben; da dann das Brechen beim Andern der Reihe nach weiter geht.*

9. *Die zum Kirchenbau noethigen Latten macht Helling u. zwar alle gut zur*

The most simple log churches, preferably located on a hill or knoll, consisted of only one room and were built in various sizes, the dimensions averaging about thirty by forty by eighteen feet.⁶ They were roughly hewn, with a few small windows admitting scarcely any light. The more substantial ones were covered with clapboards on the outside and were plastered within. Pews consisted of heavy rough boards resting on trestles. Sometimes each family was requested to furnish its own bench. Puncheon seats were also used in some churches. Occasionally the American custom was adopted of placing a crude table on the platform to serve both as pulpit and altar. All this presented a scene in glaring contrast to the magnificently adorned medieval cathedrals with which even peasant groups might have been acquainted.

As occasion required, the interior was divided into two rooms, the one serving as living quarters for the pastor,

Zufriedenheit des Zimmermanns, die Ecklatten sollen 9 1/2 Fuss lang sein. Wird er mehrere Tage auf deren Verfertigung zubringen, als die durchschnitts Summa der Tage ist derer, die diesen Sommer das Pfarrland verarbeiten; so sollen ihm so viele Tage in Tagelohn ausbezahlt werden.

(Oct. 13, 1856)

1. *F. Bebermeier mache die Rennen unter das Hausdach binnen 14 Tagen von Planken u. benutze die alten.*
2. *Der Brunnen werde vorlaeufig mit fettem Kalk gekittet.*
5. *Die Kirche werde sogleich fertig gepflastert, erhalte eine Chorabtheilung von 3/4 Fuss Hoehe und 12 Fuss Laenge. F. Bebermeier mache in sie einen Alter in Form des alten Kirchentisches mit Fachwerk unten fuer Gemeinde Zwecke, u. zugleich 12 neue Baenke in die Kirche.*
6. *Das Tafelgestell werde gemacht, die Kanzel gewarnischt.*
11. *Was u. wie bei unserm Kirchenbau ausbezahlt werden muss, bleibt dem Vorstande ueberlassen.*
13. *Sobald die Kirche eingeweiht ist, beginnt Mittwoch Abend Gottesdienst.* [The church was dedicated on December 7, 1856.]

(Jan. 13, 1857)

1. *Wilhelm Lefmann mache um die Kirche eine Fens und W. Gehring schneide dazu die Latten. Es sei eine Planken Fens 4 1/2 Fuss hoch, sie schliesse auf beiden Hinterecken der Kirche und an der obern Seite laufe sie mit der Hausecke egal, sie erhalte zwei Eingang's Pforten.*
2. *Die Brunnen Rennen seien blecheren, der Vorstand besorgt sie.*
3. *Der Brunnen werde gemacht mit Ziement, 2 Barrl gekauft, der Vorstand besorge das so bald als moeglich.*
4. *Die Kirche werde auswendig gemacht diesen Fruehjar.*
9. *Siekman werde dahin beordert, dass er als Glied in die Gemeinde aufgenommen werden koenne, wenn er wolle sein Fehlen bei Gemeinde Arbeiten auf irgend eine Art vergueten.*

⁶ Reports of the dedication of newly built churches in the F. and in the quarterly reports to A. H. M. S. invariably gave the dimensions.

the other used for church and school.⁷ It was more desirable, however, to build a separate parsonage—sometimes on a glebe of from forty to sixty acres. Necessary adjuncts to the parsonage were a barn, a smoke-house, and a stable for the horse. These outbuildings were considered essential even in the cities.

Some of these primitive log churches were used for many years. Their maintenance was a problem in itself. The duties of janitor, if not fulfilled by one of the elders, devolved upon the minister and his family, who were held responsible, among other things, particularly for ringing the bells.

However sturdily built, many of these old log churches were so crudely and roughly constructed that there was little incentive for taking pride in their care. In the course of time they became dilapidated even while in use. This was particularly true of rural churches. Holes in walls and roof supplied an overabundance of ventilation during the winter. Rusted stoves stared one in the face; broken windows were not repaired; doors threatened to fall from their hinges; dust and cobwebs hung thick everywhere; and sundry articles, perhaps even garden implements half hidden from the eye in dark corners, offended more sensitive souls.

In protest against these conditions it was urged that even in external appearances *Kirchenverein* churches should be distinguishable from all others. They need not be characterized by external splendor, but should at least be marked by neatness and cleanliness. Among other complaints, it was inexcusable that on a Sunday morning worshippers should be confronted by scraps of paper and pens lying about in general disorder due to the fact that school had been held there the day before. Congregations that permitted their church property to deteriorate, so the *Friedensbote* claimed, could not be Evangelical in the true sense of the word.⁸

⁷ The church erected at Augusta, Mo., 1853, consisted of two rooms, each 20x18x9 ft. in dimension. A. H. M. S. Cor., Maul, Augusta, Mo., March 22, 1853. See also *ibid.*, Grote, St. John's Creek, Oct. 2, 1849.

⁸ "Zur Einheit der Evangelischen Kirche" (a series of six articles), F., XII (1861), 25.

The time came, however, when, for various reasons, a new church had to be built.⁹ Increase in membership, destruction of the old church by fire or from faulty construction, even the shifting of population, led to new building projects. The congregation at Franklin, Iowa, became so large that it was divided (1851) and two new churches, St. Peter's and St. Paul's, were erected only five miles apart.

The new churches which began to appear in the fifties and sixties, especially those in urban centers, were more pretentious in all respects. What was adequate and aesthetically sufficient for the first generation no longer satisfied modern demands. Many of the old settlers had become prosperous and had moved from their log cabins into commodious and comfortable homes. Would they be content on Sundays to repair to the old dilapidated log church? It was now maintained that Evangelical churches must be more than merely meeting-houses; for, if that were the case, barns and stables would suffice. As places of worship, where the glory of God became manifest in word and sacrament, the new churches should be built with aesthetic taste and artistic discernment.¹⁰

In a number of instances the building of a new church both resulted from and caused factions. When St. John's Church at Addison, Illinois, was built, the dissension between a north and south faction was settled by the agreement that the side raising most funds should get the church. The north side raised \$119 and two acres of land and won the location. Matters were not always adjusted so amicably. The east side built St. Peter's Church at Okawville, Illinois, and the west side erected St. Paul's near Okawville. Indeed, next to doctrinal dissensions, the question of relocation

⁹ Old churches were first used as schools, and teachers inherited the old parsonages. Some of the old churches still exist as hose houses and city halls (Mascoutah and Centerville, Ill.). The first bell of the church at Hermann, Mo., was erected in the city hall of that place. Old organs and lighting fixtures were frequently donated to poorer churches.

¹⁰ Note, in this connection, "Der äussere Schmuck unserer Gotteshäuser," *ibid.*, X (1859), 17. The following year a series of more technical and practical articles appeared in the *Luth.*, XVI (1860), 131 ff., under the title "Die beste Weise unsere Kirchen einzurichten."

caused most factional difficulties in the early churches. Pious regard for cemeteries on the old church property aggravated the problem.¹¹

The new churches were immeasurably superior to the old. So strongly and massively were they built that some are being used to this day.¹² The church at Burlington, Iowa, dedicated in April, 1851, was described as one of the most beautiful in the West. The interior was especially worthy of note. Behind the altar was an eight-cornered pulpit resting on a high pillar. Special chairs were placed in the front for the pastor and elders. The pulpit, altar, and chairs, with Gothic embellishments, had been designed by a Mr. Storker of Stuttgart, Germany. In the front and crosswise to the altar were chairs for children. Over the front vestibule was a gallery. Seven years later an organ was installed but it was not until 1883 that a bell was placed in the newly erected tower. When the new Evangelical church in North St. Louis (St. Peter's) was built in 1850, a German architect and a German builder were employed. The finished structure, costing \$11,525, was acclaimed "the most beautiful and largest Evangelical church west of the Mississippi."¹³ It served its constituency for more than fifty-eight years. The church basement, ten feet high, was divided into two large schoolrooms, between which was a smaller room set aside for the confirmation class. The tower rose to a height of one hundred and twenty-eight feet and was designed for two bells. The steps under the tower led to the main church entrance, and from here other stairs led to the galleries. The windows on the sides were high and rounded at the top,

¹¹ Büttner rated the main reasons for church factions as follows: (1) location of church, (2) building of church, (3) election of pastor. Much of the dissension he laid at the door of laymen who had no voice in church affairs in Germany but officiously assumed such prerogatives in America. Lengthy arguments revolved about such questions as to whether a cross or a rooster should adorn the steeple. See also, *g.*, *supra*, p. 191, n. 67.

¹² The foundation wall of Zion Church in Evansville, Ind., (1855) was "*dick gemauert*," two feet thick, up to the windows sixteen inches, and to the roof twelve inches. For description of Burlington church, see "Einweihung der Deutschen Ev. Kirche zu Burlington, Ia.," *F.*, II (1851), 47. See illustrations.

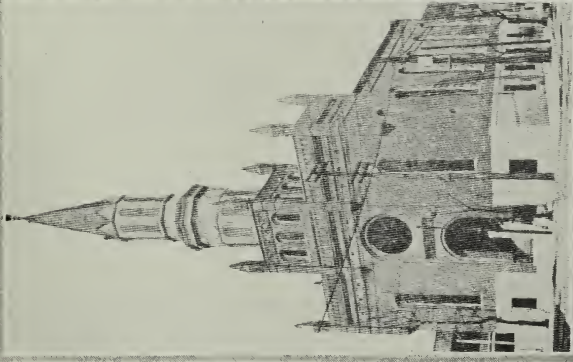
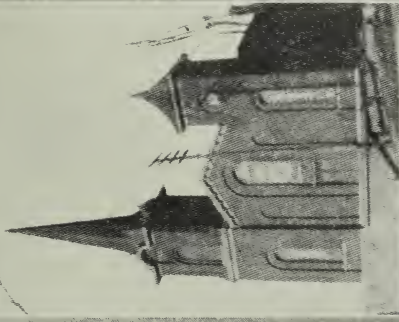
¹³ "Einweihung der Evang. Kirche . . . ," *F.*, I (1850), 85.



St. Peter's Evangelical Church, Fourteenth and Carr Streets, St. Louis, Missouri, 1850.

First Evangelical Church, Burlington, Iowa, 1851.

Zion Evangelical Church, Evansville, Indiana, 1850.



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and a large round window admitted light from the front. St. Paul's Church of St. Louis, also built in 1850, reflected the same trend toward elaborate construction. The basement contained schoolrooms and dwelling-quarters for the minister and the teacher. The church interior, with bright windows and arched ceiling, reached a height of twenty feet. The women of the church furnished a black cloth for the altar and covered the elevation about the altar with a carpet.¹⁴

Variations of these plans appeared in other churches of this period. Sometimes large windows in the rear provided light for the pulpit during the day, lamps being attached to pillars on both sides of the pulpit for use at night. The latter was usually elevated, sometimes to extreme heights, and, either resting on a pillar or built into the wall, assumed the so-called "birdnest" appearance, which became notably characteristic. Altar and pulpit were generally upholstered with black velvet. Corinthian window arches and a marble altar were considered a mark of distinction.¹⁵

Baptismal bowls and communion ware were sometimes displayed on the altar. Later in the period, inscriptions began to appear on the wall behind and over the pulpit—such as that of the church at Freeport, Illinois: "*Alles und in allem Christus*," or of the church at Warsaw, Illinois: "*Selig sind die Gottes Wort hören und bewahren*." It came to be a matter of pride for pastors to claim that, if their church was not the largest in the community, it was the neatest and most dignified.¹⁶ If the rural churches were not so elaborately furnished, their plan and general structure were the same. Above all, placing the altar and pulpit opposite the entrance was considered the distinctive German method.

¹⁴ A. H. M. S. Cor., Baltzer, St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 27, 1850.

¹⁵ In building Zion Church at Evansville, Ind. (1855), the question of whether the windows should be round or pointed occasioned much discussion and deliberation. It was first decided that they should be round. But the Gothic was more durable, it was pointed out, and the matter was presented to the congregation, which decided for the Gothic. Cf. *Verhandlungen der Gemeinde und des Kirchen-Raths*, Zion Ev. Church, Evansville, Ind. (MS), 26.

¹⁶ A. H. M. S. Cor., Wettle, Boonville, Mo., Dec. 10, 1853.

Next in importance to the acquisition of an organ was the installation of bells, which characteristically distinguished the German church from the American meeting-house. Filled with memories of such pastoral scenes as depicted in Ludwig Uhland's *Wurmlinge Kapelle*, the German soul was stirred by nothing so much as by the little rural churches, located on hills and knolls, from whence the peal of bells resounded through the valleys and over meadows. In some rural churches the bells were rung each week-day morning and evening. In irreligious communities it was hoped that the ringing of the bells on Sundays would not only call the worshippers to the service, but would also "rouse the conscience of Sabbath profaners and infidels."¹⁷ The architectural limitations of some of the old stone and log churches did not permit the installation of a bell—and when one was later procured, it was necessary to build a steeple. Such a steeple was added to the log church at Holstein, Missouri, in 1851. After waiting ten years, Zion Church in Evansville, Indiana, erected a steeple costing \$4000, whereas the entire church had cost \$4500.¹⁸ On one occasion, where it was impracticable to add a steeple to the main structure, a bell-tower was erected adjoining the church and served this purpose for thirty years.¹⁹

Unusual financial problems were involved in the building of churches. The first step was to circulate a subscription list among the members. Generous contributions were often received from American friends.²⁰ Even where members

¹⁷ "Kirchweihe," F., XII (1861), 149. The reference is to Ebenezer Church at Augusta, Mo. See "Kirchenglocken," *ibid.*, X (1859), 18.

¹⁸ For economic reasons the steeple had not been erected immediately. The two bells cost \$1300. F. S., Zion Church, Evansville, Ind. (1899), 7.

Bells varied greatly in cost and quality. An *Amalga-Glocke* of 300 pounds could be bought from M. C. Chadwick & Co., New York, and transported to the West for forty dollars (Christ Church, Germantown, Wis.). F., XI (1860), 173. The Fulton Foundry of Pittsburgh supplied (1850) the New Orleans church with a 300-pound bell named "*Anna Maria*." The Francis Maier Foundry of St. Louis, Mo., also won a reputation for bells of quality.

¹⁹ F. S., St. John's Church, Johannisburg, Ill. (1927), 6.

²⁰ Raising funds among American friends for building a church at Boonville, Mo., Hoffmeister reported: "In Boonville a collection was

donated their time and most of the materials, the cost of construction taxed the resources of many a congregation.²¹ During building operations the salaries of pastors were sometimes voluntarily reduced. While the church was being built at Quincy, Illinois, Jung received but one hundred dollars. Various plans were evolved to meet the rising financial needs. The building of the church at Belleville, Illinois, occasioned a debt of one thousand dollars. Not being able to meet this obligation, the pastor proposed that fifty shares at ten dollars each be sold without interest and for indefinite periods of time. These were to be repaid quarterly according to lot by funds raised through Sunday collections.²²

As congregations found it increasingly difficult to meet current expenses, appeals for assistance began to appear in the *Friedensbote*. One of the earliest of these emanated from the church in Central City, Illinois, and was buttressed with the Scriptural admonishment: "To do good and to communicate forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well

commenced in the beginning of April for a church. One wealthy man subscribed \$200; all the others together did not give much more than \$200. If our dear American brethren had not opened their hands to us, we should never have a church in Boonville." It was not, however, until 1854 that the brick church was completed, at a cost of \$1500. A. H. M. S. Cor., Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., May 1, 1850; Wettle, Boonville, Mo., Dec. 10, 1853.

²¹ Construction costs varied according to time, size, and location. Holstein, Mo., 1855, brick, 42x30, \$1590.43; Washington, Mo., 1845, frame (25 members), \$2000; Evansville, Ind., 1855, brick, \$4000; Freelandville, Ind., brick, \$1200; Mascoutah, Ill., 1863, 60x40x30, \$6100; Warsaw, Ill., 1854, brick, 36x20, \$725; Plum Hill, Ill., 1856, frame, \$800; Belleville, Ill., 1858, 75x42, \$10,000; Zoar, Ill., 46x34, stone, \$1400; Burlington, Iowa, 90x60x40, \$17,000; St. Peter's, St. Louis, Mo., 1850, \$11,525; St. Paul's, St. Louis, Mo., 1849, \$14,444.

St. John's Church, Addison, Ill., not served by the K. at the time (1847), built a church 56x36x16, which cost \$741.98, of which \$451.63 went for wages, \$187.98 for carpenter work, and \$92.37 for masonry. This was raised as follows: \$119, free-will offerings of congregation; \$37.47, offerings of friends; \$142.73, refund from the Lutheran faction (schism); \$443.78, loan at 10 percent. H. Wolf, *Ver. Evangelische St. Johannes-Gemeinde von Addison, Ill.* (Chicago, 1899). In building the stone church at Highland, Ill., in 1843, \$1.50 a day was paid for a man with a team and wagon; 37½ cents for a perch of stone, and 50 cents per perch for masonry. After \$468.18 had been raised by subscription, a debt of \$325 remained.

²² A. H. M. S. Cor., Homeier, Belleville, Ill., December 6, 1856.

pleased" (Heb. 13: 16).²³ Written appeals to friendly congregations were sometimes followed by personal solicitations by pastors. A striking example of this was the trip of C. G. Haack through Iowa, Illinois, Missouri, and Indiana in behalf of his two churches on Dutch Creek and on German Creek in Iowa. From twelve churches visited he received \$447.85, of which \$159.75 was contributed by Nollau's church in St. Louis.²⁴

A reaction against such promiscuous soliciting of funds soon occurred,²⁵ and churches began to pride themselves upon being able to meet their obligations. Several years were required to build the small stone church at New Melle, Missouri, where stones were hauled from a distance of nine miles; but when the church was dedicated, it was proudly stated that no outside assistance had been received.

Stringent economic conditions incident to the Civil War brought added hardships to many churches. These were trying times not only for pastors but for debt-ridden churches. Designed to cost \$7000-\$8000, of which \$3000 had been subscribed, the church at Burlington, Iowa, finally, because of war prices, cost \$17,000. After an additional \$5000 was raised by the congregation, \$1000 donated by other German and American friends, another \$1000 real-

²³ "Bitte um Unterstützung," F., IX (1858), 117.

²⁴ "Quittung und Dank," *ibid.*, X (1859), 23. Haack had joined the K. in 1857. When the congregation on St. John's Creek decided to build a church, it was stipulated (Dec. 23, 1854): "*Sie solle soweit in Bau genommen werden, also weit reiche die dafür erhobene Collecte aus St. Charles und St. Louis, etwa 87\$.*" "Protokollirte Beschlüsse," *op. cit.*, 13. In F., VI (1855), 64, the receipt of \$59 was acknowledged, the names of donors being listed. Under date of Jan. 9, 1856, in the above "Protokollirte Beschlüsse," 13, we read: "*Unser Pastor moche nächst Frühjahr einen Versuch zur Collecte für die Kirche in Hermann, Second Creek und sonst wo.*"

²⁵ In Lutheran circles the warning was also being raised at this time against granting indiscriminate support to begging congregations. Dr. W. Sihler, in the article "Welche Gemeinden soll man in ihrem Kirchbau unterstützen," Luth., XXIII (1867), 161, argued that such assistance should be unequivocally granted "in the case of so-called united or Evangelical churches, in which the originally Lutheran section, through God's gracious providence, has awakened to the knowledge of pure Lutheran doctrine and the anti-Biblical nature of the union" and required assistance to establish itself.

ized from the proceeds of a "fair" instituted by the women of the church, a debt of \$7000 remained.²⁶

Under pressure of the economic conditions of this period, recourse was frequently taken to what later, and by some even at that time, was considered a dubious means of raising money for the building and maintenance of religious institutions. Picnics, fairs, and outdoor festivals became popular means for filling church coffers. When these were featured by dancing and drinking, the excuse was sometimes offered that the end justified the means.²⁷ The voice of protest occasionally heard was usually not directed against picnics as such. Indeed, many who were otherwise tolerantly disposed to picnics where beer and wine were served with lively music indignantly denounced all picnics conducted for the purpose of raising money for religious purposes.²⁸ On the other hand, it did not require much persuasion to convince some ardent church members of the propriety of imbibing freely for the glory of God.

CONGREGATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Throughout the first decade, as we have noted, the *Kirchenverein* was essentially a society of pastors serving congregations which organized themselves according to local needs. Before its founding a large number of autonomous, so-called "Evangelical" churches—in the East and in the West—had sprung into existence, many of which were exceedingly liberal and antisynodical.

The significance of the term "Evangelical" was thus ob-

²⁶ "Ein Besuch in Burlington, Ia.," F., XVI (1865), 147.

²⁷ The anonymous writer of "Aus dem Gemeindeleben," E. K. (1911), 53, relates having discovered among some church records, which probably dated from this period, the following entry:

<i>Einahme und ausgabe am unsern BickNick:</i>	
<i>Einahme</i>	<i>ausgabe</i>
<i>von den Tanzstand.....</i>	<i>for die Musikband.....</i>
<i>von den Bierstand.....</i>	<i>for Winnies.....</i>
<i>von den Kaffeetisch.....</i>	<i>for Ham.....</i>
<i>for Ziehkarren.....</i>	<i>for Kaes.....</i>
	<i>for Reibrot.....</i>
	<i>for Kroseries.....</i>

Das Bier habe mir geschenkt gekriegt.

²⁸ The article entitled "Pic-Nic," F., XVI (1865), 91 f., was signed: "A friend of churches, schools and orphans' homes, who desires to keep a clear conscience, *Ludwigsstadt an der Heerstrasse nach Sodom und Gomorra im leidigen Pic-Nic Monat, 1865.*"

secured through its adoption by many churches which were anything but "Evangelical" in the sense of the *Kirchenverein*. Some rationalistic churches, it is true, disavowed the name and preferred to be known merely as "Protestant." Others, equally liberal, accepted it on their own definition. It was, in short, a term admirably adapted to cover a variety of meanings.²⁹

Kirchenverein churches exercised great freedom in their choice of names. In the course of time various combinations arose, such as: "United German Evangelical Lutheran Church," "German United Lutheran-Reformed St. Paul's

²⁹ Büttner, *op. cit.*, II, 210, states that the Reformed Church had refused to assist or accept into its membership the United Evangelical Church of Chambersburg, Pa., served by the liberal Försch, until it renounced the term "Evangelical." The constitution of this "Evangelical" church insisted on liberty of conscience and belief, and as a norm for faith accepted only the Bible and "*gesunde Vernunft*."

American Christians also labored under apprehensions concerning the precise meaning of "Evangelical" when applied to German churches. When the H. M. in "Germans in the N. West," XXI (1849), 203, stated that "the opinions and practices prevalent even with those among them denominated evangelical are in many respects lax, as compared with the views held by Presbyterians and Congregationalists . . .," the K. objected to this aspersion on its character and was informed through Rauschenbusch that these words did not apply to the K. K. P., I, 118 f. Bullard also protested to the New York office in behalf of the K. and received a letter from C. Hall stating: "The word *evangelical* in the remarks on p. 203 of H. M. for Jan. 1849 is used, not as a *denominational name*, but as a descriptive epithet. Much more is true even than that article expresses. Of all the German ministers I know, only two or three, even of the best, take the same view of qualifications for admission to the Lord's table that we do; or if they agree with the Presb. and Cong. in theory, they yield in practice to the prejudices of the people, and are too easily persuaded to wink at things which we should deem evidences against persons applying for admission. While, then, I had not the *most distant* thought of 'pointing at' any *particular classis* or synod, I have my fears respecting the great majority of German ministers. But we must treat the Germans with much forbearance. They do not easily escape from the influence of their old training. The shadow of rationalism and of state churches has so long lain upon them, that we cannot expect them at once to appreciate in all respects what we call evangelical views, although they do, in increasing numbers, approximate to us" A. H. M. S. Cor., March 8, 1849.

Note also the statement of Schaff: "*Um ihrer Opposition gegen die Kirche mehr Nachdruck zu geben, gründen die deutschen Apostaten des Glaubens oft selbst independente Rationalistengemeinden, welche sie die Frechheit haben evangelisch oder unirt zu nennen, wodurch die ganze Sache der Union bei amerikanischen Lutheranern und Reformirten in einen solchen Misscredit gekommen ist.*" "Geschichte der Deutschen Kirche in Amerika," D. K., II (1849), 182.

Church," "German Evangelical Church" (near Des Peres, Missouri), "The United German Evangelical Lutheran and German Evangelical Reformed St. John's Church" (Tiffin, Ohio), "The German United Evangelical Lutheran, Reformed Zion Church" (Loudonville, Ohio), "The German Evangelical Protestant Church of the Holy Ghost" (St. Louis, Missouri). Each of these names, according to local background and developments, had its immediate and specific connotation.³⁰ Many have been retained to this day—the confessional implications having long since been forgotten.

The independent spirit of Evangelical churches became strikingly manifest in the type of constitutions which sprang into existence. Proud of their autonomy, individual churches quickly accepted the challenge to secure their religious freedom and liberty against the encroachments of synodical preachers and foreign synods. In the spirit of self-defense, constitutions arose vested at times with the pompous dignity of some ancient *magna carta*. Some of the earlier ones may have been written by laymen; in others we note the earmarks of a rationalistic preacher.

The influence of the *Kirchenverein* soon began to manifest itself in the adoption of new constitutions. Some pastors achieved such skill and distinction in this work that

³⁰ As congregations changed their character, the problem arose of finding a more appropriate and legally adequate name. St. Matthew's Church at New Orleans changed its name 6 times (1849-1924). The deed of the first church at Big Creek, Warren County, Mo. (St. Paul's, Steinhagen), was legally recorded March 8, 1848, under the name of "United Evangelical St. Paul's Church of Warren Co., Mo., that is, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church under the name of the Episcopal Lutheran Church of the County of Warren" Recognizing that the church had been misnamed, a new deed was filed in 1877 for the "United Evangelical and Lutheran Church."

The early churches on the frontier were generally and more popularly known according to their location, as, e. g., the churches at Horse Prairie, Turkey Hill, and Dutch Hill in Ill. and Second, Sugar, Boeuf, St. John's, or Mattese Creek, in Mo. Biblical names were always favored by German churches and soon came in vogue.

The names of some churches had local significance, as that of St. Paul's at Belleville, Ill., which was so named in 1839 by political refugees "whose exodus had its beginning in the political meeting at St. Paul's Church in Frankfort-on-the-Main." See pamphlet dedicated to Rev. O. Pessel (1935), 11.

their removal from congregation to congregation can be traced by the documents they left behind.³¹ Constitutions began either with a pious declaration of purpose or with an historical statement of how members of the Evangelical Church of Germany had settled in the community and now sought to worship God in the new country as had been their custom in the old.³² In the more explicit doctrinal definition of "Evangelical" the influence of *Kirchenverein* pastors became increasingly apparent. Even where a church refused to join the Society, the official doctrinal paragraph was readily accepted and sometimes verbally embodied in the constitution.

In these developments we may observe how new life and content was being wrought into traditional forms. The very word "Evangelical" was gaining new significance and was being spiritually tempered through the influence of pietistic pastors and laymen.

In their formal details these documents varied considerably although certain characteristics were common to them all. It was generally contended, usually on the basis of some Scriptural reference such as 1 Cor. 14: 33, that the primary purpose of a constitution was to insure law and order; which, however, even the most perfect instruments were

³¹ In the course of time many of these documents assumed the inviolability of the law of the Medes and the Persians and, with minor changes, have persisted to modern times. The constitution of St. Paul's Church, Oakville, Mo., has been in effect practically from 1844 to the present time. The constitution of the Holstein church was in effect from 1848-1906; St. Peter's, St. Louis, 1844-1913.

³² The term "Evangelical" was usually defined more or less precisely in a historical sense, as indicating:

1. A relationship to the "United-Lutheran-Reformed Church in Germany" (Friedens, St. Charles, Mo., 1848);

2. That the church was "a part of the Evangelical, i. e. the United-Lutheran-Reformed Church" (Holstein, Mo., 1848);

3. That the church was a "part of the Evangelical Church, which was founded in 1817 through a union of the Lutheran and Reformed in Germany" (Zion, Evansville, Ind., 1849); or

4. That the church was a "part of the Evangelical, i. e. the United-Lutheran-Reformed Church of Germany and wherever else it may spread and be found." (St. John's, Gravois Settlement, Mo., 1844.)

The last statement is identical with that of the constitution of St. Peter's Church in St. Louis, Mo., 1844. The model constitution of 1853 (*infra*, p. 237, n. 38) defined "*Evangelisch*" in the sense of the "United-Lutheran-Reformed Church." See illustration.

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not always able to secure. Congregational polity prevailed. Self-government was considered a sacred right—jealously guarded especially with respect to the election and status of the pastor. The most independent churches looked upon him as a mere hireling to be elected sometimes for a period of only one year and subject to deposal at any time by the whim of the majority. But even conservative churches insisted on freedom of action and objected to surrendering this right to either individuals or committees. The election occurred through a majority vote in an open congregational meeting, where, after a number of candidates had preached at least one and sometimes two so-called “trial-sermons,” their respective merits were officiously discussed. The nature and extent of the pastor’s duties were painstakingly recorded.³³

The management of congregational affairs was vested in the elders or *Aelteste*. In Reformed, Lutheran, and Evangelical churches of Germany the office of elder, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was developing along lines similar to the American presbyterial system. German churches on the frontier tended toward the presbyterial order. We can understand with what pride the German

³³ The constitution of Friedens Church, St. Charles, Mo. (1848), enumerated as specific “duties” of the pastor that he:

1. Publicly promise to abide by the constitution;
2. Do not belong to a secret society;
3. Fulfill his office faithfully as an ambassador of Christ;
4. Be a worthy example to the congregation;
5. Be diligent in pastoral visitation;
6. Administer the Lord’s Supper four times a year;
7. Preach every Sunday once, on church holidays twice, and during Lent preach exclusively on the Passion of the Lord;
8. Begin confirmation instruction in October;
9. Teach school throughout the year except during June, July, August;
10. Surrender the pulpit to his successor;
11. Carefully keep the church records;
12. At each New Year’s Day service give statistical account of births, confirmands, communicants, deaths—male and female, marriages, new members;
13. Preach 3 times on Christmas Day.

St. Peter’s Church of St. Louis (1844) forbade its pastor membership in a secret order. Note the numerous provisions in the lengthy paragraph on pastors in the model constitution described in “*Gemeinde-Ordnung*,” F., IV (1853), 44-45, 54-55.

Bauer informed his friends in Germany that he had been chosen *Aeltester* in his church; we may also imagine the amazement with which such an announcement was received by his peasant friends in the Old World.³⁴

Young men twenty-five years of age were eligible for election—the term of office being restricted to one or two years, since this office “as all offices in America,” according to the church at Millstadt, was not to be held for life. From two to eight elders were required, according to the size of the congregation, and, together with the pastor, constituted the *Vorstand*.³⁵

The duties of the elders were variously defined. Some times they were both business managers and spiritual overseers functioning in the name of the congregation, which held them to strict accountability. One of their main duties in some churches was to foster the cause of religious education and, in the absence or illness of the pastor, “from the altar” to read a sermon from a book previously provided. This was an important task in churches where, without a resident pastor, elders occasionally officiated at funerals and were then permitted to use the pastor’s service-book. In larger congregations, and in later years, deacons and trustees were elected to relieve the elders of the business concerns of the church. These offices were not always faithfully

³⁴ “Das Diakonen-Amt in der christlichen Kirche,” *ibid.*, XVII (1866), 81. “Etliche Winke für Gemeinde-Aelteste und Vorsteher,” *ibid.*, XII (1861), 29.

The German development proceeded along different lines in the various provinces. According to the Rhenish-Westphalian order of 1835 the presbyters were elected for four years, should be 30 years of age, of good moral character, and active participants in church life. They were generally men of high professional standing—jurists, professors, doctors, etc. See “Presbyterialverfassung seit der Reformation,” R. E., XVI, 9 ff.

Note Büttner’s comment: “*Ein deutscher und ein deutsch-amerikanischer Kirchenrath, welch ein Unterschied. Hier ein gelehrter Theologe, dort ein Kirchenältester oder Vorsteher, der den Klingelbeutel trägt. Da schreibt uns mancher Deutsche, der in Deutschland diese hohe Stufe nie erstiegen hätte, in sein Dorf: Ich bin Kirchenrath geworden, und setzt dadurch alt und jung in Erstaunen, die gar nicht begreifen können, was das für ein Land sein muss, wo einer so plötzlich Kirchenrath werden kann*” *Op. cit.*, I, 97 f.

³⁵ Note various procedures suggested for election of elders in “Gemeinde-Ordnung,” F., IV (1853), 45.

filled by the incumbents and many a pastor complained of having on his board unbelieving and ungodly men who sought to hamper him in his spiritual labors.³⁶

The development of some churches was impaired by constitutions which, because of their loose constructions or too rigid stipulations, were frequently the cause of much strife and disorder. Upon his arrival at Waterloo, Binner immediately secured the adoption of another constitution to insure proper order and discipline,³⁷ and Riess at Fort Madison, Iowa, testified that, since a new constitution was adopted, he and the church had had peace.

Unpleasant experiences continually emphasized the necessity of a radical revision of some constitutions. Under the guidance of *Kirchenverein* pastors, congregations gradually saw the need of providing statutes which would safeguard their rights and protect them from the machinations of unscrupulous preachers. Some pastors, cognizant of their inability to effect any changes, were not so successful and, in order to avoid unpleasant controversy which could easily lead to a division in the congregation, silently protested against constitutions directed against both synods and pastors alike. As time passed, the plea became more insistent that congregations served by *Kirchenverein* pastors should recognize the importance of adopting an approved constitution. The model of such a constitution published in the *Friedensbote* of June 1, 1853, was an important step in the development of denominational consciousness.³⁸

³⁶ Jung attributed his troubles at Quincy, Ill., to his elders and an inadequate constitution. He proposed to organize a congregation solely on the Word of God, which did not provide for possession of property, officers, or congregational meetings. The K. instructed Rieger and Wall (1848) to proceed to Quincy at the expense of the Society to investigate matters. Jung was given to understand that his fantastic plans were unacceptable to the K. and that he should "strive to build a congregation according to the principles of the Evangelical Church." K. P., I, 81, 113.

³⁷ A faulty constitution was blamed for the loss of the church at Warsaw, Ill. See "Kirchweihe," F., XVI (1865), 172. At Waterloo the minority accused the congregation of selling out to Binner and the "King of Prussia."

³⁸ The model constitution was proposed by the Pastoral District Conference of Mo. in 1853. "Gemeinde-Ordnung," *ibid.*, IV (1853), 44.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

Various factors combined to complicate the problem of church membership arising in German churches on the frontier. Primarily there was involved the transition from German state-churchism to the American voluntary system. According to the German tradition everyone by right of birth and baptism was a member of the state church.³⁹ Totally different conditions prevailed in America, where religion was a private matter. In the spirit of the newly found freedom, congregations were founded which not only assumed unwarranted dictatorial rule over their pastors, but also defined the membership requirements according to their arbitrary whims. It was a proud boast of the so-called "free churches" and their independent pastors that anybody could gain admittance to communion and full membership merely by the payment of an annual fee.⁴⁰

Frontier conditions encouraged a lax conception of church membership. Arriving in new congregations, ministers frequently found the church dominated by men who could "speak the language of Canaan very well, have the appearance of being converted, but are only hypocrites." To refuse membership to those holding certificates of baptism or confirmation from Germany was considered a gross personal insult. It happened sometimes that in otherwise reputable churches hard drinkers were recognized as good members and that in some independent Evangelical churches

³⁹ "In Germany all are made members of the church in accordance with the order of civil law. I never knew a person over the age of, at the farthest, eighteen years, male or female, coming from any part of Germany, who was not a member of the church. I doubt whether any such can be found in Germany, unless he became a criminal in the eyes of the civil law . . . before confirmation. Is it a wonder that the church is filled with *ungodly* members?" "Membership in German Churches," by "A German Minister in a Reformed Church," H. M., XXII (1849), 175 ff. This view was corroborated by "A Lutheran Pastor in a Lutheran Church," *ibid.*, 272. On the other hand, the problem of church discipline was being seriously discussed in the churches of Germany. Cf. "Der achte deutsche evangelische Kirchentag," F., VIII (1857), 41.

⁴⁰ C. Conrad of Quincy, Ill., stated that membership in such churches could be purchased for two dollars, "which means that money is produced like magic" and well-equipped churches sprang up.

the rites of baptism and confirmation were entirely abolished.⁴¹

Vexing as this situation was to all devout German pastors, it became critical in churches receiving support from the American Home Missionary Society, where the regenerate-membership requirement was sturdily upheld. The missionary society was fully aware of, and lamented, the practice prevailing in most German churches in the West of admitting anyone to communion merely on presentation of a confirmation certificate. With the arrival of the freethinking "Forty-eighters," a crisis was precipitated by the question as to whether missionary aid could be extended to such churches. Articles bearing on the "German Problem" began to appear in the *Home Missionary*, advice of devout and trusted German leaders was sought, and requests for information were directed to the German missionaries in the field. The fear was voiced that insistence on surrender of the confirmation requirement for membership might remove the German groups entirely beyond the influence of the missionary society. And to surrender the German field to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches would obviously not solve the problem.⁴²

In unequivocal terms the missionary society stated that it preferred to assist churches which officially renounced the lax membership practice. Letters addressed to *Kirchenvereine* pastors reiterated again and again the necessity of combating the habits and customs of the old country, and the "loose-mode" of admitting by confirmation all who had

⁴¹ A. H. M. S. Cor., Witte, Okaw, Ill., June 20, 1854.

When the C. A. accused the K. of having open sinners, including "*Händler mit gebrannten Wassern*," the F. candidly admitted and deplored the presence not only of "*Händler*" but also "*Trinker*," suggesting, however, that in the secret chambers of Methodists "*private Krüglein*" might be discovered. "Einige Bemerkungen . . .," F., XV (1864), 5.

⁴² The author of "Germans in the North West," H. M., XXI (1849), 203, refers to the increasing number of Germans settling in Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa, among whom the A. H. M. S. "proposes to extend its labors as fast as ministers of the right qualification can be obtained." See also "The Germans," *ibid.*, XXII (1849), 93; "The Germans Again," *ibid.*, 113; "Membership in German Churches," *ibid.*, 175. Cf. also A. H. M. S. L.-B., M. Badger to Rieger, Jan. 15, 1850.

reached the age of fourteen, could recite the catechism, and were not openly immoral. Such practices were considered unscriptural. Rather, "*evidence of a new heart, of having been born again by the spirit of God*" should be required; for, "it is a pure church only that can be the light of the world or the salt of the earth." Applicants for commission were given a special instruction sheet, entitled "Missionary Aid to German Churches," which defined the regenerate-membership basis on which the missionary society operated—acceptance of which was the condition of support.⁴³

The response to this challenge varied. There was, first of all, a staunch defense of the confirmation rite, with the suggestion that the missionary society did not fully appreciate the evangelical piety of conscientious pastors who, through their catechetical instruction, were striving to combat the irreligiousness prevailing in the West. Indeed, properly conceived, confirmation was of such spiritual significance that it could not be abandoned. Others professed to see the limitations of the German practice and were willing to conform to the demands of the society. The Pietistic tradition

⁴³ The position of the society was stated to Hoffmeister as follows: "In granting this Commission, our Committee enjoins it upon me to declare their great desire, that all missionaries in their connection would take a high stand in favor of spiritual and experimental piety. We greatly prefer to help those churches whose constitutions provide that members shall be received only after having met with a regenerating change by the power of the Holy Spirit." *Ibid.*, C. Hall to C. Hoffmeister, Dec. 26, 1849. See similar letters to Weitbrecht, Jan. 15, 1850; Wettle, July 14, 1850; Witte, Dec. 11, 1852; G. Maul, Feb. 17, 1853; C. Nestel, Aug. 25, 1854, and others. See "Missionary Aid to German Churches" in Appendix IV.

That the society withheld assistance from non-conforming churches is seen in the case of Schünemann, where support was refused on the basis of information received from Rauschenbusch that the church had "not yet advanced so far as to make regeneration a test of membership"—a circumstance which the society regarded as a "fatal obstacle." This was done in spite of the further statement of Rauschenbusch that "the majority of them give as much evidence of experimental religion, as the members of Presbyterian, Congregational or Baptist churches generally do." A. H. M. S. Cor., Rauschenbusch, Mount Sterling, Mo., March 13, 1855. A. H. M. S. L.-B., D. Coe to Schünemann, April 11, 1855. Note also the pointed inquiry addressed by Coe to K. Riess, Nov. 25, 1856. Rauschenbusch's defection from Lutheranism, or rather from the Evangelicals, to the Baptists was largely occasioned by their lack of strict membership requirements. W. Rauschenbusch, *op. cit.*, 145 f. See illustration facing p. 176.

in Germany, from the time of Spener on, had magnified the evil of unregenerate membership as a remnant of Romanism and dead orthodoxy. We can, therefore, understand why pious pastors demanded, in addition to the confirmation rite, definite signs of conversion as prerequisite for church membership.⁴⁴

The adoption of the rigorous stipulation hastened the Americanization of the churches. Jung, at Quincy, Illinois, and Tölke at Bethlehem, Indiana, founded their churches on Presbyterian principles.⁴⁵ Nestel, at Hermann, Missouri, and Witte, at Okawville, Illinois, insisted that every member

⁴⁴ Note the firm defense of confirmation by the K. as early as 1847. K. P., I, 60. Reporting on Marthasville Seminary, E. Hall stated that ministers of the K. "require evidence of real piety, in candidates for admission to the church. As the basis of real piety, they look for conviction of a lost estate under native indwelling sin, and under the condemnation of the law. They look for repentance, for faith in Christ, and for a hungering and thirsting after righteousness. They cannot often get entire satisfaction as to the process of religious experience, but they inquire, to use their own language, whether the candidates really 'are sick and want to come to the hospital' The candidate is formally received into the church in the presence of the congregation." S. P. C. T. E. W. (1851), 52.

⁴⁵ After seven years of zealous labor "in the German way," Jung became "tired of the German system" and resolved to gather in Warsaw, Ill., "an evangelical church in the manner of the New School Presbyterians, because they seem to come nearest to our Evangelical mother church with regard to doctrine and discipline. . . . It is also my opinion that all German pastors ought to give up the German system, as we are here on American soil and the assimilation of the Germans with the Americans ought to be aimed at" He also changed his name from Jung to Young. A. H. M. S. Cor., Young, Quincy, Ill., July 28, 1853.

Tölke described his position as follows: "I have read in the *Home Missionary* of the stand which the society is taking towards German churches and agree fully with it. I have communicated the article to some of my friends and intend to make it publicly known to our people. We have founded our church upon the principles of the Presbyterian church. . . . We want to render our constitution more strict in regard to church membership and have therefore delayed with the admission of new members. . . . We want to constitute a church not according to the standard and discipline of the German Church, where it has a direct or indirect tendency to quench the spirit of true Christianity and to vindicate dead orthodoxy; but we want to be a church in harmony with the gospel ideas of the church militant. We appreciate how important it is for ourselves and others, but we know also how difficult it is since it opposes old institutions and opinions, which have been and are still being defended by many worthy theologians, and since it requires a sacrifice of things, which the old and common mode of church organization in German churches permits" *Ibid.*, Tölke, Bethlehem, Ind., Feb. 24, 1851.

must be a true Christian. Witte established church discipline according to 2 Thess. 3: 5, 14, 15; Matt. 15: 15-17; 1 Tim. 5: 17; Gal. 5: 19-21; 1 Cor. 5: 1-5, 9-13—which should have been sufficiently Scriptural to satisfy the demands of the most puritanic Easterner. K. Riess, at Fort Madison, Iowa, and later at Princeton, Illinois; Schrenk at Evansville and Wettle at Boonville, Indiana; Schünemann at Beaufort, Missouri; Seybold at Warsaw, Illinois; and Birkner and Nestel at Hermann, Missouri, also raised the membership requirements in their respective churches.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Some of the positions taken were as follows:

a) "If any person is desirous of becoming a member of our church the same has to make personal application to the elders or to myself. In the latter case I try to examine him carefully as to his knowledge of Christian doctrine and more fully and particularly whether he is actuated by the Holy Spirit to seek the salvation of his soul. In the former case I do the same at his house. If the session has agreed to receive him, he is propounded on two Sundays as a candidate for admission to the church and unless motive to the contrary is given, he or she will be received as a member." *Ibid.*, Nestel at Hermann, Mo., Nov. 6, 1855.

b) "We admit no man to our church by confirmation! . . ." nor any "person connected with churches in Germany without examination. . . . If any person wishes to be received into our church he first must tell the pastor who speaks with him concerning the necessary requirements, and then the pastor, with the trustees, observe his behaviour and when they see that the applicant is sincere, that he has the hearty desire to live according to the Bible and not to seek earthly advantages but only the furtherance of piety and goodness and the glory of our Lord, then he is received into our church, some after two, some after three, four or five months. The reception is in the church before the entire congregation in connection with a sermon for the purpose and necessary questions to the applicant." *Ibid.*, Seybold, Warsaw, Ill., April 21, 1857.

c) "Every member must have been baptized in the name of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost. He must believe the words of the Old and New Testament. He must attend and use the means of grace. He must manifest a Christian life for God and man through the grace of Christ. . . . Such members are excluded from the church who, after the pastor and elders have reproved them about their sins, will show no repentance and after all exhortation, go on their evil way. . . ." *Ibid.*, Riess, Princeton, Ill., Dec. 18, 1856.

d) "Every member must take the Bible as his rule of life. A catechism of 'the Evangelical Association of the West' is taken as the basis for instruction of the children and it is based on the Bible. . . ." *Ibid.*, Riess, Ft. Madison, Iowa, Aug. 10, 1852.

e) "In the reception of new members we have appointed a probation time of six months. . . . and if in this time we find that they are true Christians then we grant them membership after they, by a public meeting, confess their faith in Christ. In most German churches it is the practice that if the father is a member of the

Pastors not so closely related to the missionary society and not dependent on it for economic support may not have shared these views with the same conviction. The question of what constitutes "conversion" and "regeneration" easily obtruded itself in the minds of more conservative German pastors, who resisted all evangelistic innovations of American Christians. The pietistic predilections of most pastors, however, disposed them kindly to the religious ideals of the American society and paved the way for raising the membership requirements in their congregations.

Membership privileges and obligations were carefully prescribed in constitutions which, where the influence of *Kirchenverein* pastors prevailed, reflected their common interests. Baptism, confirmation, subscription to the credal paragraph, moral character, and active interest in the work and welfare of the church were uniformly required as conditions for membership.⁴⁷ Although subscription lists were

church every one in his family also is, but we require that *everyone* must apply for the membership." *Ibid.*, Witte, New Erin, Ill., Sept. 21, 1857.

f) "This church takes high ground as to the qualifications for church members and is in entire sympathy with the Presbyterian and Congregational church on all matters of doctrine." *Ibid.*, Young, Quincy, Ill., Nov. 23, 1860.

g) "Our constitution demands that the applicant must have presented himself to the preacher or elders of our congregation a half year before and that the preacher announces his name in a public service. When the term has expired the minister examines the candidate and if he accepts our beliefs, experience and discipline, the whole community kneels down and the minister prays the blessing of the Lord upon him." *Ibid.*, Homeier, Belleville, Ill., March 6, 1855.

h) "You are so kind to exhort me to be especially guarded in admission of members to the church. It is certainly my serious endeavor, as undoubtedly that of all German truly Evangelical pastors, to exempt our congregation from such as resist the regeneration of the Holy Spirit and we try to act in accordance with the Scriptures in admitting voting members" *Ibid.*, Birkner, Hermann, Mo., March 29, 1854.

Note also comments of Rieger, *ibid.*, Pinckney, Mo., April 8, 1851.

⁴⁷ In the model "*Gemeinde-Ordnung*" proposed by the F., IV (1853), 44, the unique provision was advocated that in order to prevent promiscuous membership of indifferent persons, an "entrance fee" of not less than three or more than five dollars be required. To be excused from this obligation were: sons who took over the farms of their father, those who married the widow or daughter of a member and thereby acquired his farm, and those who, having left the community, subsequently returned.

A unique situation prevailed in the church at Germantown, Wis.,

circulated among "heads of families," membership was generally granted only to men who were at least eighteen years of age. The names of the feminine constituency of a congregation may have been recorded by the pastor, but women were never admitted to active membership.

Various sundry stipulations were sometimes included, such as a provision that "both married and single persons, landed proprietors as well as hirelings, may become members," or that "membership can neither be bought nor sold, inherited nor bequeathed." Members of secret societies were generally not eligible to membership. New members were sometimes required to contribute several dollars to defray previous building expenses (Gravois and Holstein, Mo.). A unique condition was imposed on the members of Friedens Church at St. Charles, where all members in alphabetical order obliged themselves to help provide the necessary fire-wood for school, church, and parsonage and deliver the same within eight days of receiving notice. Those without teams were required to split the wood.

Influenced by local conditions, the rigorous temper of the American Home Missionary Society, and the pietistic tradition, various proscriptive clauses and disciplinary measures were adopted. The model constitution referred to above provided for disciplinary procedure according to Matt. 18: 15-17, and 2 Thess. 3: 6, 14, 15, and enumerated the following grounds for dismissal from membership: blasphemy (including scoffing at the Scriptures and swearing), perjury, adultery, fornication, theft, fraud, falsehood, violence, drunkenness, gambling, scandalous vocation, desecration of the Sabbath, neglect of public services and sacraments, and disregard for the religious education of the children. Expelled members should be readmitted after public confession. The church at St. John's Creek specifically excluded from membership: "swearers, cursers, Sabbath-

where church membership accompanied the sale of farms. Thus Binner writes: "*Jetzt ist's ja unmöglich den Gottlosesten auszuschliessen, weil die Farmen die Mitglieder sind, so dass die Farmer bei einem Verkauf ihr Kirchenrecht, wie sie es nennen, ausdrücklich mitverkaufen*" B.-R. Cor., March 4, 1864.

desecrators, drunkards, adulterers, harlots, thieves, deceivers, brawlers, irreconcilable persons, slaveholders, and members of secret societies such as Free Masons and Odd Fellows." Only those could join the church at Evansville, Indiana, who were "against whiskey." Although a temperance society could not be organized, a temperance clause was written into the constitution.⁴⁸

The adoption of rigorous membership conditions and the threat to expel the unworthy created a serious problem for some churches.⁴⁹ Some people sought to break down the discipline or abolish the new order by force. Others withdrew, either in wrath or in fear of being considered "serious people," and accused their pastors of being Methodists

⁴⁸ A. H. M. S. Cor., Tölke, Evansville, Ind., Feb. 28; June 9, 1848. Note the forms for the expulsion and the readmission of expelled members in the *Evangelische Agende* of 1857, 346 ff., and the marriage form "Für unehrliches Brautpaar," *ibid.*, 306.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Grote, Beaufort, Mo., Oct. 7, 1850; Homeier, Belleville, Ill., March 6, 1850. The *Evang. Agende*, published by the K. in 1857, contains a form for the expulsion of church members which begins as follows: *Geliebte in dem Herrn! Es ist Euch bekannt, dass unser Mitglied N. N. um des schweren Aergernisses willen, welches er gegeben, nach der Vorschrift Jesu Christi Matth. 18. wiederholt ordnungsmässig ist vermahnt worden . . . dass er aber keine Reue über seine Sünde . . . hat spüren lassen und deshalb die Gemeinde sich genöthigt gesehen, in ordentlicher Gemeindeversammlung den N. N. von unserer kirchlichen Gemeinschaft auszuschliessen . . .*" Note also the readmission form, 347 ff. These forms were not derived from German manuals, but are the products of conditions prevailing in the West.

Provisions for the reprimand, suspension, and expulsion of objectionable characters are found in many old constitutions. Complaints against pastors and elders seemed to have been anticipated and if recourse to the apostolic admonition of 1 Tim. 5: 19 did not bear fruit, a committee might be appointed to adjudicate matters. Or wilful disturbers of the peace should be treated according to Matt. 18: 15-20.

Having instituted strict membership requirements at his church at Midway, Mo., Hoffmeister lost three families, the one because of exclusion from communion, the second because of reproof for having neglected the means of grace, the third because of the pastor's refusal to confirm one of the sons who did not know the Lord's Prayer. A. H. M. S. Cor., Hoffmeister, Midway, Mo., Feb. 1, 1850.

Differences of opinion were not always amicably adjusted. St. Paul's Church at Oakville, Mo., passed the resolution: "*In der Gemeinde-Versammlung darf nur einer und nicht mehrere auf einmal reden. Wer sich nicht anständig benimmt wird in Zukunft zurechtgewiesen. Folgt er nicht und macht Verwirrung, so muss er nach dreimaligem Ordnungsruf die Versammlung verlassen.*" See *Protocoll* (MS).

or Quakers. The church at Hermann, Missouri, witnessed the silent retreat of the discontented and indifferent. Many joined independent churches, having discovered that "to give a ten and twenty dollar gold piece for a pew is much easier than to give one's heart to Jesus." The testing process, although it reduced the numerical strength of some congregations, eventually redounded to their welfare; for, in the words of a pastor thus affected, "we have the advantage that when dangerous Simoon blows, the walls of the house will not break down so easily."

In spite of the rigor prevailing in some churches, lax practices obtained in many sections and continued to be challenged by grieved and devout ministers. Many a pastor had to contend with persons who, although attending the services and contributing freely to the church, refused to affiliate, arguing that the essential requirements of religion could thus be met without jeopardizing the "freedom of free-men in a free country." Others refused to join because of dissatisfaction with the pastor or some members or because of the church's financial liabilities.⁵⁰

The rise of denominational consciousness in the *Kirchenvereine* strengthened the desire to define membership requirements in Evangelical congregations more clearly. The opinion grew that there should be uniformity of procedure in all churches. An Evangelical Christian, so it was urged, upon removal to another community, should be unqualifiedly eligible to membership in the local church.⁵¹ What had begun as a free religious movement, at the close of our period was beginning to show the marks of ecclesiastical regimentation.

LOCAL CHURCH SOCIETIES

The phenomenal rise of the great voluntary interdenominational societies in American Protestantism had raised the question of the right of such organizations to do a work which Christ, so it was claimed, had delegated to the

⁵⁰ "Warum so viele Kirchgänger sich keiner evangelischen Gemeinde anschliessen wollen," F., XVII (1866), 57.

⁵¹ "Zur Einheit der evangelischen Kirche," *ibid.*, XII (1861), 33; IV (1853), 44.

Church.⁵² How would German frontier congregations organize their religious activities? Would local congregations function as units or would individual societies within the congregations better espouse specific causes? A similar issue had been raised in Germany, where, after the storm of the revolutionary period, religious societies were organized to reawaken the flagging interests of local congregations. Thus organizations independent of the local churches arose to serve purposes which should have been cared for by the Church at large. In Germany and America it was indeed a day of many societies—missionary, Bible, tract, temperance, refuge—, some of which, originating as small local organizations, finally achieved national significance.

Kirchenverein circles were well acquainted with the society idea. Contacts with the American Home Missionary Society had opened the eyes of many a pastor to its benevolent work, and from the earliest days donations and special gifts were frequently raised not only for the missionary, Bible, and tract societies but also for the less favored temperance and Sabbath societies. Although it was generally agreed that local societies could never supplant the work of the church, they continued to grow and prosper. Everywhere they seemed to arise spontaneously in response to immediate needs which could not otherwise be met. For this reason they varied according to local conditions and assumed a degree of similarity only as the needs in all frontier churches were the same.

Most prominent of organizations generally found in *Kirchenverein* churches was the missionary society—one of the earliest and most active of which was the *Missionsverein* founded by St. Peter's Church of St. Louis in 1845.⁵³ This society had gained such strength that in 1847 it proposed to establish a mission among the Osage Indians—a project

⁵² John S. Taylor, *A Plea for Voluntary Societies and a Defence of the Decision of the General Assembly of 1836* (N. Y., 1837). See review of this work in the *Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, IX (1837), 101 ff.

⁵³ Up to the year 1870 this society had contributed \$6,391.01 to foreign missions as follows: Basel \$2,143.36, Barmen \$2,509.20, Bremen \$318.20, Evangelical Mission Society of N. Y. \$1,272.35, A. B. C.

which proved to be beyond its strength, however. The purpose of most missionary societies was: to create interest and raise money for the cause of foreign missions—an ideal so generally held by pious congregations served by erstwhile foreign-mission candidates that a special society to promote this cause was not always deemed necessary. The American Home Missionary Society helped direct the interest of these societies into home-mission channels.

Evangelical women also manifested so live an interest in the mission cause that numerous *Missions-Frauenvereine* or *Frauenarbeit-Missionsvereine* were organized. Many of the women's societies in Evangelical churches today trace their origin back to the mission interest of the first generation. With an ever widening scope of service and in response to special appeals for various causes, so-called sewing societies were founded. These were sometimes organized and conducted by the pastor's wife, as at Warsaw, Illinois, where, under the direction of Mrs. Jung, the women of the congregation gathered in the parsonage each week "to sew for home and foreign missions and for our meeting house."⁵⁴

The founding of the seminary in 1850 opened up new opportunities for service. Indeed, it was largely in response to appeals for assistance from Marthasville that the women's societies became established as efficient and important agencies in the work of the church. The first appeal of this nature appeared in 1853 and was directed to the *Evangelische Missions-Frauenvereine* in behalf of new students expected at Marthasville. Bedclothes were available for only nine students—would not the women as soon as possible provide the seminary with the necessary "*Bettzeug, auch Überzügen und Bett-tüchern. Es würde auch eine Anzahl*

F. M. \$147.90; and to home missions, \$1,716.16 as follows: American Bible Society \$663.82, American Tract Society \$684.60, needy pastors and congregations \$367.65—a total of \$8,107.17. F. S., St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, Mo. (1918), 45 f.

⁵⁴ "Das Missionsfest in Quincy, Ill.," F., I (1850), 31; "Etwas, das unsern Gemeinen noththut" (*in re Armenpflege*), *ibid.*, V (1854), 11. For early societies, see F. S.—e. g.: St. Paul's, Louisville, Ky. (1911); Zion, Millstadt, Ill. (1911); Zion, Lawrenceburg, Ind.; St. Paul's, Covington, Ky.; St. Paul's, Hermann, Mo.; Zion, Cincinnati, Ohio—and references scattered through A. H. M. S. Cor.

Der Friedensbote.

Zeit heilig zu halten die
Einigkeit im Geist, durch
das Band des Friedens.



Ein Leib und Ein Geist,
wie ihr auch lernten seid
auf einerlei Lehrtung eu-
res Berufs.

Ein Herr, Ein Wandel, Eine Taufe, Ein Gott und Vater (unser) aller, der
da ist über euch alle, und durch euch alle, und in euch allen. Ephes. 4, 3-6.

Herausgegeben von dem Evangelischen Kirchenverein des Westens.

Jahrg. X.

Evangel. Missouri-Seminar, den 1. November 1859.

No. 21.

Der Friedensbote erscheint monatlich zweimal, je ein Bogen. Der Preis ist ein halber Dollar für den Jahrgang, in Vorauszahlung. Der nach Abzug der Kosten sich herausstellende Gebührensbeitrag ist für das evang. Missouri-Seminar, Warren Co., Mo. bestimmt. Alle Geschäftsbriefe und Gelder, so wie alle Aufträge und Bestellungen, welche der Friedensbote annehmen soll, sind zu adressiren: „Friedensbote, P. O. Femme Osage, St. Charles Co., Mo.“ Tobin bitten wir auch die Briefsteller freundlich zu adressiren.

Inhalt:

Was die evangel. Frauenvereine für unser Seminar thun. Was der Herr und predigt, wenn wir hören wollen. Was Häsel, sondern jedem Professoreu bekant. An den Friedensboten. Verheißene kirchliche Aender. Collegejahre. Einführung. Aus Vorne. Wöhler'sche Welt und Zeit. Anzeigen. Eullungen.

Was die evangel. Frauenvereine für unser Seminar thun.

Was haben die Frauenvereine mit einem Seminar zu schaffen? here ich fragen. — Halt, Freund, nur langsam. Wenn du in einer solchen Anstalt leben müßtest, so müßtest du anders reden. Unser Seminar ist eine Anstalt, in welcher junge Männer für den Beruf eines evangel. Predigers unterrichtet und erzogen werden. Mit diesem Predigerberuf ist es nun aber so eine Sache. Wer sein Paradies auf Erden sucht und, wie der gute Dieb schon im alten Testamente sagt, zum Welt Klumpen sagt: mein Trost! — den braucht man, absonderlich in diesem Lande, nicht auf den Kaugeln zu suchen. Nicht als ob nicht Wunder auch hier wie in Deutschland auf die Kaugel fliege, der an jenem edeln Metall in seinem Herzen ein ordinäres oder vielleicht auch etwas mehr als ordinäres Wohlgefallen hegte; — leider! und abermals leider! denn nirgends postet ein Geldberg weniger hin als auf die Kaugel. Notakente, solche Leute steigen aber selber hinauf, der Herr stellt sie nicht hin, gewiß nicht. — Was ich aber sagen will, weil in diesem Beruf die Menschen, auch wenn sie das Geld noch so lieb hätten, doch selten viel zu sehen bekommen, deshalb fliehe ihnen die eigentlichen Geldheulen wohlweilich fern. Das ist nun ganz recht u. gut. Aber es ist dabei auch ganz beargenlich, daß die Mühsal an reichlichem Gut bei denen, die in die Seminarien eintreten, meistens fast so gering ist wie bei Lazarus, der vor des reichen Mannes Thüre lag. Da muß aber dann die Anstalt sorgen, wie sie ihre Zufüsse ordentlich durchbringt. Bei den Seminarleuten sind nun aber die Bedürfnisse aufs Haar dieselben wie bei anderen Menschenkindern auch; es handelt sich hier um Nahrung und Kleidung wie sonst überall in der Welt. An der Nahrung hat es uns nun, Gott sei Dank, noch nie gefehlt. Es sind immer Leute in unserer evangel. Kirche vorhanden gewesen, die dann und wann einmal an uns gedacht und zwar so an uns gedacht haben, daß wir auch etwas davon hatten und nicht wie dort

Jakobi am Zweiten Vers 16. von falschen Christen gedächten nicht, die die Bedürftigkeit mit einem „Gott heratte euch“ abweisen. Es sind Christen da, die ihre Verpflichtung gegen den Herrn, gegen sein Reich, gegen die armen Gemeinden, die aus dem Seminar mit Predigern und Seelfürsorgern versorgt werden sollen, wohl kennen und auch darnach thun. Aber die Seminarleute wollen nicht nur gegessen haben, sie wollen auch gekleidet sein. Die jungen Leute haben ja ihr Vaterhaus v. d. lassen, kennen aber während sie lernen und studiren sollen sich die Mittel nicht erwerben, um sich selber Nahrung und Kleidung zu verschaffen. An die Kleidung wird nun allerdings von unsren lieben evangel. Christen nicht so viel gedacht, wie an unsere Ernährung. Doch da sind es die Frauen, die Sorge tragen. Können doch die Frauen auch Gebetshütten haben, für das Reich Gottes außerhalb der Familie etwas thun zu können. Die weitaus unter ihnen sind von Gott berufen, das Reich Gottes in weiteren Kreisen, die aber das Familienleben krausgeben, zum Gegenstand ihrer ausschließlichen Thätigkeit zu machen. Es ist eben einmal so Gottes ursprünglicher Wille, daß das Weib innerhalb der Grenzen des Familienlebens das Reich ihrer Wirklichkeit habe, und wohl denen, die hier an Gottes Reich bauen mit ganzer Kraft; da wird die Familie zum Paradies und die Bestimmung des Weibes wird erreicht. Aber soll das Weib nicht auch fragen dürfen, was es sonst noch außerhalb der Familie allenfalls für Frauen im Interesse des Reiches Gottes zu thun gebe? Es sind viele Frauen, denen Gott geradezu ihre Stellung außerhalb der Familie für lebenslang anweist und sie in einer Weise ihre Kraft im Dienst des Reiches Gottes gebrauchen läßt, wie es sonst nur bei Männern der Fall ist. Man denke da nur an die L. armenissen u. dgl. Aber auch die Frauen, die ihren Wirkungsfeld innerhalb der Familie haben, dürfen auch außerhalb ihrer Familie Theil nehmen an dem Aufbau des Reiches Gottes. Die Abwesenheit dazu bieten die Frauenvereine, die bestehen bin und her im Land, und deren praktischer Zweck der ist, den Bedürfnissen der Anstalten im Reich Gottes entgegenzukommen, die sonst von den Weibern meist unberücksichtigt bleiben, also den Bedürfnissen an Kleidung, Wäsche, Betten u. Welche Hilfe so ein oder mehrere handfeste Frauenvereine einer Anstalt sein können, davon wissen wir im Seminar auch ein Vorklein zu singen und sonst noch viel Schönes u. Gutes zu sagen obendrein. Zwar in den ersten

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Handtücher sehr willkommen sein." About the same time the women collected the sum of sixteen dollars for which "*dreierlei schöne grössere Titelschrift*" of Gothic type were purchased for the printing-press at Marthasville.⁵⁵

Once firmly established, the societies became popular and fashionable and may have lost something of their early spiritual zeal. "*Krethi und Plethi*" swarmed to join. Occasionally it was rumored that the ladies did not strictly abide by their sewing and knitting, and that their tongues were more agile than their fingers. "*Da werden die Zungen in Bewegung gesetzt über dies und das, was die guten Frauensleute hell nichts angehe, als gülte es dem lieben Gott das Weltregiment aus der Hand zu nehmen oder gar den besten amerikanischen Advokaten, wenn er sich seiner Kunst befleissigt, herauszustecken.*"⁵⁶

The large number of poor and indigent members in some congregations led to the rise of the *Armenverein*. The women's societies frequently assumed the responsibility of providing for the poor and destitute, but where the needs were especially pressing in larger city congregations, the collection and distribution of funds was systematically undertaken by the so-called "indigent societies," in close cooperation with the church board.

The *Jünglingsvereine* were also a direct product of the social needs of the time. One of the crying problems of the day was to care for the young men of the church after their confirmation. Newly arrived immigrants also constituted a challenge, since the various German fraternal societies which might have warmly welcomed them did not provide for their religious and spiritual welfare. Cities and towns were filled with wild temptations and provided no wholesome recreation during leisure hours. Hundreds of young

⁵⁵ "Bitte," F., IV (1853), 48; "Herzlichen Dank," *ibid.*, 85; "Die Missions-Frauen-Vereine," *ibid.*, V (1854), 88. The women's society at Evansville, Ind., in 1854, in addition to its gifts to missions, presented Marthasville with 7 shirts, 3 pair socks, 7 sheets, 6 pillows, 2 quilts, 5 towels, 6 kitchen towels. "Missionsfest in Evansville, Ind.," *ibid.*, V (1854), 6.

⁵⁶ "Was die evangelischen Frauenvereine für unser Seminar thun," *ibid.*, X (1859), 161 f. See illustration facing p. 248.

men, especially those without friends or relatives, had no other place to spend their evenings than in saloons or in their sleeping quarters. The possibility of organizing young men's societies had frequently been discussed. German precedents abounded in societies founded for the benefit of apprentices. The so-called "*Gesellenvereine*" had proved very successful. Some of these, as the *Evangelische Landwerkervereine*, had been founded under the auspices of *Innere Mission*.⁵⁷ Could not something similar be attempted in America?

At the annual union mission festival in St. Louis in 1853 Nollau of the North Church (St. Peter's) and Riess of St. John's Church proposed the founding of a young men's society—St. Peter's Church offering the use of its school-rooms for this purpose. Accordingly the *Evangelischer Jünglingsverein im Nördlichen St. Louis* was organized. This society was open to young men of all confessions upon their promise to be faithful in their vocation, to avoid evil associates, to lead a moral life, and to abide by the rules of the organization. An executive committee of eight members was to be elected by the society, of whom four were to be chosen annually from a ticket of eight presented by the committee. At least one committee member must be present whenever the society rooms were open. It was considered the special obligation of every member to care for new arrivals from Germany, to advise them concerning suitable lodgings, and to assist them in finding work. Instruction in the English language was given three evenings a week. Books, papers, periodicals, maps, and writing paper were furnished in the quarters of the society. Smoking, singing, whistling, and noisy discussion were forbidden. The rooms were opened at four o'clock on Sunday afternoons and on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday evenings

⁵⁷ Note the interest of Mallet and Wichern in this work. Leopold Cordier, *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Jugend* (Schwerin, 1925), 63 f., 75. At the Frankfort Church Diet of 1854 it was reported that 144 *Gesellen- und Jünglingsvereine* had been founded. See "Der Frankfurter Kirchentag," F., VI (1855), 17. Note also description of a German *Jünglingsverein* in "Was ein deutscher Pfarrer von dem Jünglingsverein . . . berichtet," *ibid.*, XIII (1862), 4.

from seven to ten. Monthly dues amounted to fifteen cents.⁵⁸

Thus organized, the society was adopted and supported by St. Peter's Church as a home-missionary project—one of the earliest efforts of *Kirchenverein* churches in the field of social Christianity. Annual festivals were held in the North Church, at the first of which the society reported sixty-eight members, of whom forty had been active participants during the year. Total receipts for the year amounted to \$256.15, leaving a deficit of twenty dollars. Under the leadership of the parochial school-teacher H. Säger, of the North Church, the members of this society organized a young men's choir.

Other churches followed the St. Louis experiment with great interest. A similar organization was founded by Witte at Okawville, Illinois. The young men's society at Burlington, Iowa (1856), began as a singing society, pending the arrival of reading material from the *Calwer Verlagsverein* in Württemberg. The success of these efforts encouraged the belief that similar societies could also be established in rural communities.⁵⁹

However, difficult times were ahead. The early enthusiasm did not continue. Lack of interest began to manifest itself, partly, we have reason to suspect, because of the attempt of devout leaders to inject a too obviously pietistic spirit into the members.⁶⁰ The Civil War also hindered a normal development. An effort to infuse new life into the movement proved futile, and the cause languished, never having attained to any widespread denominational significance.

⁵⁸ "Der Evangelische Jünglings-Verein im Nördlichen St. Louis," *ibid.*, V (1854), 90.

⁵⁹ F. S., St. Paul's Church, Okawville, Ill. (1925); First Evangelical Church, Burlington, Iowa (1896, 1926).

⁶⁰ "Wie die Jünglingsvereine sich eben auch zusammennehmen müssen, wenn etwas aus ihnen werden soll," F., XI (1860), 121. Pastors were warned not to forget "*dass der Verein eben ein Jünglingsverein ist und kein Greisenverein.*" Nor were all *Jünglingsvereine* in Germany able to survive. W. Rothert, *Die innere Mission in Hannover* (Hamburg, 1878), 101.

The organizational development of German churches in the West was conditioned by a variety of factors, both German and American in their origin. As pastors and congregations responded to the impact of American conditions, German precedents lost their dominating influence and an independent American-German type emerged. Frontier conditions also stimulated the free and independent spirit in German communities and led to a corresponding independence in the molding of church life. A uniform development during the early years was hindered by the intermixture of Pietists and rationalists, sometimes oddly compounded in single congregations. Affected in part by changed conditions, a new spirit gradually arose. With the steady rise of new and larger churches the spontaneous spiritual ardor which marked the days of the fathers was succeeded by the more studied efforts of the children. When we come to the end of the period, we find the *Kirchenverein* striving to secure uniformity of congregational organization in its churches. What had begun as a fellowship was developing into an institution.

CHAPTER VIII

PUBLIC WORSHIP AND PREACHING

Not least among the problems of establishing religion in the West was the task of providing adequate means of worship in congregations where Eastern customs clashed with the Western disesteem for forms. On the Western frontier, where new traditions were constantly in the making, inherited religious forms frequently failed to function. It was a particularly difficult task for American preachers from the cultured East to perpetuate their ecclesiastical heritage from tree-stump pulpits and in rough-hewn meeting-houses scattered through the land. Immigrant churches faced the same situation. Protestant Germany—Reformed, Lutheran, Evangelical—also had its established worship patterns. Transplanted to the West and subjected to the modifying influence of the frontier, old forms refused to function, and thus various new customs arose in the fields of liturgy, music, and preaching.

LITURGY

The question of liturgical usages had been much discussed in Germany, and the early immigrants brought with them recollections of the *pros* and *cons* of the *Agende* controversy of previous years. German church life had been disturbed by the use of different books of worship in the various provinces, and the religious literature of the day was filled with discussions of this vexing problem.¹ Placed on their own resources in America, German pastors were soon confronted by a similar problem. The autonomy of German frontier churches resulted in an endless variety of worship forms, with each pastor conducting the church service in his own way.² German traditions, however, had a steadying effect, and a definite liturgical trend was always in evi-

¹ Cf. discussions at church diets, e. g. Bremen, 1852; Berlin, 1853. "Nachrichten," E. K. Z., XXXIII (1843), 579; "Die Preussische Agende . . . ," *ibid.*, L (1852), 385.

² When Wyneken (1843) called Löhe's attention to the need of German prayer-books in America, the latter made plans to have a

dence; for, whether they came from Reformed or Lutheran communities, *Kirchenverein* pastors as well as congregations were accustomed to such usages. The Basel Institute held to the Württembergian rites and, as a matter of course, the Württemberg tradition was widely favored. Evangelical usage, on the whole, was characterized, not by the rejection of liturgical forms, but by their simplification.

At the first meeting of the *Kirchenverein*, as we have seen, a committee was appointed to prepare a draft of a book of worship which would be more adaptable to American conditions than any German *Agende*. For the next four years nothing was done—perhaps because of the removal of Daubert to Louisville and the absence of Nollau in Germany (1841-1843). In the October meeting of 1844 the need of a prayer-book was again discussed, and Wall and Nollau were instructed to assemble material for a draft. This committee, however, recommended to the spring conference of 1845 that the draft of the proposed new Evangelical book of worship of Württemberg be adopted. The suggestion was not entirely acceptable, although the secretary was later instructed to secure a number of Württembergian liturgies. After several inquiries had been directed to Germany, the Society was informed, in 1848, that Württemberg friends had presented the *Kirchenverein* with eleven copies of their prayer-book. These were placed at the disposal of the members and sold at the rate of two dollars for the *de luxe* and one dollar for the plain edition—anyone not able to buy one was to receive a copy gratis.³

The Württemberg manual did not prove satisfactory, and uniformity was not effected by its use. The question of ade-

"Nordamerikanische Agende" published. See K. M., I (1843), No. 11. W. Löhe, *Agende für christliche Gemeinden des lutherischen Bekenntnisses* (Nördlingen, 1844).

³ K. P., I, 42, 56, 82. The edition presented was evidently that of 1843 which was based on the revised draft adopted by the Württembergian synod of 1841. This *Kirchenbuch für die evangelische Kirche in Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1843) consisted of three parts: (I) prayers for various occasions; (II) Passion story, pericopes, and *Augustana*; (III) historical sketch of Luther, the *Augustana*, and the Reformation. The edition of 1850 is identical in contents. One of the problems met in the use of these books was the prayerful references to "*König und Vaterland*."

quate liturgical forms, therefore, continued to be discussed, particularly by the "Forty-eighters," chief among whom was the liturgically minded Birkner.

The dedication of new churches,⁴ events of primary importance in frontier communities, more than anything else stimulated the development of liturgical forms. Under the leadership of Birkner, at the dedication of St. Mark's Church on Horse Prairie (1849) an elaborate liturgical service was devised—the pioneer effort in this field. On this festive day the congregation assembled first at the home where regular worship had previously been held, where a short service was conducted. The procession which then formed, led by the elders and Birkner with two visiting ministers, who carried the Bible, the chalice, and the *Agende*, proceeded through meadow and thicket to the new church one-half mile away. Arriving at the door, the assembly sang the choral "*Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr,*" whereupon the elders opened the doors while Birkner recited the words: "*Lasset uns aufthun das neue Gotteshaus im Namen des Herrn und dabei bedenken, dass die Pforte eng und der Weg schmal ist, der zum Leben führt und dass Jesus Christus gesagt hat: Ich bin die Thüre; so Jemand durch mich eingehet, der wird selig werden!*" The congregation then entered and the following order of worship was observed:

1. Hymn
2. Dedicatory Prayer (read by one of the three pastors standing at the altar, the other two chanting the Trisagion in response)
3. Congregational Response: "*Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah*"
4. Scripture
5. Hymn
6. Sermon, Revelations 21: 1-6
7. Prayer

⁴ These were gala events in which the neighboring congregations joyously participated. Note, e. g., how almost the entire congregation of Red Run, Wis., and 13 wagon-loads of members of the congregations at Monroe, Wis., attended the dedication of the church at Spring Grove, Wis., F., XIV (1863), 117.

8. Hymn
9. Baptism
10. Confessional Service and Communion
 - a) Hymn: "*Jesus nimmt die Sünder an*"
 - b) Hymn: "*Ich Betrübler komme hier*"
 - c) Confession
 - d) Absolution
 - e) Hymn: "*O Fels des Heils, o Gotteslamm!*"
 - f) Prayer
 - g) Words of Institution
 - h) Silent Prayer
 - i) Hymn: "*O Lamm Gottes*"
 - j) Distribution of Elements
 - k) Prayer
 - l) Benediction
 - m) Threefold Amen⁵

With slight modifications this form was used by other churches on similar occasions. More elaborate, as would befit a larger city church, was the form used by Dresel at Burlington, Iowa, in 1851. The procession of the congregation from the schoolhouse to the church was led by the elders, followed by ministers carrying the Bible, the prayer-book, the baptismal bowl, and the communion service. Then came the Sunday-school children and teachers, the choir, and the congregation, singing "*Unsern Ausgang segne Gott.*" Arriving at the church, the participating ministers recited verses of Scripture as the pastor unlocked the door. The procession entered the church and the various articles were placed upon the altar. At this moment the choir broke forth with "*Jehovah, Jehovah, Jehovah*" from the gallery in the rear of the church. This was followed by:

1. Dedication Service (by three pastors)
2. Hymn: "*Allein Gott in der Höh*"
3. Prayer (by *pastor loci*)
4. Creed (read by pastor)

⁵ *Ibid.*, I (1850), 7. Note the similarity to the dedication service at Franklin, Ia., *ibid.*, III (1852), 7, which is also described in A. H. M. S. Cor., Gumbull, Ft. Madison, Ia., Nov. 5, 1851.

5. Gospel for Dedication Service (according to the *Württemberg Agende*)
6. Hymn: "*Ich lobe dich, mein Auge schauet*"
7. Sermon, Revelation 21: 1-5
8. Second Sermon (by visiting pastor)
9. Baptism (two children)
10. Benediction
11. Closing Hymn (by choir)
12. Communion.⁶

In many of the other dedicatory services we note a similar development of liturgical and symbolical forms.⁷ That some of the services were inordinately long is suggested by the reports. The celebration of the sacraments was frequently observed on these occasions, and in one instance, we are told, a marriage ceremony was performed at the afternoon service. In most instances not only morning and afternoon, but also evening services were held, at which pastors of neighboring English churches were invited to speak. After 1855 detailed reports of dedication services no longer appeared in the *Friedensbote*. By that time, under the guidance of the Württemberg manual and after numerous trial and error experiences, an accepted form of worship was about to be adopted. Reporting the dedication of the church at Pinckney, Missouri, in December, 1855, the *Friedensbote* was content merely to state that a "complete liturgical service was read"⁸

In the meantime a demand for a general church prayer had arisen. A committee of three was appointed which prepared a draft of a prayer which was printed in the June issue of the *Friedensbote*, 1850.⁹ This first general church

⁶ F., II (1851), 47. The confessional service, preparatory to communion, had been held the night before.

⁷ Note following references, *ibid.*: Manchester Rd., Mo., I (1850), 15; Muscatine, Ia., I (1850), 83; Northwest Church, St. Louis, I (1850), 85; Columbia, Ill., II (1851), 6; Belleville, Ill. (1852), 31; Madison, Ia., III (1852), 77; North Morreau, Mo., VI (1855), 12. Numerous others might be cited.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VII (1856), 5. Liturgical services were also used at Marthasville. See "Liturgischer Abendgottesdienst im evangelischen Missouri-Seminar am Jahresschluss 1854," D. K., VIII (1855), 51.

⁹ K. P., I., 141, 148.

prayer, a classic in Evangelical liturgical literature, began with the well-known words retained in later versions:

*Ewiger, allmächtiger, barmherziger Gott und Vater unseres Herrn Jesu Christi, der du der rechte Vater bist über Alles, was Kinder heisset im Himmel und auf Erden!*¹⁰

The adoption of this prayer, it was thought, would assure greater uniformity in the conduct of church services and thereby increase the sense of solidarity among Evangelical Christians. The same prayer repeated in all Evangelical churches Sunday after Sunday, so it was hoped, would bind all worshippers everywhere together in the bonds of a common faith and awaken a sense of spiritual and religious security which the distractions of every-day life could not easily destroy.¹¹

The use of formal prayers continued in high favor. When some weak voice urged greater freedom in church worship, the free prayers of the rationalistic clergy in Hanover and Mecklenburg were held up as warning examples. The entire subject continued to be discussed in small groups until the conviction grew that an Evangelical prayer-book must be prepared. In the year 1852 a district pastoral conference in Missouri, attended by Binner, Birkner, Köwing, Maul, Baltzer, and Grote, resolved to present a draft of a *Gemeinde-Ordnung*, prepared by Birkner, to the next conference of the *Kirchenverein*.¹² There the draft was referred to a committee, which reported in the following year that, although recognizing the diligence and circumspection with which Birkner had pursued his task, a further study of liturgical forms in use by other American synods was deemed necessary.¹³ With this study in view, a committee

¹⁰ This introductory sentence bears some similarity with the *Basler Kirchengebet* used in the *Württemberg Agende* of 1843, 210.

¹¹ *F.*, I (1850), 62.

¹² *Ibid.*, III (1852), 93.

¹³ In 1854 the seminary press at Femme Osage, Mo., published *Formulare für die Actus Ministeriales, aus der Württemberger Agende* in two editions, sizes 5¼x8 and 4½x7¼ inches, respectively. The forms for baptism, confirmation, confession, communion, marriage, burial, adopted from the *Württemberg manual*, had in turn been derived from the *Württembergian Kirchenbuch* and *Liturgie*, *The Book of Common Prayer*, and the prayer-books of other Evangelical churches in Germany. See *Formulare* , 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16,

on liturgy was appointed, consisting of Binner, Irion, Bode, Baltzer, and Nollau (Steinert was added later), and the work was pursued with new interest.

By the year 1855 the manuscript had been prepared. This was presented to the conference of the following year with the recommendation that a new committee on revision be appointed to collaborate with the liturgy committee and that every member of the *Kirchenverein* be permitted to participate in all deliberations. Thus a committee of thirteen cautiously and painstakingly proceeded with the work of preparing the manuscript for the printer. With reference to "*Format, Lettern und Papier*," the Württemberg manual was taken as a pattern.¹⁴

The work was completed in 1857 and the first *Evangelische Agende* was offered for sale at the publishing houses of H. Ludwig in New York, Schäfer and Coradi in Philadelphia, and C. Witter in St. Louis. It did not purport to be an original work. Its compilers were manifestly dependent on German sources, having used, not only the Württembergian, but also the Prussian and the Basel prayer-books, the one of Löhe, and the private *Agende* of Stier—all of which, in turn, had drawn on older manuals. Traces of the Anglican prayer-book may also be noted. The distinctive feature of the book, however, was its Biblical spirit and Scriptural phraseology. It was clearly Evangelical in its lack of certain confessionalistic emphases which marked similar Lutheran and Reformed books of the period.¹⁵

An examination of the contents reveals an effort to ac-

17, 25, 28. The smaller edition of the *Formulare* also contained "*Episteln und Evangelica*," the Passion story, the Augsburg Confession of 1530, Luther's Small Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism, and prayers for various occasions.

¹⁴ K. P., II, 67, 124, 157, 158, 183, 186, 214. Again in 1854, Württemberg friends presented the K. with a number of prayer-books which were sold for one dollar each.

¹⁵ The *Agende* was warmly recommended by the D. K., X (1857), 211. Announcing the completion of the *Agende* in his report of 1857, President Baltzer paid tribute to the pioneering labors of Birkner. K. P. (1857), 14.

Of the 170 prayers found in the *Agende*, 55 are practically identical with prayers found in the Württemberg manual—some having been shortened by omission of Scriptural quotations.

commodate old forms to American conditions. Special petitions, to be embodied in the general prayers as circumstances required, were listed under such captions as: Harvest, During the Harvest, Unfavorable Weather, Cholera, After a Cholera Epidemic, War, Elections, Communicants, Confirmands. Under the general head of "Ecclesiastical Rites" (such as baptisms,¹⁶ weddings, burials, ordinations, installations) additional forms were included for installation of elders, acceptance of new members, expulsion from the congregation, readmission of an expelled member, and dedication of a cemetery.

Three complete formularies for Sunday services were presented, the most elaborate of which was as follows:

1. Hymn
2. Introitus
3. Prayer
4. Threefold Amen (by congregation)
5. Confession (pastor and congregation kneel)
6. Agnus Dei (while kneeling)
7. Apostles' Creed
8. Trisagion
9. Scripture Reading
10. Response
11. Pericopic Reading
12. Response
13. Sermon
14. Hymn
15. General Prayer
16. Benediction

The acceptance of definite liturgical forms and the adoption of the same order of service by all the churches would also hasten, it was hoped, the consolidation of Evangelical churches. Trifling innovations and eccentric and sentimental variations would certainly be avoided. It was urged that public prayer was not merely the prayer of the individual

¹⁶ The model constitution (*loc. cit.*) required that, emergencies excepted, baptism be administered in a public service.

How the prayer-book endeavored to meet the needs of the day is also apparent in the various directions to the pastors which precede the forms. See Appendix V.

congregation, but the corporate expression of the communion of saints, historically articulate in the *Kirchenverein*. At the same time cognizance was taken of the special needs of individual congregations, whose right to use free prayer was not to be suppressed. The preference for rigid, formal prayers over free prayers, however, was sturdily upheld. Even the memorization of formal prayers was frowned upon, since it might suggest an unconventionality not in keeping with the dignity of true worship. "*Express aus dem Buch soll man beten, stosse Sich wer will.*" A pastor should have no more right, so it was argued, to compose his own prayers than to write his own hymnal or Bible. Hoping to establish churches in indifferent communities, the *Kirchenverein* increasingly placed emphasis on liturgical forms which would strengthen the denominational consciousness.¹⁷

Some pastors hesitated to adopt the prayer-book, advancing the usual arguments against the tyranny of set forms. There were those who, for practical or perhaps economic reasons, preferred to retain the Württemberg manual. On various occasions the *Friedensbote* defended the book of worship and urged its general acceptance. By resolution of the conference of 1859 every pastor was instructed to procure a copy.¹⁸ A second edition of 600 copies was authorized in 1874, by which time some changes and additions had become necessary.

MUSIC

The ministry of music in German frontier churches was in its infancy. Not that a German tradition was lacking; on the contrary, nowhere else in the world were religious

¹⁷ "Zur Einheit der evangelischen Kirche," F., XII (1861), 25.

K. pastors generally used vestments. J. B. Madoulet, visiting Dresel at Burlington, stated that he "had to put on Mr. Dresel's pulpit coat—without it Mr. Dresel refused to let me preach for him. And so I had to be a high churchman on that day, conducting as well as I could their rituals and going from the low pulpit to the high pulpit and I looked like a stranger to myself in their forms." A. H. M. S. Cor., Madoulet, Muscatine, Ia., Apr. 15, 1852.

¹⁸ "Brief an einen Amtsbruder den Gebrauch der Kirchenordnung und Agende betreffend," by F. W., *ibid.*, XI (1860), 106. K. P. II, 124, 275, 352, 376. The book of worship also found acceptance beyond

hymns being sung as in the land of Luther, Gerhardt, Spitta, Gellert, Tersteegen, and Arndt. German churches in America were to become nurseries, not only for the German language, but also for German song and music. And yet the ministry of music in German frontier churches was struggling against seemingly insuperable odds.

German church music centered about congregational singing where all the members of the household of faith had an equal opportunity to express themselves and with one accord voice their needs and aspirations in song and prayer. The principle of the universal priesthood of all believers found empirical expression in unitedly singing forth hymns of supplication, thanks, and petition before the throne of God.

Congregational singing, severely handicapped by the lack of common hymnals, was made even more difficult by the lack of an organ or other musical instruments. Sometimes there arose the problem of the unrestrainable, enthusiastic singer who in the close confines of the log church unsparingly met the challenge of the wide open spaces. The reputation of being a good singer rested largely upon the ability to drown out the still, melodious voices by sheer brutal strength. The spirit of devotion was frequently disturbed by strained vocal exertions far beyond the natural range, so that after two or three stanzas of a choral had been sung, the fourth was started in too high a key. Even an organ could not always guide the enthusiasm of unbridled song into the channels of artistic execution. Under such handicaps it was obviously impossible for a congregation to gauge its singing by the spirit of the hymn. The meditative "*O Lamm Gottes unschuldig, am Stamm des Kreuzes geschlachtet*" was indiscriminately sung with the robustness required by "*Lobe den Herren, den mächtigen König der Ehren.*"¹⁹

immediate K. circles; for at the end of our period (1866), when the total pastoral membership amounted to 155, about 200 copies had been disposed of.

¹⁹ That this was considered a problem of major importance may be seen in the article "Wie ein schöner Gesang beim Gottesdienst von grosser Bedeutung ist," F., X (1859), 169, and in the series of articles

To overcome these difficulties, the office of precentor developed, although usually the pastor served in this capacity. The men with the strongest voices were considered best qualified for this service. In churches where parochial schools were established this duty devolved upon the teacher, who on Sundays became the "*Kantor und Vorsinger*."

Congregational singing was also improved by the *Gesangsverein*, more frequently found in the city than in the rural churches, the specific purpose of which, in some instances, was to train the congregation to sing.²⁰ Everyone was invited to join. Generally, however, a choir consisting exclusively of male voices was preferred. In a day of Victorian perspective, many a pastor was confronted by the problem of the mixed choir. Choirs consisting of male and female voices, concluded the *Friedensbote*, were permissible if the feminine members were not exposed to the view of the congregation; for "it is contrary to the modest and virtuous position of a woman publicly to exhibit herself as a singer." It was deemed more desirable for boys to sing the soprano parts. Nor could pious souls comprehend how the practice periods could be conducted with any degree of seriousness when choirs were composed of young people of both sexes.

Some choirs won the reputation of being better than others, and friendly rivalries developed. A number of well-known choirs soon gained prominence and were much in demand on festive occasions. Accounts of such occasions, as a matter worthy of note, often explicitly stated that a "well-trained" choir had furnished excellent music in four-part harmony. Occasionally we hear of a *Kinderchor* composed of the school children and directed by the school-teacher. The congregations in the vicinity of Marthasville considered themselves especially fortunate to have at their disposal the *Seminaristenchor*.

"Wie es in unsern Gemeinden mit dem Kirchengesang besser werden sollte und könnte," beginning *ibid.*, XV (1864), 49.

²⁰ One of the first expenditures of the Concordia Church Choir of St. John's Church at Kenton, Ohio, organized in 1862 with 75 members, was the purchase of 75 marbles for 30 cents. They were "to serve the same purpose that small stones served in the mouth of Demosthenes." F. S., St. John's Church, Kenton, Ohio (1924), 36.

The disadvantages of having church choirs was not overlooked. The singing of anthems unsuited to services traditionally dignified by the *Choral* sounded a disturbing note not easily overcome. Any restriction of congregational singing was also to be avoided by the choir. The ideal choir functioned merely as precentor for the congregation.²¹

The effectiveness of organs, introduced for the purpose of elevating congregational singing, was frequently defeated by the vociferous exertions of some inept musician. Usually the school-teacher or the pastor served as organist. The best instrument that could be procured by some of the smaller churches, and the most suitable for small buildings, was the reed-organ, or melodeon. Some of these had been imported by German families and later were donated to congregations or loaned for special occasions. The acquisition of a pipe-organ was a notable achievement.²²

Organs varied in size and cost. The one installed at Quincy, Illinois, in 1864, with fourteen stops, cost two thousand dollars.²³ We are left to surmise the nature of an organ with three stops installed at Zion Church in Evansville, Indiana, in 1853 at a cost of \$160. Julius Ulbricht of Tell City, Indiana, made attractive proposals, offering to build instruments according to specifications at short notice. Organs with six stops could be delivered for three hundred dollars.²⁴ In the sixties the Kilgen organs began to appear, costing as little as four hundred dollars.

²¹ The above-mentioned articles on "Wie es in unsern Gemeinden . . .," *loc. cit.*, dating from the latter part of our period, indicate the primitive conditions prevailing in some churches at that late date.

²² Friedens Church, near St. Charles, had an organ as early as 1850, which is still being used. Old organs were either presented or sold to smaller churches. When St. Peter's Church in St. Louis bought a large pipe-organ (1856), the small one was sold to the church at Hermann, Mo.

²³ This organ proved so satisfactory that the pastor was led to praise the builder, C. Pfeffer of St. Louis, in what has the appearance of being a paid advertisement. Cf. "Orgeln," F., XVI (1865), 112.

²⁴ Cf. advertisement *ibid.*, XIV (1863), 32. Occasionally an organ was imported. The church at Piqua, Ohio, received an organ from Bavaria in 1853. See F. S., St. Paul's Church, Piqua, Ohio (1921), 7. In F., X (1859), 136, Baltzer described two organs which he could recommend. The one, suitable for a small rural church, was equipped with three "Register" and would be installed by the builder anywhere

A vexing problem in German churches, aside from the difficulty of importing German hymnals, was, not primarily the lack of hymn-books,²⁵ but the diverse types in use. A multitudinous variety of hymnals could be found in German communities; for every pious German brought with him from the fatherland the particular hymnal used in his town or province. The multiplicity of hymnals and divergencies in form and content also vexed the churches in Germany, where the spirit of rationalism and vapid sentimentalism had invaded the hymnological field.²⁶ It was the peculiar difficulty of the Union Church that it had inherited a large variety of song-books from the many different German regions from which its members hailed. After a long period of haphazard experimentation with various types of hymnals, a degree of uniform usage was achieved by the publication of the *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*.

The most popular German hymnals used in *Kirchenverein* churches were those of Elberfeld and Württemberg, the two

in the West for \$300. The other, not quite new, had seven stops, and was valued at \$520. In 1857 an organ was dedicated in the church at St. John's Creek concerning which the minutes record: "Am 13 November kam unsre von H. M. Metz gemachte Orgel, für welche derselbe erhielt \$350. Ihre Fracht wie dem Orgelbauer seine Rell Road Kosten betruhen noch \$9.80, im Ganzen \$359.80."

²⁵ According to *Entwurf eines Gesangbuchs für mehrere Kirchengemeinden des Herzogthums Memingen* (1859), a certain German church of 260 members had no song-books, another church of 180 families only 93 song-books, etc. Similar conditions prevailed in some German-American churches.

²⁶ In 1852 fifty-four different hymnals—ten Prussian, i. e., Saxon, twelve non-Prussian, and thirty-two Silesian—were being used by congregations in the province of Silesia. "Übersicht der in der Provinz Schlesien in kirchlichem Gebrauche befindlichen Gesangbücher," *Evangelisches Kirchen- und Schulblatt*, 1852, 121. Hardly a German family with any religious background but brought with it the hymn-book used in the homeland. Many of these were passed on from generation to generation and are to this day still treasured as heirlooms.

The rationalistic "*Gesangbuchsverbesserung*" in Germany was little better than a "*Gesangbuchsverwässerung*," some grotesque forms of which found entrance even in orthodox hymnals. "Kirchenlied," R. E., X, 419. A flood of literature was released by the "*Gesangbuchsnoth*." See R. Stier and Kraz, also E. K. Z., XXXII (1843), 51, 81; L (1852), 239, 241, 257; LI (1853), 489, 497, 513. Cf. discussions at church diets at Stuttgart, 1850; Bremen, 1852; Stuttgart, 1857. See also Prof. Nelle, "Zur Geschichte des gottesdienstlich-musikalischen Lebens unserer Kirche im letzten Menschenalter," Johannes Schneider, *Kirchliches Jahrbuch* (Gütersloh), 1918, 1.

noblest fruits of the German hymnological reform movement of the nineteenth century.²⁷ The Württembergian version was most widely used and was very acceptable to the pietistic mood of the *Kirchenverein* constituency. At the same time some pastors attempted to establish greater uniformity through the introduction of the *Elberfeld Gesangbuch*, which, although "laden with much rationalistic ballast," was highly recommended for its many worthy hymns.²⁸ With the use of such a double-tongued hymnal, however, strange inconsistencies could occur. A congregation might first joyously acclaim: "*Vernunft, du grosse Lehrerin . . .*," finally to admit: "*Wir Menschen sind zu dem, O Gott, was geistlich ist, untüchtig.*"²⁹ Similar inconsistencies were also found in the rationalistic *Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch*, which, originating under so-called Evangelical-Union auspices in the East, had been introduced in a number of *Kirchenverein* churches.³⁰

²⁷ The Württemberg book, preceded by a draft in 1839, had been introduced in 1842 and immediately became the most popular and widely used hymnal in Germany.

²⁸ Witte, *op. cit.*, 43. The students at Marthasville were being familiarized with the Elberfeld hymnal. K. P., II, 87.

²⁹ "Ein Wort für Einheit des Cultus beim öffentlichen Gottesdienst," F., XI (1860), 97.

³⁰ *Das neue Gemeinschaftliche Gesangbuch zum Gottesdienstlichem Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformierten Gemeinden in Nord-Amerika* (New York, 1855). Schaff called it "*Buchhändler-Speculation ohne alle kirchliche Autorität.*" The rationalistic and especially the un-Lutheran nature of this hymnal was described in a series of letters, "Von dem amerikanisch-luth. und reform. Gesangbuch," in the *Luth.*, V (1849), 167, 192, 199, 203. Not a single Lutheran hymn had been included. How could this propose to be a German hymnal? Another scathing criticism of this hymnal is found *ibid.*, VII (1850), 20, 27, 35, 55.

As an example, note hymn 323, with the melody "*Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten*":

*Des Leibes warten und ihn nähren,
Das ist, O Schoepfer! meine Pflicht.
Muthwillig seinen Bau versehen,
Verbietet mir dein Unterricht.*

*Gesunde Glieder, muntre Kraefte,
O Gott! wie viel sind die nicht werth!
Wer taugt zu des Berufs Geschaefte,
Wenn Krankheit seinen Leib beschwert?
Ist nicht der Erde groesses Gut
Gesundheit und ein heitrer Muth?*

Note also Tölke's experience: "In our meetings at Bethlehem an elder or myself had to repeat the stanza of the hymn which was sung;

Another German-American hymnal used by some congregations was the *Deutsch Lutherisches Gesangbuch* published by the Pennsylvania Synod, the plan of which closely followed the Württemberg hymnal of 1843. In spite of the alterations of some hymns and the omission of others it was highly recommended in the *Kirchenfreund*.³¹

It was not until the June meeting of the *Kirchenverein* in 1849 that, for the first time, official notice was taken of the need for an Evangelical hymnal. A strong opinion prevailed that the Württemberg and Elberfeld song-books should be combined. A committee composed of Binner, Steinert, Birkner, and Weitbrecht was authorized to plan for the publication of such a book. In preparation for their task hymnological material was ordered from Germany. This, however, failed to arrive, and, because of other difficulties as well, nothing was accomplished at this time. The committee was nevertheless authorized to proceed with its work as best it could. Again matters dragged. In 1852 the committee reported insuperable difficulties and recommended establishing contacts with the Evangelical church diet at Bremen, which was planning the publication of an Evangelical hymnal to take the place of the various municipal and provincial song-books. This report was accepted, the committee was discharged, and the use of old hymn-books continued, pending the publication of the new German hymnal.³²

now we introduced a hymn book (which we got from Germany) and almost every hearer has his own hymn book and the singing is more spirited" A. H. M. S. Cor., Tölke, Evansville, Ind., Feb., 28, 1849. In another communication he stated: "We have introduced a new hymn book into our congregation from Germany. . . . Before, we made use of a hymn book adopted by an agreement of many ministers of the German Reformed and Lutheran churches in this country which had the appearance of latitudinarianism. Many pastors and congregations in the West abolished it and others intend to do so, so that it will be compelled at last to take its proper place." *Ibid.*, May 27, 1849.

³¹ Note the discussion of the Lutheran hymnal of 1849 by W. J. Mann, in the D. K., III (1850), 108. Schaff's *Hymnologische Einleitung* in his *Deutsches Gesangbuch* (Philadelphia, Chambersburg, Pa., 1860) is a good introduction to the hymnological problem of the day.

³² An announcement appeared in the F., III (1852), 80, that a

The assistance anticipated from German sources, however, did not materialize although Wall, visiting the Bremen Diet in 1852, made special efforts in behalf of a hymnal adapted to American conditions. Philipp Wackernagel, the most illustrious German hymnologist of the nineteenth century,³³ delivered an inspiring address before the diet and proposed a basic selection of one hundred and fifty hymns which could be amplified by additional hymns according to the needs and desires of the various German towns and provinces. Following this suggestion Wall interviewed Wackernagel, urging that a similar special edition be prepared for use in American churches in which all references to German social and political conditions would be omitted.³⁴ Although the feasibility of this plan was admitted, it soon became apparent that the needs of the *Kirchenverein* would not be solved in this manner. The new German hymnal was published in 1853. Its strong Lutheran coloring and the exclusion of Reformed hymns made it unacceptable to the Society. The subject arose again in the district conferences of 1856 and came to an issue in the general conference of 1857, when President Baltzer emphatically stressed the necessity of having a hymnal particularly adapted to American use.

Again placed on its own resources, the *Kirchenverein* decided to publish a hymnal which should contain not more than 450 hymns. The method of procedure was the same as that followed in the publication of the *Agende*. A com-

limited number of Elberfeld hymnals had arrived at Witter's book store, St. Louis. K. P., I, 120, 130; II, 7.

Even the Lutheran hymnal had been considered. Thus Baltzer, in 1849, stated: "*Der Verein wäre vielleicht nicht abgeneigt gewesen, seine Aufmerksamkeit auf das von der lutherischen Gemeinde zu St. Louis herausgegebene Gesangbuch zu wenden, welches in vieler Beziehung die vollste Anerkennung verdient. Aber . . . ist doch manches Ausgezeichnete . . . unberücksichtigt gelieben.*" D. K., II (1849), 392.

³³ Wackernagel had assisted in preparing the Buffalo hymnal (Grabau) of 1842 and was widely acclaimed in German-American circles for services in the cause of church music. "Wackernagel," R. E., XX, 768.

³⁴ "Der Evang. Kirchentag," F., III (1852), 65; "Der Bremer Kirchentag," *ibid.*, IV (1853), 9.

mittee composed of Umbeck, Mengert, Th. Dresel, Judt, Döhring, J. Knauss, Baltzer, Steinert, Nollau—the last three constituting an executive committee—was authorized to submit a draft to the next pastoral conference of the Middle District, which in turn was authorized to proceed with the printing.

Vacancies which now occurred on the committee prevented the Middle District from taking any further action than that the hymnal be printed according to the format of the Elberfeld text, but with oval and not with square notes, as was the case with that hymnal. By the time that the vacancies caused by the death of Umbeck, the resignation of Mengert, and the removal of Baltzer to Marthasville had been filled by the conference of 1859, the non-confessional hymnal of Schaff had appeared. It was heartily recommended by the *Friedensbote*, and voices were soon heard urging its adoption by the *Kirchenverein*.³⁵ Since the Schaff hymnal, however, was without notes and did not contain certain favorite hymns, the Baltzer draft again found general support and became the basis on which the *Evangelisches Gesangbuch* finally made its appearance in December, 1861.³⁶

The book contained 535 hymns classified under the following ten heads: 1. Hymns of Adoration; 2. God the Father

³⁵ *Deutsches Gesangbuch*. See F., XI (1860), 96. The premature adoption of this hymnal by the Eastern Synod at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1859 was rectified by reference of the hymnal to the classes, so that it was not until June, 1861, that the Western Synod and not until Sept. that the Eastern Synod formally and finally adopted this "standard hymnbook of the Reformed Church in the United States." It contained 500 hymns and was designed for "*öffentlichen und häuslichen Gebrauch*."

When Professor K. I. Nitzsch of Berlin commended Schaff's hymnal as undoubtedly the best that had been produced either in America or on the Continent, Wall replied that its similarity with the Evangelical hymnal was so great that the K. had been accused of plagiarism. Wall, *Diary* II, 10. The similarity may be noted in the fact that 350 hymns are found in both books. Dependence on Schaff is acknowledged in the *Vorrede* of the 1862 edition. See Appendix VI.

³⁶ E. D. P. (1860), 9. M. D. P. (MS, 1860), 21. After completion of the manuscript financial difficulties arose which necessitated an appeal for personal loans secured by notes payable in one year at the interest rate of 10 percent. See "Conferenz des Mittleren Districts" F., XII (1861), 174.

and the Work of Creation; 3. Jesus Christ and the Work of Redemption; 4. The Holy Spirit and the Work of Sanctification; 5. The Trinity; 6. The Church; 7. The Sacraments; 8. The Christian Life (Repentance, Faith, Justification, Struggle, and Victory); 9. Special Occasions (Patriotism, School, Family, etc.); 10. Last Things.³⁷ Following the hymns came the epistle and gospel readings for the entire year, which were taken from the Elberfeld hymnal. The story of the Passion, compiled from the four gospels, was identical with the Württemberg version. The fourteen morning and evening prayers for private devotion were taken from similar collections in other German hymnals.³⁸ Lack of originality also marked the prayers for festive days, communion, and meditations for the sick and dying. The dependence on German forms and reverence for the pietistic spirit is everywhere clearly apparent. References to German social and political conditions, usually prominent in German texts, were carefully deleted, but no corresponding adaptation to American conditions occurred.

The hymnal immediately won wide acclaim. By the time the conference convened in June, 1862, a third edition was being prepared, and soon thereafter a small pocket edition appeared. Baltzer, Steinert, and Nollau continued as the publication committee, being reimbursed for their labors by ten percent of the profits. The hymnal proved to be a successful financial enterprise. Up to June, 1864, 8200 copies of the large and 8000 of the small format had been printed, of which 12,660 had been sold, netting a profit of \$1612. By the year 1866 twenty thousand copies had been sold and were in use in ninety congregations. At the end of our period the hymnal had found general acceptance, only one-third of the congregations retaining the *Gemein-*

³⁷ The main divisions are those of Schaff. Variations occur in subdivisions.

³⁸ Eight were found exclusively in the Hamburg hymnal, four in the Elberfeld, one in the Württemberg, and one in both the Elberfeld and Hamburg hymnals. They were mainly derived from G. Arnold, J. Habermann, Joh. Arndt, A. H. Francke, Christian Scriver, J. F. Stark, and J. C. Storr.

Cf. this *Agende* with the *Actus Ministeriales* of 1854, *supra*, p. 258, n. 13.

schaftliches Gesangbuch. Baltzer in his report of 1868 denounced the latter as a wretched piece of work, the adoption of which could no longer be justified even on the basis of economy. Surely with a little more encouragement on the part of the pastors, even unaffiliated congregations might be persuaded to adopt the new hymnal.³⁹

The use of the same hymnal in all Evangelical churches not only strengthened the spiritual unity of the members, but also awakened the sense of ecclesiastical solidarity throughout the Society. In a day of general instability, when pastors and congregations decided for themselves what was right, such uniformity of practice had a wholesome effect. Nothing so contributed to the rising denominational consciousness of the *Kirchenverein* as the *Evangelisches Gesangbuch* of 1861.⁴⁰

PREACHING

Although the altar occupied the central position in the front of the church, it was dominated by the pulpit. In frontier communities preaching was the most significant function of the pastor. German preachers from abroad were irrevocably committed to its importance; never could the German tradition with its illustrious line of pulpiteers be forgotten. But would the German tradition survive on the Western frontier, where American preaching had already been forced to make numerous adjustments? We are told, for instance, that at the ordination of Julian Sturtevant and Theron Baldwin, on the eve of their departure for the West, Matthias Bruin added the admonition: "Do not shock the prejudices of a western audience by the sight of a manuscript."⁴¹ Such advice, as a rule, was not needed by German pastors, who, far from being committed to the use of manuscripts in the pulpit, at the same time even refrained from

³⁹ "Unser neues evangelisches Gesangbuch, und wie es mit Segen von Jung und Alt, von Einzelnen und von der ganzen Kirche gebraucht werden kann und soll," F., XIII (1862), 25. Beyond being merely a hymnal and prayer-book for private and public use, it was also recommended for religious instruction in parochial schools.

⁴⁰ "Zur Einheit der evangelischen Kirche," *ibid.*, XII (1861), 25.

⁴¹ *Julian M. Sturtevant—An Autobiography* (New York, 1896).

impromptu preaching by laboriously writing out their sermons word for word and equally laboriously memorizing them. Since the holy Word of God was being expounded in the sermon, it demanded most careful study and preparation.

One should think that with such preaching there would be little danger that sermons could attain unreasonable length. Even then, some tired farmers in rural communities were prone to fall asleep on Sunday mornings. To prevent this mishap, it was considered perfectly proper in some communities for a sleepy worshipper to arise from his seat and stretch himself.⁴²

The pulpit discourse of *Kirchenverein* pastors was intensely Biblical and devout.⁴³ In contrast to rationalistic preaching and the sensational discussions of religious subjects often found on the frontier, the pietistic spirit became all the more apparent. In the effort to establish the essential Biblical fundamentals, a type of preaching appeared which bordered on the confessionalistic. The Luther Bible

⁴² That this custom prevailed in some parts of Germany is apparent from the pulpit announcement of G. Arnold that, to prevent the great sin of sleeping during the sermon, listeners should feel free "dann und wann aufzustehen." Quoted in article by Cohrs, in *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (1930), 612. Büttner, *op. cit.*, II, 269, referred to a provision in the constitution of the Evangelical church at Massillon, Ohio (1839): "Wenn der Prediger länger als eine Stunde predigt, mag ihm ein ohne Störung zu verursachender Wink gegeben werden." The *Agende* of 1857 stated that a sermon should never be longer than 45 minutes.

⁴³ H. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 45. Cf. the Wall and Dresel sermon collections in the archives at Eden Seminary. A number of individual sermons may be noted as follows:

A. Baltzer (*Synodalpredigt*), 1856 and 1868, H. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 52, 107.

W. Binner (Commencement), F., II (1851), 90; III (1852), 2; IV (1853), 51.

F. Birkner (Installation of A. Irion), *ibid.*, IV (1853), 49.

Th. Dresel (Religious Education), *ibid.*, IV (1853), 65, 74.

H. Garlichs, *Erinnerung . . .*, 59, 71, 80, 90.

Ph. Göbel (Commencement), F., V (1854), 57.

A. Irion (*Passionsbetrachtung*), *ibid.*, IV (1853), 20.

E. Roos (Conference), *ibid.*, VII (1856), 49.

Note how Steinert, on the occasion of a mission festival, on the basis of Acts 4: 20 argued for the support of missions because: 1) God's Word commands it; 2) God's Spirit inspires it; 3) God's will supports it; 4) God's blessing accompanies it. *Ibid.*, I (1850), 94.

was generally used in public reading of the Scriptures. The modern translations of Ewald, Stier, or Heinrich Meyer were unqualifiedly rejected, their use indicating that Luther's Bible was not held in proper esteem. Or, "would our modern age, trifling with the German language, attempt to teach Luther German!" Although the preacher was urged to examine the various translations and in his studies to consult the original sources, yet on the pulpit and at the altar the Lutheran translation was considered the norm.⁴⁴

Frontier preaching easily assumed an evangelistic mood. Germans from abroad generally opposed the "new measures," such as denunciatory preaching, praying for individuals by name, public prayers for impenitent friends, inviting seekers to an "anxious seat," and committing them to special promises. Some of these practices, it is true, had found entrance into Reformed and Lutheran circles in the East. German pastors on the whole, however, reacted strenuously against this "terrible evil," which was characterized as essentially "*undeutsch*" and threatened to transform the German Zion into Methodism. Indeed, it was feared by some that even the dignified and firmly established German Lutheran and Reformed churches would not be able to survive the tumult and fanaticism which had engulfed the American people.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, XII (1861), 25.

⁴⁵ See Büttner, *op. cit.*, II, 275, for discussion of conditions prevailing especially in the East about 1840. The Americanized Germans of the East were more receptive to the "new measures" which Schaff denounced as "*undeutsch*" and traced to Puritanism and Methodism. "Geschichte d. Deut. Kirche," D. K., II (1849), 168 f. Note the typically German advice of Löhe to his first missionaries: "*Wir weisen Euch auf alle Fälle ernstlich an, alles lärmende, trommelnde, die Nerven und das Gefühl erregende, die Heilsordnung überrumpelnde Predigen der Methodisten zu vermeiden.*" Deinzer, *op. cit.*, III, 9.

In spite of their pietistic leanings, the European Germans of the West, as a whole, resisted the introduction of extreme revivalistic practices into their churches. Those whose emotional needs were not satisfied joined the German Methodists.

The rise and rapid spread of Anglo-American sects in Germany was due, according to Ecke, *op. cit.*, 109, not to pietistic influence, but to the failure of rationalistic state-churchism to meet the religious needs of the people. On the whole, Methodists were subjected to merciless castigation by European Germans in America as well as by Germans in the homeland as the "classical example of pietistic

Pietistic *Kirchenverein* pastors, especially those under the influence of the American Home Missionary Society, sometimes, as we have seen (*supra*, pp. 215 ff.), adopted an evangelistic manner. A revivalistic vocabulary came into vogue. To revive the faltering spirits in his congregation, Schünemann planned a series of revival sermons for four Sundays. On one occasion Grote almost precipitated a revival when, preaching on Eph. 5: 1-9, he dwelt with such emphasis on the importance of the certainty of salvation and the danger of self-deceit that a woman broke out weeping and, as he related the incident, "Many surrounded her who had never felt what she now felt, and asked her, 'What ails you?' Though I felt exhausted from the labors of the day, I led her to my room, her husband and a few others following her. There I pointed out to her the Lamb of God. She could say but little and kept wringing her hands and weeping. All the others that were present were seized with similar feelings so that all wept before the Lord, whose presence we felt."⁴⁶

Ample evidence indicates that the prayer-meetings were frequently conducted on the pattern of the pietistic *Stunden* widely popular in Württemberg. They were mostly held on Sunday afternoons in the home of the pastor or one of the members. "Everyone is at liberty on such occasions to communicate his heart's experience or to ask an explanation of difficult passages" Tölke divided his congregation into four districts and held a prayer-meeting in each district once a week. Prayer-meetings encouraged the active participation of laymen in religious exercises. Indeed, the custom developed in some congregations that in the absence of the pastor a layman would take charge of the regular services.⁴⁷ Weekly prayer-meetings were often

hypocrisy." The intense German interest in Methodism and in American sects in general is reflected in the travel literature of the period and in the reports of German societies, church diets, mission congresses, etc. See also *infra*, p. 380, n. 42.

⁴⁶ A. H. M. S. Cor., Grote, Enon, Mo., April 6, 1850.

⁴⁷ It was evidently with regard to these meetings that Tölke said: "It was regarded a new thing and only a few took part in it [prayer-meeting] and, as kneeling in prayer would have been strange to them,

held in addition to the weekly *Bibelstunden*. The pietistic Schrenk at Evansville, Indiana, preached a sermon before the Friday evening prayer-meeting and another sermon at the weekly meeting of the Ladies' Missionary Society.

Although stolidly objecting to the emotionalism of the Methodists, Albright Brethren, *Weinbrennerianer*, and others, it sometimes happened that, because of their pietistic views, *Kirchenverein* pastors were denounced as Methodists and Quakers.⁴⁸ Yet the original evangelistic fervor did not long continue. In later years complaints began to be heard concerning the small number of conversions in Evangelical congregations and the seeming ineffectiveness of preaching the Gospel. Primitive conditions were disappearing; the fervor of the fathers was being succeeded by the sophistication of the rising generation. Under the influence of Baltzer, Binner, Birkner, and Steinert the strongly emotional and evangelistic type of preaching gradually gave way to the ethical and doctrinal. The German, as a type, profited more by calm reasoning than by emotional excitement.⁴⁹

I could at first not induce them to kneel, but after a while . . . I invited them to bow before Jesus, before whom it is said, every knee must bow and every tongue confess. Now I can call upon almost all the members to lead in prayer." *Ibid.*, Tölke, Evansville, Ind., May 27, 1849; Nov. 19, 1849; Schünemann, Beaufort, Mo., March 15, 1855.

The congregation at Big Berger, Mo., appointed one of their members, Johannes Spindler, in the absence of their pastor, Köwing, to read a sermon or expound a chapter of the Bible. See "Bote aus Amerika," P., IV (1847), 245.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Grote, Beaufort, Mo., Oct. 7, 1850. The C. A., III (1841), 193, contained an article on "*Was ist Pietismus?*" with the explanation that the substance of the essay was so applicable to Methodists that the title could have been substituted: "*Was ist Methodismus?*"

⁴⁹ "Klage und Mahnung," C. Schrenk, F., XIII (1862), 3.

"There is a slight difference between American and German preaching," said Rauch, "which has frequently struck me, though I never could succeed in becoming entirely conscious of its precise nature." Pious Germans, he explained, agreed with pious Americans on the depravity of man and his inability, on salvation through Christ and the eternal punishment of the impenitent. Yet he felt that they did not dwell so much on the gloomy side of religion, the wrath of God and the anguish of the sinner, the pain and agony of the dying Saviour as necessary to appease God's wrath, but rather on the divine love and the joy and happiness in the resurrection of Christ. He also noted the lack of desire to excite fears and emotions. "German Characteristics," H. M., VIII (1836), 191 ff.

From the outset Lenten services occupied a prominent place in the preaching program of Evangelical pastors. Here, if nowhere else, the evangelistic appeal rang from all pulpits. "In the week from the sixth Sabbath in Lent to Easter," said Baltzer, describing the custom followed in most of the larger churches, "we met every night to remember by preaching and prayer the Passion of our Saviour and to stand beneath his cross. The meetings were very well attended . . . and I am sure that many a soul has become convinced of his error and sin, and humbled himself, and begun to ask, 'What shall I do that we may be saved?'"⁵⁰ In addition to these services, the high festival days of the ecclesiastical year were strictly observed.⁵¹

Preaching against social evils, particularly that of intemperance, often resulted in guilty persons' leaving the church. The subject of repentance was particularly objectionable, and a number of pastors had experiences similar to those of Jung at Warsaw, Illinois. "A woman," he said, "came into my house and rebuked me very hard, saying that I did not preach like the ministers in her home in Germany. I preached too hard and she got hot and cold when I preached as if I meant her every time. Nor did she like so often to hear the name of the devil. I said, 'Neither does the devil like it if I call upon his name, but I don't care what the devil likes or what you like. I have to do my duty and preach the Gospel. I am glad to hear that you sometimes get hot and cold—it must come to every sinner who will be saved.'" Riess at Fort Madison, accused of preaching too harshly, replied by saying: "If I do not preach the Word of God, then I do not remain by the naked truth. . . . You cannot speak too sharply against sins and vice"⁵²

⁵⁰ "Die Passionszeit eine Gnadenzeit," F., II (1851), 30. A. H. M. S. Cor., Baltzer, St. Louis, Mo., May 24, 1850. See illustration.

⁵¹ The *Agende* of 1857 provided liturgical features appropriate for Advent, Christmas, *Silvester*, New Year, Epiphany, Lent, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity and also for Reformation Day, Harvest Festival, *Dank-, Buss- und Betttag*, Mission Festival, and Memorial Sunday. Note the plea for the observance of "Der jährliche Danktag," F., XI (1860), 161.

⁵² A. H. M. S. Cor., Young, Warsaw, Ill., May 15, 1854; K. Riess, Madison, Iowa, Dec. 2, 1852. Grote, on one occasion, was confronted

Text-Ordnung für die Charwoche 1854. A.D.

I. Palmsonntag.

Schubert p. 167. Krummacker p. 243.

Joh. 18, 28-38. Jesus Christus vor dem weltlichen Gerichte.

II. Montag. Lint: No. 96.

(Ebert p. 355. Biogotti p. 433. Böhmer 18. Nutzenw. p. 353. Müller p. 503. Wall p. 185.)

Matth. 27, 12-14. Das bewundernswürdige und bedeutungsvolle Stillschweigen J.C.

III. Dienstag. Lint: No. 88.

(Ebert p. 244. Palmer p. 185. Nutzenw. p. 368. Müller p. 523.)

Luc. 23, 5-12. Jesus Christus vor Herodes

erste Versuchung Herodes des Großen

IV. Mittwoch. Lint: No. 75.

(Ebert p. 256. 259. 312. Biogotti p. 449. Krummacker p. 254. Müller p. 385. Dietz 44. Nutzenw. p. 123. Nutzenw. p. 593. Müller 574.)

Matth. 27, 15-26. Jesus Christus, der von Herodes

Die übelle Volkswahl. Vorher Herodes (Müller II. 220.)

V. Donnerstag. Lint: No. 231.

Steinbock p. 37. Dietz 354. Heilmüller II.

Das heilige Abendmahl als Gedächtnismahl oder Verkündigung des Todes J.C.

VI. Charfreitag. Lint: No. 93. 95. 103.

A.

Der Tod Jesu Christi:

Biogotti p. 720. Kapp p. 70. Schubert p. 221. Palmer p. 121. Nutzenw. p. 293.

P. 2 Cor. 5, 19-21.

(Dietz 3. Sioder.)
Ebert p. 476. Palmer p. 315.

„Lohnung an Christus mit Gott?“ maßgebend.
I. Was hat Christus für uns getan?
A. Nichts! Er ist für uns gestorben.
B. Er hat sich für uns gegeben.

1.) Osterfest.

A.

P.

2.) Ostermontag.

Wiederholung der Ereignisse der Charwoche
1) Was hat Christus für uns getan?
2) Was hat Christus für uns gegeben?
3) Was hat Christus für uns gelitten?

Schedule of Sermons Preached by Wall at St. Louis, Missouri, during Holy Week, 1854.

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The very modern complaint was directed against Hoffmeister at Midway, Missouri, that ministers in America interfered too much with the personal affairs of others and that "they ought to preach the Gospel." The most vigorous preaching of the day was directed against the prevailing social evils which abounded in frontier communities and against self-righteousness and indifference toward the means of grace.

Thus also in the field of worship and preaching we note how a variety of factors operated together in fashioning the future of the *Kirchenverein*. Perhaps nowhere does the genius of a religious group manifest itself so vitally as in its manner of worship. Here institutionalized forms have a vicious tendency to destroy spiritual functions. The *Kirchenverein* was not exempt from this danger; for, as we have seen, ritualistic usages, more German than American in origin, soon became established in its midst. And yet, in the face of this formalistic trend, its religious spirit, undergirded by pietistic traditions, continued unimpaired. The unity effected by the use of the same hymn-books and the adoption of common prayers and forms of worship was more vital than the uniformity achieved in those phases of church life which dealt with questions of polity and discipline. Thus, although what had been launched as a spiritual fellowship was drifting into organizational channels, the spiritual ideals of the first generation were still retained in the new forms of worship which gradually arose.

by the threat: "Give up your preaching against whisky-drinking . . . and you will remain our pastor, if not you will be quitted." *Ibid.*, Grote, St. John's Creek, Mo., Oct. 2, 1849. Witte related that one of his members objected: "We do not like that you preach of hell and damnation and against whisky and intemperance . . . you must preach that we are all children of God and will go to heaven, then it is all good and you will have much more salary.' Others said the same thing in a business meeting of the congregation"

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS

Nothing in the secular and religious history of America so stimulated interest in education as the needs of the frontier. The oft-repeated statement of Lyman Beecher, "If we gain the West all is safe; if we lose it all is lost," indicates the attitude of mind which charged the West with educational enterprises of various kinds. With Continental tradition to inspire them, German immigrants warmly participated in the educational renaissance of the day. The pressing needs of the new environment combined with German precedent to effect an educational policy which more than any other single agency safeguarded the future of German communities in America for decades to come. The constant fear of a relapse into barbarism and the loss of cultural appreciations in a life filled with concern for the material led to the establishment of schools in which religion played a minor role. The earliest German schools were secular in spirit, and, although privately conducted, often succeeded in winning the support of the entire community.¹

Religiously minded communities, however, could not long expect to function on the frontier without adequate agencies to establish their ideals and perpetuate their loyalties.²

¹ *Supra*, p. 31. German immigrants were quick to note the practical interests and human qualities of the American school-teacher as compared with the more technically efficient German *Magister*, who ruled with unmistakable iron discipline. Graf Adelbert von Baudissin, in *Der Ansiedler im Missouri Staate* (Isserlohn, 1854), 45, states that, whereas the children in the German school in Holstein could accurately tell the stories of Joseph and Goliath, they could not distinguish north from south. On the other hand, every ten-year-old child in Missouri, although knowing little of the Biblical stories, could find its way through the most dense forest.

² That German emigration societies were aware of and were being kept informed of the educational needs in German communities in the West might be seen in the provisions of Wichern's *Pastorallehre* and the correspondence of Wyneken and Treviranus. See references in J. H. Wichern, *Gesammelte Schriften, passim*, and *supra*, p. 144, n. 22.

Note the following excerpts from the report of a missionary of the *Rauhes Haus* apparently stationed in the East: "*Für die Jugend war in der Gemeinde nichts nöthiger als der Schulunterricht. . . . Wohl*

The educational interests nurtured and awakened in *Kirchenvereine* circles might be taken as typical of immigrant churches in general. Parochial schools, catechetical instruction looking toward confirmation, Sunday schools, theological and college training—all belong to the educational picture of frontier communities of this period.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

From the time of Luther the task of religious education had always been a serious concern of the German people. The church and state, the secular and the spiritual, joined hands in watching over the religious development of the nation's youth. In the *Küsterunterricht*, of post-Reformation days, we discover the origin of German public schools, which under the influence of such men as Comenius, Spener, Francke, and others continued the traditions of religious instruction based on the catechism and the Bible.³ The educational renaissance following upon the German Reformation bequeathed the parish school to the German church as one of its choicest legacies.

From earliest times German immigrants had brought with them from the fatherland the ideal of parochial schools, where children of local congregations were instructed in the elementary branches of general knowledge under auspices which would also provide for their religious education. With the arrival of German immigrants in the West at the beginning of the nineteenth century, parochial schools assumed new significance. Secular interests frequently prevailed—especially in liberal churches where the perpetua-

giebt's im Rauhen Hause verwahrlosete Kinder, aber hier nicht minder. . . . Das, was man in Deutschland als die grössten Unanständigkeiten ansieht, ein schiefes Sitzen und Stehen, ein Arbeiten und Stochern im Munde, ein Nagen und Beissen an irgend einem Gegenstande, an Stecknadeln, an Taback u. s. w., das ist hier in Amerika . . . etwas gewöhnliches und zur Sitte gewordenes. . . . Unreine Hände und Ohren und Tabacksmäuler nachsehen, muss daher auch sein. . . . Im Rauhen Hause habe ich es nun gelernt, wie man die verwahrlosete Jugend behandeln und erziehen muss. . . . Ganz nach Rauhhäusler Pädagogik gehe ich zu Werke, sehe dieselbige sich auch hier bestätigen und hin und wieder Frucht bringen." Fünfter Bericht (Bremen, 1846), 20 f.

³ M. Reu, *Catechetics or Theory and Practice of Religious Instruction* (Chicago, 1918), 126 ff.

tion of the German language and culture were primary concerns. Teachers with little religious interest frequently dominated the life of such communities and exercised the functions of a minister, so that the establishment of a permanent pastor was not considered necessary. Conscientious pastors met this situation by taking charge of schools themselves.⁴

From its inception, the *Kirchenverein* accepted the frontier challenge to "devote special attention to schools and educational projects."⁵ A dearth of teachers placed the educational responsibilities squarely on the shoulders of the pastors, who became the first school-teachers of the church. Throughout the first decade the *Kirchenverein* was con-

⁴ The teacher at Turkey Hill, Ill., whom Haverstick designated as a "brawler" (1835), occasionally read sermons and conducted other religious ceremonies, but vigorously opposed the organization of a congregation. Haverstick, "Missionary Report," *op. cit.*, 30; *supra*, p. 36. J. Riess experienced a similar difficulty in dislodging a Mr. Pitsch at New Aargau, Ill., where the sympathies of the congregation were divided between the pastor and the teacher. Riess, *Diary*, 8 f.

A devout pioneer pastor-teacher of the type mentioned above was H. Garlichs at Femme Osage. Rieger engaged in similar activities at Beardstown and Highland, Ill. At the latter place he taught school three days a week in English and four in German. A. H. M. S. Cor., T. Baldwin, Monticello, Ill., Jan. 6, 1841; Rieger, Highland, Ill., March 29, 1841. See also letters in A. H. M. S. Cor. by Binner, Waterloo, Ill.; W. Homeier, Belleville, Ill.; C. Conrad, Quincy, Ill.; Tölke and Schrenk, Evansville, Ind.; Baltzer, St. Charles, Mo.; Schönemann, Beaufort and St. Louis Co., Mo.; G. Maul, Augusta, Mo.

Scattered references in A. H. M. S. Cor. reveal the problems of limited equipment and room, general indifference, scattered population and bad roads. Grote relates how on alternate days he taught school six days a week at two places four miles apart and, when expelled from his church, continued to teach in an attic, being reminded of the word of Luther that Christ must again be born in a stable. *Ibid.*, Beaufort, Mo., Jan. 2, 1852. Hoffmeister states that at Charles' Bottom a group of adults met for instruction at a centrally located farm house. "*Des Abends unterrichtete ich von 6-8 Uhr, danach wurde gegessen, wobei dann dies und jenes erbauliche Gespräch vorfiel, ein geistliches Lied gesungen und mit Gebet geschlossen wurde. Des andern Morgens um 5 Uhr versammelten wir uns wieder zu gemeinschaftlichem Gesang und Gebet, und setzten den Unterricht weiter fort. Diesen Unterricht gab ich so früh, weil die Confirmanden am Tag ihre Arbeit zu verrichten hatten. . . . Da nun hier zu Lande die Meisten ohne Uhren leben, so geschah es auch, dass sie aus Besorgniss, sie möchten zu spät kommen, schon halb 2 Uhr Nachts angeritten kamen.*" *Fünfter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1851), 29. Ministers' wives are frequently referred to as assisting their husbands.

⁵ K. P., I, 4.

fronted by the problem of establishing the status of the professional teacher in its midst.

The first of these was the above-mentioned Konrad Riess—called the “Beuggener Riess,” since he had been trained at the pedagogical seminary at Beuggen, Switzerland—who arrived at Centerville, Illinois, in 1839 to assist his brother as teacher and preacher. Also introduced to the Society as a teacher was Diedrich Kröhnke of Femme Osage, who joined the *Kirchenverein* in 1849 and was ordained with Riess in the following year.⁶ In 1849 an elderly teacher by the name of Riehke (or Riehl), introduced to the Society by Tölke of Evansville, applied for ordination, but since he could not present the necessary credentials, his application was rejected. At this meeting Rieger lauded the educational labors of a man by the name of Adolf Fismer, of Warren County, who desired the *Kirchenverein* to take cognizance of his work.⁷

And yet, in view of the crying needs of the day, these feeble efforts seem like gestures of desperation. The constitution of 1848 admitted teachers to membership upon subscription to the confessional paragraph and reiterated the conviction that the Society must educate teachers as well as pastors, since both were equally indispensable for the work of the church.⁸ Indeed, it would seem that the problem of training teachers as much as that of procuring preachers led to the founding of Marthasville Seminary at this time (1848-1850). Not only were teacher students ad-

⁶ *Supra*, pp. 149, 151.

⁷ The K. on this occasion expressed itself as highly pleased that a man of Fismer's abilities and character was devoting himself to the cause of religious education. K. P., I, 103. Fismer attended Marthasville in 1853. F., IV (1853), 93.

Mention should also be made of Wilhelm A. Heinrich Säger, of Waldeck, Germany (1819-91), who founded a private school upon his arrival in St. Louis in 1845. The following year he was engaged as teacher of the parochial school at St. Peter's Church, where he was active for 38 years. Although not mentioned in K. records, he deserves the distinction of promoting the highest spiritual ideals in the educational development of the day. F. S., St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, Mo. (1918); Obituary, *Theologische Zeitschrift*, XX (1892), 113.

⁸ K. P., I, 74 f. The constitution of 1857 admitted teachers as “advisory members”—this provision being stricken in 1866.

mitted during these early years but ample opportunity was given for practice teaching, first at the parochial school at the Marthasville church (1851-1852) and later in an elementary school established for the children of farmers in the neighborhood (1853-1854).⁹

Throughout the fifties the *Kirchenverein* espoused the cause of religious education and urged the support of parochial schools. Frontier conditions had a devastating effect upon the morals of the younger generation. The "*wilden Buben und leichtfertigen Mädchen*" had little regard for religion and the church. Parents who had achieved success without educational advantages concluded that schools were not necessary for their children, who must become hard, rough, and tough in order to cope with the problems of the West. Others felt that they could not dispense with the assistance of their children in the menial duties on the farms. When a child arrived at the age of thirteen or fourteen years, it was hastily sent to confirmation class with the expectation that in the course of four or five months it would learn to read German, memorize the catechism, and become a good citizen—the parents being grievously offended should the pastor refuse confirmation.¹⁰

Although secular subjects were mainly emphasized, the religious objective was never forgotten, particularly the need of providing adequate preliminary instruction for the rite of confirmation. With the establishment of the *Friedensbote* in 1850, a series of articles appeared expounding the significance of the good "old sacred custom of confirmation."¹¹ The educational ideal was defined as the process of developing the eternal destinies and potentialities of the pupil as a child of God. This development in godliness should begin with birth and end at death, gradually leading the child from the family into the school, from the school

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 34, 35, 135, 170.

¹⁰ "Von der leidigen Geldherrschaft," F., X (1859), 147.

¹¹ "Die Konfirmation," *ibid.*, I (1850), 11, 21. For an able exposition of the nature and importance of confirmation and of the pastor's obligations as religious educator, see W. Binner, "Confirmanden-Unterricht und Confirmation," D. K., VIII (1855), 105 ff. See also *Kommunion-Büchlein* (Femme Osage, 1855).

into the church, and from the church into the home of the Father. Thus the child should unobtrusively merge with the church without the semblance of coercion—a view similar to that of Bushnell. The keystone in the educational process was the rite of confirmation, which usually consummated the parochial-school training.¹²

In many instances parochial schools were considered an integral part of the church's educational program. Again and again it was argued that, as a matter affecting its future membership and the spiritual welfare of its members, every church must insist that the children be sent to the church school. A child unable to read German was not prepared for confirmation; the "Bible would remain a closed book at home and participation in congregational singing would be impossible." Indeed, any child of thirteen years who could not read German had been neglected by its parents as well as by the church.¹³

Not all churches conscientiously discharged these obligations. Church constitutions generally stressed this point; yet, where church schools were not provided, there was no alternative but for parents to patronize the public schools, which usually were denounced as being indifferent if not antagonistic to religion. A more serious effort to meet the educational challenge was made by congregations which placed the supervision of school affairs in the hands of a school board elected by the congregation and operating on the basis of a separate constitution—sometimes a very elaborate and detailed document. The incompetence of well-meaning school boards did not serve to raise the educational levels.¹⁴ At the end of the first decade the opinion was voiced

¹² H. Bushnell, *Christian Nurture* (Hartford, 1846). It is not to be inferred that every confirmed child was safely won for the church. The problem of the post-confirmation period was not unknown. See "Etwas für Neuconfirmirte," F., IX (1858), 57. "Ein Wort an Neu-Konfirmirte," *ibid.*, XI (1860), 82.

¹³ "Etwas, das unsern Gemeinen noththut," *ibid.*, V (1854), 10.

¹⁴ It is interesting to note how, at this early date, the modern principle was occasionally espoused that the church board be entrusted with the educational policy of the church. The *Schulordnung* of Friedens Church near St. Charles, Mo. (1855), may be taken as typical of the rural parochial schools of that day. Seventeen articles

that nine percent of all schools failed to achieve their spiritual purpose.

The wide-spread weakness of the parochial school system in *Kirchenverein* churches was grounded in the difficulty of procuring competent and devout teachers.¹⁵ The problem of unworthy teachers was as critical as that of unworthy preachers. Many a social and moral derelict, expelled from

defined the duties and obligations of teachers, parents, school board, and congregation. School should be conducted at least five hours a day for five days a week, beginning during the winter months (Oct. to Feb.) at nine o'clock and in summer at eight, but never extending beyond three in the afternoon. A morning recess of ten minutes and a noon intermission of one hour reduced the instruction period to less than five or six hours. Each day should begin and close with song and prayer. At least one hour daily was devoted to *Religion*, the instruction to be divided between Bible stories (on three days a week) and catechism (on two days a week), it being specifically stated that the Evangelical Catechism must be used. (The choice of catechisms led to stiff controversies in some congregations.) The pastor should have the right at any time to supersede the teacher in imparting religious instruction. Instruction in *Gesang* aimed at mastery of choral melodies. *Lesen*, *Schönschreibung*, *Rechnen*, and *Rechtschreibung* of the German language completed the curriculum. On recommendation of the school board and the teacher, the studies of German grammar, world history, and natural history were to be added. Tuition amounted to 50 cents a month per child, with no reductions for absences which did not exceed fifteen consecutive days. It could be entirely remitted if necessary.

The educational developments in an urban community may be traced in the *Minutes* of Zion Church, Evansville, Ind.

¹⁵ No sooner had the F. been founded than it urged school-teachers desiring a position to direct inquiries to its office. After five months so many teachers had applied that a request was now made for congregations to make their wants known. F., I (1850), 32, 72. From 1850-66 about 58 "*Lehrer Gesucht!*" notices of K. churches appeared in the F., of which seven came from the North Church, St. Louis, and six from St. John's at Louisville, Ky. In addition to these, non-*Kirchenverein* churches at Rochester, N. Y., Cleveland, Ohio, Chicago, Ill., and a German Cumberland Presbyterian church at St. Louis also advertised for a teacher. In thirty cases a knowledge of English was required. Twenty-nine churches demanded that the applicant play the organ, for which, in some instances, an added honorarium was offered—in one case, \$75 per year. Salary inducements ranged from guarantees of from \$250 to \$450 per year, the usual rate being given for the month and generally computed according to the number of children. It was frequently stipulated that the teacher would receive the tuition fees, which sometimes amounted to 75 cents per child. This was the case at St. Paul's in St. Louis, where the additional attraction was an enrolment of from 80-100 children. Teachers were thus challenged to increase the enrolment as they won the confidence of the parents. Free residence and fire-wood were often included, and the prospects of securing the janitor's job and two months' vacation were added inducements.

the fatherland, attempted to gain his livelihood in the New World by turning to the one profession which every German community needed most. With no interest or love for the work, with no pedagogical training or psychological insight, utterly unqualified to instruct or inspire, these teachers engaged in what the *Friedensbote* described as "*einen verworrenen, unfasslichen, in die Luft verpuffenden Unterricht.*"¹⁶ In spite of all their disqualifications and the warnings broadcast against them, they found ready victims in congregations desperately in need of a teacher. Criticism and warnings were unsparingly voiced, often to no avail.¹⁷ Shrewdness of the applicants and the desperate need of churches put caution to naught. Under such conditions serious-minded congregations and pastors became increasingly fearful of engaging any applicants, and for the sake of the church many pastors agreed to assume the teachers' duties.¹⁸

During the sixties a new ambition began to manifest itself. The limitations of the parochial school system, owing to the difficulty of procuring worthy teachers, were being generally recognized. Drastic steps must be taken to safeguard congregations and raise educational standards. The

¹⁶ "Ihr Gemeinden! . . . ," *ibid.*, XII (1861), 81.

¹⁷ Thus the editor of the F. pointed to the infinite damage which could be done by such a "*lüderliches Subject*," continuing, "*Der Bote hat aber auch schon Lehrer gesehen in diesem Lande, vor denen er, wenn er sonst ein Katholik wäre, ein Kreuz über das andere schlagen würde, und wenn man ihm zumuthen würde, seine Kinder solchen unreinen Händen zu übergeben, er würde die Leute bei Pontius und Pilatus verklagen.*" "*Noch etwas über Gemeindeg Schulen,*" *ibid.*, IX (1858), 130. The scandals of many parish schools are woven into church records, where their unraveling is as difficult as unpleasant. The following may be taken as typical of the warnings appearing in the F.: "*Ein Mann, Namens Reiche, der in Deutschland Schullehrer gewesen und dem hier eine Stelle zugewiesen worden, hat das in ihn gesetzte Vertrauen schmäählich getäuscht, und werden desshalb alle Evangel. Gemeinden vor ihm ernstlich gewarnt.*" *Ibid.*, III (1852), 88.

¹⁸ "*Amtsbruder, schulmeistere, wenn's noth thut! . . . ,*" *ibid.*, X (1859), 177.

Regardless of technical efficiency, the one essential was an "*entschieden evangelische Gesinnung und ein derselben entsprechender Wandel.*" Or more explicitly, the applicant "must love the Lord Jesus and reverence the children as His lambs." Such emphases betray the wide-spread fear of unworthy applicants. The advertisement for a teacher immediately aroused suspicion concerning the previous incumbent, whose reputation, if worthy, was safeguarded by reference to his illness, death, advancement, etc.

conviction took form, as early as 1860, that a seminary for teachers would alone solve the problem.¹⁹ A series of five articles in the *Friedensbote* proposed to analyze the entire problem anew and suggested the founding of a modest institution to serve this need.²⁰ Definite action, however, did not immediately ensue. Even Schrenk's appeal of 1864 only succeeded in persuading the conference of that year again to open the seminary to teacher students, who should be given the opportunity to benefit from courses taken by the theological students.²¹ The heavy debt resting on the seminary at the time and the uncertainties resulting from the Civil War prevented more definite action.

By the time of the next conference, however, the war had ended, the seminary debt had been liquidated, and a new sense of responsibility was awakening with regard to the active support of educational projects.²² It thus devolved upon the final conference of the *Kirchenverein* (June, 1866) to authorize a committee consisting of the seminary board and the officers of the Eastern and the Northern Districts to proceed with the details.²³ The committee soon reported that Ernst Roos of Cincinnati, in addition to his congregational duties had undertaken to supervise the seminary;

¹⁹ "Wie es sehr gut wäre, wenn unsere evangel. Kirche in diesem Lande ein Schullehrerseminar hätte," *ibid.*, XI (1860), 73.

²⁰ "Ihr Gemeinden" *ibid.*, XII (1861), 74, 81, 89, 97, 105. The editor's vision of such an institution was as modest as refreshing: "A friendly one-room house, properly equipped and preferably located in some rural spot where the adjoining farmland would provide the necessary provisions, would admirably serve the purpose."

²¹ Schrenk, "Aufruf zur Gründung eines Schullehrer-Seminars," *ibid.*, XV (1864), 44. Note also Schrenk's article "Noch einige Fragen" *ibid.*, XV (1864), 76, urging that the churchly character of the parochial schools be maintained.

²² Note the interesting argument in "Etwas über die Verpflichtung der evang. Prediger," *ibid.*, XV (1864), 137, 146. Since the German state supported home-mission projects, the church was free to expend all her energies for foreign missions. Under the American voluntary system these energies must be more deliberately directed into home-mission channels, which included the support of preachers and teachers.

²³ K. P., II, 371. The Northern District, on the basis of a paper read by J. Härdtle on "Die Pflege der Gemeinde-Schulen," urged aggressive action along educational lines, including the founding of a teachers' seminary. N. D. P. (1863), 6.

which was to be erected on a vacant lot adjoining his residence. A board of control consisting of Nollau, H. Quinius, and Dresel had been authorized to complete the negotiations. On May twenty-third, 1867, a teachers' seminary was opened at Cincinnati, Ohio, with twelve students and one teacher.²⁴

A new epoch in the educational work of the Church had begun.²⁵ With patience and zeal the fathers had sought to solve the educational problem of frontier churches. Spiritual ideals, sometimes awkwardly phrased, which had guided their early efforts were more tangibly embodied in this new institution. That the parochial schools in later days always abided by the ideals of the fathers can not be maintained. But even where racial and political motives manifested themselves, the fathers' devotion and consecration to the cause of pure religious education continually shed inspiration over this educational project of the Church.

CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION

Continental patterns also exerted their influence on the development of catechetical instruction. The German Reformation had reestablished the catechumenate and introduced the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechisms, designed through questions and answers to indoctrinate the young in the essentials of the Christian religion. The subsequent development again took a varied course. The influence of Spener may be noted in the spiritual interlinking of *catechisatio* and *confirmatio* to the extent, indeed, that sacramental significance frequently attended the rite of confirmation and its

²⁴ The first teacher was Jacob Hummel (1839-99), of the Rhein-pfalz, who had received his training in the teachers' seminary at Kaiserslautern. He emigrated to America in 1864, was engaged at the teachers' seminary in Cincinnati until 1869, and in 1879 was ordained to the ministry. Obituary, F., L (1899), 53.

Hummel was succeeded by Fr. Weygold (1837-1909), of Westphalia, who, after engaging in various school enterprises in Germany, having also been head teacher at the *Rauhes Haus* in Hamburg, arrived in America in 1869. W. had married Amanda Wichern, who lies buried in the cemetery of Friedens Church near St. Charles. After teaching at Elmhurst College he served as pastor of St. Paul's Church, Louisville, Ky. Obituary, *ibid.*, LX (1909), 189.

²⁵ In Jan., 1871, the teachers' seminary was moved to Evansville, Ind., where it was merged with the newly founded pro-seminary, which, in turn, was moved to Elmhurst, Ill., in Dec. of the same year.

solemn vows. In its later development, indicating a step in the secularization process, confirmation assumed independent significance as an ecclesiastical rite, marking the attainment of the age necessary for admission to communion and acceptance into church membership.²⁶ What at first was voluntary, with the establishment of the state church became obligatory, each province enacting its own regulations and designating the particular catechism to be used.²⁷

Effects of this background may be seen in the educational developments among the Germans in the West. The secular and the religious functions of the parochial schools were unified by their common service in preparing for the solemn rite of confirmation, a rite which was always held in high regard by the founders of the *Kirchenverein*. As prerequisite to church membership and admission to the Lord's Table, confirmation had peculiar ecclesiastical significance in frontier communities.²⁸ Nor to be underestimated was the religious instruction by which it was preceded and for which the parochial school ideally prepared the way. In the nature of the case, the religious and ecclesiastical significance of catechetical instruction, imparted by the pastor, gave it precedence over the parochial schools.

From the necessity of securing a text adequate to serve the needs of German-American congregations in the West, a number of problems emerged. The wide variety of catechisms brought from Germany created confusing situations in *Kirchenverein* churches where various rival catechisms struggled for supremacy.²⁹ Used mainly as manuals for in-

²⁶ "Einleitende Bemerkungen zur Besprechung: Ueber den Umfang des catechetischen Stoffs beim Confirmanden-Unterricht . . .," E. K. Z., L (1852), 686. *Reu, op. cit.*, 146 ff.

²⁷ For confessional distinctions and for problem of German catechisms in general, see "Zur Katechismussache," E. K. Z., L (1852), 604; *ibid.*, index; "Katechismen u. Katechismusunterricht," R. E., X, 139 ff. Here also, as in the case of German hymnals and books of worship, the cross currents of rationalism and Pietism influenced the development.

²⁸ *Supra*, pp. 282 f. See the references to *Konfirmation* in the *Evangelische Agende* (1857), 262 ff., which may also be found in Appendix V.

²⁹ The catechism problem was not confined to the West. See Jacobs, *op. cit.* In 1835, F. A. Wislizenus of New York published his *Vernunft-*

struction, catechisms were also viewed as doctrinal standards. This further complicated their use. When pastors adopted a catechism for educational purposes, they were immediately confronted by its theological implications. Serving a congregation composed of Lutheran, Reformed, and Evangelical members, the introduction of any confessional catechism may have involved for all of them some unacceptable theological commitments.

It thus became apparent from the outset that a text must be procured which would meet all these needs. Indeed, no subject so tenaciously engaged the attention of the Society throughout the first decade as that of the catechism. At the time of its organization a committee, consisting of Wall, Garlichs, and Nollau, was authorized to prepare a text for the next meeting. Here the committee presented a revision of the "*Unterbarmer Katechismus*,"³⁰ which, although generally approved, was referred to Garlichs and Heyer for

Katechismus für die Bekenner aller Religionen, which Büttner characterized as "*Der Nachhall des jungen revolutionären Deutschlands, die Ausgeburd der kränksten Demagogie*." *Op. cit.*, I, 135. Note also J. Försch, *Katechismus der Vernunftgläubigen* (New York, 1840).

The story of differences, sometimes ripening into factions, may be found in various F. S. See, e. g., Bethlehem Church, Ann Arbor (1908), 48-57. Note also the storm precipitated when Raschig, in 1835, introduced the *Rheinbairische Katechismus* in his church at Cincinnati, O. Büttner, *op. cit.*, W. M., C. A., and L. K. (1836-37) contain lengthy references to the controversy. Note also chapter "Catechetical Labors in America" in Reu, *op. cit.*, 168.

Wall based his first catechetical instruction in St. Louis (1837) on *Luthers Katechismus . . . erklärt von Rudolf Stier* (Berlin, 1833).

³⁰ The United Evangelical Church in Unterbarmen was attended by students of the Rhenish Missionary Society. Says Thümmel: "*Der Unionsstand von Unterbarmen [ist] die Seele der Rheinischen Mission geworden . . .*" Hermann Thümmel, *Geschichte der vereint-evangelischen Gemeinde Unterbarmen vom Jahre 1822-1872* (Barmen, 1872), 71. The Union catechism of the Unterbarmen church, which was written jointly by the two pastors W. Leipoldt (Lutheran) and C. Sneathlage (Reformed), bore the title: *Katechismus der Christlichen Lehre mit Beziehung auf die beiden symbolischen Katechismen der evangelischen Kirche* (1827). The first question of the Heidelberg Catechism and Luther's summary of the second article of his catechism were appended. The catechism found wide acceptance and was later used by Sneathlage in Berlin. *Ibid.*, 74 f. The 14th edition appeared in 1894. This catechism was also used by Fliedner in his Union church. Martin Gerhardt, *Theodor Fliedner*, I (Kaiserswerth, 1933), 307. The *Rauhhüsler*, on the other hand, were accustomed to the *Lübecker Katechismus*.

final redaction. The revision presented to the Society in 1841 was circulated among all the members for criticism, Garlichs, Heyer, and Rieger being instructed to incorporate whatever suggestions appeared acceptable. For various reasons, however, progress was delayed. The three members who attended the October meeting of 1842 spent two days in discussing the subject, and in June of the following year the entire matter was turned over to Nollau with full authority to prepare the manuscript for the press. When financial difficulties arose, J. Riess came to the rescue with a loan of one hundred dollars. Again matters dragged; the importance of the task urged caution. But when Nollau visited Germany in 1846, he was instructed to present the manuscript to some qualified theologian and arrange for its publication abroad.

In the meantime, however, with the arrival of Baltzer, Binner, and Wettle, in 1846, more aggressive action was initiated, and the first extraordinary conference in the history of the *Kirchenverein* was convened at Gravois on August 25, 1847, to pass on the Nollau draft.³¹ At this notable meeting, which was also attended by A. Rauschenbusch, the manuscript was again read and discussed. The following day a smaller committee, consisting of Binner, Rieger, Bode, and Rauschenbusch, began to revise the draft and repaired to St. Louis, where for two weeks deliberations continued in the home of Baltzer at St. Mark's. The copy emerging from this meeting was subjected to a final examination by a subcommittee consisting of Wall, Rieger, Binner, Riess, Wettle, and Baltzer (October, 1847) and finally sent to the printer "with heartfelt thanks to the Lord for his gracious assistance in this important work."³²

³¹ Instead of returning to America, Nollau went to Africa. The catechism had been discussed at the first nine conferences.

³² The first edition (1847), consisting of 2000 copies, was published for \$210 by R. R. Cormany, *Herausgeber der "Deutschen Tribüne,"* of St. Louis. It was a huge success; for in 1850 a second, revised, edition of 4000 copies was published, followed by a third edition in 1851. K. P., I, 67, 117. The fourth edition, in 1854, was placed on sale by C. Witter, St. Louis; L. Stumpf, Louisville, Ky.; J. Weik, Philadelphia, Pa.; F. Dressel, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Braunhold & Ch. Sonne, Chicago, Ill.; Eggers & Wilde and Theolbald & Theurkauf, Cincinnati,

1. Was soll eines jeden Menschen vornehmste Sorge sein ?

Nicht die Sorge für seine zeitliche Wohlfahrt, sondern die Sorge für das ewige Heil seiner Seele.

Matth. 16, 26. Was hülfte es dem Menschen, so er die ganze Welt gewönne, und nähme doch Schaden an seiner Seele? Oder was kann der Mensch geben, damit er seine Seele wieder löse?

Matth. 6, 33. Trachtet am ersten nach dem Reiche Gottes und nach seiner Gerechtigkeit, so wird euch solches alles zufallen.

2. Worin besteht dies ewige Heil?

Darin, daß wir Gemeinschaft haben mit Gott, unserm himmlischen Vater, und mit seinem Sohne Jesus Christus, unserm Heilande.

Joh. 17, 3. Das ist aber das ewige Leben, daß sie dich, daß du allein wahrer Gott bist, und den du gesandt hast Jesum Christum erkennen.

3. Wo finden wir die Unterweisung, wie wir zu diesem Heile gelangen?

In der heiligen Schrift, welche von Gott eingegeben und von auserwählten Männern aufgeschrieben worden ist.

2 Petri 1, 21. Es ist noch nie eine Weissagung aus menschlichem Willen hervorgebracht, sondern die heiligen Menschen Gottes haben geredet, getrieben von dem heiligen Geiste.

2 Timoth. 3, 15—17. Weil du von Kind auf die heilige Schrift weißt kann dich dieselbe, unterweisen zur Seligkeit durch den Glauben an Christum Jesum. Denn alle

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The little booklet contained 219 questions and answers, each answer being followed, in proof-text fashion, by a number of Bible verses. An introductory section of nine questions was headed by the question: "*Was soll eines jeden Menschen vornehmste Sorge sein?*" To which the answer read: "*Nicht die Sorge für seine zeitliche Wohlfahrt, sondern die Sorge für das ewige Heil seiner Seele.*" The body was divided into five parts (*Hauptstücke*), dealing with:

I. The Decalogue, 10-48, in the Reformed or Old Testament and not the Lutheran enumeration.

II. The Creed, 49-169, expounding the Scriptural teaching concerning God and His attributes and followed by an exposition of the three articles of the Apostles' Creed: God, 75-97; Jesus, 98-125; Holy Spirit, 126-169.

III. Prayer, including the Lord's Prayer, 170-192.

IV. The Sacrament of Baptism, 193-205.

V. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 206-219.³³

Ohio; Chs. Blato, Baltimore, Md.; Louis Schwarz, New Orleans; and Koch & Co., New York. F., V (1854), 80. With the establishment of the printing-press at Marthasville in 1853, the K. experienced difficulty in procuring publication rights, which remained in possession of Schuster and then of Witter. See K. P., II, 215. See illustration facing p. 290.

³³ The *Unterbarmer* text, referred to above, seems to have been entirely ignored. Reformed influence might be noted in the introductory section, where the first question and answer bear the earmarks of a pietistic modification of the first question and answer in the Heidelberg Catechism. There the question reads: "What is thy only comfort in life and in death?"

This formulation is differently oriented from the strictly Calvinistic answer to the Westminster question concerning man's chief end in life, which "is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever." See B. B. Warfield, "The First Question of the Westminster 'Shorter Catechism,'" *Princeton Theological Review*, VI (1908), 565 ff. H. Harbaugh states that, whereas the Westminster and the Genevan Catechisms in their first questions view the substance of religion as something to be attained to, "our first question sets it forth as something already substantially attained." *Lectures on Heidelberg Catechism* (MS, Eden Seminary). Also, by way of contrast, J. S. Kiefer points to the high sense of the "primacy of personality" revealed in the first question. "An Appreciation of the Heidelberg Catechism," *The Reformed Church Review*, XVII (1913), 136. G. W. Richards suggests that differences between the Heidelberg and Westminster Catechisms were accentuated by respective national characteristics—"the English and Scots being intellectual and legalistic, the South Germans mystical and experimental."

At the same time, however, English additions to the Calvinistic ground form of the Westminster Catechism began to insert the

Striking the same note with which it began, the book concluded with the verse:

*Herr Jesu, dir leb' ich, dir leid' ich, dir sterb' ich,
Herr Jesu, dein bin ich, todt und lebendig,
Mach' mich, O Jesu, ewig selig! Amen.*

It proposed to be a Union catechism. Certain elements of both the Heidelberg and Lutheran, mostly of the latter, were embodied. The fivefold division is Lutheran, although modified in the stress laid on confirmation in the section dealing

soteriological motive, which was not consistent with the objectivity of the Reformed tradition. How did this new subjective point of view arise? "Even the Heidelberg Catechism," says Warfield, "is not wholly free from this leaven."

This trend also became manifest in the catechisms of the German Reformed Church in the U. S. See W. J. Hinke, "The Early Catechisms of the Reformed Church in the United States," *The Reformed Church Review*, XII (1908), 473 ff.

Note the following examples:

Samuel Helffenstein, *Kurze Unterweisung in der Christlichen Religion, nach dem H. C.* (Philadelphia, 1810). Question: "Was muss des Menschen seine vornehmste und Haupt-Sorge seyn?" Answer: "Dass er zur Ehre Gottes lebe und selig werden möge."

J. Hartman (Publisher), *Zusammenhang der Christlichen Lehre nach Anleitung des Heidelbergischen Catechismi. Zweite Auflage* (Lebanon, Pa., 1818). Q.: "Was muss unsere fürnehmste Sorge in diesem Leben seyn?" Ans.: "Wie wir mögen ewig selig werden."

J. Helffrich, *Christlicher Unterricht der Religion* (5th ed.; Weissenburg, 1852). Q.: "Was muss die Hauptsorge des Menschen in dieser Welt sein?" Ans.: "Dass er zur Ehre Gottes leben und selig werde."

The English version of the catechism by Johannes Braun, *Eine kurze Unterweisung Christlicher Religion nach dem H. C.* (Harrisonburg, Va., 1830), printed in German and English on opposite pages, reads, Q.: "What should be our first and chief concern in this life?" Ans.: "That we may live to the glory of God and become everlastingly happy"—the last word being a translation of "selig."

To what extent are these phrasings the effect of Pietism or the result of practical pedagogical simplification to meet American frontier needs?

The entrance of the soteriological note in German catechisms—Lutheran, Reformed, and Evangelical—may more clearly be traced to Pietism. At the head of the Pietistic tradition stands P. J. Spener's *Einfältige Erklärung der christlichen Lehr . . .* (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1677). The following quotation from an edition of 1849 was based on Spener's revision of 1702. Q.: "Was soll unsere allergrösste und beständige Sorge seyn?" Ans.: "Dass wir mögen im Leben, Sterben und nach dem Tod, und also in Zeit und Ewigkeit, mit Gott, als unserem alleinigen höchsten Gut unzertrennlich vereinigt seyn." Cf. also Chr. Käss, *Katechismus der christlichen Heils-Lehre, nach dem Bekenntnisse der vereinigten evangelischen Kirche im Grossherzogthum Baden* (Speyer, 1833). Q.: "Was soll unsre erste und wichtigste Sorge seyn?" Ans.: "Unsre erste und wichtigste Sorge soll seyn: Durch Jesus Christum, unsern Heiland, wieder vor Gott wohlgefällig und selig zu werden." Philipp Karbach, *Confirmandenbüchlein*

with baptism, in the omission of Luther's *Lehre von der Beichte*, and in the addition of a number of introductory questions. Confronted by a mass of catechetical material, both German and American, the *Kirchenverein* succeeded in providing for the Evangelical Church in America what the Union Church in Germany had not achieved—a Union catechism. The new catechism was widely welcomed as the standard text-book for catechetical instruction and helped create and nurture the unity of heart and mind in Evangelical groups throughout the land.³⁴

Although widely used, it soon became apparent that the catechism was impractical for general school purposes, its heavy, cumbersome language making memorization difficult for children. As early as 1854 Binner espoused an abridgment. Three years later Umbeck, Steinert, and Professor Irion were instructed to prepare an "*Auszug*," a task which in 1859 was entrusted to Irion, Baltzer, and Rieger. They completed their work in 1862, but since certain objections of a formal and theological nature were raised, Steinert, Nollau, and Bode were authorized to advise with the standing committee in preparing the final copy.³⁵ The first edition of five thousand, which was printed the latter part of November, 1862, was practically exhausted by 1866, at which time a total of about 10,800 catechisms had been distributed.

The *Kleiner Evangelischer Katechismus* proved more acceptable and admirably served its purpose far beyond the *Kirchenverein* period, a classical text-book for the education

für die Jugend evangelisch-protestantischer Gemeinden (Mannheim, 1829). Q.: "Was soll unsere grösste und beständige Sorge im Leben seyn? Ans.: "Dass wir selig werden."

We may conclude that, in the midst of various Lutheran and Reformed texts and confronted by numerous revisions of both, put to the immediate task of providing a simple text for united, pietistic congregations, and affected by pietistic influences which had already effected changes in both Reformed and Lutheran texts, the Evangelical Catechism easily followed the pietistic-Lutheran tradition without compromising its fundamental union position.

³⁴ "Zur Einheit der evangel. Kirche," F., XII (1861), 18.

³⁵ K. P., II, *passim*. An interleaved copy of the proposed draft was presented to every member, to annotate criticisms and suggestions.

of Evangelical youth.³⁶ It was mainly the work of Irion, who was sometimes referred to as the "*geborner Dogmatiker*." The general divisions of the first edition were retained, although the number of questions were reduced from 219 to 138. By omitting or abridging certain explanatory sections, questions and answers were appreciably shortened and made more direct and concise in scope and style. Its more subjective approach stressed the elements necessary for personal salvation and betrayed its pedagogical design. Although the uniqueness of the early edition lay in its objective and theological nature, the new text was now used by Irion as the basis for the course in dogmatics at the seminary.³⁷

Thus catechetical instruction became established in the *Kirchenverein* not so much as a means of theological indoctrination as of religious edification. The theological implications, however, could not entirely be evaded. In a day of theological dissension, inevitably the catechism came to be viewed as a doctrinal instrument. And yet, repeated efforts put forth in these and later years to improve the efficiency of catechetical instruction indicate the underlying religious and spiritual interest which characterized the educational ideals of early churches. Although in content and form early catechetical instruction may be found totally inadequate today, it served, in its way, to build personal faith and secure voluntary and intelligent participation in the communal life and tasks of the believing congregation—values which, in its more enlightened way, the new religious education still considers fundamental.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

German groups were not entirely unacquainted with the Sunday-school movement, which in Germany took the form of the *Kindergottesdienst* and *Christenlehre*. As early as

³⁶ Critical attacks pertained mainly to its theological position. It was not revised until 1896.

³⁷ The answer to the first question was abbreviated to read: "*Die Sorge für das ewige Heil seiner Seele.*"

The manuscript of Irion's lectures was edited after his death by Fr. Kauffmann under the title of *Erklärung des Kleinen Evangel. Katechismus der deutsch-evang. Synode des Westens* (St. Louis, 1870).

1825, the Baptist pioneer in Germany, J. G. Oncken, helped found the first Sunday school in Hamburg, where the movement flourished under Wichern's influence. In 1834 Treviranus established a school in Bremen. The movement spread to other parts of Germany, ardently supported by some, but by others decried as an American and Methodistic innovation. Although German churches and pastors in America generally viewed with distrust what was considered an English and Methodistic institution, they could not long resist its influence.³⁸ In 1830 the American Sunday School Union (1824) resolved "within two years to establish a Sunday school in every destitute place where it is practicable throughout the valley of the Mississippi." Denominational and interdenominational agencies, particularly the American Home Missionary Society, rallied to the support of this enterprise.³⁹

American interest in German immigrants soon led to the

³⁸ Oncken's connection with the Hamburg school is discussed in Hans Luckey, *Johann Gerhard Oncken und die Anfänge des deutschen Baptismus* (Kassel, 1934), 141 f. Herman Schmidt, *Die innere Mission in Württemberg* (Hamburg, 1879), 146, describes the entrance of the Sunday school into Württemberg as follows: "Der Methodismus nun, der seit den 50er Jahren mit seinen Beutezügen das schwäbische Land heimsuchte, hatte auch alsbald angefangen, die Kinder in Sonntagsschulen zu sammeln. Aber freilich, dem Methodismus war es nicht um Unterweisung, sondern um Erweckung zu thun und die Art wie er die Kinder behandelte oder richtiger geistlich misshandelte und namentlich wie er sie anzuziehen suchte, war nicht geeignet in kirchlichen Kreisen Propaganda für diese Amerikanische Einrichtung zu machen."

Note the greater alacrity with which the German Churches in the East responded to the Sunday-school movement, although the Lutherans and Reformed insisted that the Sunday school could not supplant parochial schools. At the general synod of 1830 a Lutheran Sunday School Union was organized, C. F. Heyer being its agent for 18 months. See *Das Evangelische Magazin*, 1830; W. A. Lambert, *op. cit.*, 43 ff. Cf. Constitution of S. S. Union of German Reformed Church in *Magazine of German Ref. Church*, III (1830), 352. Also see Reu, *op. cit.*, 205 ff.

³⁹ The Congregationalists in Connecticut heartily endorsed this "truly great and important work." *Proceedings of the General Association of Connecticut*, June (1830), 7. Pastors supported by the A. H. M. S. were instructing 54,100 children and adults in 1840, the number increasing to 64,300 the following year. One of the ardent supporters of the A. H. M. S. and the A. S. S. U. in Missouri was A. Bullard, of the Presbyterian church in St. Louis, a close friend of the K. An agency of the A. S. S. U. was established in St. Louis in 1848. *Daily Mo. Republican*, Apr. 13, 1848.

founding of Sunday schools in their behalf.⁴⁰ In July, 1836, before the arrival of Wall in St. Louis, Presbyterian friends had organized two English Sunday schools for the "moral and religious education" of German children and adults. These schools were conducted in connection with the Missouri Sunday School Association and enlisted teachers from any "orthodox" church who would agree to introduce nothing "which would be objectionable to any of the evangelical Christian sects."⁴¹ The German church under Kopf organized an opposition Sunday-school society for German youth, which was continued by Wall on his arrival in 1836. This was not entirely satisfactory, however, and in December, 1838, a new society was organized which was largely supported by American Christians. Through the use of English Sunday-school literature, consisting of spelling-books, story-books for children, tracts, and Bibles, children and adults were instructed in the English language.⁴²

Largely because of the interest in the parochial schools, references to Sunday schools in *Kirchenverein* literature are exceedingly rare. Its warmest friends were to be found among pastors receiving aid from the American Home Missionary Society.⁴³ Rieger, at Highland, Illinois (1843), was conducting a Sunday school attended by from twenty to twenty-five Protestant and Catholic children. He considered this the most promising part of his labors. In 1848 Binner

⁴⁰ The students of Lane Seminary in 1833 founded a school in which 250 children received English instruction—the parents suspecting an effort to win their offspring to Presbyterianism. Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 104. The Emigrants' Friends' Society at Cincinnati had also founded a S. S. for Germans.

⁴¹ A. d. W., July 23, 30, 1836. For development of this school, see "Eingesandt," *ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1837. The A. warned German parents against sending their children to the Presbyterian S. S., *ibid.*, March 17, 1838. Note also German opposition to the plan of introducing the Bible into public schools, *ibid.*, April, 1838. Upon his arrival in St. Louis, in 1837, Ezra Keller described the Presbyterian S. S. as numbering 125 children and adults who were "taught the English language and also made acquainted with the Gospel." Keller's "Report," *op. cit.*, 31.

⁴² Büttner, *op. cit.*, I, 235 f. Passing through Philadelphia on their westward journey in 1836, Rieger and Wall called on F. A. Packard, editorial secretary of the A. S. S. U., who presented them with S. S. literature valued at \$20. Ba. Cor., St. Louis, Jan. 23, 1837.

⁴³ Nearly all of their letters contain references to S. S. activities.

had established similar schools at Waterloo and at St. Martinus, Illinois, where on Sunday afternoons about twenty children attended with their parents. Likewise Tölke at Evansville (1848) was conducting a school, although it was soon abandoned for want of room and teachers.

The subsequent development followed independent paths according to local needs and conditions. On account of bad roads and poor means of transportation it was more difficult to establish and maintain these schools in rural communities than in cities. In some instances the Sunday school, as also the day school, was directly supported by church boards.⁴⁴ Confronted by the lack of teachers, elders took upon themselves the responsibility of teaching. Where German churches lacked the necessary equipment, children sometimes continued to attend Presbyterian schools, and in some instances teachers and superintendents were secured from these sources. Attendance was irregular, and meetings were often held only once or twice a month, usually in the afternoons.⁴⁵

The curriculum, which at first included such subjects as English, catechism, Christian doctrine, spelling, reading, and Bible stories, did not differ much from that of the parochial schools.⁴⁶ The increasing danger of the children's losing mastery of the German led to the retention of German instruction. In the earlier schools the Bible was the sole text-book, followed closely by the catechism and the publications of the American Tract Society. It was always difficult to procure suitable German material.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ At Burlington, Ia. (1852), a S. S. society was organized by fourteen men who assumed full responsibility for the school. F. S., First Church, Burlington, Ia., 1896.

The German terminology of "*Kinderlehre*" or "*Kindergottesdienst*" was sometimes retained, marking the close relation of school and church.

⁴⁵ The A. H. M. S. Cor. contains 19 attendance records of rural and urban S. S. in K. churches from 1848-63. Attendance ranged from 16 to 110, making a total of 838 and an average attendance of 44.

⁴⁶ The pious Schrenk insisted that the S. S. must be as different from parochial schools as the Sunday differs from the week day. The labor of learning to read, write, and figure has no place in the S. S. "Ein Wort über S. S.," F., XVIII (1867), 3.

⁴⁷ In 1854-55 the Marthasville press began the publication of

Classes were divided according to age and reading ability, the most advanced group being assigned to the Bible class usually conducted by the pastor and sometimes meeting as a separate unit after the Sunday school. The memoriter method reigned supreme. A model school for that time, attended by forty pupils, was conducted by the students at Marthasville in the primitive little "schoolhouse on the creek." Although the teaching of German could not entirely be avoided, the main emphasis was placed on the singing of hymns, prayer, explanation of the pericopes, reading in the New Testament, recitation of memorized sections of the Bible and the catechism. In conclusion an Old Testament story was told to the entire group.⁴⁸

At the end of the period Sunday schools had become firmly established in *Kirchenverein* communities, although an official recognition of their significance as an essential educational function of the church had not occurred.⁴⁹ The view rather prevailed in some churches that, similar to the benevolent endeavors of the church, the Sunday school was but another home-missionary project and was to be supported as such.⁵⁰

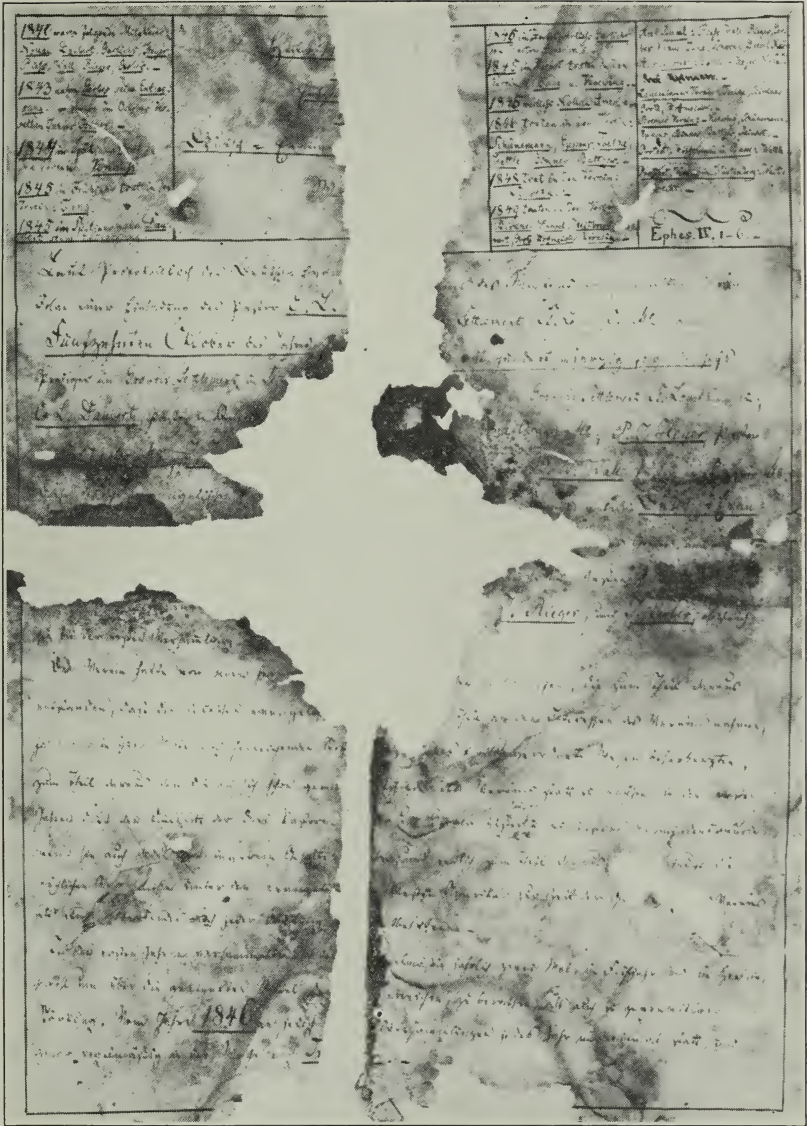
"*Spruchkästchen*" and "*S. S. Charten*." Zion Church at Des Peres, Mo., in 1855 petitioned the K. to provide S. S. literature. See F. S.

For a long time Barth's *Biblische Geschichten* (Calw, Württemberg) were used. The F. recommended such publications as: *Das unparteiische Fragenbuch, zum Gebrauch in Sonntagschulen* (Milford Square, Bucks Co., Pa.) of the Mennonites; the Methodist paper *Die Sonntagschul-Glocke*; Schaff's *Gesangbuch für deutsche Sonntagschulen*; and *Der Lämmerhirt*, published by J. Gantenbein, Philadelphia, Pa. The use of such material indicates an adjustment to American usages. One of the original objections to S. S. was their use of so-called "tract literature" instead of the Bible and catechism.

⁴⁸ "Etwas von der Sonntagsschule im Seminar," F., X (1859), 133. Conrad, at Quincy, Ill., stated that "the children learn diligently and quickly, sometimes more than one whole chapter of Holy Scripture from one Sunday to the other. There are those who have learned a thousand verses and . . . teachers hardly find time enough to hear them all." A. H. M. S. Cor., undated (1863?).

⁴⁹ How generally the S. S. had become established, however, might be gathered from the fact that the *Christliche Kinderzeitung* put in its appearance in 1867. Aside from meager references in statistical reports, the K. P. contain no reference to the S. S.

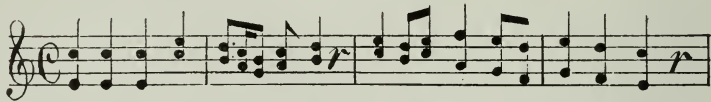
⁵⁰ Note, for instance, the description of the Christmas Eve celebration of the S. S. in Zion Church, Cincinnati, O., and in the church at Canal Dover, O., in 1865. In both instances the celebration was regarded as a *Missionsfest*. F., XVII (1866), 31, 48.



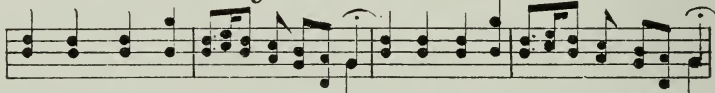
Fragments of the Historical Sketch of the Kirchenverein Found in the Corner-stone of the Marthasville Seminary after the Fire in 1930.

Hauslied

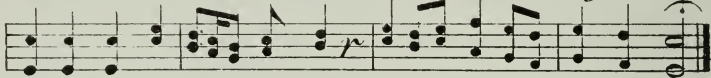
für das Evangel. Prediger-Seminar bei Marthasville,
Warren County, Mo.



Unser Haus Herr, segne Du! Unser Haus das baue Du!



Du der Herr im Haus alleine, Wir als Deine Hausgemeinde;



Unsre Leuchte nur Dein Wort, Regiment Dein Geist der Hort.

2.

Als ein Rama steh es hier
Ganz erfüllt vom Geist von Dir;
Auszurüsten Deine Knechte
Dir zum Dienst nach Deinem Rechte,
In Propheten Kraft u. Muth,
In Apostel Liebesgluth.

4.

Als ein Kana, da in Wein
Wasser muss gewandelt sein,
Als ein *Zarpath*, da die Gaben
Deiner Huld kein Ende haben;
Ein *Bethanien*-Bruderkreis,
Der Dich in der Mitte weiss.

3.

Als ein Priel auf es richt',
Da wir schau'n Dein Angesicht;
Als ein *Bethel*, da die Schaaren
Deiner Engel uns bewahren;
Emmahus, da an dem Mahl
Selbst Du theilnimmst allzumal.

5.

Als ein Zion, da allein
Dir sie Lobgesänge weh'n;
Kreuzesstät-in Dir zu sterben;
Tabor-um die Kron' zu werben,
Ein *Morija*, da dem Herrn
Jeder giebt das Liebste gern!-



In German churches, where parochial schools were generally established, Sunday schools did not have the same function or significance as in American churches, where they were organized to teach religion to those otherwise without such instruction. Pastors and churches were also continually handicapped by impoverished conditions, want of necessary room and equipment, lack of time by pastors serving a number of churches, poor means of transportation, and bad roads. And yet in the new frontier environment the Sunday schools served a definite purpose. The rising generation needed to be directed and to be preserved for the church. Thus, although dependent on both German and American patterns, the Sunday-school movement in the *Kirchenverein* period began, not as an ecclesiastical or institutional, but as a spiritual function of the church.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

In German immigrant churches, where ministerial accessions were derived from the fatherland, theological schools were not an immediate necessity. A new situation arose, however, when German missionaries proved to be inadequately prepared, when requests for pastors outstripped the supply, and when native sons offered themselves for service. The German tradition of an educated ministry generally prevailed. During the early years occasional candidates were privately instructed by veteran pastors in their homes. In 1845 the *Kirchenverein* appointed a committee, composed of Wall, Riess, and Nollau, which was instructed in every possible way to assist young men desiring to enter the Evangelical ministry.⁵¹

These efforts did not prove adequate, however, and in the notable June meeting of 1848, which was attended by only six of the fourteen members, the subject of a preachers' seminary received its first official notice.⁵² The presence

⁵¹ For several months, in 1844, Garlichs helped prepare Schüemann for ordination. At the same time Rieger was instructing K. Bode at Beardstown, Ill.

⁵² At this conference ten congregations vainly applied for ministers. K. P., I, 81. In the meantime Binner, at Waterloo, Ill., and Rieger, at Charette, Mo., offered to instruct candidates at their homes if the Society would defray their living expenses. *Ibid.*, 79.

of a number of laymen of St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, where the conference was held, aroused new hopes that the active interest and support of the laity could be enlisted in *Kirchenverein* affairs.⁵³ A committee consisting of Wilhelm Schrader, Jakob Westermann, and Friedrich Diekmann—board members of St. Louis churches—and the pastors Wall, Riess, and Bode pointed out that, if the proposed project should be more than a private undertaking, the support of the *Kirchenverein* churches must definitely be assured. A written appeal, therefore, should personally be conveyed to all congregations in the adjacent territories. In the meantime applicants for admission were to be accepted provisionally.⁵⁴

A detailed plan and the draft of a constitution were now sent to congregations in Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and Indiana, with the request to appoint delegates to a special conference to convene at St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, in February, 1849. The lay response was disappointing; for, besides the board members of St. Peter's, only the congregation of Gravois, Missouri, and Zion near Columbia, Illinois, were represented. The most important action of this meeting was the adoption of a constitution which stated

Binner took his commission seriously and in the latter part of 1848 envisaged the erection of a seminary at Waterloo, which he described as the only town in the West, with the exception of St. Louis, where a K. congregation could be relied upon to help support such an institution. Essential to this plan was a German preparatory college which, it was hoped, would also attract American students. Binner hoped to secure the necessary funds for such an enterprise from the proceeds of a printing-press. An appeal to American friends and societies in the East, he thought, would procure the initial capital necessary. In the meantime Binner became ill and abandoned what at best might have developed into a semiprivate educational institution. Bi.-R. Cor., Round Prairie, Ill., Nov. 22, 1848; B.-R. Cor., Waterloo, Ill., Feb., 1849.

⁵³ Since the St. Charles meeting of 1841, which was attended by at least five laymen, not a single layman is recorded as having attended a K. conference.

⁵⁴ K. P., I, 76, 79. The more cautious clergy contrived to alter this suggestion so that the appeal was not made until a definite plan could be presented. The committee to complete this plan included the board members of the St. Louis churches.

In the course of the year two students, G. Maul and K. Witte, began their studies, first in the home of Binner and then of Rieger. *Ibid.*, 112, 120.

that the purpose of the seminary "is and ever shall be, in the most thorough and rapid way possible, to educate teachers and preachers for the Evangelical Church of America."⁵⁵

It also devolved upon this conference to select one of the nine sites which had been proposed. Economic advantages led to the selection of an idyllic site located in Warren County, Missouri, in the so-called "*Hirschthal*," on the Femme Osage Creek midway between the villages of Femme Osage and Marthasville, the latter name being adopted by the seminary.⁵⁶ It was also argued that the region was thickly settled by Evangelical people and that escape from

⁵⁵ Among other provisions of this proposed constitution of the *Deutsche evangelische Seminar bei Marthasville* it was stipulated that instruction in all subjects except English, arithmetic, and geography should always be given in the German language. The original curriculum should include reading, writing, arithmetic, German history, geography, Bible, Bible stories, music for teachers and exegesis, dogmatics, church history, practical theology for preachers. *Ibid.*, 94-98.

⁵⁶ The following sites had been offered:

Femme Osage, Mo. (Bode): Choice of two locations of about 20 acres each and \$70 cash. The more favorable, adjoining "Congress land," was supplied with a number of wells, an ample amount of rocks and lime, a saw- and a grist-mill.

Charette, Mo. (Rieger): \$25 cash and choice of two locations, the one of 15 acres adjoining 40 acres of "Congress land" and the other of 9 acres adjoining 50 acres of "Congress land" which could be procured for \$75.

Jefferson Co. (St. James Cong., filial to Gravois): 6 acres on which a schoolhouse was located.

Centerville, Ill. (Knauss): Choice of 30 acres of forestland three miles from town and \$25 donated by a member or a tract of 3 acres and a building which a member would sell for \$400, this sum to be loaned for four years without interest.

Columbia, Ill. (Weitbrecht): A building-site with adequate supply of timber.

Waterloo, Ill. (Binner): A building-site within the town and \$250 cash. *Ibid.*, 98.

According to F., I (1850), 8, twelve locations had been offered.

See historical sketches found in A. Baltzer, *Denkschrift zur 25-jährigen Jubelfeier des Prediger-Seminars* (St. Louis, 1875); L. Häberle, *Festschrift zum Goldenen Jubiläum des Predigerseminars* (St. Louis, 1900); F. Mayer, *Denkschrift zur Fünfundsechzigjährigen Jubelfeier des Evang. Prediger-Seminars* (St. Louis, 1925); C. E. Schneider, *History of the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Church* (St. Louis, 1925).

The first benefactor, Heinrich Nienkamp, donated 15 acres. In the course of the year W. Schrader donated 40 and Simon Bomeyer and Conrad Eichmeyer together 4 acres. To safeguard the wood supply, additional "Congress land" was purchased, so that by 1859 the seminary owned 135 acres, chiefly of timber, unsuitable for farms, and worth about \$5 per acre.

the wicked urban environment to nature's solitude was necessary for the training of God's ambassadors.⁵⁷

Under the supervision of Rieger, at Charette, and Bode, at Femme Osage, who served as trustees, building activities began in the spring of 1849, the corner-stone being laid on the Fourth of July.⁵⁸ At a special conference convened in February, 1850, Kröhnke was chosen steward and Binner professor.⁵⁹ Thus matters stood at the annual conference held at Charette in June, 1850. At this time six students were being instructed by Binner at the home of Mr. Nienkamp, where the entire seminary family had found temporary lodging. The main business of the conference was the formulation of instructions for the professor and the steward and the adoption of a "*Hausordnung*" to regulate internal affairs. On the evening of June twentieth the new home, although not entirely completed, was occupied for the first time.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Because of the terrible mud conditions prevailing during the winter months, students called the location "*Moloch*" (*Missouri Loch*).

Krummacher, on the occasion of his visit to America in 1873, described his impression of Marthasville as follows: "*Es liegt in einem abgelegenen felsigen Waldthal, so dass ich, als ich bei meinem Besuche der Anstalt nach langer Fahrt endlich der von tiefer Waldeinsamkeit umgebenen Gebäulichkeiten ansichtig wurde, an die Lage des Klosters Norberts in dem rauhen und abgeschiedenen Thal von Prémontré denken musste.*" H. Krummacher, *op. cit.*, 109.

Note Binner's recital of the advantages of the isolated location for the spiritual development of students. K. P., II, 203.

⁵⁸ The corner-stone contained a copy of the catechism, of the constitution of the seminary, and a history of the K. with a list of pastors, congregations, and gifts contributed. After the destruction of the building by fire in 1930, it was discovered that moisture had penetrated the metal container and destroyed its contents. See illustration facing p. 298.

⁵⁹ Wall, Rieger, and Binner had been nominated for the professorship—two Basel men and one university graduate. Binner received 8 votes (2 had been sent in by absentees), Wall 4, and Rieger 1. Binner agreed to accept if the election were made unanimous. He was elected for life, removable only for moral reasons, receiving a salary of \$300 with board and lodging. K. P., I, 124 f.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 133-139; 142-146. The *Hausordnung* was evidently based on the similar document of the Basel Institute and strove to preserve the family character of the institution. See Binner's Report, 1855-56, *ibid.*, II, 203. Its four paragraphs dealt with: "*Senior u. Famulus*," "*Tagesordnung im Hause*," "*Bewegung u. Handarbeit*," "*Auswärtige Verhältnisse*." See Schneider, *op. cit.*, 23 ff. In discussing the theological seminaries of the Wisconsin Synod, the General Synod, the

The seminary, the most pretentious project undertaken by the *Kirchenverein*, called for the support of the entire Church; for only with continued sacrifice could the infant institution survive its birth. Poverty-stricken *Kirchenverein* congregations were not in position by themselves long to maintain this child of their heart. Assistance from outside sources was indispensable and was forthcoming in various ways.

American friends viewed with admiration the courage and determination of this German group to establish an educational institution in the wild West.⁶¹ Shortly after the opening of the seminary, Rieger departed for a two months' trip to the East, where he established contacts with the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West.⁶² In response to Rieger's appeal, the

Kirchenverein, and the Sheboygan Classis, the *Zwölfter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1865), 19 ff., stated that the *Hausordnung* of the Sheboygan institution was modelled after that of St. Chrischona and Barmen and was similar to the one of Marthasville. For description of building and early days, see Schneider, *op. cit.*; F., I (1850), 16, 63. The spirit of these days is also reflected in the *Hauslied* written by Binner. See illustration facing p. 299.

The first *Direktorium* (1851) consisted of nine members: five pastors—Rieger, J. Riess, Baltzer, Nollau, Binner—and four laymen—W. Schrader and Michael Vöpel of St. Peter's, St. Louis, Johannes Machenheimer and Karl Cajacob of St. Paul's, St. Louis. Rieger, Riess, and Baltzer constituted the local board. K. P., I, 165.

⁶¹ The Presbyterian Synod of Missouri was at this time planning the erection of Webster College. The edifice (now Protestant Orphans' Home), which was erected at Webster Groves, Mo., bears a striking resemblance to the Marthasville structure. The learned Prof. David Dimond, on his visit to the Charette conference in 1850, not only spoke words of encouragement, but brought a substantial donation and promise of additional support from Presbyterian friends in Missouri. *Ibid.*, 131, 135, 136.

⁶² This collection trip was not restricted to American friends. German credentials, similar to the English ones, were also prepared by President Wall. See illustration facing p. 314.

The S. P. C. T. E. W. had been organized in 1844 at the instigation of Illinois, Wabash, and Marietta Colleges and Lane Theological Seminary to secure financial aid from the East. Pleas similar to those that won support for the other voluntary societies of the East were urged in its behalf. Again the argument was heard that the future of the West, rapidly falling into the hands of Rome, was at stake; for "Rome pursues with sleepless vigilance the German or Irish emigrant, however ignorant or degraded, to the hovel of his poverty" In response to this challenge, "Puritanism . . . the mainstay of education in America," again came to the rescue. "Western Colleges and

society instructed John Wheeler, president of the University of Vermont from 1833 to 1849, and Edwin Hall⁶³ to inspect the "college" at Marthasville. An appropriation of \$500 was granted in 1851, the conditions being that an annual report be submitted, the institution be incorporated⁶⁴ and insured, and that the appropriation should not be used for debt reduction.

Theological Seminaries," *New Englander*, II (1844), 58; "Collegiate Education in the Western States," *ibid.*, IV (1846), 274; "Western Colleges: Their Claims and Necessities," *ibid.*, XXXIX (1880), 774. The society was originally sponsored by such men as J. C. Hornblower, chief justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey; D. Leavitt; Professor C. A. Goodrich of Yale; H. Bushnell; Leonard Bacon; T. H. Gallaudet; and T. Baldwin, the "father of western colleges," who was once referred to as the heart and brains of the society. When Rieger made his appeal, R. Bigelow was one of the vice-presidents. See also S. P. C. T. E. W. *Reports*.

⁶³ Hall was a Congregational minister who, after serving a church at Norwalk, Conn., was elected to the chair of Christian Theology at Auburn Seminary in 1854. After describing the New England background for the origin of the K., Hall stated in his report that, on the basis of his observations, it consisted now of "more than 30 evangelical ministers, and twice as many churches, on a basis of faith and order nearly resembling that of the churches of Connecticut. Nearly all these ministers are supported by their congregations without Home Missionary aid. They assured me that if they had suitable men they could place at once 50 in fields where nearly all would be sustained by the people. . . . They suppose that there are 200,000 Germans in Missouri, and the number is rapidly increasing. . . . Under these circumstances the Conference has erected the Seminary. . . . Ought they not to be encouraged and sustained? It was my privilege to meet some of their pastors, to visit some of them at their homes, to enter some of their churches, and to pass over the rich rolling prairies, and through the forests that border the Missouri to their Seminary in the remote wilderness. There one learned professor [Binner], a man eminent in his native country, was laboring on a salary of \$300 a year. Another, a polished, courteous, learned and devoted man [Birkner], was laboring for simple food and shelter. . . . All take up a collection once a year for the Seminary. But the poverty of many of their people upon their first planting themselves in the wilderness can scarcely be understood by people dwelling at the East. . . . I slept one night in their Seminary, and when I parted from these dear brethren, I left them with the deep conviction, that the small amount of aid for which they ask, will be as judicious and as productive an investment of funds . . . as can possibly be made . . ." *Ibid.*, 1852, 27 f.; K. P., II, 36.

⁶⁴ The institution was incorporated by the 18th General Assembly of the State of Missouri in Jan., 1855, under the name of "German Evangelical Missouri College," having substituted the "*umfassenderen Namen College*" for the word "*Seminar*." K. P. (1853), 10.

According to the charter, the purpose of the "college" was to "promote the diffusion of knowledge in the branches of academic, scientific,

Although smaller sums were derived from various other sources,⁶⁵ the seminary debt steadily increased, amounting to \$1902.27 $\frac{3}{4}$ in June, 1852. How should this burden be removed? Now it was that Bigelow again appeared upon the scene as the godfather of the Society, with an offer to donate \$500 if the remaining sum were raised in the course of the year. The pastors at the conference of 1852 pledged themselves to collect sums sufficient to cover this amount, and by October, 1853, the news was broadcast that the entire debt had been subscribed.⁶⁶

Two other appropriations of \$500 each were received from the college society during the following two years. In June, 1854, when suspicions had been voiced in the East "in regard to the Evangelical character of the Institution," John C. Guldin was delegated to attend the *Kirchenverein* conference of that year and inspect the seminary.⁶⁷ His

and exegetic instruction," the faculty having the "power and authority to confer degrees of merit and honor like other colleges in this state." See *infra*, p. 318, n. 98. The charter board of directors consisted of the pastors Nollau, Binner, Baltzer, Rieger, Bode and the laymen F. Massmann, Michael Vöpel, Christian Weber, and Charles Young.

⁶⁵ The F. acknowledged gifts from individuals and congregations, ladies' societies, confirmands, and cash from the sale of vegetables, milk, grapes, jewelry. The German consul at New Orleans donated \$2; a German sailor \$3; F. Schmid, Ann Arbor, Mich., \$25; H. Garlichs, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$17; and German students at Erlangen, Germany, \$7. The custom of raising collections at baptisms and particularly at weddings originated, to be continued for many years. Thank-offerings were received for harvests, once for finding a horse.

The F., in Oct., 1851, published the first appeal for a general church collection for the seminary, which netted \$900. Bigelow, in July, 1850, made a personal gift of \$50 and in 1851 a gift of \$100.

⁶⁶ F., III (1852), 57; IV (1853), 74. The benefactions of Bigelow continued literally to the time of his death. In the S. P. C. T. E. W. *Report*, 1864, 57, Rieger states: "From our much-lamented friend, for so many years, and patron of our Seminary, Mr. Richard Bigelow, of New York, I had a letter, dated October 24th, 1863, wishing some one of us to meet him, on November 20th, at St. Louis, when he would make over, for the benefit of our Seminary, a certain tract of land in Iowa. When I came to St. Louis, and was just expecting to grasp his hand, I was informed that he had gone to his rest but a few days before."

⁶⁷ Guldin of the German Reformed Church, whom we have already encountered (*supra*, p. 77), had won renown as pastor of the German Evangelical Dutch Reformed Mission Church on Rivington St. in New York, where he also advised the A. T. S. on the publication of German books and tracts. Guldin's glowing report of Marthasville, which covered five printed pages (S. P. C. T. E. W., *Eleventh Report*, 1854,

favorable report procured an appropriation of \$750 for 1854-1855 and \$450 for 1855-1856, of which amounts, however, only \$390 were paid.⁶⁸

The seminary was also dependent on the support of friends in Germany. In response to an appeal to various German friends in 1849 the sum of ninety dollars had been received. Birkner, about the same time, brought the needs of the seminary to the attention of his European friends and was awarded fifty *Taler* "seitens Sr. Majestät, unsers geliebten Königs," and forty *Taler* from other friends.⁶⁹

When Wall, in 1852, attended the Fifth Evangelical Church Diet⁷⁰ at Bremen in order to effect closer contacts

57-61), led Baldwin to observe that "the devotion of the conductors and friends of that Institution to the interests of Christian education, and their willingness to make sacrifices to build up their beloved Seminary, was not surpassed by the Puritans of New England when they commenced the work of founding colleges. This is especially interesting in a country where the multitude are carried away by material interests, and forgetful of the higher wants of the mind and soul, lose sight of everything but the accumulation of wealth." *Ibid.*, *Twelfth Report*, 1855, 33 f. Baldwin had visited the seminary in 1855.

⁶⁸ K. P., II, 36, 93, 140, 207. K. P. (1854), 14. For subsequent appropriations, cf. *Reports of S. P. C. T. E. W.* The building of the college in 1855 created further needs, and in the fall of 1856 Nollau visited the East and collected \$600 for the college and \$210 for the seminary from friends in New York and Brooklyn. He also attended the annual meeting of the college society at Bridgeport, Conn., and procured an appropriation of \$1000 for the year 1856-57. K. P., II, 187, 214. Note acknowledgment of Eastern gifts in F., VII (1856), 24; N.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Nov. 20, 1856.

In a sermon on "The Church and the College," delivered at the thirteenth anniversary of the society, Edward N. Kirk observed that: "In regard to the German neology, and the German settlers, including already a very large proportion of the white people of the West, we have enlisted men from their own ranks to fight our battle. Our Wittenberg, and Heidelberg, and the German Evangelical Colleges, represent the 3 German forms of Protestantism, and therefore meet the various sentiments of that important part of our population. And shall we not then fix these institutions an ample and secure foundation?" S. P. C. T. E. W., *Thirteenth Report*, 1856, 28.

⁶⁹ *Fünfter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1851), 5. Cf. the gift of \$90 acknowledged in K. P., I, 130. The letter of Birkner to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, also signed by Baltzer, was forwarded to the king by W. Colsmann, who at the time was "Abgeordneter I. Kammer aus Langenberg." *Acta des Königl. Geheimen Cabinets betreffend die deutsch-evangelischen Gemeinden in Nord-Amerika*, fascicle listed under Rep. 89 H, VI, *Amerika 1a* (MS), I (1826-1898), 83 f.

⁷⁰ As a defensive measure against the liberalism and rationalism unleashed against the Church following the revolutionary upheavals of 1848, the Lutherans, Reformed, Evangelicals, and Moravians

with the mother Church, he was specifically instructed to visit the important Evangelical centers of Germany to secure financial aid and students for the seminary. On every possible occasion he espoused the cause of the seminary library and won the support of theologians, preachers, publishers, and other influential personages. Wall's journey bore ripe fruit, and his report was enthusiastically received by a special conference which convened on his return in 1853. More than 2000 books were received, and various new channels were opened through which tangible assistance was directed to Marthasville.⁷¹

The most significant achievement of Wall was the church collection in Prussia for the benefit of Marthasville. On November 4, 1852, he presented the needs of the seminary to the king, invoking the support of "*unserer deutschen Mutterkirche*" in the raising of a free-will offering.⁷² The king readily agreed, and after various details had been discussed in a correspondence between Sans Souci and the

founded a confederation of Churches to advance the essential unity of the Church, nurture the cause of religion in all walks of life, and maintain relations with evangelical Churches in foreign lands. It was purely a voluntary association with no legal or legislative functions. The first diet convened in Wittenberg in 1848. See the annual *Verhandlungen*; "Kirchentag," R. E., X, 476 f.; "Der Evangelische Kirchentag," F., III (1852), 65; K. P., II, 16. The church diet of 1848, largely through the influence of Wichern, created a *Central Ausschuss für Innere Mission*, which annually convened the mission congresses held under its auspices.

Bigelow contributed \$100 to help defray Wall's traveling expenses. For details of Wall's trip, see *infra*, pp. 361 ff.

⁷¹ K. P., II, 104 ff. For details of donations, see F. and Wall's *Diary*, I, which contains an account of his first trip to Germany. The following fragments have been preserved: Nov. 8-24, Dec. 1-3, 5-30, 1852; May 19 — Oct. 9, 1853.

The printed appeal which Wall addressed to German publishers bore the recommendations and signatures of: K. I. Nitzsch and Julius Müller, the consensus unionists; E. W. Hengstenberg, editor of the E. K. Z., and W. Hoffmann, the court preacher, both liberal Lutherans; F. W. Krummacher, the Reformed, who had declined a call to Mercersburg; A. Tholuck, the pietist; and W. Hertz, the publisher. *Acta E. O. K.*, I, 11. The libraries at Mercersburg and Gettysburg, consisting of 5-6000 books each (1849), had been established through similar collection trips of Reily and Kurtz.

⁷² A copy of this document with a copy of Wall's credentials, and a request addressed to the high consistory to support his appeal to the king are preserved *ibid.*, 1-9. A K. catechism was also presented to the consistory.

Oberkirchenrat, the official approval for the collection was granted in February, 1853. It was agreed, however, to await a report concerning the seminary which the foreign office had solicited from the German ambassador to the United States.⁷³ The developments suddenly took an unfavorable turn; for the report received from the German ambassador at Washington seemed to indicate that the seminary was not worthy of confidence. Wall was about to set sail for America but, informed of this turn in events, returned to Berlin to spend a busy week in conference with his friends.

The cause for the disturbance, he discovered, lay in a report which had been submitted by E. C. Angelrodt, the German consul at St. Louis, in which the seminary was described as a disreputable "*Winkelschule*" conducted by questionable characters, such as Binder (Binner), an ex-Jesuit, and Kröhnke, a "*bankrott gewordener Kleinkrämer*," and supported by a society which included in its membership such dubious persons as Heyer and Daubert. In the face of this report, German support seemed doomed; the collection could not be held. These accusations, however, were so palpably inspired by prejudiced minds that, after conferences with Sattler, Nitzsch, Hoffmann, and von Mühler, Wall was able to reestablish confidence in the cause nearest his heart and gained the assurance that the high consistory would further espouse his cause.⁷⁴

A defense of the *Kirchenverein* against the accusations of the German consul was forwarded to von Raumer, *Minister der geistlichen Angelegenheiten* (July 27, 1853), who advised that further examination of the leaders of the Society "*in Bezug auf geistige Ausrüstung, Umsicht und Bildung für eine gedeihliche und richtige Leitung des Unter-*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁷⁴ Acta K. G. C., I, 111-116; Wall's *Diary*, I (1852), 107-137. For report of Wall's trip, see "Ueber unsern Delegaten," F., IV (1853), 12; "Schreiben des P. G. W. Wall," *ibid.*, 35, 53; "Auszug . . .," *ibid.*, V (1854), No. 3. (*Beiblatt*); K. P., I, *passim*. See also W.-R. Cor., Basel, Feb. 17, 1853; Marssel, Sept. 7, 1852, June 9, 1853. For similarly caustic criticism of the seminary (and the F.), see F. Münch, *Der Staat Missouri* . . . (New York, 1859), 164.

nehmens” was necessary.⁷⁵ To acquire these additional data, inquiries were addressed to Schaff at Mercersburg and to Schmucker at Gettysburg—the replies to which were so unqualifiedly favorable⁷⁶ that the king, in May, 1854, authorized the collection, “*jedoch unter der Bedingung, dass die Verwaltung und Verwendung der einzusammelnden Gelder dem evangelischen Oberkirchenrath vorbehalten bleibe.*”⁷⁷ The *Oberkirchenrat* forthwith instructed the provincial consistories to announce the collection in the respective provinces and submitted the text of an appeal to be read by the pastors to their congregations.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Acta E. O. K., I, 32, 34; Acta K. G. C., I, 101 f., 106 ff.

⁷⁶ For Schmucker’s reply, see Acta E. O. K., I, 47. A copy is also found in Acta K. G. C., I, 129. See *supra*, p. 131, n. 51. The inquiry which had been addressed to Schaff in America was forwarded to him in Germany, where he was visiting at the time, and was answered by him from Berlin, March 28, 1854. Acta E. O. K., I, 50 f.; Acta K. G. C., I, 121 f. Schaff also had an interview with the king in May, 1854, which lends color to his later statement that he was “instrumental in securing by a written recommendation addressed to the *Oberkirchenrath* and through it to the King of Prussia, a general collection in the Evangelical Church of Prussia, for the benefit of its daughter church, the German Evangelical Association of the West. This collection was taken up shortly before I left Germany, and amounted, as I recently learned from official authority, to about 6000 Prussian dollars, the interest of which is to be annually paid by the Evangelical *Oberkirchenrath* of Berlin, towards the support of a theological professor in the Evangelical German Seminary at Marthasville, Mo., and will thus help to advance the interests of Christianity amongst the growing German population of the Western States. In thus assisting another evangelical body, the undersigned believes, that he acted consistently even with his denominational position, since it has always been a characteristic trait of the German Reformed Church to subordinate in truly catholic spirit its own immediate interests to the general interests of the Kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and so to secure the former through the latter.” *Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Ger. Ref. Ch. in U. S.* (1855), 95. See also *infra*, p. 378, n. 38.

It is interesting to note that Wyneken and Walther also visited Germany in 1852 and arranged for a church collection for Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., to be held in Mecklenburg at Pentecost of that year. B. A. K., XIV (1852), 337. Wall seems to have been informed that this collection, authorized by the consistory of Stade and approved by the high consistory of Hanover, amounted to 700 *Taler*. Acta E. O. K., I, 2. “Reisebericht des Redakteurs,” Luth., VIII (1852), *passim*.

⁷⁷ Acta E. O. K., I, 141. The stipulation that the capital remain in Germany was based on lack of confidence in the “*mit aller durchgreifender Autorität versehenen Kirchen-Behörden*” of America.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 64, 65. Printed forms of the announcement of the collection and the text of the appeal distributed by the provincial consistories of Saxony and Brandenburg are preserved, *ibid.*, 71, 73.

The offering thus raised amounted to 5857 *Taler*, seven *Groschen*, five *Pfennige*, and a medal (*Denkmünze*), which was sold for two *Groschen* and six *Pfennige*.⁷⁹ This sum was increased to 6000 *Taler* and was designated as a fund to endow the first professorship at the seminary.⁸⁰

The returns from this endowment, which were irregularly received, did not fulfill expectations. The first payment, sent in 1857, amounted to only 220 *Taler*. A second payment, in 1860, amounted to 600 *Taler*, and in 1861 the sum of 220 *Taler* was remitted. It was apparent that higher interest rates could be procured if the capital were invested in America. To negotiate this transfer, Nollau, in 1860, and Baltzer, in 1862, were delegated to the German church diets of those years. Other duties, however, prevented them from fulfilling this mission. Finally, in 1864, Wall was delegated to the diet at Altenburg,⁸¹ Saxony, and instructed to present the request to the high consistory.

An unfortunate misunderstanding helped defeat Wall's mission. When he visited *Oberkonsistorialrat* Stahn, he was informed that a message had arrived from Baltzer, the sec-

⁷⁹ A summary of the receipts submitted to the E. O. K., April 21, 1855, listed the following sums, *ibid.*, 85, 131:

	Rthr.	Sgr.	Pf.		Rthr.	Sgr.	Pf.
1. Aachen	34	22	4	15. Magdeburg	443	23	10
2. Arnsberg	292	23	7	16. Marienwerder	96	29	3
3. Breslau	302	20	9	17. Merseburg	458	29	8
4. Bromberg	62	14	11	18. Minden	192	4	9
5. Coblenz	99	26	6	19. Muenster	73	5	
6. Coeln	64	29	2	20. Oppeln	62	9	8
7. Coeslin	196	11	1	21. Posen	147	21	8
8. Danzig	161	4		22. Potsdam	497	19	3
9. Duesseldorf	279	26	8	23. Sigmaringen	5	21	5
10. Erfurt	136	9	1	24. Stettin	283	17	5
11. Frankfurt a/O.	497	4	11	25. Stralsund	149	17	7
12. Gumbinnen	184	8	5	26. Trier	42	9	8
13. Koenigsberg	267	13	5	27. Berlin	429	16	6
14. Liegnitz	393	16	11				
					5857	7	5

⁸⁰ K. P., II, 177; "Preussische Kirchenkollekte," F., VI (1855), 84. See correspondence of Baltzer and Nollau and other documents referring to the disposition and administration of the fund. *Acta E. O. K.*, I, 124, 133.

⁸¹ For resolutions passed at Altenburg concerning American missions, see "Von unserm Delegaten . . . ," F., XVI (1865), 5, and *Verhandlungen des XIII. deutschen Kirchentages zu Altenburg* (Berlin, 1864), 161, 178.

At Altenburg, through the addresses of Wall and of J. Bading, soliciting aid for the Wisconsin Synod, the attention of K. E. Otto, a later leader of the K., was directed to America.

retary of the seminary board, favoring the retention of the Marthasville fund in Germany but proposing another church collection.⁸² In the formal petition which Wall presented to the consistory, he referred to the frequently voiced desire that the capital might be invested in America and based the request to utilize the capital, which, it was estimated, could be converted into legal-tender notes amounting to \$10,000, on the desire to defray the debt of that amount resting on the seminary. The plan, however, did not materialize. Since the original authorization for the collection stipulated that it must be invested in Germany, the petition was rejected. Uncertain conditions caused by the Civil War also counseled caution. The seminary, however, continued to receive the interest payments, which in 1865 amounted to about 482 *Taler* and in 1866 to 462 *Taler*.⁸³

⁸² Wall expostulated that he could not understand this position of Baltzer, which, in a letter to Nollau, he characterized as "*ärger als ein Schwabenstreich*." Wall's *Diary*, II, 11 ff. Baltzer and the board had evidently not been informed of the instructions given to Wall by the K. officials. Baltzer's letter to the high consistory (Femme Osage, Mo., Aug. 26, 1864) is found in *Acta E. O. K.*, I, 218.

⁸³ The conference of 1866 acknowledged the receipt of two years' interest from Berlin, amounting to \$459.32, and sundry other donations procured through Wall. At Wall's suggestion the sum of 100 *Taler* was appropriated for the traveling expenses of every student sent by Basel and the *Rauhes Haus* to complete his studies at Marthasville. K. P., II, 369, 383. "Verhandlungen . . .," F., XVII (1866), 106. Wall's *Diary*, II, *passim*.

The subsequent history of the *Kollektenfonds*, as it was officially designated, contains some interesting angles. In the absence of requests for the amounts as they became due, the interest was added to the capital investment. When finally, in 1878, a request was received, a payment of 2975 marks (\$700) was remitted. It was reiterated, however, that subsequent payments would be made only as reports were received concerning the progress of the seminary. Again in 1880 and in 1884 the sum of 2000 marks was remitted. Zimmermann, who assumed the presidency of the Synod in 1882, had no knowledge of the fund. Only when the consistory reminded him of its existence in 1884, and again in 1893, did he respond with a request and receive, in both years, 2000 marks—the balance of the interest being added to the capital. The consistory again in 1895 called attention to the payments due the seminary. It was not until 1897, however, when a request from Zimmermann was received, that the sum of 3000 marks was remitted. A payment of 4000 marks was received by the seminary as a jubilee gift in 1900, at which time the capital investment had risen to 23,300 marks. When no further reports or requests were received, the *Generalsynodalvorstand* (1908) urged that the funds be used for the education of *Diaspora* preachers. Four

In spite of ever present financial difficulties, the conviction gradually dawned that it was easier by far to secure material assistance than worthy students. Money could be procured by some means or other, but students must be called of God. Primary entrance requirements were that applicants have natural talents for the preaching and teaching vocations, possess an adequate educational background, to be ascertained by an entrance examination, and by walk and conversation prove themselves living members of the Church of Christ. It was also required that they agree to enter the services of the *Kirchenverein* or otherwise reimburse the seminary with the sum of twenty-five dollars for every quarter enrolled.⁸⁴

The seminary opened in 1850 with an enrolment of eight students.⁸⁵ It seems that all were of German birth, although a number had become so established in America that their homes were given according to states. An interdenominational aspect was imparted by the acceptance of a Methodist and a Mennonite. During the second year (1851-1852) three students were sent to Marthasville by the *Kirchenverein* of Ohio, of whom two, Ph. Göbel and Ph. Wagner, remained for three years and one, A. Schory, for four years.⁸⁶ Three teacher students also received their training at Marthasville. The high percentage of student losses—

years later the high consistory and the *Generalsynodalvorstand* petitioned the king for permission to use not only the interest but also the capital of both the Marthasville and the Wisconsin funds "*im Interesse der Gewinnung und Ausbildung ausreichender geistlicher Kräfte für die mit der Landeskirche in Verbindung stehenden Kirchengemeinden ausserhalb Deutschlands.*" The church collection for the Wisconsin Synod in 1864 had amounted to about 7500 *Taler* and by 1912 had increased to 28,800 marks. A total of 63,800 marks thus became available (1913) for the support of the *Diasporapastorenanstalt* at Soest in Westphalia, which was removed to Witten on the Ruhr (*Martineum*) in 1920, from where it was removed to Stettin in 1924. It is now located at Ilsenburg in the Harz Mountains. *Acta E. O. K.*, II, III, *passim*; *Acta K. G. C.*, II, 200 f.

⁸⁴ *K. P.*, I, 94 ff., 138. Tuition was reduced to a minimum, so that very little was forthcoming from that source. Note, also, appeals in the *F.* for students, e. g., IX (1858), 50; X (1859), 34, 41; XI (1860), 41; XII (1861), 57.

⁸⁵ See "Roster of Marthasville Students" in Appendix VII.

⁸⁶ The relations to the *K.* of Ohio will be noted later.

for the rigor of seminary life soon revealed the unqualified, who either were expelled or left voluntarily—was a disturbing factor from the beginning. Again and again the seminary reports emphasized the need for consecrated young men.⁸⁷

Student applicants generally presented themselves to the examination committee and the seminary board at the summer conferences, where the current graduates were also examined and ordained. The school year extended from July to June, with four weeks of vacation following the annual synod. In 1862 a one-month vacation was granted in the spring and another in the fall.⁸⁸ Students frequently arrived in the course of the year, a practice which made regular instruction difficult. The original course of studies extended over two years. The class of 1856 was held over for another year; thus a three-year course was established in 1857. The pressing need for ministers in 1860 led to the graduation of the upper two classes in that year, whereas the class of 1864 was held over to 1865 to inaugurate a five-year course.

Could this modest institution maintain itself against the attacks of the hardened rationalists of the Femme Osage community? Criticisms and fears of both friends and foes marked the early development.⁸⁹ The first faculty consisted of Binner, who held the position of "first professor," Kröhnke, the steward, and Birkner, who had volunteered

⁸⁷ The death of one of the students, H. Hanrath, during the first year was the occasion for the establishment of the cemetery on a neighboring elevation within view of the seminary. Hanrath, a member of St. Peter's Church, had been a warm defender of Wall during the turbulent days of his ministry in St. Louis. See "Heimgang," F., I (1850), 80; "Bericht," *ibid.*, 87. The second burial was that of the eighteen-year-old son of Inspector Binner, whose accidental death at the hands of a student threw a pall over the seminary life. See "Das Seminar," *ibid.*, V (1854), 88. Inspector Andreas Irion also lies buried at Marthasville.

⁸⁸ With the division of the K. into three districts the ordinations were held at the meetings of the Middle District, in which the seminary was located. For description of student life, see Schneider, *op. cit.*, 23 f.; "Etwas aus unserm evang. Missouri-Seminar," F., X (1859), 49 f.

⁸⁹ Cf. the first address of Binner at the graduation exercises on July 30th, 1851. *Ibid.*, II (1851), 90.

his services.⁹⁰ Many of the first students had little if any preparatory training.⁹¹ Some had not even attended the public or parochial schools and were a treasured burden to men like Binner and Birkner, who lovingly sought to introduce them into the intricate ways of Greek grammar. Under such conditions most elementary methods were used, the study of dogmatics being little more than an advanced exposition of the catechism.

After the resignation of Birkner, who returned to Germany, an inquiry was directed to Inspector Josenhans, upon whose recommendation Andreas Irion, fresh from Basel, was installed as "second professor."⁹² Irion, also a son of

⁹⁰ Binner carried a teaching load of 22 hours, the major courses of 4 hours a week being:

1. Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Thessalonians, the three Pastoral Epistles, 1 and 2 Peter, and a part of Matthew—all of which was considered prerequisite for Dogmatics.

2. Evangelical Catechism, expounded according to the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechisms.

3. Dogmatics, using the text prepared by Blumhardt, with emphasis on apologetics.

4. Practical Exercises in German, in Homiletics using C. Palmer's *Homiletik* and in Pastoral Theology the *Pastoraltheologie* of Klaus Harms. Several additional hours were spent in memorization of pregnant Latin and theological phrases.

Birkner taught the following courses:

1. Church History up to the year 600 A. D., using the *Calwer Handbuch*, 3 hours a week.

2. Exegesis of the first and second chapters of Ephesians, 3 hours a week, and, in connection therewith, Dogmatics and Greek.

3. Greek Grammar, 4 hours.

Kröhnke gave 4 hours' instruction in English and 1 hour in Singing.

"Bericht d. Direktoriums, 1851-52," K. P., II, 33 ff.

⁹¹ Of the nine new students in 1855, only three could write acceptably, the remainder could not write a line without a mistake.

Note the adverse criticism of the St. Louis consul in his report concerning the seminary in 1852. *Supra*, p. 308. He refers to it as "fern und entblösst von allen wissenschaftlichen Hilfsquellen und Bildungsmitteln, ihre Thätigkeit darauf beschränkend, dass (ich gebrauche die Worte meiner glaubwürdigen Bericht Erstatte:) ein Viertel Dutzend verlaufene Schuhmacher- und Schneidergesellen im Verlaufe EINES Jahres mit sinnlosen Traktätchen . . . vollgestopft und ausgefüttert werden, deren Inhalt sie dann als feierlichst installirte Seelsorger in sogenannten Predigten, deren Unsinn Niemand verstehen kann, der glaubens durstigen Unwissenheit wieder zufließen lassen." Acta K. G. C., I, 111 f.

⁹² The formal call extended to Irion read as follows:

Nachdem Herr Pastor Andreas Irion von dem Directorio des Seminars des deutschen Evangelischen Kirchen-Vereins des Westens im Monat Januar d. J. als zweiter Lehrer fuer das theologische Fach provisorisch angestellt gewesen, hat genannter kirchlicher Verein in seiner Jahres-Conferenz diese



ALL THE BRETHREN IN CHRIST & FRIENDS
of the Kingdom of God, Grace and Peace! The German Evangelical
Synod of the West has hereby appointed and commissioned the Rev. Dr.
Rieger as their Agent, to solicit and collect funds, to visit the Evangelical
Theological Seminary and College at Nashville Warren Co. Missuri.
We commend this our brother to the Christian Kindness and co-operation of
all who love Zion, and pray that his efforts and Your sympathy and
co-operation may be rendered a spiritual blessing and the means of salvation
to the multitudes who are longing for the bread of life. St. Louis Mo. 24, 1850.

Edl. Wall Peorses.
Apost. Luther, per. Sec.

Rieger's Credentials for His Collection Trip in Behalf of the Seminary
in 1850.

LIBRARY
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Württembergian Pietism, was born in Thuningen, Württemberg, November 17, 1823. Under the theological tutelage of W. Hoffmann and particularly of W. F. Gess, later at

provisorische Anstellung mit allgemeiner Zustimmung als eine definitive bestaetigt und den Herrn P. Andreas Irion als zweiten Professor am Seminar foermlich und ordnungsmaessig berufen. In dieser Eigenschaft verpflichtet sich Herr Professor Irion, taeglich 5 Stunden Unterricht im Seminar zu ertheilen, und zwar in den Faechern, welche der erste Professor und Inspector der Anstalt ihm zuweist, und dabei den Consensus der Bekenntnisschriften der Lutherischen und Reformirten Kirche nach den Revidirten Vereins-Statuten Kapitel I §1 im Unterrichte der Zoeglinge als einzige Lehrnorm zu befolgen. Ueber das amtliche Verhaeltniss des Lehrer-Personals zu dem ersten Professor als Vorsteher der Anstalt besagen die gedruckten Statuten fuer das Seminar das Erforderliche, mit denen Herr Professor Irion bekannt gemacht worden ist. Der Evangelische Kirchen-Verein verpflichtet sich dagegen, demselben in diesem Verhaeltnisse neben freier Wohnung von mindestens zwei Zimmern und freiem Holze ein Jahresgehalt von Drei Hundert Dollars zu geben.

Mit dem innigsten Wunsche und Gebete, dass der gnadenreiche Gott und Herr Seinen Diener ausruesten wolle mit Geist und Kraft und ihn lange zum Segen setze fuer "unser Haus" zu Seinem Preise und zum Heile Vieler, ist dess zu offenem Zeugnis diese Berufung in Folge Vereins-Beschlusses ausgefertigt und mit den Unterschriften der Beamten und dem Siegel des Evangelischen Kirchen-Vereins des Westens versehen worden.

Saint Louis in Staate Missouri am dreissigsten Mai im Jahre des Herrn Achtzehn Hundert Drei und Fuenfzig.

*Fuer den abwesenden Praesidenten:
der Vice-Praesident G. Steinert, P.*

*L. Nollau, P.
Secr.*

The installation occurred at the commencement exercises of 1853. For addresses on this occasion by Birkner, Irion, and Binner and the valedictory by Welsch, see F., IV (1853), 49. H. Kamphausen, *Geschichte des Religiösen Lebens* (St. Louis, 1924), 146, relates the calling of Irion with the address of Bishop A. Potter at the opening of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., in which the bishop espoused the calling of German professors to American schools. *Obituary*, F., XXI (1870), No. 18. See also appreciation of Irion by F. Kauffmann in the *Vorwort* to A. Irion, *op. cit.*, iii ff. Irion had begun teaching in January, 1853. With the coming of Irion (1853-54) the student body was divided into a first and a second class (indicated below as I and II), some lectures being given to combined classes.

Binner now carried a load of 20 hours per week as follows:

1. Pauline Epistles; Hebrews, James—I, II; Peter—I; John—I, II. 5 hours.
 2. Practical Exercises in Pericopes—I, II. 2 hours.
 3. Catechism—I, II. 4 hours.
 4. Dogmatics—I. 3 hours.
 5. Practical Theology: Homiletics (Palmer), Pastoral Theology (K. Harms)—I. 2 hours.
 6. Church History (Kurtz) and History of Doctrine—I, II. 3 hours.
 7. Catechism—II. 1 hour.
- Irion carried a load of 23 hours.
1. O. T. Exegesis: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth—I, II. 5 hours.
 2. History (H. Dittmar, *Geschichte d. Welt vor u. nach Christus . . .*)—I, II. 2 hours.
 3. Greek Reading of Matt. 8-15—I. 2 hours.
 4. Greek (Kuehner, *Elementar Grammatik*)—II. 2 hours.
 5. Latin Reading of St. John (Vulgate) and *Augustana*, 1-20—I. 2 hours.
 6. Latin (Kuehner, *Elementar Grammatik*)—II. 2 hours.
 7. German—I. 2 hours.

Göttingen and Breslau, he spent six years at Basel. Not as pedagogically adroit as Binner, nor possessing the critical temper of mind associated with university-trained theologians, Irion brought to his task the mystic spirit of German Pietism—not without a strong speculative turn of mind.⁹³ Under the guidance of these rare spirits—Binner and Irion—the future of the seminary seemed assured.

In the midst of these encouraging developments the semi-

8. Orthography—II. 2 hours.

9. Geography of Asia and Europe—II. 2 hours.

10. German Chorals—I, II. 2 hours.

Kröhnke taught the following courses:

1. American Geography (Mitchell)—I. 1 hour.

2. English Grammar (Smith)—I. 1 hour.

3. Spelling and Reading (McGuffey's *Second Reader*; St. John)—II. 2 hours.

4. Singing—I, II. 2 hours.

5. Arithmetic—I, II. 2 hours.

“Bericht d. Direktoriums 1853-54,” K. P., II, 133-135.

Under Binner's instruction the First and Second Articles of the catechism served as the basis for a study of ethics and dogmatics respectively. In 1854 he used Martensen's text for dogmatics, the catechism still being used as *Populäre Dogmatik*. In the interest of pedagogics and pastoral theology he introduced a course in anthropology and psychology. Kröhnke's work was more elementary, the main purpose being to teach English.

⁹³ Irion was not without his critics. Writing to Rieger from Naperville, Ill., Apr. 13, 1867, Binner advised Rieger to remain on the seminary board, since his presence constituted “*eine Erklärung gegen alles unpraktische, abstrakte Wesen im Seminar, u. dass daran der sonst treffliche Br. Irion leidet, ist an seinen Zöglingen unverkennbar.*” B.-R. Cor. Or note the following statement: “*Freut mich sehr, dass Br. Irion sich ernstlicher vorgenommen, in menschlicher Weise zu lehren; hoffe, wenn er's einige Jahre gethan, hat er selbst mehr Freude an seinem Amte, weil sichtbarer Frucht. Mir war nur immer das rätselhaft, dass er doch unverkennbar einen tiefen Respekt vor dem Bibelworte u. einem einfältigen Christenthume hat, u. doch sich in solch unbiblisches Redewesen verrennen konnte. Mag wohl der Einfluss von Dr. Hoffmann gewesen sein*” *Ibid.*, June 11, 1867. Or again: “*Das gediegene ist ja in Professor Irion nicht zu verkennen, aber zu wünschen ist, dass kein Zögling mehr sich rühme, eine philosophische, mystische, theosophische Richtung zu haben.*” *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1868.

Inspector Josenhans, in 1864, inquired of Wall concerning the orthodoxy of Irion. “*Frug mich,*” said Wall, “*ob Irion rechtgläubig sei betreffs der Person Christi. Sein Schwager Gess sei es nicht gewesen! Derselbe habe später seine Ansicht modifizirt; habe früher die Ansicht gehabt: Gott sei Mensch geworden in Christo so, dass er bloss einen Scheinleib gehabt habe. Er (Insp.) habe Irion gewarnt, vorsichtig zu sein und nicht eine Lehre zu verbreiten, die der Kirchenlehre in diesem Punkte zuwider sei. Ich sagte: dass er in dem Stücke noch nichts habe zu merken gegeben.*” *Wall's Diary*, II, 65.

nary board reported in 1857 that Professor Binner had been asked to resign.⁹⁴ The board also suggested that a capable theologian be procured from Germany to fill this vacancy. However, Irion was promoted to this position, and J. J. Riggenschach of Brooklyn, New York, a Swiss by birth and a graduate of Basel University, was called to the second professorship, filling this position until 1862, when he returned to Europe to take over a congregation in Schiers, Canton Graubünden.⁹⁵ Advanced to the first professorship, Irion now applied himself to the field of systematic theology, the main fruits of which labors are found in his *Katechismuserklärung*.⁹⁶

Another important change occurred when the vacancy created by the resignation of Riggenschach was filled in 1862 by Baltzer, erstwhile president of the college.⁹⁷ Thus, for

⁹⁴ "Bericht d. Direktoriums des Evang. Missouri-Seminars, 1856-57," K. P., II, 250. The case of Binner is shrouded in darkness. It appears that while teaching at the school at Breslau, Binner had been found guilty of misappropriating a sum of money and was deprived of his office. Later he taught for a while at the famous *Blockmannsches Institut* at Dresden. After 1½ years he returned to Breslau and "nach der Untersuchung wird ihm der Donjon der Festung Glatz zum Aufenthalt auf drei Jahre angewiesen." Here he engaged in literary activities of a pedagogical nature. "Nachdem B. seine Zeit in Glatz erfüllt hatte, wurde er vom Missionsverein durch einflussreiche Männer nach Amerika gefördert" Scholz, *op. cit.*, 206-218. The notoriety surrounding B. was ruinous to his European career and not unknown at least to Rieger and Nollau. Whether the knowledge of these old offenses led to his resignation is not entirely clear. Recently discovered letters of Binner to Rieger breathe the spirit of repentance with respect to "alte Sünden."

A letter from von Mühlner to von Raumer, defending Binner against the accusations of the St. Louis consul (*supra*, p. 308), contains this illuminating sentence, "Binner wurde wegen eines ihn aber moralisch nicht gravirenden Kassendefekts bestraft, erhielt von Srr. Majestät dem Könige ein Gnadengeschenk . . . und hat sich schon in der Heimath, worum das Königliche Konsistorium in Breslau Zeugniß geben kann, seither auch in Amerika als Christ und Geistlicher musterhaft benommen." *Acta K. G. C.*, I, 110.

⁹⁵ "Aus dem Seminar," F., XIII (1862), 60.

⁹⁶ A. Irion, *op. cit.*

⁹⁷ The title "Inspektor," adopted in 1853, was now officially discarded (1862). Baltzer and Irion were assigned separate departments and given equal ranking.

Wall relates that, when he visited Irion's brother at Karlsruhe, the latter asked him: "Ob es denn schwer sei mit seinem Bruder auszukommen, da er mit Riggenschach und seinem jetzigen Collegen nicht besonders ausgekommen zu sein scheine. Er habe geschrieben, es sei

the second time, a university graduate was called to a professorship at the seminary, an office which Baltzer held until 1866, when he became president of the Society.

The end of the *Kirchenverein* period saw the seminary firmly established. The initial difficulties had been overcome, the college debacle was outlived, the shadows of the Civil War were fading, and under the theological guidance of Irion and the wise administrative genius of Baltzer the future took on a rosy hue.

COLLEGIATE EDUCATION

Fitted to meet local needs, reflecting narrow denominational zeal, unimpeded by state restrictions or class distinctions, and all more or less dependent on the East for support, a multitudinous array of colleges, mostly of elementary character, arose on the Western frontier—a unique phenomenon of the life of the day. It is interesting to note how the *Kirchenverein* participated in this epic story and founded a college also subject to the hazards of unfavorable location and financial distress which wrought havoc among so many educational institutions of the pre-Civil-War period.⁹⁸

The college idea had always been associated with the founding of the seminary. Indeed, it seems to have been the original plan, with the opening of the seminary, at the same time to inaugurate a college course of studies for boys. The success which attended the seminary, however, was

nur Einer, ein Schlesier, ein philosophischer Kopf und guter Theologe, mit dem er glaubte, gut auskommen zu können? Ich sagte: dass dieser unser Praeses Steinert sei." Wall's Diary, II, 42.

⁹⁸ Henry A. Stimson, in his address "The Place of Christian Education in the Civilization of the West" (1881), quotes President Sturtevant as saying: "All the separate systems of causation which resulted in the founding of these colleges originated in one and the same source—the unflinching purpose which has ever been cherished by the religious people of this nation to disseminate by means of *institutions*, the influence of the gospel co-extensively with our ever-expanding population."

From a list of dead colleges prepared and graciously placed at my disposal by D. G. Tewksbury, it appears that twenty-five colleges now extinct had been chartered in Missouri prior to the incorporation of Marthasville in 1855. See also Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War* (New York, 1932).

never shared by the college. The delay in opening the seminary prevented the opening of the college. It was therefore announced that in March, 1851, classes would be begun in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, history—the last three to be given in English. In response to this announcement six students arrived, but, since none of these could understand German and each one desired instruction in different subjects, the school was closed after two weeks' experiment.⁹⁹

Thus matters rested until 1854, when it was decided that a college building should be erected on the seminary grounds, which, with the building of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, had become more accessible to the outside world.¹⁰⁰ Matters were again delayed when the seminary board reported that no suitable place could be found on the seminary premises. It proposed, instead, that an elaborate structure, estimated to cost \$28,000, be erected at Waterloo, Illinois.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Auszug aus d. Protokoll 1850," F., I (1850), 60; "Das evang. Seminar" *ibid.*, 63; K. P., I, 127. Note academic provisions in the Marthasville charter of 1855 (*supra*, p. 304, n. 64).

The prospectus of 1851 emphasized the non-sectarian nature of the proposed school, which, in spite of its German characteristics, should be loyal to American ideals with no regard to partisan distinctions. This is a noteworthy expression of the early liberal attitude toward "Americanization." It was here maintained: "*Unser Leben ist Christus; kein Schema IRGEND EINER Kirchengemeinschaft gilt uns als das alleinseligmachende; unser Standpunkt ist Evangelisch: zu einen, nicht zu trennen, ist unser Ziel. Unser Grundsatz als Bürger eines freien Landes ist Treue gegen das Vaterland, also auch treues Wirken für des Vaterlandes Wohl, für Aufrechterhaltung von Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit, nicht für irgend eine Partei im Vaterlande und für deren gesonderte Interessen. Unsere Sprache und Sitte ist deutsch, und wir sind nicht gesonnen, sie jemals aufzugeben; aber wir stellen sie nicht in feindselige Opposition der amerikanischen Eigenthümlichkeit gegenüber, sondern sehen das deutsche und amerikanische Element (man erlaube uns diesen Ausdruck!) an als solche, die berufen sind, ineinander überzugehen und in gegenseitiger Durchdringung ein Neues zu bilden.*" "Das evang. Seminar," F. II (1851), 24. K. P., I, 181. In lieu of the college, an elementary school of parochial nature, attended by 27 farmers' children of the neighborhood, was held from Oct. to April.

¹⁰⁰ The railroad, opened in the fall of 1854, made its closest contact at Washington, six miles from Marthasville. Farmers in the neighborhood promised transportation by wagon or horse, so that Marthasville could be reached from St. Louis in half a day. "Aus einem Briefe" F., V (1854), 58.

¹⁰¹ This was designed for 150 students, since it was argued that a college with an enrolment of but 50-60 students would not be self-sustaining. K. P., II, 144.

The summer conference of 1855, however, rejected this plan and reiterated the desire that a modest building be erected on the seminary grounds, the details to be worked out by the seminary board. In September of that year the first public appeal appeared in the *Friedensbote* for "*ein College . . . , d. h. eine Erziehungs- und Lehranstalt, in welcher Knaben für Bezahlung Wohnung, Beköstigung, Aufsicht, und Unterricht in höheren Zweigen der Wissenschaft erhalten.*"¹⁰² The plans of the architect, H. König of St. Louis, a German, called for the erection of a "massive building," seventy-five feet long and forty feet wide, consisting of two stories and containing eleven living rooms, two classrooms, and two dormitories. The corner-stone was laid in November, 1855, but weather conditions and financial difficulties delayed the opening until April 15, 1858.¹⁰³

The curriculum was designed to embrace subjects found in every Christian college, such as Bible, arithmetic, algebra, mathematics, geography, astronomy, physics, chemistry, world history, natural history, German, English, Latin, Greek, and singing. It was not required that the principal be a minister, although he must be a man of undisputed Christian character, a perfect master of German and English, scientifically trained and pedagogically efficient. The teachers likewise should be masters of English and German, thoroughly conversant with American conditions and sympathetic to the Evangelical position. The full course was designed to cover four years, a preparatory class being provided for backward students.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² "Aufruf u. Bitte," F., VI (1855), 65. In the financial campaign now begun, it was proposed to raise \$5000 through non-interest-bearing shares of \$25 each, ten of which, beginning with 1858, to be redeemable annually. German and English circulars were distributed.

¹⁰³ Note especially the address of Irion on the subject of education and the statement: "Our children should be Americanized, although the German heritage dare not be jeopardized." "Einweihung u. Eröffnung des College," *Ibid.*, IX (1858), 68. The eight colleges of pre-Civil-War origin listed by Tewksbury, *op. cit.*, 215 f., as having survived (1932) were all founded before this time. Eden Theological Seminary of Webster Groves, Mo. (German Evangelical Missouri College), must be added to this list.

¹⁰⁴ K. P., II, 193-195. Tuition, including laundry, in the elementary class was \$40, in both of the two lower classes \$50, and in the upper

It soon became apparent that the project was too ambitious to be carried out successfully. When Johann Heinrich Mengert of Iron Mountain, Missouri, a Basel graduate, refused to accept the principalship, the position was given to I. Koch of Rock Run, Illinois, who had joined the *Kirchenverein* in 1857 and had been warmly recommended by Inspector Josenhans of Basel. Installed with Koch was Horace Boardman of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont, teacher of English and mathematics.¹⁰⁵

The choice of Koch proved most unfortunate. Accusations of immorality led to his resignation in 1858. Immediately the strongest man available, A. Baltzer, the president of the *Kirchenverein* at the time, was drafted into service. In the following year (1859) Boardman's return to the East necessitated the engagement of another English teacher. These were blows from which the infant institution never fully recovered.

Nor did the attendance fulfill expectations. The school year, beginning in the middle of April, was divided into two semesters of twenty-two weeks each. During the first semester (April to October, 1858) only eight students, seven German and one American, attended. No day students appeared, since the boys of the neighborhood were needed at home for farm duties. For the winter semester (October-March) six of the eight returned, so that with the arrival of five additional boarding students and five day students the enrolment reached sixteen. During the second year the

classes \$60 and \$70 for a semester of 22 weeks. For day students the rate for the elementary class was \$8, for the two lower classes \$12, and for the two upper classes \$15. Boys under ten years were not admitted. The absence of an established culture and of scholarly traditions among the rank and file of the constituency which this college sought to serve readily explains its character as a struggling secondary institution. Its collegiate rank may be questioned, since, not having been chartered, it never had the right to confer degrees.

¹⁰⁵ Mengert joined the Lutheran Synod of North Carolina. Attention was also called to H. C. Werth of Webster College as a prospective teacher. See *infra*, p. 383, n. 50. The general catalog of Middlebury College lists Horace Elijah Boardman (1835-88), as a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Andover Seminary (1862). Boardman was the first permanent pastor of the First Congregational Church of Fort Dodge, Iowa (1864). Wall refers to Koch in a letter to Josenhans, B. P. F., St. Louis, Aug. 31, 1855.

enrolment increased to seventeen boarding students and one day student, of whom fifteen were Germans and three Americans. Two of these were under fifteen years of age, the remainder under twenty-two.¹⁰⁶ Thus the average attendance for the eight semesters that the college was open was seventeen, the highest attendance in any one semester being twenty-seven.

The death blow to the college was dealt by the Civil War; for the institution became a *Sorgenkind* when parents refused to send their sons to this guerrilla-infested region on the Missouri. The financial depression added its woes, and when only five boys appeared for the second semester of 1862, it was finally decided to discontinue the school. Consolation was found in the fact that "more than one-half of the higher institutions of learning in the state had closed their doors, a large number having been laid waste, robbed, and plundered, many of which had stood in higher regard among the enemies of our country than our own."¹⁰⁷

The failure of the college was one of the most discouraging experiences of the *Kirchenverein*. It cost a tremendous amount of energy at a time when other institutions, such as the seminary, were struggling to strike roots. Expected to cost only \$5000, upon completion it represented an outlay of more than \$8000.

The college society, although continuing to support the seminary, had always expressed reluctance to support the new enterprise financially¹⁰⁸ and thus forced the *Kirchen-*

¹⁰⁶ The June conference of 1859 had already raised the question of merging the college with the seminary. K. P., II, 270.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 325. Tewksbury is authority for the statement that the average mortality rate of colleges founded in 16 Western states prior to the Civil War is 81%. Of the total of 85 colleges in Missouri 77 died—a mortality rate of 90%. *Op. cit.*, 27 f.

¹⁰⁸ The society was beginning to resist the excessive denominational college-building zeal of the day. *Ibid.*, 77. Baldwin, in S. P. C. T. E. W. *Report*, 1855, 35, stated that the proposed "institution in its present form, operates mainly to meet the wants of immigrant Germans. But if this class of population should finally become Americanized . . . the particular necessity which now exists will in a great measure pass away. And unless beyond that point there should exist valid reasons for continuing it as an American institution, the expediency of bringing it out into full proportions with the Theological and Collegiate Departments might be questioned." Two years later, Nol-

verein to depend on its own resources. In the spring of 1856 K. Witte started on a collection trip for the college which led him to Evansville and Vincennes, Indiana; Nashville, Princeton, Mascoutah, Belleville, and Quincy, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; and Burlington, Iowa.¹⁰⁹ In the fall of the same year Nollau undertook the above-mentioned visit to the East. The following year Hoffmeister engaged in a three months' collection tour of *Kirchenverein* churches in the interests of the college. When the college debt in 1859 had risen to \$7000, the pastors A. Röder, F. Lenschau, and Johannes Zimmermann were delegated to undertake an intensive financial drive in their respective districts.¹¹⁰ These were critical times, and no efforts were spared to save the college from financial ruin.

Deficits continued to mount, however, until, when the college was closed in 1862, the total debt on educational institutions had risen to \$12,332.30—the non-interest-bearing debt having been reduced to \$1500 through gifts, and salary arrears amounting to \$861.¹¹¹ These were most depressing conditions. Heroic action was necessary. A sinking fund was established to receive one-half the profits of the *Friedensbote*, the net profits of the hymnal, and specially designated gifts.¹¹² Eastern friends, particularly the college society, had not withheld their support during the

lau, reporting to the society, significantly remarked: "The gentlemen of your committee who visited St. Louis in May last, proposed to us not to open a regular college, but only a Preparatory Department connected with our Seminary, and to send the young men from it to Webster College to finish their course. Our Synod took the proposition into consideration, but resolved to try to execute our original plan, because we received donations to the building fund expressly asked and given to establish a regular college, so that we feel in duty bound to so many friends to try to start a regular college. If we do not succeed, then we are obliged to give up that plan." *Ibid.*, 1857, 25.

¹⁰⁹ K. P., II, 209 ff.; F., VII (1856), 34, 44, 59.

¹¹⁰ K. P. (1859), 10.

¹¹¹ K. P., II, 304, 327. The debt in 1860 amounted to \$10,000. A "Five Cent Collection" was raised in the churches at this time.

¹¹² K. P. (1862), 81 f. This conference also authorized the annual holding of two seminary festivals. Coincident with the convening of the K. in June, 1864, there appeared in the F., XV (1864), 89, a stirring article by K. Witte on "Gedanken über die nie zu bezahlende Schuld." Average monthly current expense during this war year was \$400, average income, \$100—the debt mounting to \$12,000.

critical years of the war, although the appropriations could not always be paid in full.¹¹³ In 1865 the college society requested that a representative be sent to the East for the purpose of establishing a \$5000 endowment fund for Marthasville. Rieger undertook this task in May, 1865. This collection, which was sanctioned and undertaken by the college society in the East, netted \$1625, which amount, however, could not be used for debt reduction.¹¹⁴

It was not until the close of the *Kirchenverein* period that the entire debt was wiped out. On April 26 the last Confederate army surrendered to Sherman, and June the first was proclaimed a day of national prayer and repentance. An opportune moment had come to plead for a tangible thank-offering. A house-to-house collection was undertaken by Ph. Göbel in the Eastern District, by Fr. Drewel in the Northern District, and by a number of pastors in the Middle District—the first intensively organized financial drive of the Society.¹¹⁵ At the end of one year the entire debt had been liquidated, and for the first time in the history of the seminary a balance was on hand. The conference which received this joyous news spontaneously reechoed

¹¹³ See financial statistics in Appendix VIII.

¹¹⁴ "Was Pastor Jos. Rieger von seiner Reise . . . berichtet," F., XVI (1865), 106. Rieger in his report as chairman of the seminary board, under date of Oct., 1865, stated that "the reason why the whole amount was not realized may be the clumsiness of the agent, who generally failed where he was not personally acquainted or had a *personal* introduction, though provided with the very best of credentials and recommendations as to his person and the cause he represented. We trust your society will take a kind consideration of the fact and employ a more competent agency for the benefit of this Institution. The amount realized was invested in U. S. Bonds as a permanent fund. We have also received of an old Western friend two interest-bearing R. R. Bonds of \$1000. So we have a beginning for endowments." S. P. C. T. E. W., *22nd Report*, 1865, 63; K. P., II, 369.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* Aufruf zu einer Haus-Collecte zur Tilgung der Schulden unserer Lehranstalten," F., XVI (1865), 89. Note the reports of the collectors in F.; e. g., the report by Ch. Kirschmann, who had collected \$2064.57 in churches in Ohio and Indiana. He introduced his report by saying: "*Allen Brüdern und Freunden, die mir meine Collectenreise—durch freundliche Aufnahme, durch Weiterbeförderung mit Buggys, Pferden und Wagen—sehr erleichterten, entbiete ich nun meinen herzlichen Dank und Gruss. . . . Sollte aber irgend ein Geber seinen Namen nicht ganz richtig gedruckt finden, so möge man mir nicht sehr zürnen, sintemal die Aussprache oft eine wunderliche ist. . . .*" *Ibid.*, XVII (1866), 56.

"*Nun danket alle Gott.*"¹¹⁶ Although the college enterprise had failed, the future of the seminary was assured.

The failure of the college stimulated the educational development of the *Kirchenverein* to more immediately significant accomplishments. However idealistically conceived, the founding of the college was ill-advised. Even if the Civil War had not intervened, certain economic and social factors might have cut short this collegiate dream. However this might be, attention was now definitely directed to more challenging educational tasks. Local congregations needed to be more firmly established, and for years to come parochial schools and catechetical instruction dominated the educational horizon of the day. The interest of the Society as such centered on the institution at Marthasville, and, perusing the records of that day, one notes how no cause so caught the imagination of the rank and file of the people and led to financial sacrifice of such proportions as this little school on the Femme Osage. If the church should strike roots deep enough to sustain its expanding needs, an educated ministry must be provided. When, at times, distorted perspectives threatened to obscure more fundamental issues, the illumination radiating from Marthasville shone through the darkness to give direction to faltering steps. The future of the *Kirchenverein* was assured.

These educational efforts of the *Kirchenverein* represent the first heart-throbs of an infant Church which after many feeble efforts began to assert its right to live and its ability to function in an ever enlarging environment. Would the rising Church be able to nurture its own resources and continually recreate the vital energies which alone would secure its future? The answer to this question was affirmatively given in the educational activities which now arose. Here at every point the religious inheritance of the past, amidst the untried conditions prevailing on the frontier,

¹¹⁶ K. P., *loc. cit.* Two years' interest on the Berlin fund, amounting to \$459.32, had also arrived. Note also the note of jubilation and thanks in "An unsre lieben Gemeinden in Betreff" F., XVIII (1867), 68.

was subjected to the test of function. Thus the educational task of this frontier German Church was not a projected interest, but rather a vital function. It served neither a narrow confessionalistic purpose nor a liberal socio-cultural aim. Under these conditions the educational institutions which now arose became the focal point of interest for the entire Society! In these projects all must participate—the rich and poor, churches large and small, urban and rural, pastors and laymen, the educated and the untrained men, women, and children—all together must contribute to the new life throbbing in their midst. Thus in no uncertain terms the *Kirchenverein* established its birthright on the American frontier.

CHAPTER X

THE SOCIAL CHALLENGE OF THE FRONTIER

The solution of the social problems confronting the *Kirchenvereine* churches in the West was complicated by the admixture of ideals and practices prevailing in the fatherland. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches now united in the Evangelical Church had each been characterized by a different approach toward the ethical and practical solution of the social issues of the day. How would the native activism of Calvin and the quietism of Lutheranism be assimilated in the new Church? We know, however, that these diverging emphases never developed to the point of serious crisis. Neither the ethical rigorism of Calvin nor the spiritual submission of Lutheranism dominated the new Church so much as the ethicospiritual zeal unleashed by the rise of Pietism.¹

The protest of Pietism against dead orthodoxy had resulted in an ethical revivification which continued to characterize both the Lutheran and Reformed and later the Union Church. This new interest early manifested itself in the founding of A. H. Francke's Orphans' Home (1698), the Halle Missionary Society, and various other foreign-missionary societies, some of which have already been mentioned.² Since home-mission interests were automatically being sponsored by the state-supported Church, the private foreign-mission projects became a vital expression of Christian benevolence. With the rise of Wichern, *Innere Mission* came to be interpreted as a function of the Christian Church, not to be subsidized by the state. The spirit and personality of Wichern continued to dominate the German church diets, so that home missions increasingly came to

¹ See C. E. Schneider, "Genius of the Reformed Church in the United States," *The Journal of Religion*, XV (1935), 26.

² Berlin school (Jänicke, 1800); Basel, 1815; Berlin, 1824; Barmen, 1829; North German, 1836; Hamburg, 1835; Leipzig, 1836; Gossner, 1836.

be defined in terms of social Christianity.³ Thus the period of the *Kirchenverein* was marked by altruistic activities in German church circles which were closely observed by German pastors in their American labors.

THE CHALLENGE OF MISSIONS

German pastors arriving in the West found themselves torn between foreign- and home-, "äussere" and "innere," missionary ideals. Most of them were filled with enthusiasm for the support of the foreign-mission cause.⁴ The challenge of the frontier, on the other hand, helped focus the attention of local congregations on immediate needs which had to be met independent of denominational guidance and unassisted by state support. Foreign-mission zeal found its outlet in the projects of *Innere Mission* in the sense of Wichern.⁵ The striving of the two interests with each other may best be noted in the activities of missionary societies and study classes and in the holding of mission festivals.

³ One of the purposes underlying the founding of church diets in 1848 was: to advance the cause of Christian benevolence. Note Wichern's eloquent espousal of the amendment defining the purpose of the German church diet as: "Förderung christlich-socialer Zwecke, Vereine und Anstalten, insbesondere der inneren Mission." *Die Verhandlungen der Wittenberger Versammlung . . .* (Berlin, 1848), 68 ff.

A *Central Ausschuss* was formed, which reported to the church diets and considered such items as care of prisoners, temperance, poverty, gambling, youth, laboring class, immorality, marriage, emigration, apprentices, tramps, Sabbath desecration, etc. Cf. the *Verhandlungen* of various home-missionary congresses held under auspices of the *Central Ausschuss*, the first of which convened at Wittenberg, 1849. Wichern's *Fliegende Blätter* and the *Kandidatenkonvikten* at Hamburg and at Berlin, offering students opportunities to work among the poor and needy, were fruits of this movement.

⁴ Of the 156 members of the K. (1840-66), 50 are definitely known as sons of Basel and Barmen. The correspondence of Basel with her graduates was replete with reference to the work in foreign fields throughout the world.

From its inception in 1850 the F. liberally lent its columns to foreign-mission items. With the merging of the *Missionsbote* of the *Kirchenverein in Ohio* with the F. in 1852, a foreign-mission column was conducted under the caption "*Missionsbote*" until 1854, when it was called "*Missionsnachrichten*."

⁵ From the point of view of the first generation the founding of new churches in America was considered a foreign-mission project—which justified the interest of Basel and Barmen in the American field. The terms "home" and "foreign" were sometimes used interchangeably.

Although Indians were not located in such close proximity to *Kirchenverein* areas as to constitute a home-missionary challenge, interest in Indian missions soon manifested itself. None of the occasional contacts with Indians which have been noted developed into missionary projects.⁶ The most ambitious effort in this direction originated with the missionary society of North Church in St. Louis, under whose auspices Basel, always interested in American Indians, had commissioned Dresel to establish a mission field among the Osages. The *Kirchenverein* had been requested to sponsor this project, but referred the matter back to the St. Louis society, which, however, discovered that it was not able to support it alone.⁷

The last opportunity to participate in an Indian mission presented itself in 1864, when the Evangelical Missionary

⁶ Major projects, however, were frequently undertaken by Basel, Barmen, and Neuendettelsau missionaries. See *supra*, p. 48, n. 15; p. 51, n. 20; pp. 53 f.; p. 91, n. 98; p. 95, n. 104; p. 158.

⁷ K. P., I, 80. See F. S., St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, Mo. (1918), 46 f. The "Instruction für den als Missionar nach Nord-America bestimmten Bruder Theodor Herm. Dresel" read as follows:

1.
Geliebter Bruder! Die Comitee giebt dir im Namen des Herrn den Auftrag in Uebereinstimmung mit dem Rufe des neugebildeten Missions-Vereins zu St. Louis im Staate Missouri in Nord-America ueber Bremen nach St. Louis spaetestens am Anfang August gemeinsam mit den uebrigen nach Nord-America bestimmten Bruedern abzureisen, um als Missionar des genannten Vereins unter den nordamerikanischen Indianern zu wirken.

2.
Du wirst nach deiner Ankunft in St. Louis dich mit dem dir mitzugebenden Briefe an unsern lieben Bruder Pastor Riess daselbst wenden und von dem dortigen Vereine deine weiteren Anweisungen erwarten.

3.
Ausser dem noethigen Reisegelde, welches dir die Comitee einhaendigt, wirst du fuer deinen ganzen kuenftigen Unterhalt als Missionar sowie fuer etwaige kuenftige Versorgung an den genannten Verein gewiesen.

4.
Obwohl nicht unter der Leitung der hiesigen Comitee stehend, wirst du so viel an uns ist, in der herzlichen bruederlichen Liebesverbindung durch Fuerbitte und schriftliche Mittheilung mit uns verbleiben und gewiss auch gerne von deiner Seite mindestens jaehrlich ein Mal deine Erfahrungen auf dem Missionsfelde zu unserer Kenntniss bringen.

5.
Vor deiner Abreise aus Europa, nach deiner Ankunft in America und nach der Wahl und Besetzung deiner Station wuenschen wir Nachricht von deinem Befinden zu erhalten.

6.
Die Gnade des Herrn sei mit dir und lasse dich in Christo zum Lichte vieler Heiden werden. Er sei bei dir in der Einsamkeit und staerke deinen Muth durch Sein Leib, Seele und Geist durchdringendes Naheseyn. Amen!

Die Missions-Comitee,
u. in dem Namen

Lickoche, Pfr.

Emanl. Burckhardt, Pfr.

als Schreiber

W. Hoffmann, Inspector

Basel

d. 14. Juni 1848

Society of Washington County, Wisconsin, proposed such an undertaking, hoping to find the necessary support among German churches of America. But again the *Kirchenverein* did not feel adequate to the task. The economic depression incident to the war and the financial obligations incurred for various internal developments made participation appear unfeasible, and thus an opportunity was lost which never came again.⁸

Also seeking recognition as an integral part of the program of the growing Society was the missionary work among the Jews—a subject first brought to the attention of the *Kirchenverein* by J. C. Seybold. Seybold was a graduate of Basel and had always been solicitous for the sons of Israel. In 1863 he persuaded the Eastern District to establish a treasury for Jewish missions and to collect funds to support him in whatever labors he might be able to undertake.⁹ The other districts were notified of this action, and

⁸ This society was founded on Oct. 20, 1858, by G. Fachtmann, the unionistic *Reiseprediger* of the Wisconsin Synod, and W. Binner, pastor of the *Christus-Kirche* in Germantown. According to the description of the dedication of the *Christus-Kirche* in F., XI (1860), 173, the society was at that time being supported at least by Binner, Ph. Wagner, J. H. Roell of West Bend, and M. Evert of Richfield, all of whom, except Binner and Wagner, belonged to the Wisconsin Synod. See Koehler, *op. cit.*, and *Archives of Joint Wisconsin Synod*. Before this, according to Koehler, G. Fachtmann had served churches in Richfield and Town Polk in Washington Co. C. Braun and Julius Hoffmann of the Berlin Society had also located in this county. The first representative of the K. to locate in Washington Co. was W. Biesemeier, who, according to his obituary, F., LXV (1914), 71, was located at Ackerville (?) from 1862-67, succeeding Binner at German-town in 1864.

Since this society could not interest K. churches in its missionary project, an appeal for assistance was addressed to the Mission Institute at Basel. Inspector Josenhans acknowledged the desirability of such an undertaking, but, since not less than \$6000 would be required to establish a station, he suggested that, if a number of stations could be founded by Evangelical synods interested in this work, Basel might undertake to sponsor the enterprise. In view of the apparent inability of Basel missionaries in America to raise these funds, Basel advised the Wisconsin society to seek the support of the large American missionary societies, which after all, might be found more qualified to pursue that project. "Die Mission unter den Indianern in d. Ver. Staaten," *ibid.*, XV (1864), 102. The reference to Indian missions in K. F., IV (1863), 225, seems to have been written by Binner. See also *infra*, p. 355, n. 75.

⁹ E. D. P. (1863), 16. See Seybold's previous references to this subject, e. g., F., XII (1861), 135, 149-151; XIII (1862), 13, 31; XIV

E. Roos of Cincinnati, Ohio, was authorized to administer the funds and further plead the cause.¹⁰

The action of the Eastern District was widely heralded in the *Friedensbote* with pleas for financial support. The hope was now expressed that the project thus inaugurated might be sponsored by the Society as such. The general conference of 1864, however, requested the Eastern District to continue the work as best it could.¹¹ The interest increased and the cause flourished. Seybold personally presented the matter on every possible occasion, particularly at mission festivals, and acknowledgments for contributions "für Israel" began to appear in the *Friedensbote*.¹² In the midst of these developments, Seybold resigned from his charge at Evansville, Indiana, and moved to St. Louis, where he no longer had time for such activities.

The work thus interrupted was resumed when A. Strauss, a converted Jew serving a church at Jonesboro, Illinois, was encouraged to devote whatever time he could to the evangelization of his people. Strauss had come under the observation of Roos, who persuaded the Eastern District to support him with an appropriation of \$100.¹³ Donations again increased, and the future seemed assured,¹⁴ when the fatal blow occurred with the death of Strauss in 1868.¹⁵ The work was reluctantly abandoned. The balance of \$492 in the treasury was loaned to the *Kirchenverein* until 1872, when it was remitted to General Superintendent Hoffmann in Berlin to be used in behalf of Jewish missions in Palestine.¹⁶

(1863), 54. A sketch of these developments may be found in an article by C. E. Schneider, "Attempts to Work among the Jews," *Our Mission Sunday*, XXXIII (1934), No. 6.

¹⁰ "Hast du die Juden lieb?" F., XIV (1863), 102; "Was können wir für die Juden thun?" *ibid.*, 109. See also "Auszug aus der Rede des P. Seybold . . .," *ibid.*, 118.

¹¹ K. P., II, 335.

¹² By 1865 the sum of \$279.60 had been received, \$47 of which had been expended for the printing of a tract.

¹³ "Mission unter Israel," F., XVII (1866), 134.

¹⁴ Cf. financial record. Note also the appeal of J. C. Feil that the K. organize a society for Jewish missions. *Ibid.*, XVII (1866), 70.

¹⁵ "Todesanzeige," *ibid.*, XIX (1868), 39.

¹⁶ E. D. P. (1865), 16; (1872), 25.

It was not always clearly indicated whether these activities were conceived as foreign or home projects. So widespread was the general mission interest, however, that in 1860 almost every one of the older congregations was at the same time a missionary society.¹⁷ As the *Kirchenverein* became established as an independent organization, functioning within its own rights and resources in the maintenance of its projects, a more strictly home-missionary perspective began to develop. This evolution may be traced in the development of foreign-mission festivals which were being widely observed in Europe at this time.¹⁸ In the fall of 1845 the missionary society referred to above (North Church) was organized by Wall. This example was soon followed by the other three churches in St. Louis, all of which joined in the annual observance of joint mission festivals on the Sunday before or after Reformation Day.¹⁹ Mission festivals gradually came to be observed by other churches and became notable events in the life of the congregations. On one such gala occasion visitors came eighty miles, a veritable *Wagenburg* surrounding the church, where services were held in the morning, afternoon, and evening.²⁰

¹⁷ "Wie d. evang. Kirche . . . ," F., XI (1860), 57.

¹⁸ One of the great missionary events of Europe was the mission-week celebration at Basel each year. This was featured by the annual report of the *Inspektor*, which was generally reprinted in the F.

¹⁹ The first of these was held in 1847. The festival of 1850 was referred to as a rare occasion in the West. As many as eleven visiting ministers sometimes participated. The offering in 1855 amounted to \$887, which included sums collected by the various missionary societies of St. Louis during that year. Several earrings were found in the offering. Special song sheets were published for these occasions. To provide proper hymns the seminary press published "*Dein Reich Komme*," containing 81 songs for *Missionstunden und Missionsfeste*. This proved so popular that a second edition was published in 1854. Since the renewed interest in missions was one of the choice fruits of the Reformation, these meetings were sometimes held in conjunction with the observance of that day.

²⁰ The early observances were dutifully recorded in the F. In March, 1850, the church at Quincy, Ill., invited St. Louis friends to its mission festival. The first festival in Evansville, Ind., July, 1852, began with a preparatory communion service on Saturday afternoon and continued until Monday. The first German mission festival in Ia. (Burlington, Nov., 1853) was marked by the first use of gas lamps. Other first references are: Femme Osage, Jan. 6, 1854 (Epiphany); Gravois, Mo., 1854; Warsaw, Ill., Sept. 30, 1855; Hermann,

After the founding of Marthasville a new interest began to assert itself at mission festivals, where separate services and collections were devoted to the cause of the seminary. The building of the seminary was very definitely considered a home-mission enterprise. A new vision was beginning to dawn. The exclusive foreign-mission interest was capitulating to immediate local needs. The anomaly of the situation that the *Kirchenverein*—itself a child of foreign missions—should consume its energies in foreign fields while the needs of the homeland required its full attention was pointed out. The seminary, a home-missionary institution, required the ardent support of the Society. In Germany, where the state church sought to supply home needs, the interest of local churches could be turned to the support of foreign missions. When, in America, individual churches were called upon to meet local needs, foreign missions began to lose their dominating position.²¹ In this way the maintenance of home missions began to establish itself as the primary function of the frontier Church.²²

The most ambitious extension of the home-mission concept occurred when the care for the poor, sick, orphaned, and physically distressed²³ was included in its scope. The

Mo., Oct. 4, 1855; Madison, Ia., April 6, 1856. The celebrations now became increasingly frequent. When Reformation Day was reserved for presenting the needs of Marthasville, the mission celebrations were held earlier in October.

In 1856 consistories of several German states decreed that foreign-mission services be held annually on Epiphany Sunday and an offering be sent to Basel. Epiphany Sunday never proved popular for mission festivals in K. circles.

²¹ This was the view of Fr. Judt, himself an erstwhile missionary among the Persians and Armenians. His argument for the more ardent support of denominational enterprises was supported by his claim that in the conference year 1856 the sum of \$1062.20 had been given to foreign missions and only \$862.08 to Marthasville. "Schreiben . . .," F., VII (1856), 76. Note the extent and distribution of mission funds raised by the churches in Stephenson Co., Ill., in 1861. *Ibid.*, XII (1861), 159.

²² During the early days, establishing new congregations was considered an inherent function of the Church as such, not a separate home-missionary project. For founding of the home-missionary treasury in 1859, see *infra*, p. 430.

²³ The Reformed group in Bremen, referred to *supra*, pp. 142 ff., had been unusually successful in this field. When Wichern visited Bremen in 1837, he was enlightened concerning "*das hiesige Armen-*

modern church, following apostolic precedent, so it was claimed, must be interested in the material as well as the spiritual welfare of its members; for the physical needs of man could not be indifferent to those who accepted Him as their Lord "who went about doing good." Indeed, the idealism of a real Biblical communism according to the Book of Acts was not considered illusory. The concrete social challenge came to local congregations in the need for amelioration of the impoverished conditions prevailing in German settlements on the frontier. Here the spirit of German *Innere Mission* found its clearest expression.

Efforts to solve these problems systematically began in a small and modest way when sewing societies and ladies' aids were organized by local congregations to care for the poor and the sick, the widows and the orphans within their midst. In these ways and through these agencies the cause of social Christianity found its first expression and systematic support. Increasingly the plea was heard that not only individuals or separate societies within a congregation, but also churches as such must interest themselves in this cause and not permit secular philanthropic institutions to dominate the field.²⁴ Congregations were urged by the

wesen, mit dem es besser steht als bei uns in Hamburg. Alle Zweige der Armenpflege: Armenhäuser, Krankenhäuser, Witwenstifte, Waisenanstalten, Armenschulen u. s. w. . . ." J. Wichern, *op. cit.*, I, 218.

²⁴ The needs of the poor and the sick, of the widows and the orphans were being met by various secular organizations. The poverty and destitution prevailing in the frontier town of St. Louis occasioned the organization, in 1824, of the Female Charitable Society to relieve "the poor of every description in this city." In 1838 the St. Louis Samaritan Society was organized and, in 1840, the Society for the Diffusion of Alms. During the floods and the cholera epidemics the public responded to the needs of the sick and suffering poor. After the cholera of 1849 a meeting "for the relief of the children made destitute by the prevailing epidemic" was organized. Mullanphy Emigrant Relief Fund (municipal) and the German Emigrant Aid Society (private) came into existence in 1851. See Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, chap. xl.

A strong stimulus for charitable activities in religious groups may be found in the fear that secular fraternal societies, due to their philanthropic interests, might be considered an adequate substitute for the church. As early as 1853 the plea was heard that, since even the "children of the world" have organized mutual aid societies for sick and needy, the Evangelical churches should also bestir themselves in these home-mission fields. "Etwas, das unsern Gemeinen

Friedensbote to appoint a missionary committee capable of distinguishing between home and foreign needs and intent "not to win members for the church but souls for Christ." The chairman of this committee should be entitled to attend meetings of the church board. Parochial school-teachers should also be enlisted as social workers by their congregations, and it was suggested that in larger cities nurses be engaged at the expense of the congregation. A central treasury administered by a board of almoners might be established. Tainted money was unacceptable, coercion must be avoided, the love motive alone should prevail.²⁵

In response to these suggestions and designed to alleviate immediate needs, various types of societies began to appear in local congregations. Most widely prevailing were the so-called "indigent societies," or *Armenunterstützungsvereine*.²⁶ The lack of economic security in the impoverished German congregations on the frontier was also revealed by the rise of the so-called *Sterbekassen*. Here the church entered a field already occupied by the fraternal orders of the day and sought to assure its members an honorable burial. Men and women, young and old, were eligible to membership. An entrance fee of one dollar constituted the initial investment. At the death of a member each fellow-

noththut," F., V (1854), 17 f. Indeed, the failure of the Church to interest itself in these social projects accounted for the popularity of secret societies and of communism and socialism. "Wie d. evang. Kirche . . .," *ibid.*, XI (1860), 57; "Die kirchliche Armen- und Krankenpflege," D. K., II (1849), 340.

²⁵ "Etwas, das unsern Gemeinen noththut," F., IV (1853), 90; V (1854), 4, 17. This series of articles, the first K. manifesto on social Christianity, was limited, of course, by its restriction to local needs characteristic of pioneer churches. Note the reference to *apostolic constitutions* and sundry Scriptural quotations. In the care of the poor a distinction was made between those inside and those outside a congregation, individual persons being encouraged to care for the latter.

²⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 249. Various F. S. record the founding of these societies. An *Armenunterstützungsverein* was founded at Salem Church, Quincy, Ill., 1852. The *Gegenseitiger Unterstützungsverein Evangelischer Christen von St. Louis u. Umgebung* was referred to as the mother society, the largest local branch being at Waterloo, Ill. F. S., Evang. Church, Waterloo, Ill., 32. An *Armenkasse* was established in St. Paul's Church, Louisville, Ky., and an *Armenverein*, in Zion, Evansville, Ind., 1854.

member agreed to pay the sum of one dollar to the family of the deceased.²⁷ A third type of society, founded by churches to help establish the economic security of its members, was the *Sparkasse*. These saving funds were organized, administered, and guaranteed by the local congregation, being designed, not for the rich, but for the laboring man with meager income. Weekly deposits beginning as low as twenty-five cents were solicited, interest being paid only on deposits of one dollar or more. Withdrawals during the first six months entailed a loss of interest.²⁸

It is not to be assumed that these societies were found in all or even most of the *Kirchenverein* churches. Local conditions determined the nature and extent of their development. There was hardly a German congregation, however, which was not confronted by the problem of serving its poverty-stricken members. In girding itself to meet these needs the *Kirchenverein* was not far from what later was heralded as the social gospel.

PASTORS' WIDOWS' PENSION FUND

The problem of poverty also arose in the ranks of pastors' families and challenged the *Kirchenverein* to definite action in their behalf. With pioneer pastors advancing into middle age, usually with large families to support, the problem of providing for their widows and orphans began to demand attention. Salaries of German pastors in Western states, especially for those stationed in young congregations, were exceedingly low. Rarely was it possible in such conditions to provide for the needs of old age. Considerations such as these led to the founding of a pension fund for preachers' widows and orphans in order to effect, as a group, what individuals by themselves could not accomplish.

The founding of the Pastors' Widows' Pension Fund seems first to have been discussed at the Missouri pastoral

²⁷ "Etwas," F., V (1854), 17 f.

²⁸ It was pointed out by the F. that a church savings-bank had so successfully been conducted by Raschig's church at Cincinnati that the profit derived therefrom could be used for the poor and the sick. *Ibid.*

conference of 1853.²⁹ In the general conference of 1854 Kröhnke, Rieger, and Baltzer were authorized to consider the question of ministers' widows' pension on the basis of a plan which had been proposed by the latter. Nothing was accomplished, however; for college affairs engrossed the attention of the conference of the following year. In 1856 Baltzer, Rieger, Steinert, Jung, and Wall were instructed to prepare a draft for a constitution. That this matter be no longer unduly postponed, a fund was created into which each pastor could immediately pay an entrance fee of twenty-five dollars or the interest on that amount figured at ten percent. If a death should occur before the formal organization of the society, the president was authorized to collect a dollar from each member for the surviving widow.³⁰ Finally, in June of the following year, the constitution of the *Verein evangelischer Prediger zu gegenseitiger Unterstützung ihrer Wittwen und Waisen* was adopted, Rieger, Wall, and Nollau being elected as officers with full authority to conduct all affairs.

The constitution clearly stated all provisions. Membership was voluntary and open to all pastors on payment of an entrance fee of twenty-five dollars. Annual dues were two dollars. Any other sums deposited by a member were accredited to the surviving widow with interest at six percent. Interest accruing from capital investment, consisting of fees and dues, was to be equally divided among the beneficiaries. This aid was never to be less than \$75 or more than \$150—these sums, if necessary, to be raised through assessments. It was also stipulated that remarriage would disqualify a widow from further participation in these benefits. In the event of her death, however, the surviving children received the pension until the youngest was fourteen years of age. Additional gifts to the treasury constituted a reserve fund to defray administrative expenses.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, IV (1853), 83. The sympathies of this conference were enlisted for the family of Grote, recently deceased.

³⁰ K. P., I, 191. K. membership at this time amounted to 46. J. J. Riess died during the year, but whether or not his widow received this benefit is not stated.

All accumulating capital was to be held by the *Kirchenverein*.³¹

How did the *Kirchenverein* justify this fraternal venture in life insurance? In pietistic circles, particularly among the laymen, the argument was repeatedly advanced that such action betrayed a lack of trust that the Lord whom their pastors served, the Father of widows and orphans, would adequately provide for all their needs. Economic pressure, however, overcame pietistic scruples. Indeed, the impoverished conditions prevailing in some pastors' families were held up as a challenge to their congregations to support this enterprise, so that, in the event of the death of their pastor, they be not confronted by the embarrassing problem of providing for his family.³²

It was discovered, however, that the pension fund could not legally be administered by the *Kirchenverein* as planned, but must be reorganized as an autonomous society within the larger organization. The Society, therefore, withdrew from the scene, and the fund continued to function under the management of its own members.³³

Indifference to the problem of economic security, so characteristic of the missionary crusaders of the first decade, was capitulating to the more realistic demands of an established order. Increasingly conscious of its corporate existence and stirred by the sense of responsibility for the common needs of its pastors, the *Kirchenverein* boldly launched forth in this new field. The meager support afforded by this fund proved adequate until the mortality rate increased, at which time the problem of "poor widows" again came into prominence.³⁴

³¹ "Statuten der Prediger-Wittwen-Kasse," *ibid.* (1857), 47. About this time the F. reprinted an article from the *Christenbote* of Stuttgart in defense of life insurance: "Ein Wort über Lebensversicherungen," F., X (1859), 74. See illustration.

³² "Etwas über Predigerwittwen . . . ," F., X (1859), 89.

³³ K. P. (1859), 15.

³⁴ Only three pastors had died up to 1859, and none between 1859 and 1866. In 1870 there was organized the fantastic, short-lived *Brüderverein*, followed shortly by the *Fünf Dollar Verein*, the principal idea of which was adopted by the general conference of 1870.

11. 28

Neu-englischer Prediger

in gegenseitiger Unterstützung ihrer Wittwen & Waisen
gegründet am 1ten Juni 1857.

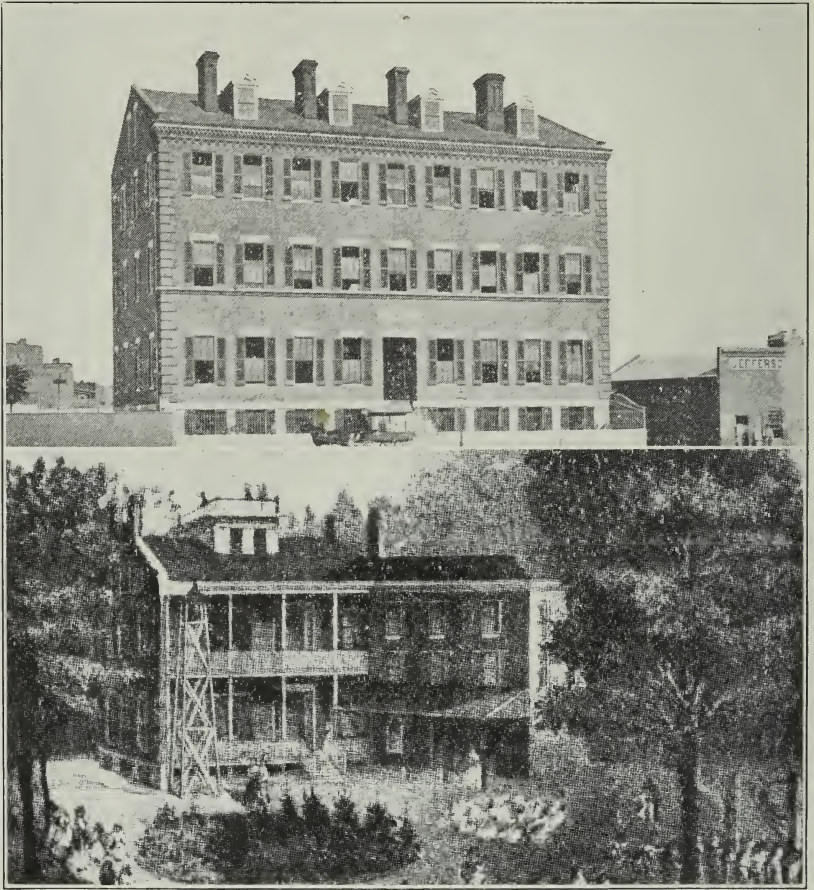
Mr. Pastor A. Kruse ist heute als Mitglied
des Vereins evangelischer Prediger zu gegenseitiger
Unterstützung ihrer Wittwen und Waisen aufgenommen
worden und hat derselbe sein Eintrittsgeld für einen
Antheil gemäß der Statuten \$1. mit Fünf und Zwanzig
Dollars bezahlt.

Louisville Ky den 20. ten Juny 1859.

Sos. Rieger,
Secretary.

G. W. Wall,
President.

Louis E. Mollau
Kassirer.



Philanthropic Institutions of the *Kirchenverein*.

The Good Samaritan Hospital, St. Louis, Missouri, 1861.

The Orphans' Home, St. Charles Road, St. Louis, Missouri, 1866.

PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS

Whereas the local congregations addressed themselves to the task of alleviating the needs of their impoverished members more or less successfully, they were not able in like manner to minister to the sick and the orphans. Since the *Kirchenverein* did not officially devote itself to their cause, it remained for private individuals to address themselves to this task. Accordingly, two philanthropic institutions—the Good Samaritan Hospital and the German Protestant Orphans' Home of St. Louis, both primarily the work of Nollau, the pioneer philanthropist of *Kirchenverein* days—rose upon the scene.

The Good Samaritan Hospital

Health conditions in frontier communities, especially among newly arrived Germans, constituted a challenge which taxed the resources and patience of many German pastors, some of whom, as we have seen, combined medical service with their pastoral duties. Urban congregations were particularly limited in the extent to which they could care for the sick and needy in their midst. As early as 1853 the feasibility of establishing a deaconess hospital in St. Louis, with its four large Evangelical churches, had been discussed. Dr. W. A. Passavant's Hospital in Pittsburgh, the pioneer German-American deaconess hospital, inspired by Fliedner's institution at Kaiserswerth (1836), was admired as a model for such an enterprise.³⁵

Ibid., (1872), 17. See also J. C. Seybold, "Zur Unterstützungssache," *T. Z.*, V (1877), 13.

³⁵ "Etwas . . .," *F.*, V (1854), 11. Note also previous reference in *F.* to the Pittsburgh institution, where 4 Kaiserswerth deaconesses were engaged and which had been dedicated by Fliedner in 1849. "Die Diakonissen im Pittsburger Krankenhaus," *ibid.*, II (1851), 58. The course of these developments may be traced in the *Jahresberichte* of Fliedner at Kaiserswerth and also in reports of Passavant as found in *The Missionary*. See also A. Spaeth, "Die Diakonissensache in Amerika," *M. f. I. M.*, IV (1884), 382. Note interesting sidelights on American conditions in Martin Gerhardt, *Theodor Fliedner*, II (Düsseldorf, 1937), chap. vi.

There were, in 1855, fifteen deaconess hospitals in Europe. See C. Golder, *The Deaconess Motherhouse* (Pittsburgh, 1907), 72. The feature of these hospitals, as well as of the one at Pittsburgh, was that everyone regardless of creed or color was cared for. "Et-

The first step leading to the founding of the Good Samaritan Hospital may be traced to Mrs. Wilhelmina Meier, the widow of the former janitor of St. Peter's Church in St. Louis. In the year 1856 she discovered among some newly arrived German immigrants a friendless orphan girl stricken with typhoid fever, whose parents had died on their trip to this country. Arriving in St. Louis, the girl attracted the attention of Mrs. Meier, who nursed her back to health. This event revealed to Nollau and other friends the need of providing a hospital to which German patients would have ready access and where they would receive not only physical but also spiritual care.³⁶

The early appeals for assistance were not in vain. The first gifts, however, were small donations of five and ten dollars. When a young woman loaned the sum of \$2025, it became possible to rent a building of seven rooms on Carr Street between Sixteenth and Seventeenth. Thus the *Evangelisches Krankenhaus* in St. Louis, known generally as the Protestant Hospital, had its beginning in February, 1857. Its equipment consisted of three beds, one table, one stove, and six chairs. Mrs. Meier and a helper were the nurses, and Dr. E. A. Fellerer, a homeopathic physician, gave his services as the lone member of the medical staff.³⁷

was," F., X (1859), 54. The deaconess feature did not succeed in the Pittsburgh institution. "Die Ursachen des völligen Misslingens der ersten Versuche zur Begründung eines amerikanischen Diakonissen-Mutterhauses," M. f. I. M., XIX (1899), 516. This is a translation from *Annals of the Institution of Protestant Deaconesses* (Pittsburgh, 1899), V, No. 4, 5 ff. See H. Wheeler, *Deaconesses Ancient and Modern* (N. Y., 1889), 234 ff. Julie Mergner, *The Deaconess and Her Work* (Philadelphia, 1915), 69 ff. Mergner refers to 5 Neuendettelsau deaconesses laboring for the Iowa Lutheran Synod in 1859. By the following year, however, they had all married. *Ibid.*, 72.

³⁶ The St. Louis Mullanphy Hospital, also known as the Sisters' Hospital (Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul), had been erected at 4th and Spruce in 1831—the first hospital west of the Mississippi. The City Hospital at Lafayette Ave. and Grattan St. was built in 1846. The complaint was common that Germans were discriminated against at the City Hospital.

³⁷ "Das evangel. Krankenhaus in St. Louis," F., IX (1858), 42 ff. This article suggested that similar institutions be established in such Evangelical centers as Cincinnati, O., Louisville, Ky., and Evansville, Ind. None of the reports of these or later years describe the nursing personnel.

Begun as a personal enterprise, the infant institution soon won a warm place in the hearts of the *Kirchenverein* constituency. In Nollau's first report the principle of Passavant was accepted that no distinction of creed, race, nationality, or color would be made in the acceptance or treatment of patients. Nor was the hospital conceived as a proselyting agency, but as a place of refuge for the needy, where poor patients were treated without charge and where everyone was assured of expert medical attention and friendly care. At the end of the first year, at which time the number of beds had increased to 24, 101 patients had been received, of whom 1 had "deserted," 13 had died, 7 were improved, and 64 had been discharged.

Phenomenal development during the first two years led to further expansion.³⁸ During this period more than three hundred patients had been received, most of whom were German immigrants without means who had recently arrived. During the last six months of 1858, about two hundred patients were rejected for lack of space.³⁹

The generous response of the public decreased the deficit of the first year,⁴⁰ and in 1858 Nollau was able to procure a new location at the corner of Pratt (now Jefferson) and Dayton Avenues at a cost of \$5500. However, the enterprise was assuming proportions beyond what the personal resources of Nollau would permit. Although receiving liberal support from *Kirchenverein* circles, the general character

³⁸ About this time (1858) the Saxon Lutherans established a hospital designed mainly for "*kranke Glaubensgenossen*." All but one of the fifteen patients received were Lutherans; thirteen were Germans, one Norwegian, one English. "Das evangelisch-lutherische Krankenhaus in St. Louis," Luth., XVI (1860), 101.

³⁹ During the year 1858-59, with a capacity of 29 beds, 230 patients (194 male and 36 female) were cared for. Of these, 170 were charity patients. "Etwas vom evangel. K.," F., X (1859), 54. Of the 237 patients cared for in 1859-60 (201 male, 36 female), the average cost was 33 cents per day at an average stay of 30 days. Ten were born in America; in Germany, 193; Switzerland, 15; Ireland, 7; England, 3; France, 3; Holland, 2; Austria, 2; Hungary, 1; Sweden, 1. "Das evangel. Krankenhaus," F., XI (1860), 51. Among the patients we note the large number of Germans—many young people, newly arrived immigrants, and farmers not able to withstand rural hardships.

⁴⁰ A balance of \$541.55 for the second year decreased the first year's deficit to \$351.88.

of the institution so appealed to the benevolence of the public at large that the organization of a hospital corporation was now proposed. A charter was procured from the state, and the task of establishing the new institution, to be known as the Good Samaritan Hospital, was begun.⁴¹ On the lot now repurchased from Nollau a modern three-story structure was built, eighty by fifty feet in dimension. With its two large and two small wards and four or five rooms of one or two beds for pay-patients, it was designed to care for two hundred persons.⁴²

Originally expected not to exceed \$8000, the final cost came to more than three times that sum. Friends in St. Louis and vicinity contributed the largest amounts, with several subscriptions of \$1000 each. Other supporters of the project undertook a personal financial canvass. Among

⁴¹ The charter described the hospital as "an institution for lodging, boarding, nursing, and taking care of the sick and invalids with all the powers and privileges usually appertaining to hospitals" See *Protokollbuch* (MS) of the board of trustees (1859-88). The incorporators and first board of trustees were Adolphus Meier, chairman, Samuel Plant, Francis Whittaker, Russell Scarritt, Friedrich Bolte, Franz Hackemeier, and Nollau. Most of these were men of financial means. Meier was a native and merchant of Bremen whose shipping contacts with German emigrants had led him to St. Louis in 1837, where he opened a hardware store and in 1844 founded the pioneer cotton factory in the West. Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1215 ff.; E. H. S. L., II, 1436; Körner, *op. cit.*, 338 f. S. Plant was the son of a cotton manufacturer of Mass., who with his brother managed the Franklin Flour Mills in St. Louis. E. H. S. L., II, 1232. Whittaker, a native of Ireland, arrived in St. Louis in 1848, where he became senior member of the packing-house of Francis Whittaker and Co. He was a member of the First Congregational Church and well known for his charitable gifts, also leaving a handsome bequest to the hospital. Bolte was born and educated in Bremerhaven. As a young man he was a loyal member of St. Peter's Church. Little is known of Scarritt. The outstanding lay representative of the K. group was Franz Hackemeier (1831-1903), known to the people of St. Louis both as a successful merchant and philanthropist. Hackemeier was a native of Kassenbuhr, Hanover. In 1845 he emigrated to St. Louis, where he worked his way up from newsboy to proprietor of his own dry-goods store. He joined St. Peter's Church in 1850 and under the influence of Nollau became interested in the philanthropic enterprises of his pastor, whom he succeeded as superintendent of the Orphans' Home in 1869. Obituary, F., LIV (1903), 61; "Hackemeier, Franz," E. H. S. L., II, 968. Bolte and Hackemeier were the only K. laymen on the board.

⁴² "Das evangel. Krankenhaus" F., XI (1860), 51. See description in *Commercial and Architectural St. Louis* (Jones and Orear Pub., 1888), 148, and illustration facing p. 339.

sundry gifts was a tower-clock and a lot, which was presented by Alex Kaiser and disposed of by a lottery. Not to be outdone by this display of zeal, the Young Men's Society of St. Louis presented the proceeds of a raffle, amounting to \$400. Several lodges undertook to pay \$200 annually for the use of a bed for their members.⁴³

The new hospital opened its doors in March, 1861.⁴⁴ The fear that under the direction of Dr. Fellerer, now assisted by Dr. Thomas Comstock, the hospital would be an exclusively homeopathic institution was dispelled with the assurance that each patient could be treated by his private physician.⁴⁵

With the outbreak of the Civil War soon after the opening of the hospital, the debt rapidly rose to \$20,000.⁴⁶ The hospital cared for soldiers wounded at the capture of Camp Jackson until the fall of 1861, when the Government rented the entire building at \$250 per month, the other patients being returned to the old quarters on Carr Street.⁴⁷ During

⁴³ See financial statistics in Appendix VIII.

⁴⁴ At the laying of the corner-stone, John Hogan, St. Louis postmaster, expounded the parable of the Good Samaritan, and Partridge, a business man, also addressed the assembly, indicating again the close cooperation of the community in this enterprise. *Goldenes Jubiläum des Barmherzigen Samariter Altenheims*, 1909, 8; "Das Evangel. Krankenhaus . . . ," F., X (1859), 132.

⁴⁵ Homeopathy had been introduced into St. Louis by Dr. J. T. Temple in 1843, the Homeopathic Medical College of Missouri being founded in 1857. Comstock, an Episcopalian of New England descent and recognized as one of the most learned physicians in the city, was the head of the hospital staff for over twenty years. Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1560 ff.; "Comstock, T. G.," E. H. S. L., I, 445.

⁴⁶ "Vierter Bericht . . . ," F., XVI (1865), 155.

⁴⁷ Commenting on this situation, Nollau stated: "*Wir haben gegen 30 Kranke, nur 3 Soldaten. Es sind uns jedoch 40 kranke Soldaten angekündigt. Fremont wollte das Haus renten. Die Rente wäre uns zwar gut zu Statten gekommen u. wir hätten das alte Haus wiederbezogen, aber wir hätten dann keine Controlle drüber behalten u. das neue Haus könnte in einem Jahre um \$1000 u. drüber beschädigt werden. Nun sind uns kranke Soldaten angekündigt, u. wir wollen deren gern bis 80 aufnehmen und uns die Mühen gefallen lassen, um nur eine Einnahme (27 Dlr. per Woche, wobei die Regierung die Arznei liefert und der Militair-Arzt die Kranken behandelt) zu haben in dieser Prüfungszeit.*" N.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Sept. 14, 1861. That this was not a satisfactory arrangement may be seen in Nollau's statement of the following month: "*Wir hatten aber 100 kranke u. halbkranke rohe Soldaten im Hause, meist lauter Hinterwäldler, und*

the following two years thousands of soldiers passed through the doors of the hospital, and an excellent income was secured to help liquidate the debt. When the Government surrendered its lease in the fall of 1863, a crisis in hospital affairs arose, since notes amounting to \$7400 fell due the following year. Impatient creditors publicly announced that the hospital would be sold to meet this debt. The crisis was successfully passed, however, when four members of the board personally met the obligation.⁴⁸ Doctors Nieblung and John Hartmann were now added to the staff. Beginning with 1865, Doctors Fellerer, Comstock, William T. Hellmuth, and George Walker each served the hospital for a quarter of the year.⁴⁹

The Good Samaritan Hospital was one of the choice fruits of the benevolent spirit of the *Kirchenverein* period. Although not officially one of its institutions, it thoroughly enjoyed the good will of the *Kirchenverein*, was warmly supported by the *Friedensbote*, which pleaded its cause and kept the Society informed of its needs and developments, and was everywhere hailed as an Evangelical institution.⁵⁰

Originating in response to the needs of German immigrants, it widened its appeal to meet the wants of all in distress and enjoyed the confidence and support of the American public, without which it could not have survived

fanden bald aus, dass diese ohne militärische Zucht nicht in Ordnung gehalten werden konnten. Deswegen, u. weil bei unsäglicher Mühe und den unverschämten Ansprüchen der Gäste wenig Gewinn zum Besten des Hauses geblieben wäre: so hielten wir's fürs beste, das Haus der Regierung . . . zu überlassen." *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1861. It was at this time (1861) that Nollau resigned his pastorate to devote all his time to the hospital and the orphans' home.

⁴⁸ Whittaker donated \$3000, Meier \$1200, Bolte \$1000, Plant \$500. An effort to collect the balance in congregations in Missouri and Illinois was made by W. Kassebaum. See F., *Beilage* No. 17, (1864). Meier in 1865 secured a loan of \$10,000 from Mrs. Johanne Pauline Adami, née Albers, of Bremen, *Protokollbuch*, 18.

⁴⁹ Up to 1864 a total of 1435 patients was treated. F., XVI (1865), 157. Doctors Hellmuth and Walker were also of the homeopathic school, the former having arrived from Philadelphia about 1858, the latter from Pennsylvania about 1852. Scharf, *op. cit.*, II, 1562 f.

⁵⁰ For statistical records of the development from 1860-64, see "Vierter Bericht . . .," F., XVI (1865), 156. The extent to which the K. responded to the hospital cause may be seen in financial statistics in Appendix VIII.

the critical years of the war. The fact that the hospital was not a synodical institution assured for it the support of the liberal German groups attracted by its philanthropic purpose. The common interests of the churchly as well as less churchly groups led to the liberal support of this institution.

The German Protestant Orphans' Home

Equally insistent in its demands upon Christian love and benevolence was the plight of children orphaned through cholera epidemics and other sicknesses and perils peculiar to the frontier.⁵¹ The plight of German orphans, in danger of falling into the hands of strangers or unscrupulous persons, was particularly precarious, and German pastors in urban centers were frequently importuned to care for these unfortunates.

The origin of the German Protestant Orphans' Home in St. Louis occurred under conditions similar to those that gave rise to the hospital. In both instances the guiding spirit was Nollau. The cholera epidemics, in which the mortality rate was always higher among adults than among children, had created a situation which became increasingly serious. The only Protestant orphan home in the city was that of the Episcopal church, where the main object was to care for children only until homes could be found. Nollau, like other German pastors, hesitatingly availed himself of these good offices.⁵²

⁵¹ Hastings B. Hart of the Russell Sage Foundation is authority for the statement that orphans' homes established by religious and semireligious bodies in the Middle West between the years 1827-67 were distributed as follows: Indiana, Kansas, Iowa, 2; Michigan and Minnesota, 3; Wisconsin, 4; Kentucky, 5; Missouri, 8; Ohio, 10. This statement could not be verified.

⁵² Cholera first appeared in St. Louis in epidemic form in 1832, the most severe visitation occurring during the years 1849-52. "Epidemics," E. H. S. L., II, 680. Again the Catholics were the first on the field. The Catholic Orphan Association, formed in 1841, was incorporated in 1849 as the Roman Catholic Male and Female Orphan Society of St. Louis. The St. Vincent's German Orphan Society was organized in 1851. The Industrial School and Temporary Home for Destitute Children, a private institution, was founded in 1854.

Nollau's church (St. Peter's) assisted the Protestant Episcopal Orphans' Home at 11th and Market Sts., which had been founded in 1848.

The issue was raised in a new light when Nollau, who, through his connection with the hospital, was known in wide circles for his benevolent spirit, was personally approached in behalf of at least five orphan children.⁵³ He took two of these into his own home and interested such intimate friends as Bolte, Vöpel, and Hackemeier in this new cause. The parsonage of St. Peter's proved too small to serve the growing needs, and with the establishment of the hospital on Carr Street (1857) provision was also made for homeless children. This was recognized as a provisional measure, and an appeal was broadcast throughout *Kirchenverein* circles for the establishment of a "*Rettungshaus für Waisen und andere arme Kinder, an denen in der That bei uns im Westen kein Mangel ist.*"⁵⁴

When churches everywhere actively responded to this appeal, the work begun by Nollau assumed larger proportions. The little four-room house on the site procured for the hospital on Jefferson Street was occupied by the orphans in 1859, before completion of the hospital.⁵⁵ Only sixteen of the twenty-five children who entered remained through the first year. Of these, nine were boys and seven girls—the oldest being twelve and the youngest one and one-half years old.⁵⁶

In 1860 the number of orphans had risen to twenty-two. It was clear that more adequate quarters must be provided, and notwithstanding the debt resting on the hospital at this time, Nollau procured a building-site near the hospital, on the southwest corner of Jefferson and Dayton. To help pay

⁵³ F. S., *Das Deutsche Protestantische Waisenheim* (1908), 9. Four were children of a newly immigrated family, the mother having lost her life on the boat trip from New Orleans.

⁵⁴ "Ein Wort an die evangel. Prediger und Gemeinden," F., IX (1858), 177. This stirring article, among other things, claimed that the Evang. Church in America "*predigt viel zu viel and thut viel zu wenig*" and that the care of the orphans was a home-missionary task.

⁵⁵ Although located on the lot purchased for the hospital, a subsequent reference states that this building was merely rented.

⁵⁶ Some were reclaimed with remarriage of the father; one was enticed from the home through new clothes presented by the father. A distinction was made between full- and half-orphans. See "Das Waisenhaus in St. Louis," *ibid.*, XI (1860), 58. See also "Ein Besuch im Waisenhaus in St. Louis," *ibid.*, X (1859), 170; "Ein Waisenhaus," *ibid.*, 24.

the new obligations thus incurred, the parochial school children throughout the *Kirchenverein* were urged to join the so-called "Orphans' Societies" with monthly dues of three to five cents.⁵⁷

The Civil War, although it increased the demands for added facilities, prevented the completion of this project. By the end of 1862 forty-five children were being cared for, the growing need for clothing and food leading to numerous appeals for assistance. One misfortune led to another. In the summer of 1863 the building was devastated by fire, and the fifty-three orphans were transferred to the old hospital.⁵⁸ Evacuated by the Government in the fall of 1863, the hospital was reoccupied not only by patients, but also by about sixty orphans, who here again found temporary refuge under its roof.

The increased demands made on the hospital at the close of the war and the renewed outbreak of the cholera in 1866 emphasized anew the need of providing more adequate facilities. Since the experiences of the past had shown that the city environment was not conducive to the best interests of the children, it was decided to dispose of the site previously procured and acquire the rural estate of L. La Beaume, located nine miles west of the city on the St. Charles Road. This new location, consisting of sixty-five acres with a large orchard and a house of twelve rooms, was acquired for the sum of \$23,500. An orphan farm with all its economic advantages was considered more desirable than the most elaborate institution erected in the city. In the fall of 1866 the new home was occupied by sixty orphans together with Mr. Caspar H. Schierenbeck as manager, J. Frankenfeld as school-teacher, and Mrs. Meier as matron.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ "Aufruf und Bitte," *ibid.*, XI (1860), 169. With funds thus procured and the substantial gifts of a choral society in North St. Louis (\$1656.83), this site was purchased. "Eine Bitte an die Freunde. . .," *ibid.*, XVII (1866), 157. *Protokollbuch* (MS) of the board of trustees (1865-1900), 3. Nollau deeded this property to the orphans' home in 1865.

⁵⁸ Note the enumeration of needs in "An die Freunde der Armen und Waisen," F., XIII (1862), 167. "Der Brand . . .," *ibid.*, XIV (1863), 116.

⁵⁹ "Eine Bitte . . .," *ibid.*, XVII (1866), 157. Cf. F. S., *op. cit.*, 11.

Although the home began as a private enterprise of Nollau, the charter of 1861 established its administration under a self-perpetuating board of trustees independent of any denominational supervision. The undenominational aspect of both these institutions, the hospital and the orphans' home, attracted support from philanthropically minded persons of all religious affiliations. Their non-synodical nature might help explain the warm participation of laymen.⁶⁰ Without the support of American friends these institutions could not have weathered the storms of the war period. At the same time, pastors and churches of the *Kirchenverein* throughout the West loyally supported these houses of mercy and found perpetuated therein the Evangelical spirit of the fathers. Thus another laudable chapter in the history of the *Kirchenverein* was written in the hearts and lives of men.

SOCIAL ISSUES OF THE DAY

The social horizon of the *Kirchenverein* was not restricted to the issues immediately arising in its midst. It was an oft-expressed contention of that day that religion must function in social settings and relations. The wider ramifications of current social issues could not go by unnoticed; for somewhere and somehow in this matrix of the temporal the Kingdom of God was evolving. It was earnestly believed that God's righteousness and grace were revealed in the course of world events. Programs for the amelioration of the social evils of the day, on the other hand, were not con-

Frankenfeld was succeeded in 1868 by Jakob Geysler, who soon married Mrs. Meier. *Protokollbuch*, 16. See illustration facing p. 339.

⁶⁰ The first board consisted of Nollau, Fr. Maschmeier, Fr. Massmann, Vöpel, and Hackemeier—one pastor and four laymen. Maschmeier, a native of New Melle, Germany, was a wagon-maker by trade and was treasurer of St. Peter's from 1856-94. In 1866 the board consisted of Nollau, Ph. Göbel, L. Häberle, Hackemeier, Massmann, Bolte, and Vöpel—three pastors and four laymen. These were all members of K. churches. The relation of some of these with Marthasville and the hospital has been referred to above. *Supra*, p. 342, n. 41; p. 304, n. 64. Paragraph three of the constitution of 1867 stated: "The Orphans' Home is a product of the Evangelical church and, as an institution interested in both the temporal and spiritual welfare of its inmates, is and should remain connected with this church." The K. catechism was used for religious instruction.

sidered necessary. At the same time, an abundant Christian life could not ignore the practical problems and needs of the times.

Following the precedent of contemporaneous religious periodicals of both Germany and America, the *Friedensbote* considered it a part of its function to bring to the attention of its readers a weekly summary of current happenings, a general survey of the preceding year being usually featured in the January issues.⁶¹ These accounts of current political and social events were at times accompanied by critical appraisals of their religious significance, as in the case of the Turkish-Russian War, Kossuth's triumphal American journey in 1851-1852, the famine in Germany, the religious issue in elections, the pious death of Daniel Webster, not to mention such casual news items as the large number of steamboat accidents, the eighty-hour train service from St. Louis to New York, the suspension bridge across Niagara, etc. Everywhere spiritual interpretations were being sought. Indicative, indeed, of the prevailing spirit in pietistic circles was the reluctance affected by the *Friedensbote* to consider the secular topics of the day except as their discussion might help prepare the way for the coming of the Lord.

With reference to the concrete problems of the day, it was agreed that mere academic discussion could not suffice, although it was not so clear as to what should be done. Solutions that involved a change in the social order were never suggested. Frontier conditions were filled with flagrant temptations to lawlessness. Persons living in open sin and vice and bordering on "perfect heathenism," desecrating the Sabbath and addicted to "the monstrous evil of alcohol and worldly amusement," constantly challenged the pioneer preachers to evangelistic preaching and disciplinary procedure.⁶² The scandals of immorality, especially in the

⁶¹ This department was variously featured under the heads: "Einzernes," "Zeitfragen," "Rundschau, Einschau, Aufschau," "Allerlei," finally to resolve itself into "Welt und Zeit."

⁶² Cf. "Pastoral Labors on the Frontier," *supra*, pp. 194 ff. Rieger excelled in this personal type of home-missionary activity. Note, e. g., his encounter with the saloon-keeper. Häberle, *op. cit.*, 52.

younger generation, stories of which filled the newspapers of the day, were reduced to the fundamental problem of godlessness. The restless movement and agitations of a day dominated by steam and electricity and an unparalleled progress in science, art, and inventions threatened, so the *Friedensbote* maintained, to invoke on mankind a fate more terrible than that which befell Noah.

And yet, the abandoned quest for wealth, the widespread disregard for government and authority, the evils incident to economic depression and famines and failure of crops and unemployment, the problem of marriage and divorce—all this would not lead to despair; for the Lord finally would triumph if only His Word were given a voice in human affairs. Again and again the *Friedensbote* reiterated that the ultimate solution for present-day ills was not to be found in the reconstruction of the social order, but in the establishment of God's rule in the hearts and lives of men. The relations of men to each other were marked by avarice, ambition, and pride, which led to a warfare more disastrous to the individual than the great wars between nations. The family altar must be reestablished, and parochial schools, Sunday schools, catechetical instruction, and young people's societies must be prayerfully directed, so that God's Kingdom might come. Unrighteous conditions, it was claimed, would persist so long as "God is not recognized as the one who alone is able to provide our daily bread." The satanic powers behind the scenes could be vanquished only by a penitent and humble return to God and His Word.⁶³

⁶³ See F., *passim*. "Der F.," *ibid.*, V (1854), 1 f.; "Rundschau, Einschau, Aufschau," *ibid.*, VI (1855), 5 f.; "Im Namen Jesu," *ibid.*, VII (1856), 2 f. A serious effort was made to relate religion to social life. The question of the relation of the secular to the spiritual, of ethical action to the grace of God were variously dwelt upon. Some of the statements read like modern pronouncements. Note particularly the modern ring in the article "Religion u. äusserer Beruf sollen nicht von einander geschieden werden," *ibid.*, 13, and the leading editorial, "Das christliche Leben u. die christliche Kirche," *ibid.*, 33 f. Religious zeal must find expression. "Wir thun zu wenig, dass das Reich Gottes erbaut werde, ja wir reden auch zu wenig am rechten Ort und schweigen zu viel zu dem Reden und Thun der Gottlosen." *Ibid.*, VI (1855), 5.

Wall's early contacts with New England zeal led him to observe: "Ich muss gestehen, dass es mir öfters vorkam, als wollten sie es

On no issues did the sense of social righteousness come to such clear expression as on those of slavery and war. Philosophy, religion, economics, and race together helped create in the German mind an aversion to slavery in any form.⁶⁴ Southern slave states were therefore avoided by the immigrants, and their readiness to settle in Missouri may be considered a result of the compromise of 1820. Before 1848 most of them repaired to rural districts, intent mainly on finding security for themselves. Economic conditions generally made slave-holding impossible for them, and the inability to speak English made the supervision of slave work exceedingly difficult. Not slavery, but such issues as New England temperance, Sabbath observance, and blue-laws, which infringed on their personal liberties, engaged their attention.

Established in their new domicile and granted the right to vote after five years' residence in the state, the German population became more articulate in its opposition to slavery. This was especially the case when the "Forty-eighters" appeared upon the scene. Although at first attracted to the Democratic party by its Jeffersonian sentiments and the assumption that to be democratic one must vote the Democratic ticket, the Germans were later swept into the Republican fold by the slavery issue.⁶⁵

Although German settlers on the whole never countenanced slavery,⁶⁶ contact with the system was unavoidable.

[Kingdom of God] *in diesem Lande mit Gewalt aufrichten und herbeiziehen. Übrigens gebe ich gerne zu, dass ihre Temperance- und Peace-Societies für grosse Dinge vorbereitend seyn können.*" Ba. Cor., Wall to Basel, Jan. 23, 1837.

⁶⁴ Hegel somewhere said, "The Germans, under the influence of Christianity, have attained the knowledge that all people are free." Having no American or overseas colonies, Germany did not participate in the revival of the slave-trade after the discovery of America and viewed the slave question from a relatively detached point of view.

⁶⁵ *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*. (New York, 1907), II, 7.

⁶⁶ Exceptions to the rule may be noted particularly in the case of Eversmann. Yet, none other than F. Steines took him to task as follows: "I cannot see how a freedom-loving German can subscribe to the principles of slavery, and it certainly must require a great deal of Americanization in order to start a negro factory, if I may express myself in that way, as Eversmann, for example, has done." Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XV (1921), 661.

When the institution became the burning American issue, German sentiment took various forms, ranging from unqualified abolitionism to toleration. The class-conscious German, although unsympathetically disposed toward the racially inferior Negro, yet emphasized the broader humanitarian issues involved in the holding of slaves.⁶⁷ When slavery became a national issue, German churches, supporting the Northern position, often found themselves associated with non-religious Germans purely interested in the ethical and political issues involved.⁶⁸

But in how far did the *Kirchenverein* espouse any particular political action? In a rather apologetic vein the *Friedensbote* broached the presidential election of 1856 with the assurance that it did not propose to enter the tumultuous and emotional political arena occupied by the secular newspapers of the day. Yet the Christian could not be indifferent to the duty of conscientiously casting his vote. Indeed (so urged the *Friedensbote*), prayer-meetings should be held, wherever possible, in the cause of an enlightened election. "A person not able to arrive at some conclusion should refrain from voting; for it is a sin to cast one's ballot without the conviction that it will redound to the welfare of the country."⁶⁹ Again, in 1860, preceding the election of Lin-

According to the tax-book of St. Louis for 1860, nineteen Germans of St. Louis paid taxes on 40 of the 1383 slaves taxed in the city. See H. A. Trexler, "Slavery in Missouri, 1804-1865," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Series XXXII, No. 2 (Baltimore, Md., 1914), 165 ff.

⁶⁷ The A. d. W., July 21, 1854, stating that "slavery is a perfect pestilence to the State of Missouri," urged strictly legal and constitutional procedure for its abolition, insisting that due respect be paid to the just claims of citizens of other states. E. Bruncken, in *Germans in Wisconsin Politics* (Milwaukee, Wis., 1896), 226, maintains that "without the labors of Kant, Fichte and Hegel the history of Germany during the 19th century would have been entirely different and there would have been no Forty-eighters in the U. S."

⁶⁸ The article "German Emigration to America," *North American Review* (1856), 248 ff., contains the statement that one-half of the German newspapers were controlled by the "Forty-eighters"—a group which was exceedingly irreligious and hostile to both Catholics and Lutherans. J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1910), I, 495, contains the statement: "Of 88 German newspapers, 8 were in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, while 80 were decidedly opposed to it."

⁶⁹ "Die Präsidentenwahl," F., VII (1856), 65.

coln, an editorial appeared branding politics with the mark of Cain. The best political action of a Christian was to "follow the Lord Jesus in righteousness, truth, humility, love, patience, and mercy," confident that the cause of the Lord would eventually triumph. In all this discussion slavery was never considered as a separate issue.⁷⁰

Because of the reluctance on the part of Eastern patrons to support the work of the American Home Missionary Society in slave states,⁷¹ the home office, in 1853, requested its missionaries to express themselves on the slavery issue. The answers received to this inquiry emphasized that slaveholding was generally abhorred by members of Evangelical churches, but that slaveholding occasionally occurred. Since slaves could not understand German, little pastoral work and preaching could be done. Antislavery discussions from the pulpit and official statements by the Society were considered indiscreet, since American slaveholders would not relish such pronouncements by foreign groups. Conflicts with the laws of the State of Missouri were also feared.⁷² Thus raised, the question was brought to the attention of the *Kirchenverein* in 1853, although the conference of that year refused to deliberate on the matter, "because they knew almost nothing of this institution among Germans here" A special committee was ordered to make closer inquiries in the case and to set up preliminaries on which future deliberations might take place.⁷³

⁷⁰ "Ein Wort über die Politik," *ibid.*, XI (1860), 137 f. After the outbreak of hostilities the evils of slavery were frequently discussed in the F.

⁷¹ Cf. A. H. M. S. Cor., Bullard, Weston, Ill., June 24; continued from Quincy, Ill., July 13, 1847.

⁷² *Ibid.*, G. Maul, Augusta, Mo., March 22, 1853; F. Birkner, Hermann, Mo., July 11, 1853; J. Wettle, Boonville, Mo., Sept. 10, 1853.

⁷³ The K. P. contains no record of this action. Discussing the subject further, Birkner stated: "It is evident, that wherever the German immigrants increase, the slaveholders retreat, and it is certain that the general principles and feeling with regard to the personal rights of men in which the Germans have been brought up in the native country and their cosmopolitical character will never allow them to become friends of slavery. It is indeed a truth, which admits of no doubt, that *Christian Germans* would only by the most pressing circumstances be induced to submit to holding slaves, as one of the

Thus the slavery issue never developed to a critical state. One church was known to have three slave owners, each possessing one slave. However, the *Kirchenverein*, sensing that this situation did not constitute a problem, declined to take official action on the subject. Individual pastors may have been embarrassed by conditions arising in their local

greatest evils." A. H. M. S. Cor., Birkner, Hermann, Mo., July 11, 1853.

Several years later Nestel, the successor to Birkner at Hermann, was approached by the society as follows: "We are sometimes charged with giving countenance and support to slavery. These accusations we do not often allude to in public, but it is very important that we should be in possession of the *fullest* and most *reliable* information in regard to the matter. This enables us to meet the accusations made, when necessary by public statement, or in more silent methods, as the case demands. You will, therefore, give us important assistance in our missionary work if you will write to us with perfect freedom of your own views and practice and those of your church. The points on which we should like information are such as the following, viz.: Whether any members of your church are slaveholders? How many? Under what circumstances? Whether you have had any cases of discipline growing out of the relation of master and servant? Whether you are in any way hindered from bringing the precepts and principles of the Gospel in relation to this subject to bear upon the minds and hearts of your people as you do in relation to other points of duty? How you find it wise and expedient to treat the matter in your pulpit and your pastoral labors? Whether you have opportunity of preaching to the slaves—and are able to do it with freedom and fidelity? In fine—what, in your view, is the influence of and tendency of your ministerial labors and of the church with which you are connected, upon slavery? Is it to countenance and perpetuate the institution? Is it the reverse? By a proper diffusion of Gospel motives to mitigate its evils and prepare the way for its removal?" A. H. M. S. L.-B., 1855-56, No. 1383.

To this inquiry Nestel replied as follows: "With regard to the point of slavery, I am happy to state that there is no slaveholder in my church and that a strong feeling exists among the members against slavery as a great sin. I can speak in and out of the pulpit and pray as I feel on this subject. There is no particular law concerning slavery in our discipline and the German brethren who first established churches here thought it would be clear to every truly Christian mind that stealing or withholding man's liberty was a grosser outrage than stealing or withholding man's property. Yet we see that the judgment of some gets vitiated and the Ev. Conference is at the point to debar and exclude slaveholders from church membership. There is but one church in our connection which has slaveholders, these are three in number, of whom each has one slave and this is a point of scandal even to the irreligious part of the community. I would refer you to a report of my predecessor, brother Birkner, dated July 12, 1853, which you may use together with this, and our names likewise either in private or in public, without restraint wherever it can do the most good." A. H. M. S. Cor., Nestel, Hermann, Mo., Jan. 7, 1856.

congregations.⁷⁴ That their sympathies led them to support the abolitionist movement to the extent of cooperating with the "underground railroad" is also possible. This seems to have been the case with Rieger, whose friendly relations with slaves while at Holstein, Missouri, brought down the wrath of slaveholders upon him and the seminary.⁷⁵

When the Civil War finally began, it was accepted as a judgment of God over the wickedness of man. The war guilt was placed on neither the North nor the South, neither slaveholder nor abolitionist, neither Democrat nor Republican, but on the entire nation, and as all were guilty, all must repent.

*Herr, du voller Gnad' und Treue,
Uns're Schuld bekennen wir!
Und in Leid und ernster Reue
Kommen wir gebeugt zu Dir.
Voll erbarmender Geduld,
Herr, vergib uns uns're Schuld!*

*Herr, wir haben oft vergessen
Dein in gut' und froher Zeit!
Auf der Spötter Stuhl gesessen,
Deinen Namen oft entweiht,
Und im Kreuz und Prüfungsstand
Deine Wege oft verkannt!⁷⁶*

⁷⁴ St. John's Church at Casco forbade its members to own slaves, a provision not generally found in German church constitutions of this period.

⁷⁵ So far as is known, the Germans did not organize in groups, yet they cooperated with Irishmen and Englishmen in the "underground railroad." Lyman Goodman, an operator of Waukesha, Wis., testified that "in cases of emergency the Germans were next best to Quakers for protection." Quoted by W. H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1899), 92.

The Evangelical Missionary Society of Washington Co., Wis., raised funds to liberate a slave child in Africa. "Einweihung der Evang. Christus-Kirche in Germantown, Wis.," F., XI (1860), 173 f. Cf. *supra*, p. 330, n. 8. For Rieger's attitude toward slavery, see Häberle, *op. cit.*, 31. Rieger was also a trustee of Lincoln Institute, the Negro school at Jefferson City, Mo.

That the seminary did not compromise itself on the slavery issue may be seen from the following incident described in *20th Report* of S. P. C. T., E. W. (1863) 26. "Occasional job-work [printing] was also done for the people of the neighborhood, the profits of which went for the benefit of the institution. Before the war the friends and conductors of this college refused to print a bill of sale because slaves were among its articles of merchandise. Threats of reducing the establishment to ashes were made by the enraged slave-holders who owned the chattels, but they were never carried into execution." See also Bek, "Followers of Duden," M. H. R., XVIII (1924), 241.

⁷⁶ This poem of nine stanzas, by K. Aulenbach, was entitled "Am 6. August." F., XIV (1863), 131.

An earnest effort was made to reconcile war with the Christian religion. Its horrors and terrors could not be denied. For the Christian it was unthinkable that Jesus or the apostles could ever encourage it. Even the Government did not expect its Christian ministers to take up arms, army regulations requiring chaplains to go without weapons and without uniforms. It did not follow, however, argued the *Friedensbote*, that a Christian must not engage in warfare; for behind the scene stood God. It was the opinion of *Kirchenverein* theologians that war expressed the divine judgment of a holy and righteous God over a sinful people. Not human, but divine issues were at stake; wars did not depict the struggles of men against men or nations against nations so much as the eternal drama of man against God. These conflicts may be caused by sins and evils having no immediate connection with the war, such as man's pride, his materialism, injustice, selfishness, and godlessness. The reduction of these sins and evils and the establishment of law and order were blessings which God in His wisdom and power would mediate by means of war.⁷⁷

This attitude was further crystallized by official action of the Society. The conference of 1864 adopted a war resolution which, accepting war as a judgment of God, called upon every Christian to support the Government with prayer and supplication and with every means at his disposal. That the blessings of peace might soon return, participation in any movement whereby the power of the Government might be weakened was carefully to be avoided.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ "Der Krieg," a series of three articles, *ibid.*, XIII (1862), 49, 57, 65.

⁷⁸ The resolution read as follows: "*In Betracht der gegenwärtigen trübseligen Lage und der politischen Verhältnisse unseres Landes erkennen wir die gerechten Strafgerichte Gottes. Gott kann zwar auch ohne der Menschen Hülfe Seine Rathschlüsse hinausführen, nichtsdestoweniger aber hat Er die Obrigkeit verordnet, Seine Ordnung zu handhaben. Wir erkennen es daher als heilige Pflicht eines jeden wahren Christen und treuen Bürgers, der Obrigkeit nicht nur mit Gebet und Flehen, sondern auch mit Kraft und Einfluss beizustehen und sich jeder Theilnahme an solchen Bestrebungen, wodurch die Kraft der Obrigkeit gelähmt wird, sorgfältig zu enthalten, damit wir uns bald wieder der Segnungen des Friedens erfreuen können.*" K. P. (1864), 20.

Any pacifist or non-resistance attitude was definitely repudiated. The *Kirchenverein* loyally supported the Northern cause. Robbed by marauding guerrillas, a number of pastors in Missouri were reimbursed for their losses by funds raised in other churches and collected by a committee appointed to secure such donations.⁷⁹ The students at Marthasville also placed themselves at the disposal of the federal authorities and on one occasion were called upon to protect a railroad bridge. This was not much of a military exploit; for, as the record states: "*Ohne Waffen zogen sie aus, und ohne Waffen kehrten sie am andern Tage wieder zurück. Das war Alles.*"⁸⁰ No official steps were taken by the *Kirchenverein* for the spiritual care of its members enlisted in German regiments of the Western army. In this respect less was done by the *Kirchenverein* than by some other German denominations.⁸¹

Compare herewith the effusive war resolutions adopted by the Central German Methodist Conference in Cincinnati, O., in the latter part of August, 1864. Lincoln acknowledged the receipt of these resolutions in a letter recently discovered by a granddaughter of W. Nast. See *Cincinnati Times-Star*, Feb. 12, 1937, 38.

⁷⁹ "An die lieben Brüder im Amte," F., XVI (1865), 8. Among those who thus suffered was Pastor Schierbaum at Gasconade, who lost all his possessions at the hands of the rebels and found refuge in the forests for several days. *Zwölfter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1865), 13.

⁸⁰ K. P. (1862), 23.

Under date of Sept. 19, 1861, Nollau wrote as follows to Rieger, who was president of the seminary directorate: "*Mit deiner Ansicht über den Militair- und Kriegsdienst der Seminaristen bin ich ganz einverstanden. Die Frage ist nur die, was zweckgemässer ist, ob die jungen Leute sich der Home Guard anschliessen, oder abwarten, ob und bis sie für die Staats-Militair AUSGEHOBEN werden. FREIWILLIG möchten sich zu LETZTERER wohl keine hergeben, wenn nicht der Patriotismus stärker würde als die Liebe zum geistl. Studium. Aufzumuntern, freiwillig einzutreten, dazu habe ich allerdings noch keine Freimüthigkeit, die Noth muss da noch mehr dringen. Natürlicher erscheint mir's, wenn die jungen Leute sich den Home Guards anschliessen dieser Schritt würde Vertrauen erwecken.*" N.-R. Cor.

In his report to the S. P. C. T. E. W. in 1864 (*Twenty-fifth Report*, Appendix, 57 f.) Rieger stated: "Several [students] have served from one to three years in the Army. Most of them are enrolled for militia duties. No interruption has taken place, except when they were called out once for a chase after a gang of bushwhackers, and at the late raid of Price, when he attempted to cross part of his soldiers over the Missouri, at Washington, but four miles from the Seminary. By God's gracious assistance he was kept back; otherwise our Seminary would have suffered foremost, as our institution, from its very origin, was not favorable to the ways of Southern people."

⁸¹ "Vorwort," F., XV (1864), 9. Pastors Johann Will of St.

And yet, although war was accepted as an act of God, there was no blind resignation to its inevitableness. It could and should be abolished. The organization of peace societies in recent years and the function of international law were not to be ignored, although, ultimately, these could not achieve their idealistic purpose so long as the soul of man was torn by the barbarisms of sin and selfishness. True peace among the nations was a gift of God. This boon could only be assured through the Gospel of Christ, whereby alone not only the world as such, but also the individuals in the world could be transformed.⁸²

When peace was finally declared, the joy over the liberation of the slaves was tempered by the thought that the true freedom of the children of God was not to be found among men and women who remained slaves to the things of the world. The immediate effects of the war—the rising in-

Paul's Church, St. Louis, and F. Umbeck of Burksville, Ill., served as chaplains in a personal capacity, it would seem. M. D. P. (1865), 6, speaks of "*der für die Armee ausgehobene P. Umbeck.*" The biographical sketch in "*Fünzigjähriges Amtsjubiläum . . .*" (1913) merely states that he enlisted in Co. G of the 43rd Illinois Infantry Regiment. When most of the men in St. Paul's Church were drafted, Will followed as chaplain. F. S., St. Paul's Church (1898).

According to a letter of Nollau to Rieger, Will divided his time between his congregation and the soldiers at Rolla and Springfield, Mo. "*Br. Will, der krank zurück von Rolla kam, ist wieder wohl u. predigt selber. Er wird wohl vom Kriegesschauplatz abtreten u. resigniren. Beiden, dem Regiment u. der Gemeinde daheim, predigen, geht natürlich nicht, das liess sich von vornherein einsehen, ebenso dass das Lagerleben u. das gemüthliche Leben am häuslichen Herde auch 2 verschiedene Dinge sind. So sehr man den armen Soldaten treue Feldprediger wünschen muss, so ist ein solches Mitmachen oder Versuchen auf einige Monate, in denen Einer vielleicht gar wenige Male ein Gotteswort hat anbringen können doch nur wenig Hilfe zum Besserwerden der Sache.*" N.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Mo., Dec. 28, 1861.

⁸²"Der Krieg," F., XIII (1862), 66. Note the statement: "*Soll Krieg und Blutvergiessen für die Dauer ein Ende nehmen, so muss eine radicale Umgestaltung der öffentlichen Denk- und Handlungsweise eintreten; die Völker müssen im wahren und vollen Sinn wenigstens der Hauptmasse nach wiedergeboren werden durch den Glauben an Jesum Christum, der Alle erlöset hat. Jeder Mensch soll den ändern, jedes Volk das andere als in Christo erlöste Menschen und als in Christo erlöstes Volk ansehen und aus dieser Anschauung heraus behandeln können; und in jedem Menschen und in jedem Volk soll die natürliche Selbstsucht durch das neue Leben wenigstens in so weit überwunden sein, dass das letztere die Denk- und Handlungsweise des Menschen bestimmt.*" Note also, in this connection, the series of two articles on "Der Friede," *ibid.*, 73, 81 ff.

fidelity, the proud dependence upon human power, the return of soldiers hardened and demoralized by war experiences—proved anew the sinfulness of rebellion against the government.

The attitude of the *Kirchenverein* and its pastors toward the social issues of the frontier was not based on doctrinal premises. Above all, the missionaries of Basel and Barmen and the other pietistically inclined societies of Germany approached these questions with a minimum of theological bias. Not Lutheran, Calvinistic, or Evangelical presuppositions, but religious and spiritual motives dominated their attitude. Two factors, then, joined in directing the course of the developments: the peculiar needs prevalent on the frontier and the stimulation derived from German home-missionary ideals. We fail to note any systematic program of social action except what the immediate Christian approach to a crying need might suggest. A social conscience in the modern sense of establishing justice and righteousness in the varied relationships of life had not developed to any prominence. It is, however, equally incorrect to maintain, as the customary critique of our day seems to imply, that the pietistic and individualistic interpretation of the Gospel precluded the visualizing of social evils and the desire for their amelioration. After all has been said, the *Kirchenverein* was not far from recognizing definite social implications of the Gospel.

CHAPTER XI

INTERCHURCH RELATIONS

The *Kircherverein* had its origin at a time of intense denominational rivalry in both Germany and America. American churches were engaged in what was considered a life and death struggle to become established in the West. Immigrant Churches, for a time, remained indifferent to the issues which divided American Protestantism of the day. The arduous task of striking roots in new soil required undivided devotion to immediate local needs. This problem equally taxed the strength of all German groups, so that Lutherans, Reformed, and Evangelicals at first earnestly applied themselves to the common task, each in its own way adapting itself to American conditions and establishing more or less fraternal relations with the others. With the rise of denominational consciousness, however, rivalries and misunderstandings began to mar the relation of German Churches to each other.¹ How did the *Kirchenverein*, committed to the cause of church union, fare in the midst of this competitive strife? The effort was made not only to establish fraternal relations with American denominations, but also to preserve the unity of the spirit with German organizations both here and abroad. In the face of wide-spread denominational strife among German Churches both in

¹ *Supra*, p. 79, n. 77. Note the paragraph beginning "*Die Christenheit steht mehr in Flammen der Zwietracht als seit lange . . .*" in "Rundschau, Einschau, Aufschau," F., VI (1855), 5. The relation of both American Lutheran and Reformed Churches to German religious bodies has been noted. See also Abdel R. Wentz, *The Lutheran Church in American History* (Philadelphia, 1933), chap. xiii.

That church leaders of Germany did not always understand American conditions may be noted in "Die Deutsch-reformirte Kirche und die 'Evangelische Kirchenzeitung,'" D. K., I (1848), 289 ff., and "Verteidigung der Amerikanisch-lutherischen Kirche gegen die Beschuldigungen des Herrn Eduard Hengstenberg," *ibid.*, 295 ff. Garlich's came to the defense of the K. (against Hengstenberg) in "Der Evangelische Verein des Westens," *ibid.*, II (1849), 24, as did Rauschenbusch in a letter written from Chambersburg, Pa., Nov. 11, 1847, and published in S. S. K., III (1848), 25 ff.

America and on the Continent, the *Kirchenverein* sought to fraternize with them all on the basis of a common Christian faith.

GERMAN CHURCH AND MISSIONARY SOCIETIES

We have noted how in *Kirchenverein* groups the Evangelical Church of Germany was frequently referred to as the mother Church and how, in time of need, appeals for assistance were directed to friends and societies in the fatherland. Relations thus early established continued throughout the *Kirchenverein* period and took various forms. The intimacy which marked the early relations with German and Swiss missionary societies also continued unbroken.²

These European relations received a strong impetus through the sending of Wall, president of the *Kirchenverein* at the time, as delegate to the church diet at Bremen in 1852. The main purpose of this visit, as we have seen, was to espouse the cause of the seminary. Wall accomplished far more than this; for everywhere he enlisted the good will and kind cooperation of the mother Church and German missionary societies for the daughter organization in the Far West. This struggling little group was much encouraged when the

² Relations were kept intact through German periodicals received at Marthasville to be reviewed by the F., chief of which was Hengstenberg's E. K. Z. with such illustrious contributors as Krummacher and Tholuck. See K. P., I, 22. To inform the German public concerning the Society, a report of its activities was published (1843) in the B. A. K., the *Bremer Kirchenbote*, and the *Christenbote* of Stuttgart. See also the article by G. Fr. Schütze "Evangelische Kirchenpolitik," *Magazin für Evang. Theol. u. K.*, XXI (1919), 20, based on an address by President J. Baltzer on the same subject, and (what essentially is a reply by J. Krause) "Die Beziehungen der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode von N. A. zur evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands," *ibid.*, 330. Both articles, products of the World War, contain misstatements in their efforts to establish, in the case of the former, an American and, in the case of the latter, a German status.

At various times appeals for support were directed to the Evangelical societies (auxiliary to Basel) at Frankfort-on-the-Main and at Basel and Stuttgart, and to the ecclesiastical authorities in Berlin (*Consistorialrat* Snethlage and others). As early as 1843 a request for a printing-press was directed to the Evangelical Society at Basel. K. P., I, 25, 35, 48, 54 f. For support from the Basel Society, see *ibid.*, 56; from Stuttgart, 82. See also *supra*, p. 152, and J. Scherrer, *Das Werk des protestantisch-kirchlichen Hilfsvereins in der Schweiz* (St. Gall, 1883), 6 ff.

most famous theologians and church leaders of Germany took cognizance of its existence. Renewed interest was also taken by *Kirchenverein* pastors in the affairs of the mother Church; for the discussions of this and succeeding diets revolved about such common problems as those of liturgy, hymnal, confession, temperance, religious art, catechism, etc.

Supplied by Schaff with introductory letters to numerous German theologians, Wall proceeded to Bremen, where he renewed his acquaintance with Mallett and Treviranus, both of whom participated in the opening services of the diet. Under the direction of Immanuel F. Sander³ of the Barmen Society, the subject of German missions in America was discussed in a sectional conference, where Wall had the opportunity to present the needs of the Germans in the West. It developed, in the discussion that followed, that the Langenberg Society commanded the funds necessary to finance the traveling expense of candidates to America and even their return to Germany, if after five or six years they decided to return. Qualified men, however, were not presenting themselves.⁴ A sectional conference of candidates was

³ For appreciation of Sander, "*der bedeutendste Pastor, den das Wuppertal in seiner 400jährigen Geschichte gehabt hat,*" a friend of Wall and of the K., see article by Heinrich Niemöller in Geissler, *op. cit.*, 261 ff.

⁴ Württemberg, on the other hand, could have provided candidates but not traveling expenses. Up to 1866 Langenberg sent 47 men to America. Of these, 15 affiliated with the K.; with the Wisconsin Synod, 13; the Sheboygan Classis, 3; and the New York Lutheran Synod, 4. Of the remaining 12 some had died or disappeared and others had returned to Germany. Dedekind, *op. cit.*, 97 ff. "Unsere Schwestergesellschaft zu Langenberg, Elberfeld und Barmen," *Der Ansiedler im Westen*, VI (1868), 121; III (1865), 28. The Langenberg Society also parted company with the Wisconsin Synod in 1867. After Wall's visit it sought to follow the example of the Berlin Society in sending only able candidates; for it became increasingly clear that, although the mission-school graduates could adequately meet congregational needs, there was a wider demand for trained theologians.

Note the discussion of this problem in *Mittheilungen des Berliner Vereins* (Berlin, 1859), 24. The Barmen missionaries were frequently referred to as "*Laienarbeiter.*" The 75 applicants who responded to a special appeal of the Langenberg Society for men in 1862 consisted of: 5 pastors, 8 candidates of theology, 2 converted priests, 8 teachers, 6 school candidates, 1 student, 3 assistant instructors, 2 post-office employees, 1 court stenographer, 1 secretary, 3 clerks, 3 parish work-

now called, and Wall again presented the American cause. It became apparent, however, that the German Church itself needed pious candidates and that the candidates themselves were diffident about proceeding to the unknown wilds of America without the assurance of a direct call from some church. The fear of not being able to withstand the rigors of Western life also had a deterring effect. At the same time, Wall rejected the suggestion that students for the Marthasville seminary should be secured by applying directly to the state consistories, since he feared that only undesirable men might be released by them. When the problem of emigration was discussed in open session, Wall pointed to the dangers confronting the emigrants upon their arrival in the West. He urged the German Church not to neglect, but to assist her daughter in America in every way possible.⁵

Immediately after the diet, at the suggestion of Wichern, Wall visited Hamburg and Stade. He spent a busy three weeks in Berlin interesting Sattler, Fachtmann of the *Magdalenenstift*, von Mühler, *Hofprediger* F. W. Krummacher, and others, in the founding of the *Verein für die ausgewanderten Deutschen der evangelischen Kirche im Westen Nord-Amerikas*.⁶ He was also warmly received by Professors Nitzsch, Strauss, Hengstenberg, and *Generalsuperin-*

ers, 1 nurse, 1 collector, 1 servant, 1 newspaper clerk, and 28 laborers. Thirty were immediately rejected, 6 withdrew, 10 Hollanders could not be used, 13 were assigned to the Berlin Society, 7 to the *Rauhes Haus*, 3 (E. Schrenk, A. Mohr, and Ch. Schmidt) to Barmen, 3 were unassigned, 1 (Praikschatis) was sent to the Reformed seminary at Sheboygan, Wis., and 2 were temporarily engaged in manual labor. Only the last six were considered suitable for the American field. *Elfter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1863), 33 f.

⁵ "Der Bremer Kirchentag," F., IV (1853), 2, 9. Wall also pled his cause before the home-mission congress which convened at the same time. Note particularly the account of the discussion on emigration conducted by pastors Dreier and Treviranus, in *Verhandlungen des 4. Congresses für innere Mission*, 76 ff. Schaff had been requested to report on German-American conditions. His letter on this subject was published *ibid.*, 93. See also the *Berichte* and reports of the *Central Ausschuss für die Innere Mission* of these years. See Appendix IX.

⁶ See Wall's *Diary*, I (1852), 14 ff. It is interesting to note how Schaff, on his visit to Europe in 1854, had contacted the same personages. D. S. Schaff, *op. cit.*, 171 ff.

tendent W. Hoffmann, *Oberkonsistorialrat* Snethlage, and Heim, and negotiated with the *Oberkirchenrat* for the authorization of a Prussian church collection for the seminary. At Halle he was welcomed by Professors Herzog, Hupfeld, Müller, and Tholuck, the latter inviting him to deliver a lecture at the university on church conditions in America. A society similar to the one at Berlin was also organized. At Leipzig he interviewed Grossmann, president of the *Gustav Adolf-Verein*,⁷ and Ahlfeld; and at Erlangen, Professors Ebrard and J. C. Hofmann, the latter having just published his *Schriftbeweis*. For two months he traversed the highways and byways of his native Württemberg, visiting Blumhardt, Kapff, Dettinger, Mehl, and Knapp at Stuttgart, Professors Oehler, Landerer, and Beck at Tübingen, and C. G. Barth, editor of the *Calwer Missionsblatt*, at Calw.

He found himself again at his *alma mater*, Basel, after an absence of seventeen years, warmly received by the pastors Legrand and Sarasin and the Professors Gelzer and Hagenbach. The *Protestantisch-kirchlicher Hilfsverein* granted him a large donation, and the *Missionskomitee*, at the behest of Inspector Josenhans, instructed five graduate students to report to the *Kirchenverein*.⁸ At Zurich he

⁷ See *supra*, pp. 306 f.; 151, n. 32. Requests for aid from German churches in America and description of their needs are recorded in *Auszüge aus den eingegangenen Unterstützungsgesuchen 1843* and also in *Acten G. A., I. The Acta des Gustav Adolf-Vereins—Allgemeines über Nordamerika 1847-89* contain copies of the *Circular des Vor-Vereins* (Basel) with detailed description of American needs. According to statistical reports of the G. A. Society, the following support (in *Taler*) was granted to American churches from 1847-48: Hermann, Mo., 320; Louisville, Ky., 63.24; Pittsburgh, 600; Round Prairie, Ill., 111.22; St. Louis, 112.26; Waterloo, Ill., 112.26. *Der Bote des Evangelischen Vereins der Gustav-Adolf-Stiftung*, VII (1849), 106. From 1843-75, sixteen churches in North America were supported with appropriations totaling 16,659.61 marks. Karl Zimmermann, *Der Gustav Adolf-Verein* (Darmstadt, Leipzig, 1878), 273.

⁸ The address delivered by Wall before the *Hilfsverein* in Basel, April 8, on "Die Deutsche Mission im westlichen Amerika" and the *Aufruf* of the society in behalf of the K. are found in *Protestantische Monatsblätter für innere Zeitgeschichte*, I (1853), 440 ff. Of the five Basel graduates, J. M. Kopf, K. F. Döhring, and Johannes Zimmermann (pres. of the Evang. Synod, 1882-1901) joined the K. in 1854. J. G. Münzenmeier remained in New Orleans. He never joined the K.,

visited Professor Lange and then proceeded via Bern and Karlsruhe to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where the Reformed pastor Bonnet proposed to revive the *Hanauer Verein*. In the Wuppertal region he received the warm approval of Inspector Wallman of Barmen and the Langenberg friends and concluded his journey at Bremen, where he took steps to reorganize the Bremen Society.⁹

but at the time of his death was serving St. John's Church at St. Louis. The fifth was J. Schmeiser, who located at Burlington, Iowa, but did not join the K. Also joining the K. at that time was F. Lenschau, commissioned by Basel in Feb., 1854. Sebastian Weiss, erst-while Catholic priest, who had been recommended by pastor Legrand, was ordained after a short stay at Marthasville. K. P., II, 109, 111, 115, 116; Basel records; obituary of Zimmermann, F., LX (1909), 356.

Subsequent appeals for assistance were not always successful. The sending of Basel men to America during this period is referred to by Schlatter, *op. cit.*, I, 92 f. Up to 1868, Basel sent 125 missionaries to America. Thankful for blessings and gifts received from Basel, K. pastors and churches in turn liberally supported the missionary projects of this institution. So extensive was Basel's work in America and the German-American interest in Basel that local agents were appointed to receive donations and distribute Basel literature. Such a representative was F. Walz of Berrysburg, Pa., a member of the Luth. Ministerium of Pa., and the first pastor of the church in Brooklyn later served by Garlichs. In 1860 Nollau accepted the Western agency for the distribution of Basel literature, which was later taken over by Will. See folder in Basel archives pertaining to *Agenturen der Basler Mission in Amerika* containing correspondence and reports of Walz, Nollau, and Baltzer. Certain financial dealings with the Samaritan Hospital of St. Louis are also mentioned. In June, 1855, Walz acknowledged a gift of \$22.50 from Bethany Church in Franklin Co., Mo., with the remark: "*Die obige Gemeinde freut sich ihr Missionschürflein nach Basel schicken zu können, weil sie vor Jahren von dort aus Unterstützung zum Bau der Kirche empfangen hat.*" F., VI (1855), 48; VII (1856), 80.

⁹ The Bremen Society was never thoroughly revived. Heyne attributes its decline to the severance of connections with the confessionalistic Wyneken. *Op. cit.*, 65. Treviranus, at the Bremen congress for *Innere Mission* in 1852, *Verhandlungen*, 75, attributed the decline of the society to its method of procuring missionaries and to the growing indifference of its supporters, especially when American Methodist preachers arrived to convert the Germans in Bremen. Relations with Bremen friends were maintained by the K. through Treviranus. Hanau had previously collaborated with Bremen. Gerhardt, *op. cit. (Wichern)*, III, 408. See *supra*, pp. 143 f.

The *Hanauer Verein*, officially known as the *Evangelischer Sendverein für deutsche Protestanten in Nordamerika*, had been organized in Oct., 1841, at Wilhelmsbad near Hanau. In the following month it published an *Aufruf an die Mitglieder der evangelischen Kirche* which was signed by: Kuhl, *Obergerichtsanwalt* in Hanau, *Vorsteher*; Beinhauer, *Pfarrer* in Hanau, *Secretär*; Böhm, *Metropolitan* in Backen-

Wall's visit¹⁰ had far-reaching effects. The Bremen diet, through Wall's representations, had defined the religious care of German emigrants to America as an integral part of German *Innere Mission*. Thereupon the second diet at Frankfort, 1854, invited Schaff of Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, to deliver an address on the relation of the German Church to her daughter Church in America. With incisive words Schaff expounded the obligation of the German Church to maintain an interest in the welfare of German emigrants to America and did not hesitate to lay the blame for their religious destitution to the neglect of this duty. Among other things he suggested, as a step in this direction, the holding of a general church collection, a word of greeting by the diet to the American daughter Churches, and an occasional exchange of fraternal delegates.¹¹

In response to this suggestion, the German committee on home missions, under date of May 22, 1855, addressed a letter to the *Kirchenverein* encouraging more regular fraternal representation at the church diets.¹² The following

heim, *Rechner*; and the pastors Emmel of Windecken, Richter of Praunheim, Münch of Berkersheim, and Ullrich of Rumpenheim. A. K. Z., XXI (1842), 474. Another "*Aufruf des Kurhess-Vereins für die prot. Kirche in Nordamerika* was published in 1844. *Ibid.*, XXIII (1844), 846. The *Hanauer Verein* had been most active in the forties, when (1844) it numbered 324 members, and arranged for quarterly meetings to be held in various parts of the province of Hanau to plead its cause. See also "*Aufruf an deutsche Kandidaten des ev. Predigtamts*," which was reprinted in B. A. K., VI (1844), 394.

¹⁰ Wall, *Diary*, I (1852), 107-137. For report of Wall's trip, see also "Über unsern Delegaten," F., IV (1853), 12; "Schreiben des P. G. W. Wall," *ibid.*, 35, 53; "Auszug . . .," *ibid.*, V (1854), No. 3 (*Beiblatt*); K. P., I, *passim*. *Supra*, p. 310, n. 80. Note also Wall's letter to Rieger explaining how Bigelow's financial assistance made it possible for him to take his family with him. W.-R. Cor., St. Louis, July 15, 1852. Reports of his experiences may also be found *ibid.*, Basel, Feb. 17, 1853; Marssel, Sept. 7, 1852; June 9, 1853.

¹¹ In this address, which the F. printed in a special *Beilage*, VI (1855), No. 1 (4 ff.), Schaff urged (a) farewell services for emigrants; (b) emigrant missionaries at points of embarkation; (c) commissioning of able preachers; (d) education of talented theological students either in Germany (Basel or Barmen) or in American seminaries. Schaff was given a vote of thanks for services rendered the K. K. P., II, 160. Relations with American Churches are also discussed in Geissler, *op. cit.*, 96 ff.

¹² "Schreiben des Deutschen Evangel. Kirchentages an den Evangel. Kirchen-Verein des Westens," F., VI (1855), 81. This greeting was

year this committee, through the generosity of a Christian layman, Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg, established an annual stipend of one hundred Prussian *Taler*, making it possible for talented students of German-American Churches to attend German theological institutions.¹³ At various other

addressed to the Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian Churches, and to the K. An English translation of this letter, received by the Reformed Church, may be found in *Acts and Proceedings of Synod* (1855), 86 ff. For reply of the Reformed Church, see "Address to the German Church Diet," *German Reformed Messenger*, XXII (1855), 4222. This reply so impressed the *Central Ausschuss* that it was transmitted to the highest church authorities of Germany, where it evoked favorable comment. A communication had been received from the K. before the greeting of the *Central Ausschuss* was received. The substance of this letter as well as of those of other Churches was published in "Blicke in das Arbeitsfeld der inneren Mission während der Jahre 1855 u. 1856," *Dritter Bericht des Central Ausschusses* (Hamburg, 1857), 72. The *Verhandlungen* of the German church diets and mission congresses repeatedly refer to relations with America.

¹³ "Unser Verkehr mit d. evangel. Kirchentage," F., IX (1858), 124. Von Bethmann-Hollweg, the presiding genius at all of the sixteen church diets, the last of which was held in 1872, was professor of law at Bonn University, "das ideale Bild eines evangelischen Laien, durch Besitz, Stellung, Gelehrsamkeit hervorragend, in Haltung, Rede, Hoheit der Anschauung vom Geisteshauche getragen" "Kirchentag," R. E., X, 476. While yet living, he made annual anonymous contributions of 100 *Taler* to enable German-American students to study in Germany. The first to receive the so-called Bethmann-Hollweg *Stipendium* was a student by the name of Kerschner of the German Reformed Synod of Pa., who had attended the universities of Göttingen and Tübingen but on the recommendation of Schaff received the *Stipendium* to continue his studies at Berlin. *Sechster Bericht des Central Ausschusses* (1863), 26. Other qualified theological students, however, did not apply. It was reported in 1867 that the son of Mühlhäuser of the Wisconsin Synod was being assisted in his studies at a Westphalian *Gymnasium*. The young Mühlhäuser, however, did not complete his studies, and other American applicants were not found. These American relations entered a new stage when (1877) Bethmann-Hollweg bequeathed the sum of 6000 marks to be administered by the *Central Ausschuss*, "der deutschen evangelischen Kirche in Amerika die Schätze der deutschen Theologie zugänglich zu machen." See letter from *Central Ausschuss*, Berlin, Dec. 3, 1881, to President Siebenpfeiffer of the Evangelical Synod, in which the synod was urged to avail itself of this stipend. *Acta C. A.* As no requests were received, the interest was permitted to accumulate until 1883, when Theophil Müller of the Evangelical Synod arrived to spend three semesters at Berlin and one at Erlangen. Thereafter the interest redounded to Wichern's *Sternenhaus* (*Johannisstift*), where students were being trained for the American field. In 1901 the sum of 450 marks was granted to a pastor of the Evangelical Synod who was described as the "vicar of St. John's Church at Chicago, Ill. who was also an assistant teacher at Northwestern University." In 1902 Pastor P. Menzel of the seminary board of the Evang. Synod requested

times similarly encouraging letters were received with assurance of prayer and intercession—the correspondence thus conducted nurturing the sense of dependence on the mother Church and strengthening the common interests in the cause of church union.¹⁴

Wall's visit, as we have seen, also resulted in the authorization of the church collection and the founding of the *Berliner Gesellschaft*, the main purpose of which was to send trained theologians to America. The *Kirchenverein*, partly because of its own lack of diligence in maintaining official relations with this society, but also because of the Lutheran convictions of most of the missionaries sent out, did not at first enjoy any benefits from this organization.¹⁵ In 1862 the *Berliner Gesellschaft* undertook the publication of the *Ansiedler im Westen*, which effectively espoused the American cause. Of the twenty-two missionaries sent to America during the *Kirchenverein* period, seventeen joined the Wisconsin Synod, and only two, J. C. Fleischhacker of Hildesheim and Karl E. Otto of Mansfeld, affiliated with the *Kirchenverein*.¹⁶ One emissary joined the Lutheran

the stipend for a student who had been accepted in the *Domstift*. Thus S. D. Press was granted the *Stipendium* for two years. From 1906-1907 Samuel von Ragué spent two years at Berlin and Halle and from 1908-1909 Martin Davis received the stipend for studies at Leipzig. There were no further applications until 1911, when, upon the request of Prof. Deissmann, the *Stipendium* was granted to John Orr of Princeton Seminary for two years (Bonn and Berlin). The following year (1913) the last appropriation of 600 marks was made to Charles J. Baillie at Halle. The fund was lost during the inflation. See *Berichte des Central Ausschusses, passim*.

¹⁴ E. g., "Schreiben des Central-Ausschusses," F., X (1859), 45. Baltzer had been elected secretary for foreign correspondence in 1854.

¹⁵ K. P., II, 110; "Die deutsche evang. Syn. d. Westens," A. i. W., V (1867), 97. Closer relations with this society were established in 1864 by Wall, who agreed that candidates ordained and commissioned by the society should not be subjected to another examination by the K. "Das habe die Wisconsin-Synode in einem Fall gethan, und wenn sie das nochmal thun, so werde ihr kein Sendbote mehr zugesandt werden." Wall's *Diary*, II, 18.

¹⁶ It is interesting to follow the confessionalistic development in the Wisconsin Synod. The early position of Mühlhäuser is reflected in a report to Langenberg, in which he said, "Da wir nicht engherzig und alllutherisch sondern evangelisch sind, so haben alle Evangelisch gesinnten eine kirchliche Heimath in unserm Synodal-Verband." *Siebenter Bericht* (1855), 20. For unionistic influence of Mühlhäuser,

Synod of New York and later the Missouri Synod, and one the Sheboygan Classis of the Reformed Church.¹⁷ It is a

see Koehler, *op. cit.*, 293. Mühlhäuser resigned from the presidency of the synod in 1860 and was succeeded by J. Bading. The following year the *Bekennnisstand* was thoroughly aired. *Verhandlung der Elften Versammlung d. Evangel. Luth. Synode von Wisconsin* (1861), 14 f. At the same time the exclusive position of Missouri and Iowa was rejected. *Ibid.*, XII (1862), 17. Bading's description of his synod in 1863, the year in which the Prussian collection for the Wisconsin seminary was raised, could almost have referred to the K., *ibid.*, XIII (1863), 6, although in the same conference exception was taken to the use of "unirte" catechisms in several congregations. The Berlin Society desired an explanation of this position. See letter of G. Reim, Watertown, Wis., Jan., 1864, to *Evangel. Oberkirchenrat*. Acta E. O. K., III, 37.

In 1867 Wisconsin surrendered its "mild" confessional position, joined hands with the Missouri Synod, and suggested that the Berlin Society continue to send them strictly Lutheran, antiunionistic missionaries—a policy which the Berlin Society refused to accept. See "Unser Abschied von der Wis.-Synode," A. i. W., VI (1868), 27. Note reference to this action in F., XIX (1868), 91. The exclusive confessional position of the Wisconsin Synod led the *Oberkirchenrat* to the decision that "so lange die evangelisch-lutherische Synode von Wisconsin in ihrer unionsfeindlichen Stellung beharre, die Zinsen der Kollekte nach unserem pflichtmässigen Ermessen zur Heranbildung und Aussendung von Aspiranten für den Kirchen- und Schuldienst in deutschen evangelischen, der Union zugetanen Gemeinden Nordamerikas verwendet werden." For correspondence and documents dealing with this matter, including the "allerhöchster Erlass" of April 12, 1869, permitting the reallocation of funds and Wichern's request to use the interest amounts for the *Sternenhaus* (*Johannisstift*), see Acta E. O. K., III., 132-149.

L. Münter (1853) of Verchen, Pomerania, the first emissary of the Berlin Society, for nine years was located at Alton, Ill. He was reported to have joined the K., but failed to fulfill expectations. The K. records, aside from stating that he was present as an advisory member at the conference of 1855, are silent concerning him. There is a reference to him in Binner's letter to Schaff, July 1, 1854. Fleischhacker was a converted Jew, trained at Basel, episcopally ordained by Bishop Gobat at Jerusalem (1856), and located at Portsmouth, Ohio (1865). Otto, stationed first in Hermann, Wis., did not leave the Wis. Synod until the crisis of 1867. After the break with Wisconsin most of the Berlin men were sent to the Evangelical Synod, notably J. Bank, F. F. Weygold, C. F. Kranz. A. Muecke, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Synode von Nord-Amerika* (St. Louis, 1915), 199. See also obituaries in F.: Otto—LXVII (1916), 486; Bank—XLIII (1892), 12, 28; Weygold—LX (1909), 189; Kranz—XXXVII (1886), 12. Note correspondence of Otto in A. i. W., *passim*. Koehler, *op. cit.*, 81, 246, strangely confuses the *Berliner Gesellschaft* with the Berlin Missionary Society.

¹⁷ "Unsere Sendboten," A. i. W., VI (1868), 6; "Von unsern Sendboten in Amerika," *ibid.*, III (1865), 49. See also *Mittheilungen des*

matter of note that Wall's contacts in Germany did not arouse any confessional issues or result in doctrinal controversy.¹⁸ Everywhere he found himself in an atmosphere charged with theological dissensions between Evangelicals, Lutherans, and Reformed. As a true son of the *Kirchenverein*, however, these confessional debates did not awaken in him similar animosities. Even Prussian unionists could not always appreciate his irenic position and felt that a more vital union existed in America than in Germany. When admonished, on one occasion, of the necessity of aggressively opposing the errors of the Old Lutherans, Wall gave the characteristic reply that as light was its own revelation, the essential Christian function was to lift the lamp of God's truth without pointing continually to the surrounding darkness.¹⁹

Thus, in the midst of denominational controversies which disturbed the religious life of Germany and aroused animosities in American and German Churches in the New World, the *Kirchenverein* proposed to avoid theological strife and, rather than consume its efforts in religious warfare, to suffer in patience the onslaughts of its enemies.

GERMAN-AMERICAN CHURCHES

Geographical remoteness from the Old World, theological indifference to European confessional controversies, and

Berliner Vereins (Berlin, 1859), which contains a historical sketch of the origin and early labors of the society. The interests of the Berlin Society were gradually absorbed by the Langenberg Society, which, with the *Barmen Komitee für die protestantischen Deutschen in Brasilien*, in 1881 merged into the *Evangelische Gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Amerika*. This society continued to issue *Der Deutsche Ansiedler*, in which the Berlin Society published its list of donations until 1891.

¹⁸ This was also true of Wall's visit to Germany in 1864, which mainly concerned the disposition of the church collection of 1854. *Supra*, p. 310. See report of this trip in *F.*, XVI (1865), 5, 29, and Wall's *Diary*, II. He was instructed to espouse the cause of "der Evangelischen Kirche dieses Landes im Allgemeinen, sowie die unseres Kirchenkörpers und seiner Anstalten im Speciellen." *Acta E. O. K.*, I., 216. Contacts with German missionary societies were also revived.

¹⁹ Wall's *Diary*, I, 6. The anti-Basel spirit of the Old Lutherans in Germany is reflected in their contention that ". . . jeder Gulden, den ein Lutheraner zur Basler Mission steure, sei ein 'Sündengeld' und ein 'Blutgeld'!" *F.*, III (1852), 71.

fervent committal to the spiritual values of the Reformation assured for the *Kirchenverein* independence from the ecclesiastical and theological controversies disturbing the Continent. In America, however, close contacts with other German Churches led to various types of relationship.

The earliest relations of any significance were established with the Lutherans, who were divided into two major groups.²⁰ The distinction between these groups corresponded, in a sense, to that between the liberal Evangelical and the confessional Lutheran Churches of Germany and to the American intradenominational cleavage between the New and Old Schools. The American Lutheran Churches of the General Synod, under the leadership of S. S. Schmucker and of B. Kurtz of the *Lutheran Observer*, were in principle sympathetic to the German union movement, whereas the more rigid confessionalists corresponded to the Old Lutherans of Germany.²¹ Both groups prided themselves on the name "Lutheran." The relative adaptability of these Churches to their American home is apparent in their adop-

²⁰ As early as 1842 Daubert and Garlichs were delegated to attend a meeting of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches which, they had been informed, would convene at Pittsburgh in May of that year. K. P., I, 12. Nothing came of these plans.

Committed to the union of Lutheran and Reformed denominations, the K., as we have seen, was at first greeted with suspicion by these American bodies. *Supra*, pp. 129 ff.

²¹ At the extreme left stood the Missouri Lutherans, who objected to being called "Old Lutherans," and the Buffalo Synod of J. A. A. Grabau. Not so radically espousing the confessional position at this time was the Ohio group, with its center at Columbus, O., publishing the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* (1860), and the Wisconsin Synod. For Löhe's appraisal of the Ohio Synod, which received his first missionaries, and for discussion of his break with this synod, see Deinzer, *op. cit.*, III, 22 ff.

When two of Löhe's men, G. Grossmann and J. Deindoerfer, who had settled among the Saxon Lutherans in Saginaw, Mich., were proved for certain of their views, they volunteered to move to some other field, but were informed that no other Lutherans had the right to do missionary work in states already occupied by the Missourians. They accordingly went to Iowa, where the Iowa Synod was founded in 1854. Johannes Deindoerfer, *Geschichte der Evangel.-Luth. Synode von Iowa und andern Staaten* (Chicago, 1897), 29 ff. See also G. J. Zeilinger, *op. cit.*

For attitude of Missouri Lutherans to the General Synod, see "Der *Lutheran Observer* über unsere Synode," *Luth.*, IV (1847), 50 f., 57 f. See Ferm, *op. cit.*

tion or rejection of the American language. The easy adaptation to native *mores* by the liberal American Lutherans was vigorously denounced by the others as a repudiation of the faith of the fathers.²²

Most embarrassing to the *Kirchenverein* was the persistent antagonism of the Old Lutheran party in Missouri, which was stirringly vented in the *Lutheraner*.²³ In plain terms the latter denounced its rival Church in the West as an "Allerweltskirche," guilty of "Glaubensmengerei" and of being indifferent to the fundamentals of the Gospel and the Reformation. The first significant declaration of attitude of the *Kirchenverein* toward the Missouri Lutherans occurred in the series of articles on the Evangelical Church which appeared in the *Friedensbote* early in 1850.²⁴ Here we find the statement:

"Although the Old Lutherans stand in open antagonism to the Evangelical Church, we respect their frankness, even if we consider it an unwarranted and unjust strife. We also admire much else that is truly honorable: their manly, courageous stand against the infidelity of our day in all its forms and against all fanaticism. . . . The Evangelical Church, however, will not thus be deterred from espousing the Union and urging its necessity in these divided and disrupted times. Therefore, where we find unity in essentials, we shall embrace it, but shall steadfastly refrain from controversy over non-essentials."²⁵

²² "Die englisch-luth. Kirche in N. A.," K. M., I (1843), No. 7. See also Deinzer, *op. cit.*, III, 61 ff.

²³ The slogan "*Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr' vergehet nun und nimmermehr*" reflects its militant spirit. "Des Lutheraner's Motto . . .," Luth., XIX (1862), 45. Note by comparison the slogan of the F., Eph. 4: 3, which became the motto of the Evangelical Synod. With the adoption of the new title-page in 1858, verses 4-6 and the symbol of clasped hands were added. For relations between K. and Lutheran churches and pastors, see *supra*, pp. 202 f.

²⁴ For Lutheran opposition to unionism and the K., see, among other early references, Luth., I (1844), 7, and the series of articles "Die evangelische Kirche in Nord-Amerika," *ibid.*, 42, 45, 50, 56. Note also the series "Antwort auf die neueste Verteidigung der Union," *ibid.*, 78, 82, 86, 95, 97, in reply to the pamphlet of L. E. Nollau *Ein Wort für die gute Sache der Union* (St. Louis, 1845). See also "Die Evangelische Kirche," F., I (1850), 4, 9, 17, 26, 33, 41, 49, 57, 65. Note also in this connection the article written by Baltzer "Der deutsche evang. K. d. W.," D. K., II (1849), 385 ff.

²⁵ F., I (1850), 42. Various references to the F. and K. may be found in indexes of the *Lutheraner*. Protests against the intolerant attitude of the Luth. were occasionally voiced. Thus the Middle District, in 1858, protested against "*eine gewissenlose Verläumdung*," but

Although the relations of the *Kirchenverein* to confessional Lutheran synods never reached a critical stage, the former was never left in doubt as to how it was regarded.

agreed not to haggle matters with Walther, who was referred to as a "*Satansengel, der Andere mit Fäusten schlägt*," *ibid.*, IX (1858), 98. In 1863 Zimmermann read a paper to the North District on the subject: "*Wie hat sich der evangel. Prediger gegen solche Kirchengemeinschaften zu verhalten, deren Prediger . . . in seine Gemeinde eindringen*," N. D. P. (1863), 7. Significantly reflecting the aversion to the doctrinal bickerings of the day were the plaintive voicings of Karl Aulenbach's *Unionsklänge*:

*Lasst mir das eitle Streiten!
Es lebt ein Friedefuerst;
Der mahnt im Flug der Zeiten:
"Schaff', dass du selig wirst!"*

and J. H. Mengert's poem *Alles und in Allem Christus!* which begins with the words:

*Was ist der Schaden unsrer Zeit,
Der wie ein Krebs das Lebensmark verzehret
Am Leib der Kirche? Die Zerrissenheit,
Dass einer so, der and're anders lehret;
Dass dieser Zwinglisch, der Lutherisch sein,
Ein dritter nach Calvin sich nennen moechte,
Wie wenn ein Name uns das Leben braechte—
Ein leerer Titel, ein erborgter Schein.*

F., IX (1858), 54; VII (1856), 36. See reference to Aulenbach in Körner, *op. cit.*, 228.

By way of contrast note the poem of nineteen stanzas, "*Ich bleib ein Lutheraner*," by H. Fick, Luth., XI, (1854), 22. Another example of Fick's lyrical polemic may be found in *Gesang und Saitenspiel der Kirche im Mississippithale* (Hildesheim, 1854), 48:

*Wie wird sie doch im deutschen Lande
Von Fuersten grausam unterdrueckt,
Die ihr mit gleissendem Vorwande
Den Unionszwang aufgerueckt,
Die unsres Luthers reine Lehren
Mit Calvins Schwaermerei vermischt,
Und dies dem Volk, es zu verkehren,
Als "evangelisch" aufgetischt.*

*Ach! wie viel Brueder sind betrogen
Mit dieses Wortes suessem Ton;
Wie Mancher wird noch jetzt gezogen
In's Netz der falschen Union!
Es sprechen von der Bruderliebe
Die "evangel'schen" Prediger hold,
Und rauben uns doch, wie die Diebe,
Der vollen Wahrheit reines Gold.*

Carl Schneider of Riga, in "Das Evangelium der deutschen Reformation in angelsächsischem Gewand," Geissler, *op. cit.*, 331, points out that one of the reasons for the "*Erstarrung im Konfessionalismus*" among German-American Churches may be found in their non-appreciation of the Prussian union.

Note the significant title of a pamphlet published at St. Louis in 1867: "*Warum sich kein Lutheraner bei seiner Seelen Seligkeit an eine 'unirte' oder 'evangelische' oder auch 'vereinigt reformirt-lutherische Gemeinde anschliessen darf.*"

Unfortunately, theological differences also disturbed personal relations. Thus Hagemann, of Warsaw, Ill., reporting to the Langenberg

Thus Grabau in far distant Buffalo, with no appreciation for the Evangelical position, clearly expressed himself to that effect;²⁶ the *Kirchliche Mittheilungen* did not hesitate to publish warnings against the *Kirchenverein*;²⁷ the Wisconsin Synod decried the presence of "unionism" in its midst;²⁸ and the newly founded *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* of the Ohio Synod joined the opposition with an uncompromising declaration of war.²⁹

In the face of these and other aspersions the escutcheon of the *Kirchenverein* remained remarkably free from the

Society under date of 1868, lamented: "*Mein Nachbar Altlutheraner würdigt mich keines Blickes und stellt am hellen Tage astronomische Untersuchungen an, um nur ja nicht den 'verdammten' Kryptocalvinisten ansehen zu müssen. Da sind doch die Schüler Löhes artiger, die geben Einem wenigstens die Hand und sprechen mit Einem, aber die Missourier rühren kein Unreines an!*" *Fünfzehnter Bericht* (1871), 12.

²⁶ *Supra*, p. 13, n. 24. Grabau, replying to a letter from Nollau, whom he knew from Germany (Nov., 1840), expressed his regret "*dass Sie sich jetzt noch ohne ein bestimmtes Religionsbekenntnis einen Prediger des Evangeliums nennen, woraus ich schliessen muss, dass Sie sich aus der Barmenschen Verführung nicht haben losreissen können. . . . Jesus Christus erbarme Sich Ihrer armen Seele mit grosser Kraft und führe Sie aus dem Reiche des Antichrists*" Quoted by Koehler, *op. cit.*, 132. This letter was also printed in the B. A. K., III (1841), 491, with a more consoling letter to Nollau from a Lutheran pastor.

²⁷ The issue No. 3, 1843, printed the following extract from a letter of Wyneken (April, 27): "At this moment a unionistic preacher by the name of Daubert from Kentucky is traveling through Germany to collect for his little sect" He also advised preachers emigrating to America not to call themselves "*uniert*" or "*Evangelisch*," since these terms applied mostly to unbelievers.

²⁸ Koehler, *op. cit.*, 225, quotes the reprimand addressed by the Northwest Conference of the Wisconsin Synod (Feb., 1857) to a member who had maintained: "*Der Union kann ich noch nicht den Abschied geben, da ich dieselbe, seitdem ich Jesum kenne, von Herzen liebe und mich in diesem Geiste selig fühle.*" This brother was kindly invited to resign. This reference is to C. E. Conrad, who originally belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church. He joined the K. in 1859 and resigned the following year, continuing in Quincy as the pastor of the German Congregational churches at Quincy and Fall Creek, Ill. See letters pertaining to Conrad in A. H. M. S. Cor. dated from May 8, 1858, to 1864. This is quite in contrast to a reference to the Wisconsin Synod in F., XI (1860), 158: "*Der Herr lasse auch diese Streiterschaaer die Thore der Feinde besitzen, und gebe Segen des Wortes, wo dasselbe erschallt.*"

²⁹ In reply to which the F., *ibid.*, 156, replied: "*Wir wünschen der lutherischen Synode von Ohio u. a. St. aus brüderlichem Herzen Gottes Segen und Gedeihen*"

stains of interchurch controversy. Again and again the *Friedensbote* reiterated its policy of not engaging in conflict with any Christian group, stating that it would "never enter into a controversy with other German papers, would never initiate an attack, and would meet its critics only with silence."³⁰

Although the liberal Lutheran synods of the East, whose early efforts to win the newly arrived Germans has already been noted, had not been very enthusiastic about the rise of a sister denomination in the West, fraternal relations with them were always nurtured by the infant Church and were finally reciprocated by the Churches affiliated with the General Synod. Fraternal relations with these bodies began in 1854, when invitations to exchange delegates were received from W. J. Mann of the General Synod and S. W. Harkey of the Synod of Northern Illinois,³¹ which had joined the General Synod in 1848. At the suggestion of the committee on relations with other Churches, Dresel was authorized to attend the conference of the North Illinois Synod, which in turn delegated A. Schmieding to the conference at Burlington, Iowa, in 1855. Dresel, however, did not attend the Lutheran conference, and Jung was designated to perform this courtesy the following year. It was, indeed, with Harkey's synod that the most intimate relations were maintained, although it must be said that the delegates of Lutheran synods fulfilled their commissions more faithfully than those of the *Kirchenverein*.

Intimate relations with the General Synod were more difficult to maintain. Nollau, who in response to Mann's

³⁰ "Im Namen Jesus!" *ibid.*, VII (1856), 1; "Der F." III (1852), 1; "Schilt nicht wieder" II (1851), 95; "Ist's möglich" VII (1856), 58.

³¹ K. P., II, 115. Harkey, who prided himself on being a "freeborn American," was professor at the Illinois State University, supported by the Illinois Synod and the Synod of Northern Illinois, and was widely known for his unionistic sympathies. He had graduated from Gettysburg Seminary in 1834. The Synod of Illinois and the Synod of Northern Illinois grew out of the Synod of the West previously referred to, *supra*, pp. 66 f., 129 ff. Mann later became a strong opponent of the Definite Platform theology of General Synod. *Ferm, op. cit.*, 286 ff.

request was delegated to the Lutheran Synod of 1855, was prevented from attending by a conflict of dates with the *Kirchenverein* conference of that year. Nor was Binner able to attend the conference in 1857. Written greetings received from the General Synod in 1857 induced the *Kirchenverein* to appoint Dresel, of Louisville, to attend the conference of that synod to convene in Pittsburgh in 1859. Dresel attended this conference and was cordially received.³² Professor W. M. Reynolds, president of Illinois State University and member of the Illinois Synod was authorized to attend the next meeting of the *Kirchenverein*.

Reynolds, however, did not attend, and thus the relations between these two bodies came to an abrupt end.³³ The strengthening of the Evangelical consciousness, due to the merger with kindred Evangelical groups, the rising confessionalism in the General Synod, and the continuing differences between the German and American points of view may account for the rift now ensuing. Although the General Synod continued to be held in high regard, its occasional criticisms of the *Kirchenverein* were vigorously but kindly answered by the *Friedensbote*.³⁴

³² Cf. *Verhandlungen der 19. Versammlung d. General-Synode* (1859), 21.

³³ Fraternal relations between the K. and Lutheran synods developed as follows:

<i>Kirchenverein</i> CONFERENCES	CONFERENCES OF LUTHERAN SYNODS
1854 Invitations from W. J. Mann—Gen. Syn. S. W. Harkey—North Ill. Syn.	
1855 A. Schmieding—Syn. of Ill. Greetings from N. Ill. Syn.	Nollau—Gen. Syn. (Did not attend.) Dresel—North Ill. Syn. (Did not attend.)
1856 S. Liese—Syn. of Ill.	Jung—North Ill. Syn.
1857 I. C. Hiller—Syn. of Ill. Written greetings from W. H. Harrison—Gen. Syn.	Krönlein—Syn. of Ill. Binner—Gen. Syn. (Did not attend, but sent greetings.)
1858 No Conference	Riess—North Ill. Syn. (Did not attend.)
1859 Reynolds—Gen. Syn. (Did not attend.)	Dresel—Gen. Syn.

³⁴ Note, e. g., the comments on the deliberations of the General Synod of 1860 in "Die luth. Gen.-Synode," F., XI (1860), 45, and the

The contacts with the German Reformed Church were not so frequent nor so formal as those with the Lutheran. Indeed, these relations, it must be said, developed less auspiciously with the Reformed Church in the West³⁵ than with the sister organization in the East. In 1853, the Reformed Synod of Ohio had appointed D. Kemmerer of Wooster, Ohio, to attend the current conference of the *Kirchenverein*. However, nothing came of this action, and a formal exchange of fraternal delegates never occurred.³⁶ Referring to the fraternal relations existing between the *Kirchenverein* and the Lutheran General Synod, the *Hausfreund* of the United Evangelical Synod of North America and the *Evangelist* of the Reformed Synod of Ohio drew the conclusion that, since the Evangelical Church of Germany could manifestly not maintain itself, the *Kirchenverein* had decided to merge with the Lutheran body. This contention was vigorously denied by the *Friedensbote*, which asserted that German conditions could have no effect on the development of the *Kirchenverein* in America. Again replying to the *Evangelist*, it was stated that the *Kirchenverein* exchanged delegates with the Lutheran General Synod and not with the Reformed because the former had initiated this relationship.³⁷

subsequent defense of the union principle in "Der Herr Jesus u. d. Union," *ibid.*, 74; "Eine Heerde u. Ein Hirt," *ibid.*, 81. Again the review of the proceedings of the G. S. of 1862 stated that the Lord was working mightily in this Church: "Wenn auch Manches unsern deutschen Anschauungen etwas fremd vorkommen mag u. den deutschen Geist nicht anzieht" "Lutherische Generalsynode," *ibid.*, XIV (1863), 53. Note also, by way of contrast, the strictures against the G. S. in "H. Ludwig u. Dr. Stohlmann," *Luth.*, XVI (1860), 90 ff., where reference is made to "das wiederholte, unablässige Aufdecken der unionistischen Greuel der General-Synode von Seiten der Missouri-Synode"

³⁵ K. pastors in Wisconsin sometimes fraternized with both Lutheran and Reformed ministers.

³⁶ The only reference to this action is found in F., IV (1853), 92; Kemmerer, apparently by mistake, attended the conference of the K. of Ohio in 1854. "Die Jahresversammlung" *ibid.*, V (1854), 75.

³⁷ "Erklärung," *ibid.*, IX (1858), 43, 85. Discussing Dresel's attendance at the Lutheran Conference at Pittsburgh in 1859, the K. asserted that it also had obligations to fulfill with reference to Reformed Churches. "Was d. F. von der ersten General-conferenz . . . zu berichten hat," *ibid.*, X (1859), 114.

Warmer relations were nurtured with the Reformed Church in the East—the cordial attitude of Schaff being warmly appreciated. Schaff had endeared himself to the *Kirchenverein* through his correspondence with *Kirchenverein* officials, his sympathetic attitude in the *Kirchenfreund*, his defense of the Society against the libel of its enemies on the occasion of his visits to Germany, his espousal of the German church collection, and through his donation of books to the seminary.³⁸ In 1848 Schaff began the publication of *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund*, which, under the slogan "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*" proposed to be a central organ for the theological and practical interests of the German Lutheran, Reformed, and United Churches in America. From its inception this periodical turned a friendly ear and reached a kindly hand to the *Kirchenverein*, reporting its activities, announcing new arrivals from Germany and opening its columns to articles by its members.³⁹ In all these relations it became apparent that the genius of the *Kirchenverein* was more

³⁸ K. P. (1855), 10. In the letter addressed to the *Oberkirchenrat*, March 28, 1854 (*supra*, p. 309, n. 76), Schaff, among other laudable things, referred to the union function of the K. as follows: "*Ich hoffe nun zwar allerdings, dass sich eine Union in noch weit grösserem Maasstabe bilden u. das werden wird, was sie [K.] eigentlich ursprünglich sein wollte u. nach ihrer richtig gefassten Idee auch sein sollte, aber bis dahin weder in Deutschland noch in Amerika geworden ist, nämlich . . . eine organische Verbindung der gesammten gläubig lutherischen u. gläubig reformirten Kirche deutscher u. englischer Zunge zu einer, ich möchte sagen, evangelisch katholischen Kirche. Allein selbst dann würde doch jener Verein keineswegs umsonst da sein, sondern kann gerade als verbindendes Mittelglied zwischen den beiden Schwesterkirchen, nach beiden Seiten hin die Hand des Friedens ausstreckend, jenes Ziel vorbereiten helfen.*" *Acta E. O. K.*, I, 51. See also letter of Binner to Schaff in illustration.

The settlement of German Evangelical immigrants in the East during the forties raised new problems for some Reformed churches. "Das Verhältniss der Deutsch-reformirten Kirche zu Vereinigt-evangelischen Gemeinden," *D. K.*, II (1849), 52. Cf. *supra*, p. 79, n. 77.

The irenic attitude of the liberal Reformed wing in Germany is reflected in the following introductory statement of the N. E. K. Z., founded by K. Goebel, Jan., 1854: "*Unionistisch will sie nicht sein, weil wir Reformirte uns nicht selbstauflösen und vernichten wollen, aber unionsfreundlich*"

³⁹ Thus Garlich published an article on "Oliver Cromwell," *D. K.*, *ibid.*, 421; Birkner: "Liturgische Studien," *ibid.*, 209, 253; "Glaube u. Wissen," *ibid.*, 248; "Der kleine Heidelberger Katechis-

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congenial to the Reformed groups of the East than to those of the West.⁴⁰

AMERICAN DENOMINATIONS

The relations of the *Kirchenverein* with Lutheran and Reformed bodies in America were premised on a common religious background. Such premises were totally lacking in the relations with the American denominations, with which, nevertheless, fraternal relations were established. The conservative Lutheran and Reformed Churches and pastors, in the light of their German state-church background, easily followed the tradition of deriding American denominations as mere "sects."⁴¹ Indeed, the voluntary sys-

mus," III (1850), 18; Binner: "Confirmanden-Unterricht und Confirmation," VIII (1855), 105 ff.; Baltzer: "Der deutsche evang. K. d. W.," II (1849), 385.

⁴⁰ Note the statement of Dubbs, *op. cit.* ("Reformed Church in Pennsylvania"), 313, that "Dr. Rauch had suggested that the Reformed Church should declare its adherence to the Church Union of Prussia, turning over the western field to the *Kirchenverein des Westens*."

⁴¹ Note, e. g., the feud between Nast's C. A. and Walther's Luth. The *Apologete*, founded in 1839, had committed itself to the task of "expounding the biblical teachings which Martin Luther considered essential to salvation." I (1839), 3. Accused of being "sectarian," Nast, as early as July 30, 1841 (*ibid.*, III, 119), began to beard the Lutheran lion—the main controversy revolving about the Lord's Supper. *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, Nov. 12, Dec. 10, 1847; Jan. 7, 1848. The discussion was filled with petty bickering and exchange of acrimonious epithets. Nast accused Walther of "*Geschichtsverfälschung*," "*Schliche und Kniffe*," "*Frechheit*," of being a "Roman Lutheran" and generally objected to his "*verschmizte Bemerkungen*." The Luth., in turn, accused Nast of "*der ehrlosesten Handlung, deren sich auch die gottlose Welt schämen würde*," "*der offenbaren Betrügerei*," "*Methodistische Winkelschleicherei*," of being a "*Bussbänkler*," "*Marktschreier*," "*Quacksalber*," and of specializing in "*Treibhausfrüchte*," etc. These expressions, of course, must be taken in their context. Note also similar strictures by Prof. Schmidt in the L. K. "Save us from the Methodists," was the gist of a letter by Wyneken in K. M., 1845, No. 3. Schaff's criticism of the C. A. as "*ein geistloses Blatt, voll ungesalzener Frömmigkeit . . .*" drew an equally caustic reply from Nast that Schaff "*hat durch seinen rohen Angriff auf meinen moralischen Charakter sich selbst weit mehr beschimpft als mich und deshalb nur Mitleid gegen ihn in mir erweckt*." C. A., Apr. 7 and 28, 1848. D. K., II (1849), 145. Nast also opposed the union idea of Schmucker, since "complete harmony can only be had in heaven or hell." C. A., June 7, 1839. On the other hand, Rauschenbusch, emissary of Langenberg, in his *Nacht des Westens*, expressed a criticism of Methodism which was reprinted in the Luth. and D. K., but which, upon Nast's remonstrance, he retracted, saying: "*Wo die Liebe verletzt wird, da leidet die Wahrheit mit*." C. A., March 3, 1848.

tem prevailing in America demanded a fundamental reorientation on their part. This was more easily accomplished in circles where the spirit of German voluntary societies prevailed.⁴²

The Methodist appeal, eloquently voiced by Nast and Jacoby, had won numerous converts among the German population in the West, where *Kirchenverein* pastors were also endeavoring to establish a foothold.⁴³ Although the *Kirchenverein* did not officially enter into relations with German or American Methodists, the early informal and personal relations were, with few exceptions, cordial. Many pastors subscribed to the *Apologete*; the intercourse with Methodist preachers was free from controversial discussions.⁴⁴ These relations show how the *Kirchenverein*, not

⁴² The distinction was sometimes made between separatists and sects—the former not essentially rejecting the creeds of the Church nor assuming technically to be a Church, e. g. Methodists or Moravians, the latter, on the other hand, with respect to confessions or rites definitely breaking with the Church, as in the case of the Baptists. Cf. address of *Consistorialrat* Snethlage at the Berlin Church Diet, 1853, quoted by F., V (1854), 9. Note objection of a Prussian state official to the *Rauhes Haus* as being “methodistisch.” “Das Rauhe Haus,” *ibid.*, XIV (1863), 92. See also, in this connection, Wichern’s defense against the accusation of being “pietistic” in *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 347. Note also the sympathetic attitude of Basel ministers to Methodists at the annual assembly of Swiss Reformed ministers at Herisau in 1862. “Wie die schweizerischen,” F., XIV (1863), 69.

⁴³ At the Illinois Conference of 1847 (Jacksonville) a committee composed of Jacoby, Peter Cartwright, and H. Könecke was appointed to advance the Methodist cause among the Germans. A German tract society for Ill. was also to be founded. C. A., Oct. 22, 1847.

Writing from Elberfeld, Sept. 17, 1851, Jacoby transmitted to the *Central Ausschuss für Innere Mission* a report of his mission society. “Da dieselbe auch unter den Deutschen Amerika’s arbeitet, selbst seit Ende 1849 Missionen in Deutschland hat, so bin ich überzeugt, dass der Bericht Ihnen nicht unangenehm sein wird.” *Acta C. A.*

⁴⁴ See *supra*, p. 121, n. 34. On March 5, 1841, the C. A. printed a letter from Heyer of St. Charles which read in part: “Mein lieber Bruder Nast! Es ist mir lieb, dass ich nun einmal wirklich Bestellungen auf Ihr Blatt machen kann, das mir von Zeit zu Zeit lieber wird. . . . Senden Sie ein Exemplar an den Ehr. H. Garlichs, Osage P. O., Mo. Dieser wird wahrscheinlich Ihnen manchen Unterschreiber auch dort sammeln” C. A., III (1841), 35.

On the other hand, when Jacoby, in 1850, attempted to organize Methodism in Germany, he reported to Nast that he had seen the first number of the F. and would rejoice “wenn der Friede durch denselben befördert wird. Es wär mir angenehm, wenn die Redaktion

only in theory but also in practice, took an irenic position toward the denominational discords of the day. The more critical attitude which arose during the sixties was occasioned not so much by differences of creed, polity, or ritual, but by the militant, evangelistic zeal of the Methodists in assuming to be the salt of the earth and reserving for themselves the right to advance wherever they felt they were needed.⁴⁵

Less intimate were the relations with the German Baptists, whose early growth in Missouri⁴⁶ is to be attributed

mir durch dich ein Exemplar zukommen liesse." *Ibid.*, XII (1850), 79. Note previous reference to Zwahlen and Garlichs, *supra*, p. 121, n. 34.

Jung at Quincy was accused of showing Methodist leanings; Weitbrecht joined the Methodists. Note also the cordial recommendation of Nast's *Commentary of the N. T.* in F., XI (1860), 103. Rieger especially was favorably inclined toward the Methodists and relates how on one occasion he visited Jacoby. "*Wir beteteten und sangen und unterhielten uns ganz brüderlich. Wir haben wahrlich nötig mehr und mehr als Brüder Hand in Hand zu gehen. . . . Abends ging ich in die Deutsche Methodisten Kirche wo auch Br. Jakoby war. Br. Wilkins predigte. Einer, der die Sprache nicht versteht, hätte wohl fragen können, was jener zornige Mann dort oben gesagt hätte. Er hatte mehr von Sinai als von Golgatha.*" *Diary*, 234.

⁴⁵ In 1864 an exchange occurred between the F. and the C. A. When pastor Will of St. Paul's Church in St. Louis denounced the joining of a Methodist church as an "Austritt" from the Evangelical Church, the C. A. objected, since the Methodist Church was also "Evangelical." Said the F.: "*Ein klein wenig Sophismus wird doch wohl hinter der langen Rüge in dem 'Sendschreiben' stecken.*" "Einige Bemerkungen," F., XV (1864), 5. Exception was also taken to the statements of the "centennial preacher," F. W. Warren, that the Basel Mission Institute, German tract and Bible societies, the *Deutsche Christentumsgesellschaft in Basel* with all its auxiliary societies, the Barmen Missionary Society, Jewish missions, the German Evangelical Alliance, the work of Fliedner at Kaiserswerth and Wichern in Hamburg—all this and much more were the fruits of Methodism, and that the atmosphere of the Wuppertal, Basel, and Geneva was no longer Reformed but essentially "*Calvinisch-methodistisch.*" "Aus der Methodisten- und alt luther. Kirche," *ibid.*, XVII (1866), 188; "Ein Wort der Liebe und Wahrheit an den C. A.," *ibid.*, 187 f.

⁴⁶ The founding of the first German Baptist church in St. Louis may be traced to the labors of a Dutch layman, C. Shoemaker, who, arriving as early as 1847, served a group of Dutch and German Baptists—one group of which, in 1849, joined the Second Baptist Church, another in 1850, establishing a separate church (First German Baptist Church) under Shoemaker, who was now ordained. When the Hollanders departed for the West, this congregation became German. A. J. Ramaker, *The German Baptists in N. America* (Cleveland, 1924). See Rauschenbusch's references to the St. Louis developments

to the labors of August Rauschenbusch. Even after his conversion from Evangelical convictions Rauschenbusch remained a warm friend of the *Kirchenverein*. Compromising at no point on adherence to infant baptism, but conceding the need of a regenerate-membership basis for Evangelical churches, the *Kirchenverein* maintained friendly relations with the German and American Baptist Churches.⁴⁷

A fundamentally different and more cordial attitude prevailed in the relations with the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, whose financial and moral assistance helped the *Kirchenverein* to weather the early storms. Whereas the Baptists and Methodists, with their informal yet fervid zeal, proved congenial to the pietistic spirit of *Kirchenverein* pastors, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists made their appeal on a more tempered ecclesiastical and theological basis. The congenial relations nurtured between these groups significantly indicate their common temper of mind. The contacts of Wall, Rieger, and others of the early pioneers with Connecticut Congregationalism paved the way for subsequent relations with the Presbyterians, who, following the Plan of Union of 1801, were perpetuating Congregational traditions in the West.⁴⁸

in D. K., III (1850), 352. The main work of Rauschenbusch occurred during his ten years' ministry in Gasconade County, Mo. See *supra*, pp. 175 f.

The *Southwestern Baptist Chronicle*, Nov. 24, 1849, joyously reported the founding of the German Mission Society of the Mississippi Valley.

⁴⁷ This could not be said of the Lutherans. See "Die Irrthümer d. hiesigen deutschen Wiedertäufer," Luth., X, (1853), 51.

⁴⁸ Note the Connecticut background for Missouri Presbyterianism. Stephen Hempstead, pioneer Presbyterian to settle in St. Louis (1811), was a native of New London, Conn.; S. J. Mills was commissioned by the missionary societies of Mass. and Conn. (1812); S. Giddings, born in Hartford, was commissioned by the Conn. society in 1815. In 1853 H. Hooker was still interested in "studding the whole West with 'New Connecticut,' to the welfare of our country and the honor of our Redeemer."

The Presbytery of Missouri was organized in 1817 by the Synod of Tennessee. The Synod of Missouri, comprising the presbyteries of Missouri, St. Louis, and St. Charles, was organized in 1832. Successor to Giddings at First Church, in 1827, was Wm. Potts, who later, at Second Church, became leader of the Old School, whereas Artemas Bullard, who succeeded Potts at First Church 1838-55, was the leading spirit of the New School. Thus the effects of the Plan of Union

The first fraternal venture of the *Kirchenverein* with another denomination was with the New School Presbyterians of Missouri. At the meeting of the Presbytery of St. Louis, in April, 1847, the "Rev. Mr. Rieger of the German Evangelical Church being present, was invited to sit as a corresponding member. He was requested to explain the work of the *Kirchenverein*, whereupon, on motion of Bullard, the presbytery resolved, "That we are happy to have met with a representative of the German Evangelical Church on this occasion and hope that the intercourse thus begun will be continued.'"⁴⁹ Rieger presented this resolution at the meeting of the *Kirchenverein* two months later and suggested an exchange of fraternal delegates. At the June conference at St. Louis, in 1848, when the seminary was under discussion, Bullard was present, and in the following year J. B. Townsend of the Pine Street Church (later Grand Avenue Presbyterian Church) was presented to the *Kirchenverein* by Rauschenbusch and welcomed as advisory member. Townsend requested the Society to send a delegate to the next meeting of the synod in May, 1850. The contacts thus begun led to an exchange of fraternal delegates with the Synod of Missouri until 1855, when the convening of the *Kirchenverein* in distantly removed cities made attendance of Presbyterian representatives difficult.⁵⁰ Although

and the division of Presbyterianism were introduced into Mo., the O. S. espousing denominational agencies and the more liberal N. S. favoring the Plan of Union and so opposing slavery that a pro-slavery group seceded in 1857 (United Synod). "Presbyterianism in St. Louis," E. H. S. L., III, 1801 ff. *Supra*, p. 74, n. 67.

⁴⁹ *Records of Presbytery of St. Louis* (N. S.), 1841-1862 (MS), 191, 104.

⁵⁰ Rieger was also present at meetings of the St. Louis Presbytery in 1850, 1854, and 1866. The following exchange of delegates occurred between the K. and the Synod of Missouri:

SYNOD OF MISSOURI CONFERENCES	<i>Kirchenverein</i> CONFERENCES
1850 Rieger.	D. Dimond.
1851 Rieger. (Did not attend.)	(No delegate.)
1852 Nollau.	T. Hill.
1853 Kröhnke.	H. C. Werth.
1854 Nollau. (Did not attend.)	J. A. Darrah.
1855 J. Riess.	
1856 Kröhnke. (Did not attend.)	
1857 Nestel.	

The above-mentioned Werth, a pioneer German Presbyterian in

formal relations were discontinued, personal fraternization continued. Presbyterian churches were used in emergencies and Presbyterian pastors were frequently invited to preach on special occasions. *Kirchenverein* pastors similarly assisted their Presbyterian brethren. These varied contacts stimulated the Americanization of the German pastors, sometimes led to their adoption of Presbyterian usages, and suggested the ultimate union of the *Kirchenverein* with the Presbyterian Church.⁵¹

The union, however, was not to materialize. A number of pastors, indeed, joined the Presbyterians,⁵² but, again,

Mo., admitted to presbytery in 1852, had been a missionary of the London Missionary Society and was at one time considered with reference to a professorship at Marthasville. See letters in A. H. M. S. Cor. He organized the German Union Presbyterian Church in St. Louis, which was received into the St. Louis Presbytery in the early fifties.

⁵¹ Reports, in the F., of the laying of corner-stones and the dedication of churches refer not only to Presbyterian and Congregational, but also to Lutheran, Reformed, Baptist, and Methodist pastors as participating.

Bullard, the staunch friend of the K. in its relations with the A. H. M. S., gave following expression to the hope for union: "It would be a great gain every way if these German brethren would unite with our Presbyteries. They would be better American citizens, be more evangelical in their views and they would secure more sympathy and aid from the American people. I have done what I could to induce them to unite with us." A. H. M. S. Cor., Bullard, St. Louis, Dec. 11, 1849. This was in response to a letter from Secretary C. Hall, who, referring particularly to Weitbrecht, stated: "We are more than ever solicitous to have the Germans whom we aid come under the influence of our regular Presby. or Cong. bodies. We must leave it with you to say whether this can be done . . . or whether it is needful at all." A. H. M. S. L.-B., 1848-49, No. 1204, Nov. 30, 1849. Seemingly abandoning this idea, Bullard, as early as 1851, wrote: "We greatly need 4 or 5 Presbyterian German preachers in Missouri. They could organize efficient churches at once." A. H. M. S. Cor., May 21, 1851.

A number of independent German preachers, who helped establish German Presbyterianism in Mo., now appeared. Notable among these were Werth, Sigmund Uhlfelder, and Conrad Heckmann—the labors of whom may be followed in A. H. M. S. Cor., *passim*. In 1853 F. Delveau, of Barmen, was ordained by the St. Louis Presbytery in the German language, Werth officiating. He joined the Reformed Church in 1857 and the K. in 1862.

⁵² Tölke, who had attended meetings of the Presbyterian Synod of Ind., joined the Presbyterian Church, as did E. Romanowsky. The report of J. C. Seybold's defection to the Presbyterians in 1859, however, was not true. Note also the views of Jung, *supra*, p. 241. In the same connection he said: "It will be my aim to get my church

with growing denominational consciousness all prospects of an organic union of these groups disappeared. Nor did the relations with German Presbyterians develop more amicably. Geographical proximity, common intellectual outlook, and affinity in purpose did not succeed in leading the *Kirchenverein* into the family of the Presbyterian Churches.

The Congregationalists could point out that an even greater affinity between them and the Germans should lead to an ultimate merger.⁵³ Their weakness in the West, however, and their submergence by the Presbyterians account for the lack of extended relations with this body. Several contacts were established. When the Congregational Association of Iowa requested an exchange of delegates in 1851, Kröhnke was delegated to this task. He could not attend, however, and a written communication from Nollau was sent instead.⁵⁴ In the following year (1853) Rieger was authorized personally to reestablish the broken ties, which he did at the Davenport meeting of 1854.

The high point in these relations occurred at the *Kirchenverein* conference at Burlington, Iowa, in 1855 when the "women and young ladies" of the Congregational church invited the conference to a tea. This was destined to mark the end of official relations between the two Churches; for, although the *Kirchenverein* continued sending delegates until 1858, the Congregationalists were not minded to send their representative beyond the confines of their own state.⁵⁵

to place itself with me under the protection of the Presbyterians. . . . At the same time I trust that such a union with the P. will eventually lead to a complete amalgamation with them." A. H. M. S. Cor., Quincy, Ill., July 28, 1853.

⁵³ Carl A. Paeth, *Congregationalism; Its Mission Among the Germans* (Chicago, 1896).

⁵⁴ *Minutes of General Association of Congregational Churches and Pastors of the State of Iowa* (1852), 81. The conference of the previous year had received a "Report on Supplying our German Population with the Means of Grace," *ibid.* (1851), 68, 77.

⁵⁵ The following exchange of delegates occurred with the Congregationalists:

Kirchenverein CONFERENCES
1851 Request received for exchange of delegates.
1852

CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
IOWA CONFERENCES

Kröhnke. (Did not attend.)
Communication from Nollau.

Relations with other American religious organizations were more casual and depended on local conditions. Mindful of close connections existing between Basel and the Church of England, a similarly cordial spirit marked the relations of the *Kirchenverein* and the Episcopal Church in America.⁵⁶

The ecumenical temper of the *Kirchenverein* was also reflected in the joyful manner in which the founding of the Evangelical Alliance was greeted by the conference of 1848. The London meeting of the Alliance in 1846 had been attended by such notable German leaders as C. G. Barth of Calw, W. Hoffmann of Basel, Tholuck, and Treviranus and had taken a strong stand against sectarianism, infidelity, popery, and Sabbath desecration—all of which was of vital interest to the German Church in the West.⁵⁷

The cordial relations with American voluntary societies

Kirchenverein CONFERENCES

1853 B. A. Spaulding.
 1854 W. Salter. (Did not attend.)
 1855 R. Gaylord.
 1856
 1857
 1858

CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
 IOWA CONFERENCES

Rieger.
 Krönlein.
 Rieger.
 Fausel.
 Quinius.

The General Association of Congregational Churches in Connecticut in 1852 resolved "that a committee be appointed to express our Christian regards to the German Evangelical Conference of the West; the interest with which we have heard of their origin, their faith, and their ardor; to visit them, if practicable, and invite them to a fraternal correspondence." *Minutes*, 8. The ensuing correspondence was conducted by Rieger, the warm friend of New England Congregationalists. K. P. (1853), 14; (1854), 12. The Conn. Association in 1854 appointed J. Vail, first, and J. A. Smith, second, to attend the next meeting of the K. *Ibid.*, (1854), 6; (1855), 7.

⁵⁶ Note early relations of Bishops Chase and Jarvis with Rieger, *supra*, pp. 99 f., and abstract of address of B. B. Smith, the first bishop of Kentucky, on church union delivered at conference of 1864. "Etwas aus der Rede des Bischofs," F., XV (1864), 108; K. P., II, 345. According to K. M. (1848), 56, Bishop Smith had translated *The Book of Common Prayer* into the German and had engaged a German Lutheran missionary for sixteen years. H. Meili in 1863 and J. L. Dürr in 1866 joined the Episcopalians. The romanticist conception of the unity of the Church led to closer relations with Episcopalians in 1872. E. K., 1873, 86 f.

⁵⁷ K. P., I, 84. Especially Binner, as editor of the F., espoused the cause of this international church-union movement, although he later voiced some misgivings that both too much and too little was being attempted. See "Evangelischer Bund," F., I (1850), 57 f.

has already been mentioned. Especially did the German pastors cooperate with the American Bible Society and the colporteurs of the American Tract Society, the literature of which was widely distributed in homes and schools. Nor were the missionary, Bible, and Sunday-school societies neglected in the benevolent interests of German churches.⁵⁸ All of these facts indicate a live participation in the problems of American Protestantism.

GERMAN EVANGELICAL UNITED CHURCHES

The *Kirchenverein* also came in contact with a group of German Evangelical Churches, the kinship with which in some instances led to organic union. These Churches, founded in the spirit of church union, have all disappeared. Their history has never been recorded, and only fragmentary documents tell the story of their achievements.

The oldest of these was the *Deutsche Vereinigt-evangelische Synode in Nordamerika*, founded at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1844 by J. A. Fischer, F. Raschig, the Reformed pastor of Cincinnati, H. Sachse of Cincinnati, M. Schadd, the

⁵⁸ *Supra*, p. 62, n. 44. Wall, in St. Louis, cooperated with American S. S. projects and Bible societies. He was a vice-president of the Evangelical Society of St. Louis. Scharf, *op. cit.*, I., 1756.

The main work of the A. T. S. among Germans from abroad began about the year 1846, when E. Hengstenberg, Prussian court chaplain, addressed the society. The *Amerikanischer Botschafter* made its appearance in Jan., 1846. *Report of A. T. S.* (1847), 19. See address of J. G. Morris of the Lutheran church at Baltimore, *ibid.* (1844), 5 f. The continued interest of the A. T. S. in the Western Germans may also be noted in the address of Dr. Beecher at the annual meeting of the society in Cincinnati in 1847, in which he said: "Oh I have looked on upon the masses of Germans rushing like an avalanche upon this land till I trembled and my heart grew faint. I have been praying these many years, and Prof. Stowe and I have often considered the matter, and we have prayed over it, and have been on the point of sending circulars to the evangelical ministers of Germany, that they *must* do something for the Germans among us. And now our prayers are answered. God is converting the Germans in their own land, and here too, and driving them away by persecution, that they may come over here and work among their countrymen." *Ibid.* (1847), 97. Statistical reports of the A. T. S., 1847-50, refer to colportage activities of Rieger, H. Hanrath, M. Schrenk, and Dresel. After Birkner's return to Germany, the A. T. S. at various times granted him subsidies to counteract infidelity in Bavaria. See *ibid.* (1857), 181; (1858), 141; (1859) 147.

Basel missionary of Zanesville, Ohio, and F. Dulitz,⁵⁹ most of whom were personally acquainted with the leaders of the *Kirchenverein*. This little synod rapidly expanded into New York (Rochester, Buffalo), Pennsylvania (Allegheny), Ohio (Cleveland, Cincinnati, Hamilton), Michigan (Detroit), and Illinois (Chicago) and in 1848 began publishing the *Christlicher Hausfreund*. The main strength of this organization developed in the North. In 1854 an Eastern and a Western District were organized with centers at Buffalo and Chicago. A tense feeling developed between them, the Eastern group objecting to the domineering attitude of the officers, Joseph Hartmann and Fischer.⁶⁰ As a result of this difference, ten pastors—Georg S. Vogt (St. Peter's, originally served by Gumbull) and Otto Burger (St. Paul's) of Buffalo, Karl Siebenpfeiffer (St. John's) of North Buffalo (Black Rock), P. Stempel and C. H. A. Allardt of Cleveland, Ohio, Kaffenberger of Post Reserve, W. Schmidt of Eggertsville, Biel of Whites Corner, Althaus of Eden, New York, and C.

⁵⁹ Muecke, *op. cit.*, 188. According to Siebenpfeiffer, C. F. Soldan of Buffalo, as early as 1843, had organized the group which later constituted the Eastern District of this synod. "Offene Erklärung," *Die Union*, I (1859), 93. Soldan, licensed by the Lutheran Ministerium of N. Y. in 1837 (1840?), organized a faction in Mühlhäuser's church at Rochester and was expelled from the ministerium in 1842 "wegen Rottierung." See Nicum, *op. cit.*, 161, 170, 608. In 1845 he became pastor of St. Paul's at Buffalo. Reference to the constitution of this synod may be found in "Unirte Kirche," *D. K.*, I (1848), 352. The constitution was printed as an appendix to the *Predigt über I. Cor. 3, 11-16* preached by Fischer in the Church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg in 1846. A copy of the constitution is preserved in Acten G. A., I., 59 ff.

The first serious negotiations on church union in the history of the K. were initiated when this synod invited the K. and the K. of Ohio to send delegates to meet at Cincinnati, Ohio, in November, 1851. Since these negotiations led to closer relations with the K. of Ohio than with the Synod of North America, they will be considered in connection with that society. *Infra*, pp. 392 f. See chart facing p. 394.

The synod also corresponded with the German church diet at Hamburg, 1858, and proposed sending a delegate to the following diet. *Vierter Bericht des Central Ausschusses* (Hamburg, 1860), 60.

⁶⁰ "Zur Geschichte unserer Synode," *Die Union*, I (1859), 13. It is here stated: "Das Benehmen der Synodalbeamten, des Herrn Pastor Hartmann und des Herrn Dr. Fischer, war ein durchaus herrisches und äusserte sich als solches besonders gegen uns Glieder des östlichen Districts." The *Hausfreund*, which remained the organ of the mother synod, has a different version.

Kretzschmar of Evansville, Indiana — resigned from the mother synod and, meeting at Buffalo in 1858, organized the *Deutsche Vereinigte Evangelische Protestantische Synode von Amerika*.⁶¹ The following year *Die Union*, edited by Siebenpfeiffer, made its appearance.

Nor did matters develop amicably in the Western District, where, in May, 1859, another schism occurred when twelve pastors, under the leadership of Hartmann, protesting against the rationalism prevailing in the mother Church, resigned to organize the *Deutsche Vereinigte Evangelische Synode des Nordwestens*. Sectional rivalries and personal jealousies again obscure the underlying issues.⁶² Under the

⁶¹ This synod, in 1860, numbered 29 members. The term "protestantisch" had an opprobriously liberal connotation in orthodox circles.

Commenting on his experience as fraternal delegate to the conference of the synod at Michigan City, Ind., in 1868, Binner stated: "*Das war aber doch die traurigste Synode, die ich je gesehen. Habe dort auch eine Predigt gehört über 'Die Frechheit der Sünder,' worin nicht einmal der Name Jesu erwähnt wurde, geschweige sein Werk der Versöhnung u. Erlösung der Sünder. Fromm hieß der Prediger; soll einmal bei Eurer Synode gewesen sein. Debattieren z. B. 1 1/2 Stunden darüber, ob, wenn ein Synodale sich um eine Gemeinde bewerbe, andere Synodalen erlaubt sein sollen, sich auch zu bewerben?*" B.-R. Cor., Naperville, Ill., Nov. 7, 1868.

⁶² Note the discussions of this schism in the series entitled "Offene Erklärung," "Synodales," *Die Union*, I (1859), 93, 30. Hartmann of Chicago, president of the Western District, was accused of having negotiated with Harkey, president of the Lutheran Synod of Illinois, looking toward a union of himself and members of his district with that body. This accusation he vehemently denied, claiming that only an exchange of delegates was intended. "Erklärung," F. XI (1860), 29. The Luth. did not neglect this opportunity to pour the scorn of its sarcasm on this failure of a unionistic Church, which admittedly was due, according to Hartmann, to "*Unentschiedenheit im Bekenntnis.*" See "Vereinig-evang. Syn. des Nordwestens," XVI (1859), 12 ff.; "Den uniert-evangelischen Prediger Herrn Hartmann in Chicago betreffend," *ibid.*, XV (1858), 26. Note further polemical articles against this new union Church in the West, *ibid.*, XIX (1863), 123; XX (1864), 105, 149; XXI (1865), 127.

Binner had joined the Synod of the N. W. although its lack of spiritual earnestness and the domineering attitude of Hartmann caused him much concern. Note repeated references to this relationship in Binner's correspondence with Rieger, particularly his account of the conference in Champaign, Ill., Sept. 17-24, 1866, where he had "*manchen stillen Aerger u. manchen lauten Kampf, aber doch die freudige Zuversicht: es wird besser. Haben unter den jungen Synodalen recht wackere, ernste Leute u. werden die einmal Mut haben, mit zu reden, so wird's viel besser werden: Jetzt stecken sie sich noch hinter mich u. ich muss immer der Katze die Schelle anhängen, was*

auspices of this synod, Hartmann began the publication of a new series of the *Hausfreund*, which strenuously accused the *Union* and its synod of rationalism.

The animosities of these synods gradually mellowed, and both established cordial relations with the "dear sister synod," the *Kirchenverein*. The Synod of the Northwest held the same doctrinal position, and, although fraternal delegates were not exchanged, each held the other in high regard.⁶³ An important step in cementing the relations of the United Evangelical Protestant Synod of America to the *Kirchenverein* occurred in 1866, when all its congregations were required to introduce the "union-minded" catechism of the Western society. The following year its churches were permitted to adopt either the Württemberg hymnal or that of the *Kirchenverein*. The cordial relations thus established by this synod, now known as the German United Evangelical Synod of the East (*Deutsche Vereinigte Evangelische Synode des Ostens*),⁶⁴ led to its organic union, in 1872, with the German Evangelical Synod of the West, the successor of the *Kirchenverein*.

In the meantime, in May, 1854, a group of four Lutheran and Reformed pastors of western New York and Ohio, to

nicht immer angenehm ist." B.-R. Cor., Naperville, Ill., Oct. 15, 1866. Binner also favored sending students of the Synod of the N. W. to Marthasville and in other ways prepared for the ultimate union with the K. *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1868. Other letters also show his continued loyalty to the K. and the seminary. E. g., *ibid.*, Statesville, Wis., May 3, 1864.

The leading churches of the Synod of the N. W., which merged with the German Evangelical Synod of the West in 1872, were St. John's Church of Detroit, founded by the Basel men F. Schmid and M. Schaad and at this time served by K. W. F. Haas, and St. Paul's Church of Chicago, served by J. A. Fischer (1848-41) and now by Hartmann. For membership roster of this synod at time of the merger, see E. K. (1872), 77. See chart facing p. 394.

⁶³ When the *Hausfreund* was temporarily discontinued in 1860, the subscribers were advised to read the F. After the destruction of the H. in the Chicago fire, the F. found general adoption.

⁶⁴ The change of name occurred in 1867. See other references: F., XVII (1866), 125; XVIII (1867), 132; XIX (1868), 133. The important churches of this synod were in: Buffalo, 2; Baltimore 1; Evansville, Ind., 1; Syracuse, N. Y., 1; Rochester, N. Y., 1; Michigan City, Ind., 1; Erie, Pa., 1. For membership roster at time of merger, see E. K., (1872), 79.

protect themselves and their congregations against the prevailing rationalism and indifferentism of the day, gathered at Buffalo to organize the *Vereinigte Evangelische Synode des Ostens*. This little organization immediately sought to attach itself to the *Kirchenverein* as a separate district. Although this suggestion was rejected, fraternal relations continued. Again in 1857, when the merger of the *Kirchenverein in Ohio* with the Eastern District of the *Kirchenverein* was consummated, the Synod of the East proposed a plan for similar union.⁶⁵ These negotiations came to a successful conclusion in 1860, when four members of the Synod of the East, Karl E. Klaussen, Rochester, Fr. Schelle, Buffalo, J. Ph. K. Conradi, Tonawanda, New York, and G. Müller, Liverpool, Ohio, joined the Eastern District of the *Kirchenverein*.⁶⁶

More intimate than the foregoing were the relations nurtured by the *Kirchenverein* with its sister society in Ohio. On Trinity Sunday in the year 1850 a group of German ministers met in Salem Evangelical Church at Hayesville, Ohio, and, following the pattern of the Western society, organized the *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenverein in Ohio*. Present at this meeting were W. B. Rally of Mount Eaton, who was elected president, J. G. Abele of Canal Dover, an emissary of the *Hanauer Verein*, who was ordained at this meeting and elected secretary, J. P. Conradi of Hayesville, J. M. Steiner, a Basel missionary at Massillon, and W. Weiskotten of Malaga, Ohio. It also appears that M. Galster of

⁶⁵ "Ver. Ev. Syn. d. Ostens," F., V (1854), 92. K. P. (1854), 13. "Jahres-Konferenz," F., VII (1856), 92; VIII (1857), 93; K. P. (1857), 20.

According to Steiner the society was founded because the Lutheran Church "treibt immer mehr zu Verpflichtung auf die Concordienformel in allen ihren Aussagungen, so dass die kleinen Gemeinden . . . getrennt werden, so dass ein Prediger nur, um seinen Lebensunterhalt zu gewinnen, 8-12 Gemeinden bedienen muss" B. P. F., Massillon, O., Oct. 30, 1850. See also letter of Abele, Mt. Eaton, O., Sept. 19, 1850, in B. G. B.

⁶⁶ "Jahres-Sitzung," F., XI (1860), 91 f. Not all members joined. J. Kau is not mentioned; Jürgens joined the United Synod of America; Schelle, listed as an absent member in the K. conference of 1862, joined the United Synod of America in 1864; Conradi was no longer a member of the K. in 1862.

Canal Dover and Carl S. Döppenschmidt of Stone Creek, Ohio, were early members of this group, which soon consisted of eleven pastors serving twenty-eight congregations. From its inception this society manifested a strong interest in foreign missions, published a missionary periodical called the *Missionsbote*, and remitted its mission collections to Basel, from whence it also requested missionaries for Ohio.⁶⁷

Soon after its organization it was requested by the United Evangelical Synod of North America to send delegates to a meeting to convene at Cincinnati, Ohio, to effect, if possible, a union of the three German Evangelical Churches in the United States. This meeting was attended by K. Haas of Rochester, New York, representing the Synod of North America, Steiner of the Ohio society, and Binner and Wall of the *Kirchenverein*—the latter presiding over the deliberations.⁶⁸ These delegates represented the interests of Evangelical churches extending from Iowa and Missouri to New York, and the plan of union⁶⁹ proposed by them for adoption by the respective synods is worthy of further examination.

The plan was premised on the mutual desire to build the Kingdom of God through the historical medium of the Evangelical Church. The doctrinal position of the *Kirchenverein* was adopted as the confessional basis on which all could unite. Among the immediate objectives designated were: the common furtherance of mission projects, the support of a central educational institution for pastors, and the introduction of a single catechism, hymnal, and book of

⁶⁷ "Deutsch-evangelischer K. in Ohio," F., I (1850), 63, 93 f. The statement that the founders of the Ohio society were members of the so-called Evangelical Lutheran Tuscarawas Synod could not be verified. The best Lutheran archives contain no records of this synod. According to Rally, the Ohio K. was founded because of the rising antiunionistic sentiment in Lutheran synods of Ohio and because of the inability of Reformed synods to serve German-speaking congregations. D. K., III (1850), 302.

⁶⁸ K. P. (1852), 10; (1853), 6. Wall, who was president of the K. at the time, had referred the invitation to the seminary board, which, realizing the benefits which might accrue to Marthasville from such a union, granted Binner a furlough of three weeks in order to attend the meeting. K. P., II, 40. An account of this meeting may also be found in W.-R. Cor., St. Louis, Jan. 14, 1852.

⁶⁹ K. P., II, 29-32.

worship. Each of the federated Churches pledged itself to the maintenance of the highest evangelical standards of faith and life among its members.

The proper administration of these provisions was to be supervised by a board of directors consisting of two members from each group. This board was not to be vested with legislative functions, but was to act in an advisory capacity according to instructions emanating from the cooperating bodies. Its actions were to be valid only when ratified by the respective Churches. A record of the proceedings of each conference and of the membership roster of each Church was to be sent to the directorate annually. The matters immediately to be considered by the directorate were the catechism, the educational institution, and the periodical. With regard to the catechism, the respective groups were invited to examine the merits of the text published by the *Kirchenverein*, looking toward its recommendation by the directors. The board of directors was also to supervise the administration of Marthasville and appoint a local board of control. The running expenses were to be prorated among the respective Churches.⁷⁰ In the meantime, awaiting the publication of a joint periodical, the *Friedensbote* was recommended as the paper which could best serve immediate needs. With the acceptance of this plan the respective bodies were invited to elect their representatives on the board of directors, which was to convene for its first meeting at Cincinnati in September, 1852.

Although the negotiations had been initiated by the Synod of North America, it soon became apparent that the best prospects of success lay in the relations of the other two bodies. Instead of adopting the above resolutions, the Ohio society appointed a committee to study the possibility of establishing closer relations with the Synod of North America and to take steps which would lead to union with the *Kirchenverein*. The merging of the *Missionsbote* (six hundred subscribers) with the *Friedensbote* had already been effected. The *Kirchenverein*, on the other hand, ratified the

⁷⁰ The Ohio society was especially interested in Marthasville, where it was paying the tuition for three students: A. Schory, Ph. Wagner, and Ph. Göbel.

action of its delegates and authorized them to continue negotiations with both Churches, stipulating that the prospective union should be federative and not absorptive.⁷¹

Thus matters dragged until 1854, when Abele inspired the *Kirchenverein* conference of that year to define the terms of a fraternal relation more formally. A committee on church union brought in resolutions which pointed to the common purpose, the common doctrinal basis, and the same conditions for membership prevailing in both bodies.⁷² The Ohio society responded to this statement of principles with the decision to help support Marthasville Seminary, the *Friedensbote*, and whatever else might strengthen the cause of the Evangelical Church in the United States. The Württemberg book of worship, it was agreed, would be used until the *Kirchenverein Agende* was ready.⁷³

The first Ohio delegate to attend a conference of the *Kirchenverein* under these conditions was Galster, who, in 1855, requested that in lieu of tuition fees for students educated at Marthasville the Ohio society would pledge itself to remit its benevolences to the seminary treasury. The *Kirchenverein* replied that, in view of the mutual confidence prevailing between the two bodies, a formal agreement would not be necessary. Galster also recommended that the geographical boundaries between the two societies be defined. The *Kirchenverein* was unwilling to make this concession, since it was about to organize a fifth district, which would embody the churches in Ohio and Kentucky. It recommended instead that every pastor be granted the freedom to join whichever society he might choose. Certain suggestions concerning changes in the proposed *Agende* were adopted.⁷⁴

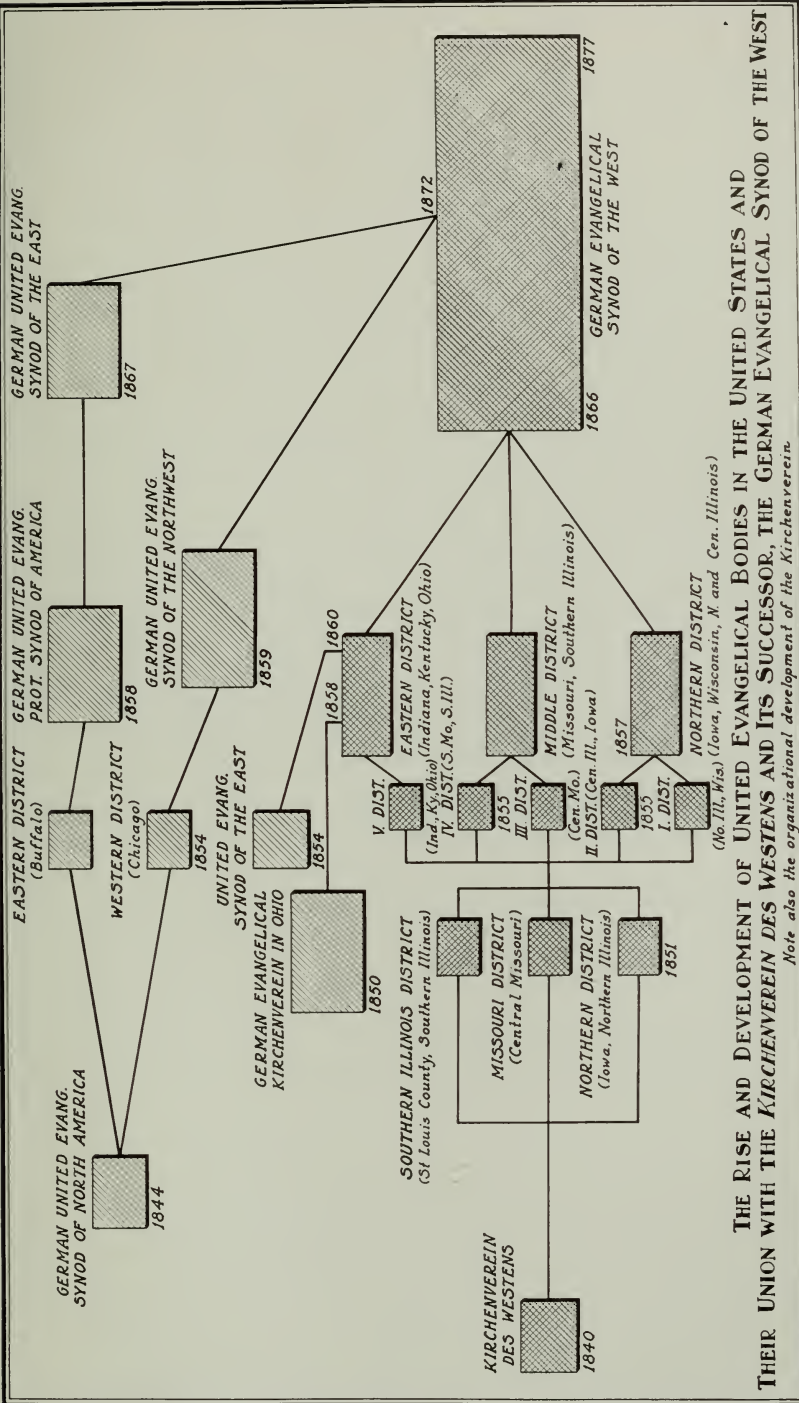
These views, officially presented to the Ohio society by Mengert and Dresel, were graciously received. Particularly impressive was the action urging the *Kirchenverein* to provide annual district conferences which the members of the

⁷¹ "Jahres Conferenz d. Evang. K. v. O.," F., III (1852), 61; "Vereinigung d. F. mit dem Missionsboten," *ibid.*, 25. K. P. (1852), 10.

⁷² *Ibid.* (1854), 13.

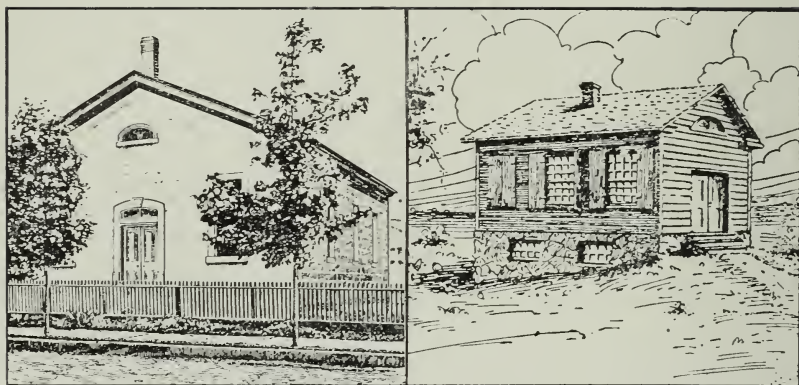
⁷³ "Die Jahresversammlung . . . ," F., V (1854), 75.

⁷⁴ K. P. (1855), 9.



THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF UNITED EVANGELICAL BODIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR UNION WITH THE KIRCHENVEREIN DES WESTENS AND ITS SUCCESSOR, THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF THE WEST

Note also the organizational development of the Kirchengemeinde.



Ohio Churches.

St. John's Evangelical Protestant Church, Massillon, Ohio, 1839.

St. John's Evangelical Church, Mansfield, Ohio, 1845.

Ohio group might attend. Awaiting further developments, however, the Ohio society proceeded to organize a Southern, a Northern, and a Western District.⁷⁵

The federation plan gradually capitulated to that of organic union. In fundamentals the two bodies were so closely related that, when both began to occupy the same territory, the absorptive merging of the two was inevitable. The actual union was consummated at the conference of 1857 at Evansville, Indiana, when Abele presented the overture of the Ohio society. The union was accomplished by merging the Ohio society *in pleno* with the Eastern District of the *Kirchenverein*, each member personally pledging his allegiance by signing the new constitution.⁷⁶ This occurred at the first conference of the newly organized Eastern District, which convened at Cincinnati, Ohio, on April 29th, 1858. Thus nine pastors, J. Steiner, J. Abele of Massillon, Karl Aulenbach of Stone Creek, Ph. Schäfer of Canal Dover, Konrad Kraus of Miltonsburg, and Albert Schory of Mansfield, Ohio, Ph. Wagner of Bremen and M. Galster of Belden (Andrews), Indiana, and P. Göbel of St. Charles, Missouri, transferred their membership to the *Kirchenverein*.⁷⁷ St. John's Church in Switzerland Township, Monroe County, Ohio, St. John's Church in Bippus and St. Paul's Church in Andrews, Huntington County, Indiana, and the Immanuel Church (now First Evangelical) in Bremen, Indiana, were also admitted.

These unions resulted in such a strengthening of the *Kirchenverein* that it was destined now to become the sole representative of the Evangelical Church in America. Although the numerical increase of members and congrega-

⁷⁵ "Jahresversammlung," F., VI (1855), 83.

⁷⁶ K. P. (1857), 20.

⁷⁷ The entire membership did not accompany the transfer. We miss the names of F. W. Weiskotten, the Barmen missionary, who again joined the Lutheran Ministerium of N. Y. (see Nicum, *op. cit.*, 249), Döppenschmidt, Hermann Rahn, J. Her, Peter Nickert, and K. F. Haas. Jürgens and Conradi joined the United Synod of the East. See illustrations.

The diary of Schory, describing his journey from Switzerland and settlement in Ohio in 1833, relates how Gumbull of Buffalo induced him to take up the ministry. P. Schori, *Das Neueste aus dem Staate Ohio in Nordamerika* (Bern, Chur, and Leipzig, 1834), 46 ff.

tions was not significant, the expansion occurred in areas where the *Kirchenverein* was not represented and where, in the face of stronger Reformed and Lutheran churches, the Evangelical organizations had not been able to maintain themselves. Receiving the support of the Church and various societies in Germany and enjoying the good will and assistance of religious organizations in America, with only the animosities of the Lutherans to contend with in the Far West, the little *Kirchenverein des Westens* had so developed in material resources and spiritual vigor as to command the attention of other groups attempting to supply the religious needs among the German immigrants to America.

In the midst of the denominational rivalries of the day, and in spite of the primary challenge of establishing itself on American soil, the *Kirchenverein* consistently espoused the union idea as fundamental to its genius. In no case had an outright union with Lutheran or Reformed synods been achieved, although the merging of both elements in united congregations had continued unimpeded. In its relations with German and American religious bodies the same irenic spirit manifested itself. This was an ideal difficult to maintain. The rise of denominational loyalties and the emergence of institutional and administrative concerns toward the close of the period had a tendency to deflect attention from the unalloyed spiritual objectives. Although the subsequent development never quite reflected the same devotion to the non-denominational ideal so characteristic of this period, the irenic tradition of the *Kirchenverein* was never lost.⁷⁸ The choice legacy of the *Kirchenverein* to subsequent generations was its zeal for church union.

⁷⁸ Indicative of this ecumenical spirit was the plea of Kampmeier, president of the North District, that, instead of convening its own conferences, which were chiefly concerned with routine, secular, and business matters and lacked spiritual inspiration, the K. might better serve the cause of united Protestantism in America by calling a general conference of all German Evangelical Churches holding the Lutheran and Reformed confessions. A powerful agency to counteract the divisions in American Protestantism might thus be established. See Kampmeier *Report to General Conference of 1864 (MS.)*.

The double union of 1872 must be considered an achievement of the K. spirit.

CHAPTER XII

THEOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

From the time of its origin the *Kirchenverein*, as the daughter of the Prussian state church, was accused of being indifferent to doctrinal questions and void of theological convictions. Friends and foes alike took cognizance of its non-theological temper—the one in terms of highest praise, the other in utter condemnation. However this may be, the unique position of the Society can only be understood in the light of its European background. Would not the American replica of the German Union Church represent the virtues as well as the faults of its German model? Its particular function in the New World was to become a vital factor in meeting the religious needs among the Germans in the West. In the process of this adjustment to American conditions an irenic theological consciousness evolved, which, in spite of certain dogmatic features of the latter part of the period, remained the dominant characteristic of the Evangelical Church in America.

THE GERMAN BACKGROUND

We have already noted the manner in which Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia had sought to overcome the confessional distinctions which divided his realm.¹ The religious unity which, he believed, welded his people together was to be advanced beyond a mere spiritual movement into an empirical organization. The union proclamation of September 27, 1817, strove to effect a conciliation between the Lutherans and Reformed in which the *Liebesgemeinschaft* should rise into a *Lehrgemeinschaft*.²

¹ *Supra*, pp. 10 f.

² The king introduced the union document of 1817 with references to the efforts of his forefathers to unite the two Churches and continued, "*Ihr Andenken und ihre heilsame Absicht ehrend, schliesse Ich Mich gern an Sie an, und wünsche ein Gott wohlgefälliges Werk, welches in dem damaligen unglücklichen Sektengeiste unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten fand, unter dem Einflusse eines besseren Geistes, welcher das Ausserwesentliche beseitiget und die Hauptsache im Christenthum, worin beide Confessionen Eins sind, festhält, zur*

Although it was candidly admitted that certain theological differences divided the two Churches, their common lineage from the Reformation and the spiritual affinity of large numbers of each group with the other led to the conclusion that the prevailing cleavage was rooted in distinctions between essentials and non-essentials, between things fundamental and things less fundamental, between primary and secondary articles of faith. The particularistic status of the respective Churches was to be overcome through a new Church in which the separating factors would be displaced by those elements which in the primitive and apostolic communities united the faithful into a communion of saints. A union premised upon the unity of faith present in the hearts of believers presupposed, so it was held, a consensus of the fundamental beliefs held by all. In the

Ehre Gottes und zum Heil der Christlichen Kirche, in Meinen Staaten zu Stande gebracht, . . . zu sehen! Eine solche, wahrhaft religiöse Vereinigung der beiden, nur noch durch äussere Unterschiede getrennten protestantischen Kirchen ist den grossen Zwecken des Christenthums gemäss; sie entspricht den ersten Absichten der Reformatoren; sie liegt im Geiste des Protestantismus; sie befördert den kirchlichen Sinn; sie ist heilsam der häuslichen Frömmigkeit; sie wird die Quelle vieler nützlichen, oft nur durch den Unterschied der Confessionen bisher gehemmten Verbesserungen in Kirchen und Schulen.

Dieser heilsamen, schon so lange und auch jetzt wieder so laut gewünschten und so oft vergeblich versuchten Vereinigung, in welcher die reformirte Kirche nicht zur lutherischen, und diese nicht zu jener übergehet, sondern beide Eine neu belebte, evangelisch-Christliche Kirche, im Geiste ihres heiligen Stifters werden, stehet kein in der Natur der Sache liegendes Hinderniss mehr entgegen, so bald beide Theile nur ernstlich und redlich im wahrhaft christlichem Sinne sie wollen, und von diesem erzeugt, würde sie würdig den Dank aussprechen, welchen wir der göttlichen Vorsehung für den unschätzbaren Segen der Reformation schuldig sind, und das Andenken ihrer grossen Stifter, in der Fortsetzung ihres unsterblichen Werks, durch die That ehren.

Aber so sehr Ich wünschen muss, dass die reformirte und lutherische Kirche in Meinen Staaten diese Meine wohlgeprüfte Überzeugung mit Mir theilen möge, so weit bin Ich, ihre Rechte und Freyheit achtend, davon entfernt, sie aufdringen und in dieser Angelegenheit etwas verfügen und bestimmen zu wollen. Auch hat diese Union nur dann einen wahren Werth, wenn weder Überredung, noch Indifferentismus an ihr Theil haben, wenn sie aus der Freyheit eigener Überzeugung rein hervorgeht, und sie nicht nur eine Vereinigung in der äusseren Form ist, sondern in der Einigkeit der Herzen, nach ächt biblischen Grundsätzen, ihre Wurzeln und Lebens Kräfte hat”
Erlass Friedrich Wilhelms III. vom 27. 9. 1817 betr. die Union der beiden protestantischen Kirchen in Preussen. Acta betreffend die Feier des Reformations-Festes. See illustration.

D

Esen Mainz, in Gott verfaute darüßte Vorleser, der Kurfürst
Johann Sigismund, der Kurfürst Georg Wilhelm, der große Kurfürst,
König Friedrich I. und König Friedrich Wilhelm I. haben, wie die Gr.
Hochseher Regierung und Hochloben bewußt, mit formlichen Kunst
als sich ausgelegt sein lassen, die beiden gedenkten protestantische Kirchen,
die reformirte und lutherische, zu einer vereinigt. christlichen in Oben
Land zu vereinigen. Ihre Auctoritäten und ihre seitliche Obrigkeit ersucht,
Hochseher Bescheid geben zu lassen, und verhofft ein Gott wohlgefallig
Wort, welches in dem damaligen hiesigen Reichthum überreicht
habe Verschiedenheit stand, hinter dem Kurfürsten ainal bestanden Geistlich,
welcher das Aulthumverfaultheit befehliget und die Hiesigen in Oben
Hochseher, welche beide Kurfürstlichen sind, hochseher, zu dem Oben
und zum Teil der christlichen Kirche, in Mainz Wachen zu Wachen zu
kraft und bei der bevorstehenden Wachen. In der der Reformirten,
damit der Anfang gemacht zu lassen! Ihre Hochseher, welche die
Vereinigung der beiden, wie nach dem Aulthumverfaultheit zu
bestanden protestantischen Kirchen ist der großen zu dem Teil
Hochseher gemacht; sie aufweist den Oben Aulthumverfaultheit,
sie liegt im Geist der protestantischen; sie hochseher der Kirchen
Denn; sie ist hochseher im säullichen Vereinigung; sie wird der
Hochseher viele hochseher, oft wie die Hochseher der Kirchen hochseher
gehörten Hochseher in Kirchen und Hochseher

Diese seitlichen, wenn so lange und auf geht wieder so laut ge,
wenn sie sind so viel vereinigt vereinigen Vereinigung, in welche die
reformirte Kirche nicht zu lutherischen, und diese nicht zu neuen vereinigen,
sich, sondern beide eine und belabte, vereinigt. christliche Kirche, in
Kirche hochseher seitlichen Hochseher werden, Hochseher in der Nation dem

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eyes of God and in the deepest spiritual experience of Christian believers there could be no essential *dissensus* among those who accepted Christ as their Lord. It should, therefore, be possible to recognize the validity of varying historical formulations of belief as well as the different forms of church government without compromising the spiritual union of those called to the Kingdom of God.

The call to union was based on the plea that the religion of Jesus be spiritually appropriated anew by a generation which had fastened its attention on objects of its own creation. The union movement was committed to the spirit of the Founder of the Church, who neither knew Luther or Calvin nor accepted any human confession as an adequate embodiment of His truth. This emphasis on spiritual unity which considered theological differences unessential gave the new Church an absorptive rather than a federative character. A union thus born out of the soul of a Christian people was possible only, so it seemed, because a theological *dissensus fundamentalis* did not exist.

No sooner had the Union Church been established, however, than a flood of opinions arose with respect to every phase of its life, particularly the theological. No one theologian so influenced the thought-development within unionistic circles as Friedrich Schleiermacher, the so-called "father of Union theology." This is to be understood less with reference to his dogmatic formulations than to his espousal of free and independent theological investigation. Whereas the confessional theologians of the day considered the Reformation symbols inerrant and infallible interpreters of Holy Scripture, Union theologians, through a critical historical approach, sought to arrive at a more objective discernment and appreciation of the universal truths of the Gospel.

All this involved the emancipation of the human personality from restrictions imposed by scholastic and confession-alistic systems. Without the free function of conscience and intellect in religion, the freedom of the individual—that choice heritage of the Reformation—was in danger of suc-

cumbing to the tyranny of external authority. Respect for the autonomy of truth, which might equally be found in science or in religion, in the garb of a Catholic priest, a Calvinistic domine, or a Lutheran *Pfarrer*, was not based on infallible, static formulas. In espousing this catholic ideal, the German Protestant Church committed itself to a union grounded, not on a consensus of doctrine, but on the communion of saints in the body of Christ.

The first period of theological opinion concerning the union issue was followed by a reaction which began with the revolutionary movement of 1830. A conservative trend, in which Lutheranism was hailed as an effective safeguard against revolution, began to manifest itself.³ Neology, science, rationalism and union were denounced as harbingers of revolution. Lutheranism so increased in prestige that the king in his *Cabinetsordre* of February 28, 1834, described the Union Church as a confederation. It was explicitly stated that an absorption of the Lutheran and Reformed groups was not desired and that the respective confessional symbols were to retain normative significance.⁴ The spiritual ideal was succumbing to political expedience. The ideal of an absorptive union was capitulating to the realistic demands of confessionalistic groups.

The federative status, thus established, again brought the *dissensus* issue into prominence. The ensuing controversy

³ When the confessionalist leader Klaus Harms maintained that Luther's "Gebein" had again become "lebendig," the reply was made that "Luther's bones may indeed have been restored to life but not his spirit."

⁴ The pertinent paragraph in the *Ordre* read: "Die Union bezweckt und bedeutet kein Aufgeben des bisherigen Glaubensbekenntnisses, auch ist die Autorität, welche die Bekenntnisschriften der beiden evangelischen Konfessionen bisher gehabt, durch sie nicht aufgehoben worden. Durch den Beitritt zu ihr wird nur der Geist der Mässigung und Milde ausgedrückt, welcher die Verschiedenheit einzelner Lehrpunkte der anderen Konfessionen nicht mehr als den Grund gelten lässt, ihr die äusserliche kirchliche Gemeinschaft zu versagen." Gossner, *Preussisches evangelisches Kirchenrecht* (Berlin, 1898), 37.

That this concession did not succeed in reconciling differences may be seen in the tense situations which developed soon thereafter and which led to the emigration of certain Lutheran groups. Note, e. g., H. Guerike, *Urkunden betreffend die Geschichte der Lutherischen Gemeinde in und um Halle* (Leipzig, 1835).

affected every aspect of religious life⁵ and again was most vehemently waged in the theological discussions of the day. An awakened Lutheranism was stirred to defend itself against a liberalism which, it must be said, had also been embraced by certain members of the Evangelical Church, who espoused a "*bekennnisslose Union*." In this manner the influence of Schleiermacher led to the emphasis of the subjective element in religion to the extent indeed, of denying the validity of confessional symbols. A similarly oriented group of Biblical eclectics, who refused to be called rationalists, sought to effect meaningless accommodations. Radical rationalists also sought to find refuge under the wings of the state church.⁶ This type of union was opposed

⁵ Note the article: "Ist es Sünde, wenn Lutheraner, Reformirte und Unirte in Nothfällen Abendmahlsgemeinschaft mit einander halten?" A. K. Z., XXXIII (1854), 737. Occasion for offense was also found in the "*Lutheranizierung*" of Union congregations. "Die reformirte Confession und die Union," *ibid.*, 1601. Reformed leaders also maintained that only Lutheran churches had benefited from the Union, whereas the Reformed had consistently lost their identity—having surrendered their seminaries at Frankfort, Marburg, Duisburg, Bremen, and Herborn. "Das Dringen der Lutheraner auf grössere Vertretung des lutherischen Elements . . .," *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung*, II (1852), 21, 25, 30; "Ueber die Nothwendigkeit, die Union in eine Conföderation übergehen zu lassen," *ibid.*, 37.

In 1854 the high consistory issued a decree according to which the pastors called to Lutheran congregations were pledged to the *Augustana*, in so far as it agreed with the confessional decree of the Elector Johann Sigismund (1614). The old distinction between the Unaltered and Altered Augsburg Confession was thus revived, and the fires of the "*Bekennnissfrage*" burned furiously throughout Germany. Cf. discussions of the Union at the church diets which were attended by Lutherans and Reformed and Evangelical, but which were denounced by confessionalists as rationalistic. A vast polemical literature developed on the subject.

⁶ Among the controversies of these days was the struggle involving the so-called *Protestantische Lichtfreunde*. Another conflict was occasioned by the *Berliner Erklärung* of 1845, in which 88 pastors opposed the confessionalistic party and the views expressed in the E. K. Z. See E. F. Ball, *Offenes Sendschreiben an die Unterzeichner der Berliner Erklärung . . .* (1845). O. W. Dietlein, *Die Berliner Erklärung . . .* (Berlin, 1846), refers to this statement as the "*Protest der Berlinischen Schleiermacherianer*." Another notable controversy was the *Bremer Kirchenstreit*, which, occasioned by F. W. Krummacher's sermon against Doulon, assumed wide proportions when the Elberfeld Diet and the theological faculty at Heidelberg opposed Doulon. The German *Problematik* of the day was unintelligently transferred to America when, as we have seen, orthodox Evangelicals were accused of rationalism, infidelism, etc.

by pious people everywhere as a destroyer of faith and creator of unbelief. It happened, therefore, in some cases, that the Union was bitterly opposed where it had been joyously acclaimed a decade before.

A proper evaluation of the theological development of the day, however, requires that we distinguish between this type of union and "*bekennntnisstreue Union*," which recognized the importance of the Reformation symbols, but refused to place theology above religion or to identify the two. Additional pronouncements concerning the significance of symbols led to new controversies concerning their interpretation.⁷ It was generally agreed by this group, however, that the confessional writings of the Reformation must be retained if the historical continuity of the Protestant Church were to be secured.⁸

The theological trend described above began to reassert itself with fresh vigor during the last decade of our period, when new efforts to spiritualize doctrinal formulations became apparent. When the difficulty of establishing a theological consensus was recognized, the contention grew that the differences between the Lutheran and Reformed symbols were not of a generic but of a specific nature and were not sufficient ground for the separation of the two Churches. The particular emphases placed on certain interpretations of Scripture might vary, but the essential nature of fundamental conceptions was in both instances the same. Both the Lutherans and Reformed held to the sinfulness of man, divine redemption, the deity of Christ, the Trinity, the Scriptures as the sole source of Christian faith, and justification through faith. Even the extreme Calvinistic doctrine of predestination had been abandoned by the Re-

⁷ When, for example, the Union was interpreted in the spirit of the "confessional writings of the Reformation," some considered this a restatement in the spirit of 1834 and others a return to the position of 1817.

⁸ The retention of the ecumenical creeds, so it was sometimes argued, showed that the Union Church did not propose to be a new Church, in which case an entirely new symbol would have been necessary. E. F. Ball, "Thesen über Kirche, Symbol, Union und Lehrordnung," S. S. K., III (1848), 16.

formed, so that real differences existed only with reference to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.⁹ From this position it was now urged that the distinction between "sound union" and "sound confession" was untenable, since both reflected the spirit of Jesus. In the Church of Christ the tyranny of false confessionalism was as reprehensible as the indifferentism of false unionism. A deeper penetration into the Scriptures and into the confessions was possible through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which could not be restricted by historical forms.

Thus various dogmatic problems engaged the attention of theologians, who sought in vain to provide a new and adequate creed for the Church.¹⁰ The pastoral interests, on the other hand, found expression in the rise of Union catechisms. The first efforts were of a private nature. Since the Lutheran Catechism, chiefly because of its teaching of the Lord's Supper, was unacceptable to Union congregations, pastors serving such churches were put to the task of providing their own versions.¹¹ Official Union catechisms followed in their wake. The first of these was published in the Bavarian Palatinate and was followed by similar attempts in Baden, the Rhineland, and in Alsace. In the grand duchy of Hesse the Lutheran and Heidelberg Catechisms were published in one volume—the Lutheran to be used in the schools and the Heidelberg for confirmation instruction. The Lord's Supper was treated in an appendix, where a unionistic formulation was attempted. A similar procedure was followed in the province of Hanau.¹²

⁹ Whereas the Reformed held to the spiritual presence of the Lord's body in the Lord's Supper, so that the non-believers received only bread and wine, the Lutherans held to the real presence, so that even non-believers participated. These views seemed irreconcilable.

¹⁰ A survey of the official confessional positions held in Lutheran, Reformed, and Evangelical Churches may be found in "Gegenwärtiger confessioneller Bestand der deutschen protestantischen Landeskirchen," *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, VIII (1847), *Erstes Quartalheft*, 107 f. None of these is in the least similar to the confessional paragraph of the K. See also Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, 132 ff.

¹¹ Among these may be mentioned the catechisms of Pastors Hermann of Duisburg, 1842, Köster of Runkel in Nassau, 1852, and Burchardi of Nassau, the following year.

¹² "Die indifferentistischen Unirungstendenzen und die gesunde

This hurried sketch should suffice to show how the Union of 1817 marked an epoch in the religious and ecclesiastical history of Germany. The Evangelical Union had been born in a day in which the view still prevailed that the most characteristic thing about a Church was its theology. Its proponents sought to inject more spiritual motives into the prevailing controversies, only to find, however, that new conflict issues were raised. There resulted a theological picture of multifarious colors and infinitely fine shadings. It was inevitable that German emigrants to America would bring the religious and theological forms of the Old World to the New. In the course of this transfer certain changes occurred, an example of which may be found in the distinctive nature of the theological consciousness which manifested itself in the *Kirchenverein*.

NON-THEOLOGICAL TEMPER

The question which immediately confronts us is: whether and to what extent the *Kirchenverein*, as the self-styled daughter of the Union Church of Prussia, espoused the theological position of the mother Church. The usual premise in discussions of this nature is that historical affinity must be tested by theological criteria. We may agree that the sociological demands of the frontier may sufficiently account for modifications in the field of liturgy and organization which occur in an immigrant Church; for a vital compromise does not seem immediately to be involved in adjustments of this kind. It is different, however, in the field of doctrine. A theological age required, and some theological minds still seem to insist, that the validity of a Church depends upon the purity of its theological succession and upon the rigor with which the traditions of the fathers are revered. If, therefore, the *Kirchenverein* was truly a child of the Prussian Church, it must unequivocally follow in the footsteps of its mother.¹³

Union," A. K. Z., XL (1861), 193. The most advanced Union positions were taken in strong Reformed communities.

¹³ This view is expressed in the pamphlet of J. L. Neve, *Ist zwischen den Unierten Amerikas und der Landeskirche Preussens wirklich kein Unterschied?* (Burlington, Ia., n. d.). Neve takes exception to the

Although conceived in the spirit of the Prussian Union, the *Kirchenverein* developed its genius subject to the modifying influences of the needs and conditions of the New World. It was to be expected that also in its theological development it would deviate from its European traditions.¹⁴ A number of circumstances, however, guided the development into independent channels. It should be remembered, first of all, that a large number of founders and early leaders of the *Kirchenverein* were not in any sense theologians according to European standards, but belonged to the class of so-called *Laienbrüder* and educated laymen whom German missionary societies were commissioning to American fields. Trained in institutions where practical interests dominated, we can not expect to find among the early pastoral generation men of high theological ability.¹⁵ An in-

warm relations which developed between the Evangelical Church of Germany and the Evang. Synod in 1898, when, responding to an invitation of the high consistory, the Synod commissioned Dr. P. Menzel to participate in the dedication of the *Erlöser-Kirche* in Jerusalem, and which again became manifest in 1900, when the emperor and the consistory sent congratulatory messages to Eden Seminary on the occasion of its 75th anniversary. These tokens, says Neve, were falsely interpreted as indicating that the Evang. Synod was the legitimate daughter of the Prussian Church. Since the absorptive union of 1817 later became merely a confederative union, the K., in order to be truly Evangelical, should have followed this good example of the German Church and relinquished the absorptive idea. But because the K. did not follow the example of its German mother, it surrendered its birthright and stands convicted as an unworthy daughter. Posing as the American branch of the German Evangelical Church, now a federation of Lutheran and Reformed, the Evangelicals were attracting Lutheran immigrants into the wrong fold. See also J. L. Neve, *Lutherans in the Movements for Church Union* (Philadelphia, 1921).

¹⁴ In this respect the K. was not different from other immigrant Churches in America. Thus M. Reu, *Die Eigenart der amerikanisch-lutherischen Kirche und Theologie* (Chicago, Ill., n. d.), refers to the fact that, whereas the Lutheranism of Germany holds to the validity of a subjective approach to the Scriptures and to the state-church organizational pattern, American Lutheranism is distinguished by a rigorous adherence to the Scriptures as an objective norm and by a voluntary form of organization. Yet the spiritual genius of these Churches remains Lutheran. American-Lutheran Churches would be the first to deny that these divergences from the mother Church make them any less Lutheran.

¹⁵ This was the general plight among German Churches in America. The article, "Gibt es keine Theologen für Amerika?" K. M., 1844, No. 10, quotes Sihler's request for theologians and concludes, "All our

terconfessional spirit pervaded the outstanding German missionary societies and caused them to avoid abstract theological controversies. A similar spirit imbued their missionaries, whose main passion was to save souls. Pious practical interests and pastoral ardor characterized the attitude not only of the untrained men but also of the theological leaders who arrived later.

Nor did the American environment into which *Kirchenvereine* pastors were thrust stimulate theological interests. The immediate challenge lay in the religious needs of their communities, which required conscientious pastoral zeal rather than theological ability. Free from theological predilections, *Kirchenvereine* pastors were not inclined to have recourse to dogmatic formulas, but rather found their inspiration and security in the Scriptures.¹⁶

Opportunities for launching forth on the high seas of theological controversy through relations with other church bodies were not lacking. Close contacts with American denominations, however, did not lead to a participation in current theological discussions. The issues involved in the New and Old School controversy and in the other theological discussions which rent the frontier atmosphere were not vital to German Churches on the whole. Nor did the doctrinal discussions of the Baptists, Methodists, and other so-called sectarian preachers command the interest of *Kir-*

representatives there [America], including Sihler, are not theologians—and yet God is with them. Certainly churchly men who at the same time are theologians would be a great asset to the cause.”

M. Reu, *Contributions of the Lutheran Church to American Life, Literature and Culture* (Chicago, 1929), 6, after referring to outstanding Lutheran theological leaders, continues: “But the rank and file, on account of the lack of higher institutions or of the poor work they did, did not receive that thorough liberal training so necessary for a ministry which is expected to contribute to literature and culture.”

¹⁶ It was different in the case of the Saxon Lutherans, who arrived in strongly indoctrinated congregational units where theological interests were the order of the day. Here recourse could always be had to the fortress of pure doctrine. Thus Wyneken on one occasion stated: “*Das elende Wesen unserer Kirche und dass man zu Nichts kommen kann, macht Einen muthlos und verzagt. Doch da kommt die reine Lehre unserer Kirche zu Hülfe und ich fasse mich wieder.*” “Mittheilungen aus Briefen des Pastor F. Wyneken,” *Z. L. T.*, VI (1845), *Erstes Quartalheft*, 76 f.

Kirchenvereine pastors.¹⁷ A more immediate opportunity for the exchange of theological amenities lay in the close proximity of the Saxon Lutherans—an opportunity, however, which was totally neglected.¹⁸ The primary mission of the Society was religious, and, all German and American influences to the contrary notwithstanding, it steadfastly applied itself to the attainment of its spiritual objectives.

In this manner the *Kirchenverein* spiritualized the ideals of the German Union of 1817 and interpreted them in the practical atmosphere of the New World with little regard for their theological orthodoxy or for the purity of their ecclesiastical derivation. Confronted by congregations where Lutheran and Reformed divergences did not constitute an issue, *Kirchenverein* pastors could proceed in their spiritual ministrations with an abandon which in the homeland would have been impossible. The ecclesiastical and theological features of the Evangelical Church of Germany were supplanted in America by a non-theological temper—a distinctive feature of the *Kirchenverein* genius.

THEOLOGICAL POSITION

The non-theological temper of the *Kirchenverein*, however, did not prevent the adoption of a confessional paragraph whereby the distinctive type of *Lehrgemeinschaft* represented by the Society was openly announced. A *Liebes-*

¹⁷ Wall and Rieger were introduced to New England theology through contacts with Connecticut Congregationalists, such as Gallaudet, Bushnell, Tyler, etc. *Supra*, p. 89. The practical interests of Eastern societies, such as the A. H. M. S., did not encourage theological speculation among their emissaries. The advance of New England theology into the West, however, was at times joyously acclaimed. See comment of O. P. Clinton, A. H. M. S. Cor., Lakemills, Wis., March 26, 1845: “. . . New England Theology has emigrated with its missionaries and I see not but that it has stood as erect in this pleasant valley as among the old granite hills.”

In view of the close relations of the K. with New School Presbyterians, particularly Bullard of St. Louis, it is interesting to note the latter's statement that, if it depended upon him, the New and Old School controversy would not cross the Mississippi. The A. H. M. S. also undertook to provide those of its agents who so requested with a copy of T. Dwight's theology. Various K. pastors received this work.

¹⁸ Nollau's tract, *op. cit.*, written in the spirit characteristic of mission-house men, could hardly be said to possess theological merit. *Supra*, p. 372, n. 24.

gemeinschaft without an empirical expression in terms of the faith common to all was difficult to maintain in frontier communities where the influence of certain disintegrative forces could only be overcome by the weight of positive convictions. Protestant tradition on the one hand and distracted frontier conditions on the other prevented the newly founded Church from lapsing into a pietistic rejection of theological formulations or from smugly resigning itself to the overlordship of an inherited doctrinal position. Thus the non-theological spirit of the *Kirchenverein* did not lead to the rejection of the theological heritage of the Reformation although certain features of its position were not derived from European antecedents. This becomes particularly clear in the formal statement of the confessional paragraph.

Three confessional paragraphs were formulated by the *Kirchenverein*, all within the first eight years of its history. The first hurried doctrinal statement of 1840, as we have seen,¹⁹ had been altered in the following year so as to establish the Old and New Testaments as the sole criterion of faith. The interpretation of the Scriptures was to be determined according to the consensus of the symbolical books of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, the number and nature of which were not described. The simplicity of this statement reveals the pietistic faith of the Barmen and Basel men whose spirit dominated the development of these years. It was thoroughly in accord with the spirit of these men to avoid the speculative *dissensus* issues in favor of the consensus items, as these had long since been accepted in areas dominated by the Swiss-Württembergian and Rhenish mission houses.²⁰

Although this early doctrinal statement was tantamount to a "subscription to the confessional writings of both

¹⁹ *Supra*, p. 113.

²⁰ Note, for example, § 3 of the *Vereinigungsurkunde für die Gemeinde Unterbarmen*: "Die vereinigte Gemeinde erkennt deshalb weder ein Bedürfniss noch eine Befugnis an, in Ansehung des Glaubensbekenntnisses irgend etwas Neues aufzustellen oder festzusetzen." Nitzsch, *op. cit.*, 137.

uniting Churches in so far as they were in agreement with each other," it could still be urged that the symbols thus accepted did not, strictly speaking, designate the creedal position of the Union Church in Germany.²¹ Private efforts to provide for this lack were made, especially by the so-called consensus-theologians. It was discovered, however, that the formulation of a new confession was more difficult than the acceptance of a new ecclesiastical order.

What the German Church could not accomplish was achieved by the *Kirchenverein* in 1848 when the so-called *Bekennnisparagraph*, which continued to be the doctrinal standard of the Evangelical Synod, was adopted. This confessional paragraph is a unique document. It reads as follows:

We recognize the Evangelical Church as that communion which acknowledges the Holy Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament as the Word of God and as the sole and infallible rule of faith and life, and accepts the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures as given in the symbolic books of the Lutheran and the Reformed Church, the most important being: the Augsburg Confession, Luther's and the Heidelberg Catechisms, in so far as they agree; but where they disagree, we adhere strictly to the passages of Holy Scriptures bearing on the subject, and avail ourselves of the liberty of conscience prevailing in the Evangelical Church.

The significant changes contained in this statement as compared with the version of 1841 lay in the designation of the symbolic books, and in the method of finally dissolving the *dissensus* elements by an appeal to the Christian conscience.

Although the criticism of disregarding the accepted confessional writings applied to certain Churches in Germany, it was not relevant with respect to the new Evangelical Church in America. The *Kirchenverein* thus definitely took its place among the Churches in which the historical continuity with the Reformation was to be maintained. The symbols to which it was committed did not belong to the

²¹ The symbolical writings recognized as basic for the Union Church were: Ecumenical—*Apostolicum*, *Nicaenum*, and *Athanasianum*; Lutheran—Augsburg Confession (1530), *Apologia* (1531), Smalkaldic Articles (1557), and Luther's Large and Small Catechisms (1528 and 1529); Reformed—Heidelberg Catechism (1562), and *Märkische Confession* (1614). Note the omission of the *Formula Concordiae*. See Gossner, *op. cit.*, 14.

theological documents of the post-Reformation period. First to be mentioned were the Lutheran and the Heidelberg Catechisms,²² neither of which, in the first instance, was conceived as a theological text-book. The subsequent use of the two catechisms for the purpose of religious education is eloquent testimony to their non-dogmatic genius. The adoption of the Augsburg Confession was similarly significant; for none of the confessional writings of the Reformation had gained such widespread recognition in both Lutheran and Reformed Churches as this symbol.²³ Many Reformed churches of Germany accepted the *Augustana*, but could not in like manner subscribe to the *Formula Concordiae*.²⁴

²² Of particular significance was the acceptance of the Heidelberg Catechism, which had originated as a Union document in the reign of the Reformed Prince Friedrich III of the Palatinate (1515-1576) to overcome the confessional strife between the extreme Lutheran and radical Reformed groups in his realm. A mediating and irenic Melancthonian Calvinism was thus introduced into the Palatinate. Nor was the inclusion of the Heidelberg Catechism in the confessional paragraph of 1848 merely a gesture. In view of the widely prevailing use of the Lutheran Catechism, it is instructive to note that the Reformed catechism and the Augsburg Confession were embodied in the *Formulare* of 1854. *Supra*, p. 258, n. 13.

²³ At the church diet at Berlin the U. A. C. was defended by representatives of all three groups—Stahl for the Lutherans, Nitzsch for the Unionists, and Krummacher for the Reformed. At the conclusion of the latter's laudatory words the assembly arose to sing: "*Ein feste Burg*." *Verhandlungen*, Berlin (1853).

²⁴ The transfer of the German *Problematik* of the 19th century to America is seen in the manner in which the *Formula Concordiae* became the "unalterable basic paragraph of all Lutheran synods and Lutheran congregations and the self-evident premise of all theological discussions in Lutheran circles in America." See Reu, *Die Eigenart* . . . , 11. The formulations of American Lutheran Churches and Synods usually read to the effect that the pure teachings of Holy Scriptures are found in the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, these being variously enumerated to include the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, the U. A. C. of 1530, the *Apologia*, the Schmalkaldic Articles, the two Lutheran catechisms, the *Formula Concordiae*, and the Visitation Articles. In some instances it was specified that these confessions were to be acknowledged not only *qualemus* (in so far as they coincided with the Word), nor from the sense of awe or obedience, but from inner conviction. Chr. O. Kraushaar, *Verfassungsformen der Lutherischen Kirche Amerikas* (Gütersloh, 1911), 317, 119.

Ferm, *op. cit.*, on the other hand, questions whether the position of Mühlenberg and other Lutheran pioneers was of an exclusive confessional nature.

The *Kirchenverein*, in adopting the Reformation symbols, placed itself on a confessional basis.

In its method of reconciling the *dissensus*' items existing between the Lutheran and Reformed symbols the *Kirchenverein* betrayed a spirit more liberal than was sometimes found in the Union Church of the fatherland. The exclusive confessionalists denounced the conciliatory phrasing as a compromise of the Gospel. The verbal inspirationalist was reluctant to admit the fallibility of any Scriptural statement. The same psychology was also reluctant to admit that Lutheran symbols could deviate a hair's breadth from the infallible Scriptures.²⁵ The issue of eternal salvation could not be based on a consensus equation in which the element of pure doctrine might be lost. The adoption of such a position, so it was claimed, implied the acceptance of Reformed error as well as the rejection of Lutheran truth.

The *Kirchenverein*, in maintaining the consensus position in spite of these misgivings, not only testified to its interest in practical religious questions to the exclusion of theological dialectics, but also committed itself to the position that creeds are the product of an historical process. Doctrinal confessions, in which men of flesh and blood gave expression to their faith according to the immediate appreciations of their time, could not lay claim to finality. On this basis an objective normative confessional standard whereby orthodoxy could be measured did not exist. In this position the non-theological temper of the *Kirchenverein* was again manifested.

The same spirit is further revealed in the bold manner in which irreconcilable elements were to be judged, not on the basis of a symbol, but by reference to the Scriptures. Human instruments must be approached in the light of divine revelation. Human standards must be subject to constant revision according to the Word of God. The *Kirchenverein* thus gave formal expression to views which were generally held in Union circles of Germany. To place the

²⁵ The classical expression of such a position is found in the phrase: "*Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr' vergehet nun und nimmermehr.*"

Bible above the confessions was not considered as a rejection of the confessions. In this sense the *Kirchenverein* was "positiv" in the prevailing German sense that theological views must be derived, not from speculation but from history and revelation. Although committed to the primacy of the Scriptures as the guiding norm in life and faith, the *Kirchenverein* espoused this position in a manner which definitely distinguished it from the orthodox Lutheran groups in America and more closely related it not only to the German Evangelicals of the fatherland but also to the liberal Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the New World.

In defense against the liberalism of the higher criticism of the day, which under the influence of Semler and Herder sought an historical approach to the Scriptures, the inspiration theory of the seventeenth century was again brought upon the field of battle. A reborn Old Lutheran theology sought to overcome the rising liberalism which, under the leadership of historically minded men such as Schleiermacher, not only ruthlessly subjected the confessional writings to the test of Scripture and historical criticism, but also subjected the Bible to an examination which robbed it of its magical aspects. In the course of this discussion the distinction between the Bible and the Word of God—a distinction which may be traced to Luther's own day—assumed new meaning. The question of the significance of certain personal, individualistic factors as essential elements for apprehending the grace of God likewise became a subject of controversy.

The American struggle over the issues here involved pursued an independent course in the conflict which arose between the conservative German Lutherans and the liberal German-Reformed and American-Lutheran branches.²⁶ The

²⁶ The liberalism manifest in certain American Lutheran circles, as represented, for example, in F. H. Quitmann, was rationalistic in a vulgar manner. Not so the position taken by Schmucker and represented in the Definite Platform of the General Synod (1855). Reu holds the influence emanating from Reformed circles responsible for the frivolous disregard for Scripture and confession which swept through certain Lutheran Churches at this time.

At about the time that the Lutheran Synod of Ohio reprimanded the General Synod for its neglect of the U. A. C. and urged all true

liberal trend, however, was short-lived, and the reaction which set in reestablished the theological foundations of American Lutheran theology on a basis unacceptable to the Lutheran theologians of Germany.²⁷

In the light of this situation we can appreciate the significance of the conscience clause in the confessional paragraph of the *Kirchenverein*. The manner in which this particular reservation came to be adopted in 1848 is not clear. A corresponding position in German Churches of the day does not seem to have existed, although the rise of a new interest in the subjective factors operative in religious life and faith marked current theological thought. The term "conscience" projected the subjective factor into the foreground and sought thereby to validate a truth inherent in the Protestant tradition.

Such a unique position, which might seem to terminate in unbridled subjectivism, could not pass unchallenged by those who asserted the objective validity of the Scriptures and confessions.²⁸ The *Kirchenverein*, however, did not encourage an indifferent attitude toward confessions and the Scriptures, as was maintained by its opponents. It was held, rather, that confessions must be more than mere intellectual assents to theological propositions which at some moment of crucial controversy in centuries gone by had been the welding point for the faith and experience of a community of believers. Theological creeds, far from being unalterable foundations on which to rest, should rather be conceived of as testimonies of religious experience validated by the Christian conscience of the believer.²⁹ The center of spiritual life

Lutherans to rally about this confession, the General Synod agreed to exchange fraternal delegates with the K. "Aus den Synodalverhandlungen," F., IV (1853), 92.

²⁷ Thus Reu states that the distinctive feature of American-Lutheran theology is its *Schrifttheologie* and points to the subversive position of Schleiermacher, R. Frank, R. Seeberg, and P. Althaus. *Op. cit.*, 11.

²⁸ The most serious controversies occurred in the post-*Kirchenverein* period. The founding of the *Theologisches Magazin* in 1872 marked the awakening of more intense theological interest.

²⁹ It should always be remembered, however, that the conscience clause was not considered autonomous—which would have meant the

was thus placed in the inner realm of religious experience, where the external accessories of faith were dominated by the spiritual freedom prevailing in the communion of the faithful.

It required fine intuition and spiritual discernment to observe that, if the Scriptures were not to be conceived of as magical and if the confessions were not to be considered infallible, the religious life of the Christian must center in the human personality, where the Holy Spirit can operate as a personal power. The deeper progressive penetration into the truth of the confessions and into the saving knowledge of the Scriptures occurs through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and it is in this spiritual communion that the unimpeded, free development of the human personality is assured. The doctrinal paragraph, as thus conceived, is not so much a subscription to particular beliefs as a statement of principle for the interpretation of the confessional symbols. The general effect of this position was that the rank and file of pastors and particularly of the laymen could accept the principle with little comprehension of the theological issues involved. The confessional paragraph was not designed to train a generation of theologians.³⁰ An ecclesiastical scholasticism was avoided.

Since *Kirchenverein* pastors did not engage in polemical or apologetic writings, it is difficult to describe the precise nature of the theological views prevailing in this group. A formal theological literature is lacking. The earliest expressions of a doctrinal nature are scattered through the *Friedensbote*, which, of course, did not distinguish itself for its theological pronouncements. And yet here again, in a modest way, the *Friedensbote* helped to crystallize the theological consciousness of the *Kirchenverein* generation. The Lutheran perspective of the first editor, Binner,³¹ was ap-

utter negation of creed and Scripture. The most vigorous opposition of confessional groups was based on this misinterpretation of the clause. Although this question occasioned much discussion in later years, changes in formulation were not effected.

³⁰ The non-theological temper of the K. manifested itself in later years in a disregard and disesteem for serious theological research.

³¹ A manuscript of Binner's lectures on the catechism is preserved in the Eden archives.

parent in some of the articles which appeared during the early years. The very first series of articles in the *Friedensbote*, which appeared under the title "*Die Evangelische Kirche*," contained certain theological implications. This was also the case in the warm appreciations of Luther, Calvin, and the other reformers. The question of the sacraments also demanded early attention, partly in defense against the views of Baptists and Methodists and partly for the enlightenment of congregations composed of both Lutheran and Reformed elements.³²

The subject of baptism, always an important question in missionary fields, originally received more attention than the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.³³ Certain differences in view-point with respect to the observance of the Lord's Supper, however, could not easily be evaded. So long as the confessional paragraph alone was the norm, either Lutheran or Reformed views could be held with equal validity and without attracting attention. Indeed, the congregations themselves may not have been aware of the theological problem involved in the distribution formula.³⁴ This period of indecision came to an end, however, with the publication of the catechism in 1847 and of the *Agende* in 1857.

The purpose of the *Agende* was to provide a book of worship acceptable both to the liturgical Lutherans and non-liturgical Reformed. Nowhere, however, did the *Agende* so successfully reflect the spirit of the Evangelical Union as in the manner in which both the Lutheran and Reformed formulas were rejected for the Scriptural form. The new

³² The following three series of articles ran simultaneously: "Die Evangelische Kirche," F., I (1850), 4, 9, 17, 26, 33, 41, 49, 57, 65; "Luther's Leben," *ibid.*, 19, 25, 35, 43, 50, 59, 67, 73, 81, 89—II (1851), 5, 9, 17; "Das Sakrament der heiligen Taufe," I (1850), 29, 37, 43, 51, 67. The reply of the Saxon Lutherans appeared in two articles entitled "Kleines Cabinet einiger merkwürdiger Geschichtsverfälschungen, welche sich in dem St. Louiser 'Friedensboten' vorfinden nebst dem nötigen Nachweis," Luth. VII (1851), 105 ff., 144 ff.

³³ This silence may be accounted for by the fact that Lutheran conceptions were held in high favor by certain K. men. Kamphausen, *op. cit.*, 103 f.

³⁴ Whereas the formula used in the Reformed Church read: "This is my body," the Lutheran formula read: "This is the true body"

formulation was not designed to establish a doctrinal position, but rather to provide a common and accepted rite for the observance of the Lord's Supper. Prevailing differences in verbal forms should not prevent the communion of the spirit.³⁵

The ripest theological fruit of *Kirchenverein* days developed in connection with the catechism. In the mixed congregations of the frontier a union catechism was an urgent necessity. We have seen how the first Evangelical catechism (1847), with its embodiment of both Reformed and Lutheran elements, admirably served the practical needs of the day. It is the catechism of 1862, however, that interests us primarily; for it, more than any other single document, came to be recognized as representing the official theological position of the Society. This edition was mainly the work of A. Irion, the theological genius of the *Kirchenverein*. As the ranking professor at Marthasville since 1857 Irion had applied himself to the field of systematic theology—a subject which was taught at the seminary on the basis of the catechism. However, not the catechism itself, but Irion's exposition of its contents³⁶ commands our main interest. His *Erklärung des Kleinen Evangelischen Katechismus*, a book of two hundred and forty-two pages, closely followed the order of the catechism, but in its method of treatment assumed the form of a theological compendium³⁷ and is not to be confused with the other more or less popular catechetical guides of the period.

Irion, as will be remembered, had been characterized as a born "*Dogmatiker*," whose speculative turn of mind had caused some to doubt his orthodoxy and others to question

³⁵ Neve, *Ist zwischen den Unierten Amerikas und der Landeskirche Preussens*, 12 f., testified: "*In der Agende, die vom unierten Standpunkt aus als ein ausgezeichnet gelungenes Werk betrachtet werden muss, ist in den Reformationsgebeten und besonders in den Formularen für die Verwaltung von Taufe und Abendmahl der Konsensus (Übereinstimmung) der beiden Konfessionen mit ausserordentlichem Geschick zum Ausdruck gebracht worden.*" See *Evangelische Agende, passim*.

³⁶ Irion, *op. cit.*

³⁷ By following the contents of the catechism, systematic style was necessarily sacrificed.

his practical qualifications to serve as professor at Marthasville.³⁸ The philosophical, theological spirit of this man was nowhere so apparent as in his discussion of the Godhead. In all this, however, Irion was definitely more Lutheran than Reformed; his orthodoxy was beyond question. The originality of his work was widely recognized, although his "Lutheranism"³⁹ could not officially be adopted by an Evangelical Church. The *Kirchenverein* had at last produced a theologian of first rank. His early death at the age of forty-four years robbed the Society of its most promising theological light.⁴⁰

DOGMATIC TREND

With practical religious problems to engage its main attention and energies, the *Kirchenverein* during its early days found little time or inclination to pursue questions of dogmatic import. The appearance of Irion,⁴¹ however, augured the beginning of a new period, in which an awakened theological and denominational consciousness would shorten the theological stakes and seek to interpret Christian truth in narrower forms.

This rising sense of theological responsibility may be noted in the attitude taken by the *Kirchenverein* in the Schenkel affair. Daniel Schenkel, of Reformed extraction,

³⁸ *Supra*, pp. 314 ff.

³⁹ The catechism of 1862 had no sooner appeared than it was accused of being essentially Lutheran. The Lutherans, on the other hand, warned against the catechism as a "*Machwerk*" which in its treatment of the Decalogue, the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the sacraments was essentially Reformed. Luth. XXI (1865), 161, 177. See also "Einige Bemerkungen in Betreff der vom 'Lutheraner' veröffentlichten Recension unsers 'kleinen evangel. Katechismus,'" F., XVI (1865), 133 f.

⁴⁰ For discussion of Irion's theological views, see Kamphausen, *op. cit.*, 151 ff.

⁴¹ The influence of Irion in this direction is seen in the following statement of Hagemann: "*Hiesigen Ortes sehen freilich manche grosse und kleine Geister innerhalb unserer Synode die evangelische Kirche nicht mehr als die Unionskirche an, sondern als ein ganz neues Fabrikat, das NON PLUS ULTRA aller Kirchen, wollen weder Calvin noch Luther gelten lassen, sondern nur I...s [Irion's] eigenhändig erschaffene Dogmatik.*" Letter of G. Hagemann, Warsaw, Ill., Dec. 30, 1868, to Langenberg Society. *Fünfzehnter Bericht* (1871), 11 f.

District conferences were also beginning to show an interest in the discussion of more serious theological subjects.

was professor of theology and the *Direktor* of the theological seminary of the Union Church of Baden in Heidelberg. He had won renown as the author of a book on dogmatics (1858) and was held in high esteem because of his position at the seminary. Schenkel had at one time enjoyed the confidence of orthodox groups, and when his *Charakterbild Jesu* appeared in 1864, it was hoped that the rationalism of the day would find a worthy opponent. It soon became apparent, however, that the life of Jesus here produced was a worthy companion to the similar works of Paulus, Strauss, and Renan. It was the purpose of Schenkel, on the basis of the second Gospel, to arrive at a more accurate picture of Jesus than could be procured through other sources.⁴² His conclusions, however, not only shocked the sensibilities of religious circles in Baden, but created as great a sensation throughout Germany as had the similar book of Renan. Among other things he questioned the childhood stories of Jesus, held to the gradual development of His Messianic consciousness, referred to the "*Wundergabe Jesu*" as "*menschliche Naturgabe*,"⁴³ and explained the miracles as natural phenomena or mythical accretions. The baptism of Jesus was barely mentioned, the Lord's Supper was treated as an "external action" and the resurrection was lightly passed over. It was an attempt to present the Christian religion in a garb acceptable to the modern mind, but was roundly condemned in orthodox circles as a rationalistic effort of the most destructive type.

A pastoral conference of 80 ministers of Baden, meeting at Karlsruhe in 1864, protested to the high consistory of Baden against Schenkel's holding the responsible position at Heidelberg. The high consistory, however, claimed that Schenkel was within his rights as a scientific theologian and insisted that freedom of research and teaching must be protected, since only through such an open spirit could the church of the Reformation continue to grow and develop.⁴⁴

⁴² H. J. Holtzmann, in *Die Synoptischen Evangelien, ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter* (Leipzig, 1863), had given new prominence to the Gospel of St. Mark.

⁴³ Daniel Schenkel, *Das Charakterbild Jesu* (Wiesbaden, 1864), 67.

⁴⁴ "Entscheid des badischen evangelischen Ober-Kirchenraths in der

Reports of this controversy spread to America, where the *Friedensbote*, with some detail, reported the developments in a series of articles on the development of rationalism in Germany,⁴⁵ warned against the danger resident in the *Protestantenverein*, of which Schenkel was a leading spirit, and pointed to the spread of the liberal movement to America. This resurgence of rationalism stirred the *Kirchenverein* to action, and under date of August 18, 1865, President Steinert, upon the authorization of the district conferences of that year, addressed a communication to the signers of the Karlsruhe petition, assuring them that "*die Tochterkirche jenseits des Oceans mit Ihnen festhält an dem Bekenntniss der Hoffnung und Ihnen im Kampfe für die Aufrechterhaltung dieses Bekenntnisses im Geiste die Hand reicht.*"⁴⁶ This letter was warmly received and was printed in the *Evangelisches Kirchen- und Volksblatt für das Grossherzogthum Baden*. About 6000 German pastors and other interested persons rallied to the support of the orthodox party, whose names with that of Steinert as representing the *Kirchenverein* were embodied in a *Denkschrift*.

The cause, however, for which the *Kirchenverein* had interceded was not successful. The *Oberkirchenrat* of Baden stood its ground, and liberalism won a victory against the orthodox reaction. The episode is of interest, however, as it shows to what extent the *Kirchenverein* permitted itself to assume the rôle of a defender of the Evangelical faith in Germany. Such an attitude would have been im-

Schenkel'schen Sache," A. K. Z., XLIII (1864), 549. See also a reply thereto, *ibid.*, 673.

⁴⁵ This series of articles, written by Irion, editor of the *F.*, appeared under the titles "Die rationalistische Bewegung in Deutschland," *F.*, XVI (1865), 33, 41, and "Wie die gegenwärtige rationalistische Bewegung in Deutschland auch hier in Amerika Grund und Boden zu gewinnen sucht," *ibid.*, 49. The latter article referred to Pastor Blass, editor of the *Union*, organ of the Evangelical Synod of the East, as a man after the spirit of Schenkel. Even the D. K. was accused of having been careless in the acceptance of certain rationalistic articles. J. H. D. Zschokke's *Stunden der Andacht* (Philadelphia) was described as an American edition of the Schenkel spirit.

⁴⁶ "Amtliche Correspondenz . . .," *F.*, XVI (1865), 179 f. Included in this correspondence was a copy of the reply received from Th. Roth, *Dekan der Stadtdiöcese Karlsruhe*.

possible twenty-five years before, when, confronted by a similar rationalistic threat in its immediate surroundings, it did not become articulate. Grown to be a large and respectable body, it had developed a theological consciousness which demanded to be heard and with dogmatic certainty and conviction expressed itself in an unmistakable manner concerning the faith to which it was committed.

The theological development of German immigrant Churches in America was more influenced by conditions prevailing in the New World than by the impetus of the heritage brought from the fatherland. In the case of confessional Churches where the retention of the German language was sometimes considered the only safeguard for the triumph of the religion of the fathers,⁴⁷ the development of

⁴⁷ Several references in the K. M. may suffice to show how Löhe impressed upon the confessional Lutherans of America the inherent relation between language and faith. The final instructions to the teacher P. J. Baumgart admonished him to assist the German settlers in the New World in preserving their Church and nationality (1843, No. 8). An article entitled "Gefahr fürs Deutsche in N. A." (1844, No. 1) stated that, if it were not for the schools, the children would drive their elders from the churches. Since the "German language and customs are the vanguard for the Evangelical Lutheran faith," G. W. Hattstädt was not permitted to serve churches where the English language was used (1844, No. 6). Again, the fear was expressed that with the introduction of the English language at the seminary at Columbus, Ohio, the "English spirit, that is the Methodist spirit, would prevail" (1844, No. 11). Pastor Ernst reported the intention of Sihler "so long as he is in America never to preach in English." Schools were recognized as the best means to preserve the German language (1844, No. 9). The following year it was stated that in the West (particularly in Missouri) there was less danger of churches' losing the German language than in the East (1845, No. 5). These comments came to a head in the editorial tirade against the English which was occasioned by an address of Schaff on "*Der Anglo-germanismus*" held in Chambersburg in 1846. Schaff had criticised Löhe for being ignorant of American conditions and lamented the effort forcibly to retain the German language as another example of the impractical nature of the German. Both the German Reformed and the Eastern Lutherans, permeated by a non-confessional spirit, had adopted the American language at an early date.

The *Kirchenverein* generation, so long and in so far as it retained its non-confessional perspectives, did not as a whole correlate language and race with faith. With the rise of the dogmatic spirit in later years a corresponding emphasis on the retention of the German language arose. The German-English language problem arose later. The conference of 1866 authorized the printing of German and English ordination certificates. K. P. (1868), 7.

distinctive American features did not immediately occur. But even where the German language was retained with religious zeal, the separation from the homeland and the influence of American conditions eventually broke these barriers, and theological views sometimes evolved which were wholly at variance with the positions which prevailed at the time when the religious organizations had their inception.

Thus it was in the case of the *Kirchenverein*, which originated with definite alignment to problems agitating German Churches at the time. Claiming to be a daughter Church of the Prussian Union, it sought to perpetuate in America the spiritual qualities of its mother without formally adopting its theological position. Its zeal for spiritual union tempered its doctrinal rigor. Stipulations of race and language and creed were of less importance—even in the isolation of the West, where these values could freely be nurtured—than the culture of a *Liebesgemeinschaft* in the unity of the spirit. A deflection from the original genius of the *Kirchenverein* occurred with the rise of a dogmatic temper which sought to commit the Society to creedal and dogmatic forms. This was the beginning of a development which assumed even greater significance in the decades to come—a development, however, which was not true to the early frontier spirit. Whenever the generations of later years refused in creedal fashion to formulate the Evangelical principles for which their Church stood and maintained that the saving revelation of a gracious Father could be found in manifestations of divine grace which no printed page could exhaust or any human form encompass, insisting, further, on the liberty of conscience and the sovereign right of each personality to develop his spiritual life as God gives the light—then there was occurring a return to the original spirit of the *Kirchenverein*.

CHAPTER XIII

GROWTH AND EXPANSION

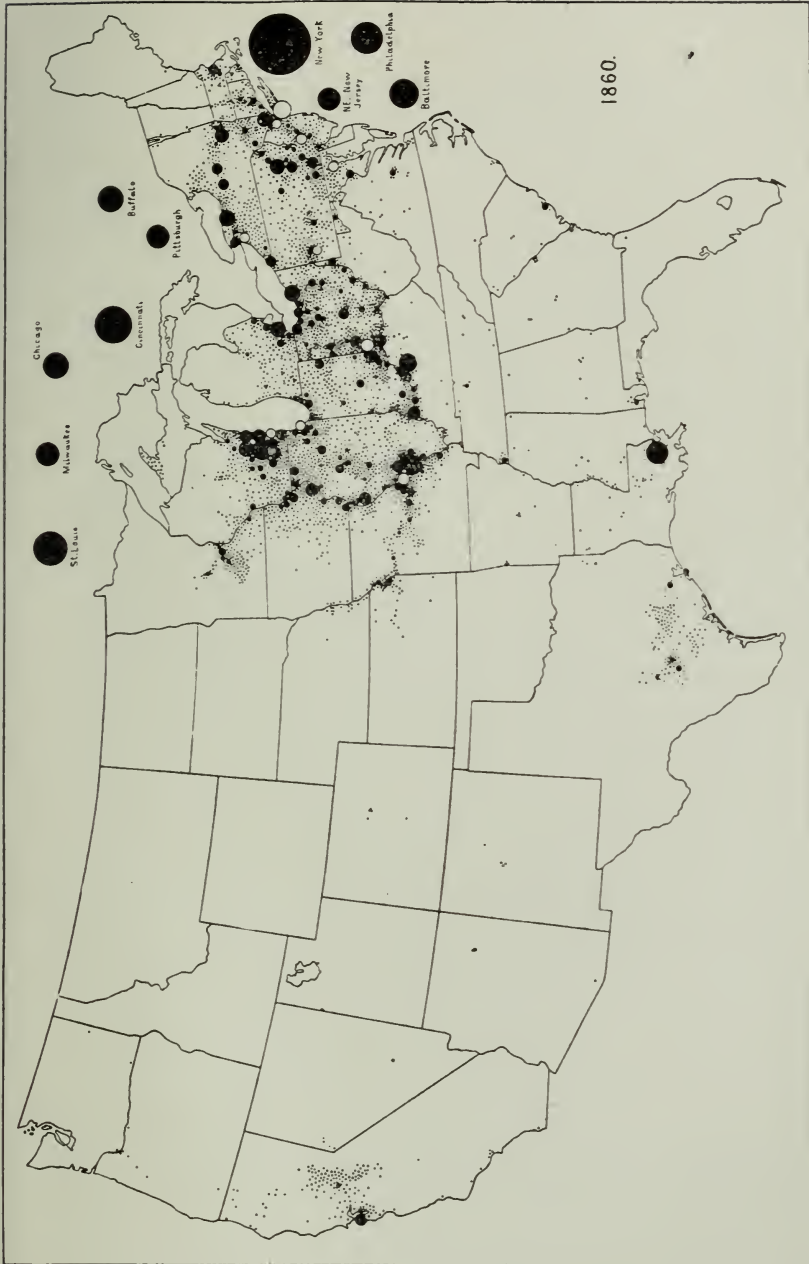
Having struck roots in the hardened soil of the West, the *Kirchenverein* sent branches forth in all directions, met new challenges with vigor and dispatch, increased in membership of pastors and churches, finally, after a history of about a quarter of a century, to establish itself as the German Evangelical Synod of the West. The phenomenal growth of German institutions during this period was caused by the ever increasing number of German immigrants¹ who settled in both rural and urban communities throughout the East and West. As *Kirchenverein* pastors began to extend their spiritual ministry throughout these territories, new forms arose to hold the expanding life. By the end of our period the *Kirchenverein* had lost its non-ecclesiastical character and had become a full-fledged synod.

THE WIDENING FIELD

At the end of the first decade, as we have seen, groups of churches served by *Kirchenverein* pastors had become firmly established in east-central Missouri, southern Illinois, and southern Indiana, and scattered congregations were stretching toward the North and into southeastern Iowa. In the course of the next fifteen years this little pastoral group of twenty-five ministers serving about seventy-five churches developed into a full-grown ecclesiastical organization of 122 pastors scattered through nine states from Kan-

¹ The high wave came between 1846-54—215,000 arriving during the latter year. The total for the decade (1851-60) was 951,667. See maps facing this page and p. 423.

Of the total St. Louis population of 77,465 in 1850, 37,051 were native Americans, 23,774 Germans, 11,257 Irish, 2,933 English, and the remainder of other extraction. E. H. S. L., II, 890. The A. d. W. in 1854 "boasted that there were 40,000 Germans in this city [St. Louis]." See editorial in *St. Louis Morning Herald*, July 20, 1854. In 1858 St. Louis had 14 German churches, 27 German societies, 2 German dailies and 5 weeklies. *Missouri Republican*, May 5, 1858, No. 106. For discussion of the social-economic structure of this later immigration, see Freeden and Smolka, *op. cit.*, 337.



Max Harnemann, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten, Tafel 2.*

Distribution of German Immigrants According to the Census of 1860.

Neueste Karte von Kurhessen.



Fliegende Blaetter, Muenchen XIX (1854), 181.

A German View of the Immigration during the Fifties.

sas and Nebraska in the West to New York in the East and from Lake Superior in the North to Kentucky in the South.

New challenges emanating from within and from outside its own circles began to confront the Society. With the continuing scarcity of pastors the alternative frequently arose of either providing for the needs of its old congregations at the cost of new accessions or of serving new churches at the risk of neglecting its own. The strongest churches of the first decade—especially those located in urban communities—remained loyal, and at the end of the period most of these had formally been accepted into membership. Having withstood the test of the first decade, the future of most churches was assured. Indeed, many of the smaller preaching places had developed such strength during this period that resident pastors were now desired. Such Missouri congregations as Boonville (1852), Augusta (1851), McGirk (1856), North Morreau (1857), and Boeuf Creek and New Melle (1860), at one time merely preaching places, now requested resident pastors—some having in turn established filial charges.² The *Kirchenverein* felt morally obligated to serve these congregations before responding to churches which earlier had not sympathized with its work.

The future was more definitely assured, however, by the large number of requests for pastors coming from new churches, the wide extent of which took the conference of 1851 by surprise. Most of these requests came from localities in Missouri, such as Lexington, Independence, Parkville, Weston, St. Joseph, Savannah, Hemmes Settlement and Linden in Atchison County, and mark the progress of German immigration along the Missouri River toward the northwestern part of the state.³ In 1852 additional requests

² It is difficult to follow the developments of some of the smaller churches of the first decade, since the statistical records of later years center about the main charges. This is further misleading, since only the post-office addresses are given. Changes in the names of churches and communities further complicate the study. See illustration facing p. 434.

³ In 1851 requests for pastors were received from thirteen places in Missouri—Hermann; Morse's Mill, Big River, Jefferson Co.; Hanni-

were received from both old and new churches.⁴ Nor did requests come from the West only. A plea from Freeport, Illinois (1851), directed attention to the far North, and in 1853 W. Hasskarl of Woodsfield, Ohio, called attention to vacant congregations in that state. Congregations becoming impatient began to apply directly to the seminary or

bal; Lexington with thirteen families; Independence, thirteen families; Parkville, thirteen families; Weston, thirty families; St. Joseph; Savannah; a community in Holt Co.; Hemmes Settlement; and Linden in Atchison Co.—and from Freeport and Warsaw, Illinois. K. P., I, 157, 168.

In view of the utter inability to meet these needs, aid was invoked from Europe. Wall's trip in this connection has already been mentioned. *Supra*, pp. 306 ff.

Various letters of the A. H. M. S. Cor. refer to religious developments in German settlements along the Missouri River before this time. The Presbyterian pastor C. D. Herbert, writing from Parkville under date of May 26, 1847, stated: ". . . there are many Germans here and they do not like the Methodists at all and wish they could have preaching in their own tongue by Presbyterians. . . ." A similar plea was voiced by Ed. Wright from Weston, Mo. (*ibid.*, Ed. Wright, March 31, 1848), where a German pastor by the name of Conrad Heckmann became established in 1849. Heckmann joined the Lexington Presbytery and served a field extending 150 miles from north to south, including Hemmes Settlement, Savannah, Parkville, and St. Joseph. *Ibid.*, Heckmann, Weston, Mo., Sept. 4, Oct. 26, 1849; April 30, 1850. In 1850 Heckmann moved to Brunswick, Chariton Co., and in the following year the pleas from the communities previously served by Heckmann lay before the Society. However, the K. not occupying the field, Heckmann in 1853 returned to Platte Co., from where (1855) he also served St. Joseph. While at Brunswick, Heckmann stated that he was "the only German preacher on the upper Missouri above Boonville, whilst there are large and numerous settlements of Germans upon the Missouri River and the adjoining counties." *Ibid.*, Jan. 12, 1853. See various other letters of Heckmann and of the Presbyterian pastors of these communities.

According to a letter of T. S. Reeve, the Presbyterian pastor of St. Joseph, a German pastor, J. B. Madoulet, a member of the Congregational Association of Iowa, arrived from Burlington in Oct. (1853) under commission of the Missouri H. M. S. to minister to the 150 families in the St. Joseph area. Here he sought to organize a church of 32 members in Bayer's Settlement, east of St. Joseph, on "One Hundred Two River." See letters of the Presbyterian pastors T. S. Reeve of St. Joseph, Dec. 11, 1854, and E. A. Carson of Savannah, Dec. 14, 1854, and letters of the German elders Christian Schütler and Christian Schneider of St. Joseph, requesting aid for Madoulet, and letters of Madoulet dated Dec. 26, 1854, Feb. 6, April 9, June 30, Oct. 5, 1855. Heckmann in 1858 organized the United Evang. Prot. Church of St. Joseph, later (1870) called Zion. F. S., Zion Evangelical Congregation, 1908, 1933.

⁴ K. P. (1852), 11. For requests of congregations in 1853, see *ibid.* (1853), 10 ff.

sent delegates to plead their cause at the conferences. Cautiously and mainly in an advisory capacity did the *Kirchenverein* approach the task of placing pastors, some of whom were merely encouraged or discouraged in their decisions. Not able to comply with all requests, it frequently classified the applicants according to their respective needs. The pleas of some should immediately be met, others were to be considered "as soon as possible," some were carefully to be examined⁵ with respect to their Evangelical position, and still others were immediately rejected. The final disposition of each case was placed in the hands of the president. When called upon by churches or pastors to mediate in troublous situations, the *Kirchenverein* strove to function merely in an advisory capacity.

Thus matters proceeded until 1854, when three churches—Friedens at St. Charles, Missouri, St. John's at Freeport, Illinois, and St. Paul's at Holland, Indiana—joined the *Kirchenverein*,⁶ bringing the total church membership to seven. Four Basel men, Johannes Kopf, Karl Döhring, Johannes Zimmermann, and Ferdinand Lenschau, the first-fruits of Wall's European trip, had also arrived. In addition to these Sebastian Weiss, an ex-Catholic priest, one seminarian, Michael Kruse, and Hermann Rahn and Karl Schaller were admitted to membership, making a total of eight—up to this time the largest number ever admitted to the Society in a single year. It became apparent that the *Kirchenverein* was on the eve of a new expansion which would carry it beyond its central strong point in Missouri.

Most significant for the subsequent development of the *Kirchenverein* was the growing recognition that carefully planned action was necessary in order to reach the untouched German groups scattered off the beaten tracks and the numerous congregations which could not be supplied with permanent pastors. The impetus for more aggressive

⁵ Thus Binner, delegated to visit Freeport, Ill., in person, recommended that the request of this congregation be granted. Additional information was always required where factions existed. *Ibid.*, (1854), 5 f.

⁶ See roster of K. churches in Appendix X.

home-missionary effort came, not from Missouri, but from the pastors of the Northwest in Illinois and Iowa. At the suggestion of these frontiersmen the *Kirchenverein* resolved to approach the home-mission task in a hitherto untried manner, namely by the appointment of an official *Reiseprediger*.

The first to clothe this office was Th. Dresel of Burlington, Iowa, who, arriving from Basel to become a missionary to the Indians—a task he was not able to carry out, as we have seen—now became the pioneer home missionary to labor under the direction of the *Kirchenverein*. Official instructions⁷ to govern his work were carefully prepared. He was provided with a horse, saddle-bags, and other necessary equipment and funds, the cost of which was to be defrayed with gifts solicited from the members of the Society.

In October, 1854, Dresel began his travels into Iowa, Illinois, and Wisconsin. Everywhere he was greeted by the same crying need, the vicious opposition which he encountered sometimes resulting in physical violence. The more religious-minded, he discovered, had affiliated with the Methodists and Albrights.⁸ Others complained that Evangelical ministers had never visited them. Various settlements of Germans, Swiss, and Alsatians, with scattered German groups from Eastern states, particularly Ohio, attracted his attention and impressed him with the need for Evangelical rather than confessional Lutheran or Reformed churches. Very promising were three German settlements at Sigourney and on German and Dutch Creeks in Iowa, the latter two, although located thirty miles from each other, having erected a church and parsonage on German Creek. Indeed, concluded Dresel, if one or two traveling preachers should

⁷ This document, unfortunately, has been lost. K. P. (1854), 11; (1855), 11. The institution of the *Reiseprediger*, admirably adapted to frontier conditions, had been successfully tried by various German Churches in the East and West. As early as 1849 the appointment of an itinerant preacher as well as the establishment of a periodical were described as essential for the expansion of the K.

⁸ The Illinois Conference of the Evangelical Association (Albrights), which was founded in 1844, sponsored the mission work in Wisconsin and Iowa. A. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association of North America* . . . (Harrisburg, Pa., 1900).

be permanently engaged, a foothold could be gained in the state of Iowa and a home-missionary basis established for more extended labors in the Northwest.⁹

The exploratory work of Dresel, which covered a brief three months' period, opened the eyes of the *Kirchenverein* to the need of supporting home missions with the same zeal that characterized the interest in foreign missions. The challenge was accepted, and the conference of 1855 delegated Hoffmeister, the veteran pastor of West Missouri, to continue the work thus begun. Hoffmeister was instructed to establish himself on German Creek in Washington County, Iowa, to devote at least six months of the year to itinerant labors and thus build upon the foundations laid by Dresel. He was explicitly prohibited from intruding on congregations of other denominations and instructed to avoid all semblance of proselytism—in all things to be guided by the instructions laid down for Dresel. Thus Iowa, through the work of Dresel and Hoffmeister, became the first home-mission field to be officially and methodically cultivated by the *Kirchenverein*.¹⁰

Hoffmeister, however, did not move to Iowa, but at the request of the newly organized congregation at Princeton, Illinois, located there for the winter.¹¹ From here, in November, 1855, he undertook a journey of ten days into Iowa. Everywhere he encountered unbelief. Once it was a *Rheinländer* who had become an ardent follower of Paine. Again, he found a vagabond peddler, whose primary qualification for the ministry consisted in having, as he maintained, "*das Katholische und Lutherische durchstudirt*," occupying a parsonage. But he also discovered settlements where he was welcomed with open arms by people who under the leader-

⁹ "P. Th. Dresel als Reiseprediger," F., VI (1855), 11; 27. The similarity of the names "Evangelical" and "Evangelical Association" prejudiced the founding of K. churches until the difference could be explained.

When his horse failed him, Dresel was compelled to return to his church at Burlington, which had granted him a furlough for this work.

¹⁰ K. P. (1855), 11.

¹¹ "Entstehung und Fortgang der 'Evangelischen Salems-Gemeinde' in Princeton, Bureau Co., Ill.," F., VII (1856), 43.

ship of a resident pastor would gladly have organized a parish. Poetically inclined, Hoffmeister concluded his first report with a poem inspired by an evening journey in a stage-coach, of which the following is the last of five stanzas:

*Schwer und wichtig ist das Werk,
Das du, Herr, uns übergeben.
Darum lass uns deine Stärk',
Deine Gnad' uns stets umgeben,
Und erfüll' an uns dein Wort:
Ich bin bei euch fort and fort.¹²*

The desirability of having Hoffmeister serve the struggling congregation at Princeton until it could be supplied with a pastor and the difficulty encountered in raising the necessary funds for his mission labors beclouded the Iowa project for a time.¹³ With the coming of spring (1856), Hoffmeister planned to settle permanently in Iowa, and special collections for his support were authorized in all churches. A permanent base in Iowa, however, was not established, and Hoffmeister's activities were restricted to occasional short visits into the state, the first of which was undertaken in May. The home-missionary policy, indeed, was further obscured when the *Reiseprediger* also became the traveling financial agent for the college at Marthasville, in which capacity he made a second trip into Iowa, concluding his year's work with another visit in December.¹⁴ His experiences were similar to those of Dresel. Although

¹² "Aus dem ersten Reisebericht" *ibid.*, 11. For another poem by Hoffmeister, see "Titus 2, 11-14," *ibid.*, 93.

¹³ The financial outlook was not promising. Of the \$49.10 which had been received for Dresel's work, his congregation had donated \$20. The K. had granted Hoffmeister a salary of \$250. The remainder of his support was to be derived from the church on German Creek and from offerings of congregations visited. The first sum received was \$25 which Dresel had refused to accept for his labors. K. P., *loc. cit.*; *ibid.*, II, 186, 197.

¹⁴ The first journey is reported in F., VII (1856), 44. Hoffmeister relates in his second report, which is dated Princeton, Ill., Nov. 5, 1856, that on one occasion Americans and Norwegians helped crowd the little log church where he preached. The discreet omission of all names and localities in this report detracts from its value to us. See *ibid.*, 95. On his third trip he visited pastors C. G. Haack and I. Koch, *ibid.*, VIII (1857), 12. Haack had become established on German Creek and in 1857 organized St. Paul's Church in Valley, then known as Paris, on Dutch Creek.

ridiculed by some, he succeeded in mellowing the antagonism of others when personal contacts were established. The *Kirchenverein*, he urged, should aggressively pursue the home-mission challenge and not wait until the call for help should arrive.

Hoffmeister's home-missionary labors culminated in January, 1857, when he undertook an eight-week trip through five states, where he preached twenty-four times to a total of 2000 people. His efforts were apparently crowned with meager success. Many of his listeners had never before heard a sermon. In many communities unprincipled infidel preachers were highly regarded by their congregations, some of which had driven devout pastors from their midst. But again a brighter side presented itself in the plea of pious souls for conscientious ministers; for, as they said, "*Schlechte haben wir lange genug gehabt, es ist Zeit, dass wir gute bekommen.*"¹⁵

Adequate financial support for the *Reiseprediger* had never been forthcoming. Free-will offerings, at a time when the needs of the seminary and of the college taxed the main interest and liberality of Evangelical churches, did not suffice to defray the expenses. Up to 1857 small and scattered donations, for this purpose amounted to \$373.35, which included Hoffmeister's salary at Princeton (\$83.00) and incidental fees in Illinois and Iowa which amounted to \$50.20. The largest single donation (\$17.28) was received from Rieger's church at Holstein. Under these disheartening conditions the conference of 1857 discontinued the office of itinerant preacher with the hope that renewed interest would soon warrant its reestablishment.

Thus ends the first chapter in the history of organized home missions in the Evangelical Church. The idea of home missions in the sense of caring for scattered destitute German congregations had become established alongside that of foreign missions and needed but the opportune occasion aggressively to assert its proper place.

¹⁵ "Bericht unsers Reisepredigers," *ibid.*, 47. This report was written from Franklin, Ia., under date of Apr. 1, 1857.

In the meantime the needs of vacant congregations and of widely unoccupied sections in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and northwestern Missouri stretching into Kansas and Nebraska continued to stir the imagination of pious souls who saw in the abandonment of the *Reisepredigt* an indication of a lack of interest in a cause vital to the Christian faith.¹⁶ The large number of applications from new and old churches at the conference of 1859 and the lack of men to supply these needs led to another deferment of reinstating the itinerant ministry. Not so much the founding of new congregations as providing support for mission outposts in the West and for such pastors who were not adequately supported by their congregations seemed to require immediate attention.¹⁷ In the discussion of these needs the *Kirchenverein* pledged itself to the support not only of foreign missions but of a home-mission program which was defined as embodying the support of (1) the educational institutions, (2) the traveling ministry, and (3) needy congregations. The educational institutions had always been in the eye of the Society and did not require particular emphasis. It had been different with the traveling preacher, however, and to meet immediate needs and to compensate for the previous neglect of this office it was agreed to establish a common treasury for home missions, to be known as the "*Kasse des Evangelischen Kirchenvereins des Westens für innere Mission.*" This fund was to be administered by the officers of the Society, to whom the respective district officials might submit the appeals of their needy churches and pastors. This action marks the official establishment of home missions as a responsibility of the entire Church.¹⁸

¹⁶ Note the appeal "Reisepredigt," *ibid.*, IX (1858), 147, and "Noch etwas über Reisepredigt," *ibid.*, 172, the latter article containing the suggestion that each member of the K. contribute \$2 and raise a collection for the itinerant ministry in his congregation, so that the next conference might be encouraged to continue this office.

¹⁷ K. P. (1859), 12; "Jahresconferenz," F., X (1859), 125.

¹⁸ The financial and administrative difficulties which had led to the abandonment of the *Reiseprediger* now led to the establishment of the home-mission treasury. The funds still being received for the traveling missionary were directed to this treasury. The term "*Innere Mission*" first appeared in financial entries of the F. in June, 1856.

Under this arrangement the home-missionary activities were again vested in the individual districts so that the benefits of centralized direction were lost. Thus the Middle District—always concerned with the further occupation of its area—anticipated new developments in Kansas. When President Wall, in 1860, called attention to missionary opportunities in this state, the Middle District authorized the sending of a man to one of its largest cities to found, if possible, an Evangelical church which might become the center for further expansion. It was agreed that some of the funds collected for itinerant preachers should be used for this purpose. Pastor August Röder of California, Missouri, agreed to undertake this work and the pioneer traveling missionary, Rieger, promised to provide him with a “pony” for these itinerant labors.

This proposed invasion of Kansas was one of the most ambitious home-missionary projects that had been considered up to this time—the logical consummation of the westward movement across Missouri. It was not a project of the *Kirchenverein* as such, however, and the *Friedensbote*, anticipating the objections which might be raised by those who felt that the needs of newly founded congregations within the existing boundaries should first be met, defended the action of the Middle District and expounded at length: “*Was der evangelische Kirchenverein in Kansas zu thun gedenkt.*” The striking plea was advanced that the religious needs of Germans in the areas farther west were now as critical as those on the Missouri frontier had been a quarter of a century before. The Church must ever follow the rapidly moving frontier if its home-missionary tasks should be met.¹⁹ However, the necessary funds were not forthcoming, and the outbreak of the Civil War added other difficulties, so that the Kansas mission remained a dream at this

Contributions for mission churches were listed earlier. See financial statistics in Appendix VIII; K. P. (1859), 13; *Gedenkschrift zum 25-jährigen Jubiläum der Inneren Mission* (1910); C. E. Schneider, “The Home Mission Zeal of an Immigrant Church,” *Missionary Trails* (St. Louis, 1934), 3 ff.

¹⁹ F., XI (1860), 113.

time.²⁰ More successful were later efforts to found churches at Kansas City (St. Peter's)²¹ and at St. Joseph, Missouri (Zion). The latter church joined the *Kirchenverein* in 1866 and thus became the farthest official outpost of the Society in the Far West.²²

A revival of the *Reiseprediger* occurred in 1864, when the Northern District, with the burden of Iowa and Wisconsin resting on it, urged that itinerant missionaries be appointed by the respective districts with assistance from the Society.²³ Sufficient funds, however, had accumulated in the home-mission treasury, so that the conference of 1864 authorized the reestablishment of the itinerant ministry, which had been abandoned seven years before. It was becoming increasingly clear that the challenge of the westward moving frontier with its American-born generation of unchurched Germans must be met, not by European missionaries, but under auspices of German Churches already established in the West. The founding of mission churches in urban communities, such as Princeton and Warsaw, Illinois, and Cincinnati, Ohio, fell to the lot of neighboring pastors inter-

²⁰ Röder, evidently not adapted for this work, accepted a call to St. Peter's in St. Louis, where both he and his congregation had an altercation with the K. which resulted in their resignation in 1864.

²¹ Note the work of J. C. Feil in Kansas City, Mo. (St. Peter's). "Aufruf zur Unterstützung des Kirchbaues der deutsch ev. Gemeinde in Kansas City, Mo.," *ibid.*, XVII (1866), 132; "Grundsteinlegung," *ibid.*, 173.

²² The final conference of 1866, which was confronted by requests from twenty congregations for pastors, left the *Kirchenverein* in a state of bewilderment with respect to its ability to carry on an intensive home-missionary program. The minutes do not name the vacant churches, but stipulate that the requests of the churches at Little Nomeha in Otto Co., Neb., at Eudora in Douglas Co., Kan., at Hemmes Settlement, Holt Co., and on Third Creek, Gasconade Co., Mo., and at Stewartville, Ind., should be granted as soon as possible. K. P. (1866), 18.

²³ W. Kampmeier, president of the Northern District, in his report to the general conference of 1864 (MS) claimed that, since one itinerant preacher was inadequate for the enlarging field, each district ought to engage one or more men who might devote two or three months (in the spring and fall) to this work, their congregations in the meantime being served by neighboring pastors or by seniors from the seminary. Even professors from the seminary, he added, might profit from the experiences derived from temporarily supplying congregations, not to mention the benefits to be derived from participating in the mission work itself.

ested in such projects, whereas the unchurched rural communities were to be served by the itinerant pastor. In this way the home-missionary treasury served both rural and urban needs.²⁴

And yet the *Reiseprediger* functioned less successfully as a representative of the Society than as a representative of the particular district in whose boundaries he labored. Indeed the *Kirchenverein* had hoped that Christian Kirschmann would begin his duties in Missouri in the fall of 1865, but the invasion of the state by Price interfered with this plan. More significant were the efforts of the Barmen missionary L. von Ragué, who, upon his arrival in America in 1864, was sent to Wisconsin as "*Missionar und Reiseprediger.*" In spirit and in deed, however, Ragué in Wisconsin was more of a missionary in his own right than a missionary of the *Kirchenverein*. In order, therefore, to trace the expansion of the Society, it is necessary to follow the developments of the respective areas.

The main task of extending the boundaries of the *Kirchenverein* into new territories devolved upon the Northern District, which at this time (1856) consisted of the largely unoccupied states of Iowa and Wisconsin and was contiguous to more virgin fields beyond. The needs of five mission charges within the boundaries of this territory, which was bereft of a traveling missionary, were served by neighboring pastors with the hope that the *Kirchenverein* would soon be able to provide more adequate service.²⁵

²⁴ The F., in 1864, defined the threefold missionary program of the K. as follows: (1) maintenance of existing congregations — which required the support of the seminary; (2) founding of new congregations—which required traveling ministers; (3) furtherance of parochial schools—which called for the erection of a teachers' seminary. "Etwas über die Verpflichtung der evangelischen Prediger," F., XV (1864), 137 f., 146 f.

Needy conditions were not restricted to rural communities. An interesting experiment in city missions at this time was the founding of a missionary society in Zion Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, for the purpose of organizing and supporting a new congregation in the western part of the city, called "Texas." The new congregation, also called "Texas," received support from the home-mission treasury. J. H. Feldwisch, "Eine Stimme aus der Gemeinde," *ibid.*, 162; K. P. (1864), 19.

²⁵ "Bericht des nördl. Districts," F., IX (1858), 156. The

As we follow the developments in Iowa,²⁶ we note that, when Hoffmeister ceased his labors in that state (1857), five *Kirchenverein* pastors, S. Weiss (St. John's) and Fr. Fausel (Evangelical) at Burlington, Krönlein at Franklin Center, G. Guebner at Fort Madison, and C. Haack, recently arrived from Barmen, at the congregations on Dutch and German Creeks,²⁷ were located within its boundaries.

The subsequent developments were not of a spectacular nature. When the church at Fort Madison was lost, the number of pastors was decreased to four. In 1862, however, two churches were added—St. Paul's of Keokuk under H. Meili and St. John's of Newton under J. Welsch. The following year we find J. Härdtle at Zion in Lowden, and in 1864 the

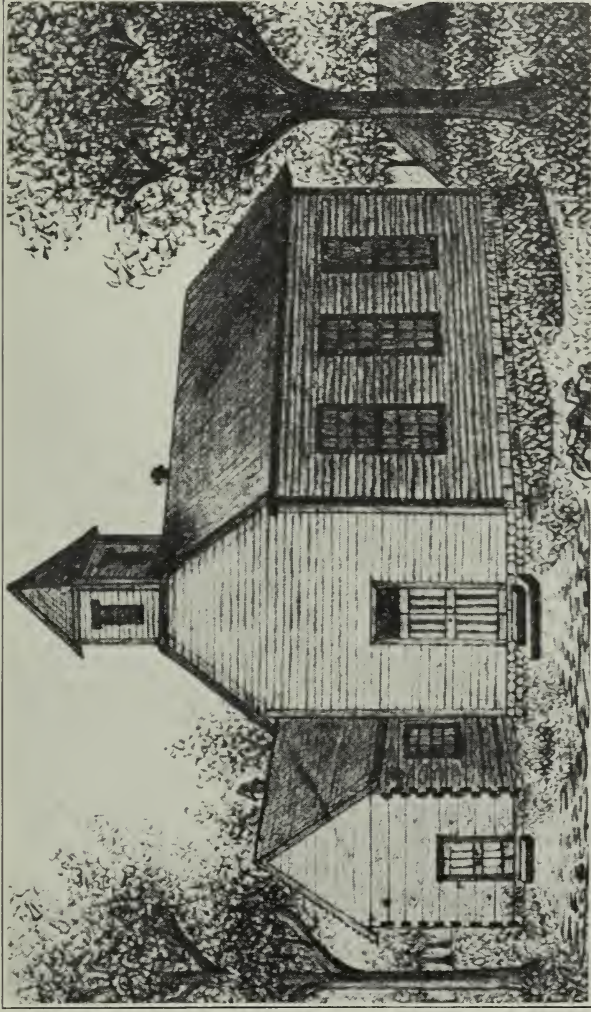
report contained the pointed remark: "*Wir Handvoll Leute im weiten Westen und Norden haben gefühlt: vorwärts! wir werden getrieben: vorwärts!—Die Rekruten (Candidaten wemns welche gibt) sollten hinaus, hinaus und sich ein wenig Wind um die Nase wehen lassen, suchen und sich zeigen und sagen lassen, wo Leute sind, denen das Evangelium verkündigt werden kann*"

²⁶ The support of German pastors in Iowa by the A. H. M. S. dates back to the commission granted to Rieger in 1844. Assistance was also granted the following German pastors, the dates indicating the appearance of the first letter preserved in the A. H. M. S. Cor.:

- 1847 P. Fleury, Evang. German Ch., Dubuque.
- 1848 C. U. Hess, Presbyterian, Garnavillo (Clayton Co.).
- 1849 J. B. Madoulet, succeeded Fleury at Dubuque. (Later letters were from Burlington.)
- 1850 J. M. Gumbull, German Lutheran and Reformed Ch. (Evangelical), Fort Madison.
- 1852 A. Frowein, Evang. churches, Clayton and Dubuque Counties. K. Riess, Muscatine, Fort Madison.
- 1853 T. Dresel, German Evang. Ch., Burlington.
A. van Vliet, German Evang. Ch., Dubuque.
C. F. Veitz, German Evang. Ch., Muscatine (later at Davenport).
- J. Heckenlaible, Davenport.
- 1854 F. C. Bauman, German Reformed Ch., Dubuque Co.
- 1857 A. Blumer, German Congregational Ch., Grandview.
- 1858 H. Langpaap, German Congregational Ch., Muscatine (later at German Presbyterian Ch., Wheatland).
- 1859 R. Osswald, German Prebyterian Ch., Wheatland.
S. Uhlfelder, St. John's Evangelical Ch. (Congregational), Dubuque Co.
- 1861 F. Judiesch, German Evang. Congregational Ch., Muscatine.

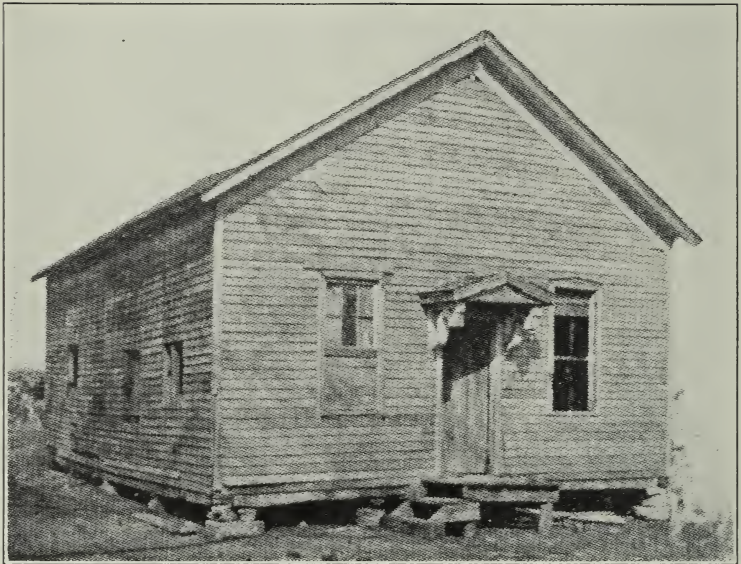
See also general description of German churches in Iowa, A. H. M. S. Cor., Madoulet, Muscatine, Ia., Apr. 15, 1852.

²⁷ After the departure of Riess from Muscatine (1852) and of Guebner from Fort Madison (1858) both congregations fell into the hands of mostly rationalistic preachers.



Rural Church of the Sixties.

Drawing of the "Newly Erected Church" at McGirk, Missouri, Discovered in a Letter
Addressed by Pastor C. F. Off to Basel, September 18, 1861.



Rural Church of the Sixties.

Zion Church at Lowden, Iowa, Erected "*im Busch*," 1863.

church at Muscatine applied for membership. At the end of the period a total of eight main churches were being served by the Society, four of which—Burlington, Keokuk, Muscatine, and Newton—had taken out membership. The far-western outpost was Council Bluffs, where the restless Hoffmeister²⁸ had been induced to organize a struggling congregation.

Turning our attention to Wisconsin, we note that none of the itinerant missionaries had been able to organize a church in that state, where a number of Lutheran and other German churches had already been established—some with the support of the American Home Missionary Society.²⁹

²⁸ The home-missionary treasury had agreed to defray his traveling expenses. The president of the Northern District (1867) stated that this church had waited nine years for a pastor of the K. N. D. P. (1867), 6. See illustration.

²⁹ The extent to which the pioneering work among the Germans in Wisconsin was supported by the A. H. M. S. may be gathered from letters in the A. H. M. S. Cor. (1848-1861) referring to the granting of commissions to following pastors serving German Lutheran, Reformed, Evangelical, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches:

1849 J. Mühlhäuser (Langenberg), Evang. Lutheran, Milwaukee.
 J. Weinmann (Langenberg), Evang. Lutheran, Racine.

1850 F. Beckel, Evang. Lutheran, Hustiford.

1852 C. Zipp, Evangelical Church of Sharon and Delavan, also referred to as German Presbyterian Church at Sharon. Zipp planned to join the Milwaukee or Belvidere Presbytery.
 J. H. Spengler (Swiss), Evang. Church, Prairie du Sac (later, 1857, at Evangelical Ch., La Crosse).
 W. Bühren, Evang. Lutheran, New Berlin and Bloomfield.

1853 C. F. Goldammer (Langenberg), Evang. Lutheran (St. John's) at Newton, also preaching at Centerville.
 R. Osswald, Evang. Lutheran, West Bend, also churches at Kewaskum and Ashford (later, 1856, the German Presbyterian Ch. at Columbus, also preaching at Dodge, Newburg, and Washington City).
 G. Weitbrecht, Evang. Lutheran in vicinity of Sheboygan.

1856 C. E. Conrad, Evang. Lutheran, Richland Co.

1857 S. Uhlfelder (graduate of Union Seminary), Manitowoc in 1857, at Loganville serving the German Presbyterian churches at Westfield and Reedsburg.
 F. Lenschau.

1858 Christian Stark, Evang. Lutheran, Kenosha.

1859 J. T. Etter, succeeded Spengler in Sauk County in 1859.
 Ph. Knoepfel, Reformed Church, near Sauk City, also preaching at Otter Creek, Honey Creek, and Harrisburg.
 N. Ruetenik, Reformed Church at Sauk City.

1861 F. Schroek, Presbyterian, serving Dutch Presbyterian Church at Alto and the Germans at Ripon.

With the arrival of the "Forty-eighters" conditions had arisen in Wisconsin similar to, if not worse than, those prevailing in Missouri a generation before. The church and its defenders were everywhere greeted with scorn and derision.

In the midst of a hotbed of infidelity the first *Kirchenverein* church in Wisconsin—St. John's Church in Town Hermann (Howard's Grove), Sheboygan County—was dedicated by F. Lenschau in April, 1855.³⁰ This marked the

The work of the Langenberg men mentioned above is also described in the reports of the society. In 1860 the Wisconsin Synod petitioned the Langenberg Society and also the Berlin Society for assistance in establishing a German synodical library and the office of an itinerant preacher, also requesting additional missionaries. *Verhandlungen der Versammlung der Ev. Luth. Syn. von Wisconsin* (1860), 9. *Neunter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1860), 6 ff. Both Langenberg and Berlin appropriated \$100 for the *Reiseprediger* and collected 2 libraries—one for the Lutheran and one for the Reformed Church in Wisconsin. *Zehnter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1862), 38. See also "Wie ein Reiseprediger unter den deutschen Glaubensgenossen in Nordamerika arbeitet," *ibid.*, 7 ff. Note the description of early missionary labors of the Wisconsin Synod, particularly its *Reiseprediger*, G. Fachtmann, in Koehler, *op. cit.*, 236 ff. In 1862 Mühlhäuser, who with Dr. Borchard had attended the 25th anniversary of the Langenberg Society, returned with four Basel missionaries, G. Reim, Ph. Brenner, H. Waldmann, and K. Kunz.

³⁰ Following shortly upon Dresel's report of 1855 came the announcement of the dedication of St. John's Church in Hermann, Wisconsin. "Die Evang. St. Johannes Gemeinde," *F.*, VI (1855), 39; *F. S., Evang. St. Johannes-Gemeinde*, 1904. See also requests for aid: A. H. M. S. Cor., Lenschau, Hermann, Wis., May 28, 1855; August Pott, Hermann, Wis., June, 1855.

A colony of Lippe-Detmolders had settled at Sheboygan in 1847 and had founded a Reformed church, which in 1854 was being served by J. Bossard, Ph.D., later professor of church history in the *Missionshaus* of the Reformed Church. Good, *Hist. of the Ref. Ch. in the U. S. in the 19th Cent.*, 630. Bossard participated in the dedication of St. John's Church. A Missouri Lutheran church had been founded earlier (1853) and this evidently overchurched condition may account for Lenschau's plea for assistance. "Bitte," *F.*, *ibid.* 76; "Kirchliche Zustände in Wis.," *ibid.*, IX (1858), 84.

For early origin of the Reformed in Wisconsin and their rejection of "unionism," see L. Praikschatz and H. A. Meier, *Das Missionshaus* . . . (Cleveland, O., 1897), 9-19. The Sheboygan Classis (1861) also petitioned the Langenberg Society for young men—pledged indeed to the Heidelberg Catechism, although it was added: "*Wir verlangen keinen von extremer reformirter Richtung, sondern solche, die wahrhaft evangelisch sind auf biblischem Grunde.*" *Zehnter Bericht* (Langenberg, 1862), 24. The following year brought the appeal for gifts to establish the first professorship at Sheboygan. *Elfster Bericht* (1863), 36. The following year Praikschatz was commissioned. For history

beginning of concerted efforts on the part of the Northern District and its aggressive officers³¹ to establish a foothold in this northern state. In 1858 Lenschau founded St. Peter's in Town Rhine and J. Zimmermann dedicated a church at New Glarus, now known as the "Swiss Reformed Church." Lenschau (Town Rhine and Hermann), in 1859, was succeeded by Albert Zeller, who previously had been at St. Mark's in Town Mosel. In the same year Ludwig Knauss was called to St. John's in Town Oakland (Germany), in Jefferson County, from where he also dedicated a church three miles from Fort Atkinson. A further advance into Wisconsin was recorded in 1862 when K. Off settled at Lake-mills (Jefferson County), when G. Hagemann dedicated the newly organized St. John's Church at Monroe (Green County), and when W. Biesemeier was installed in St. John's Church at Station, Washington County, the latter also serving St. Peter's at Jackson from 1863 to 1865.³² The following year (1863) found Zeller at Plymouth and Kaspar Viehe at Edwards and at St. Mark's in Town Mosel, from which base St. James's at Meeme was organized. Somewhat later Viehe also served the church at Centerville, where H. Siekmann had been located from 1864 to 1866. In the same year (1863) Kröhnke dedicated the church at Spring Grove, where he preached every two weeks.

The year 1864 marks the arrival in Wisconsin of the above-mentioned Ragué, who became established in Town Rhine, where he remained until 1870. Ragué more than any other pastor helped the *Kirchenverein* establish a foothold in Wisconsin.³³

of the Sheboygan Classis, which was founded in 1854, see *Zum fünf- undsiebzigjährigen Jubiläum*, Cleveland, O., 1929.

³¹ Kampmeier of Freeport and Kröhnke of Rock Run, Ill., were present at the dedication of the churches at New Glarus, Fort Atkinson, and Monroe. The arrival of Hagemann at Monroe and his early experiences in Wisconsin are described in "Kirchliche Zustände in Wisconsin," F., IX (1858), 84 f. He was warmly welcomed at the conference of the Wisconsin Synod in 1863.

³² St. John's, Station, and St. Peter's, Jackson, had previously been served by Wm. Binner.

³³ The above data of early Wisconsin churches are derived from F. S., historical sketches of local pastors, and minutes of the K. and

In 1864 A. Eisenhauer succeeded Wm. Binner at Christ Church in Germantown (Dheinsville) also serving St. James's Church at Richfield. At the close of our period St. Paul's of Wausau, which from 1862 to 1863 had been served by H. Waldmann, at that time a member of the Wisconsin Synod, was being ministered to by Ph. Albert.

At the end of the period the *Kirchenverein* had become established in ten communities of southeastern Wisconsin, from which centers various affiliated congregations were also being served. Three of the ten major congregations—St. Mark's of Edwards (1864), St. John's of Monroe (1864), and the church at Town Mosel (1866)—had joined the Society. This success in southern Wisconsin naturally suggested the founding of a mission on the northern boundary of the state³⁴—a project, however, which was not immediately successful.

The *Kirchenverein*, like other German Churches, was late in entering Minnesota. The Lutherans were first in the field, one of the earliest German churches having been founded by L. Krause of the Buffalo Synod at Winona in 1857. The above-mentioned Fachtmann of the Wisconsin Synod had also pioneered among the Germans in Minnesota.³⁵ The first church in this state served by a *Kirchen-*

of the Northern District, in which conflicting statements confuse the picture.

For experiences of Ragué, who did pioneering service in Town Rhine (St. Peter's), Town Russell (St. Paul's), Milwaukee, Butler, Fond du Lac, and Ellsworth (St. Paul's), Wis., and in St. Paul and Cottage Grove, Minn., see M. Schrödel, *Lebensbilder aus der Innern Mission! Pastor Louis von Ragué* (St. Louis, 1912), 22 ff. Ragué stated that, when he arrived in Wisconsin, the K. was practically unknown.

³⁴ "An die Synodalen des nördl. Distr. . . .," F., XVII (1866), 110; "Vom Lake Superior," *ibid.*, 134. See also "Kirchliche Zustände in Wisconsin," *ibid.*, IX (1858), 84.

³⁵ Another pioneer Lutheran advance into Minnesota was effected when C. F. Heyer, whom we previously met in Illinois, a year after his return from India in 1857, under the auspices of the General Synod, founded Trinity Church in St. Paul. Although Heyer had contacted Fachtmann concerning the possibility of the Wisconsin Synod's sending missionaries into Minnesota, the developments took a new turn in 1860, when Heyer with five other pastors, the chief of whom was Adam Blumer, founded the Evang. Luth. Minnesota Synod. This new organization shared the liberal unionistic spirit of the General

verein pastor was located at Cannon City in Goodhue County, where S. Weiss was stationed in 1862. Three years later Weiss was serving St. John's Church at Wheeling, which, as our period closes, was the only *Kirchenverein* church in the state.³⁶

At the close of the period the *Kirchenverein* had become firmly established at strategic points throughout the West. The little Society of twenty-five pastors which at the end of the first decade had been serving forty churches in the state of Missouri, six in Indiana, twenty in Illinois, seven in Iowa, and two in Louisiana, only one of which had officially joined the organization, had now increased to 122 pastors.³⁷ The three central states of Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois continued to be the heart of the Church. The missionary expansion into the North and West did not augur much for the future of the *Kirchenverein* in these areas.

Various factors account for the meager fruits of the home-missionary enterprise of this period. The financial support of the home-missionary treasury, which was dependent on voluntary gifts at a time when the needs of the seminary and other domestic interests required ardent sup-

Synod—an attitude which was strengthened when Fachtmann, as successor to Heyer in St. Paul, became president of the Minnesota Synod. Koehler, *op. cit.*, 245 f.; G. C. Haase and W. J. Schulze, *Geschichte der Minnesota-Synode und ihrer einzelnen Gemeinden* (St. Louis, 1909), 4 ff. From here, in 1864, he addressed a letter to the F. See "Aus Minnesota," F., XV (1864), 30.

Blumer, of Davenport, Iowa, arrived at Stillwater in 1858, moving to Shakopee in 1860, from where, beginning in 1860, until the Indian uprising in 1862 he also served the German congregation at Town Benton in Carver Co., eighteen miles distant. Throughout this period Blumer was under commission of the A. H. M. S. and considered himself the pastor of a German Congregational church. See letters of and pertaining to Blumer in A. H. M. S. Cor., 1859-66. The Shakopee church in 1864 sent a gift of \$2.00 to Marthasville. The church at Benton had applied to the K. for a pastor (1864), but this prospect did not materialize at this time. N. D. P. (1865), 12. The A. H. M. S., in 1864, was also supporting J. F. Joth of St. Charles, several letters of whom have been preserved.

³⁶ N. D. P., *ibid.*, refers to a congregation at Town Benton, Minn.

³⁷ It is difficult to estimate the number of affiliated churches, but an average of one preaching place to each resident charge would raise the number of churches served to more than 400. See roster of K. churches in Appendix X and map in back of book.

port, was not adequate to meet the needs of the field.³⁸ The lack of centralized leadership, furthermore, prevented vigorous and intelligent espousal of the cause. It should also be observed that the work of the average pastor was home-missionary in nature to such an extent that the independent function of a special home-missionary treasury was obscured. The disturbances incident to the Civil War, furthermore, impeded a normal expansion toward the West, whereas the accession of congregations in the East through the various mergers gave rise to problems of organization and inner growth which interfered with the natural development.

The most rapid expansion, which had occurred toward the East, was mainly due to the new fields opened to the *Kirchenverein* through the absorption of the Church Society of Ohio and the Church Society of the East. From the older and more established churches of these areas the *Kirchenverein* received its most ardent congregational support. Of the 59 congregations in Missouri which had been served by *Kirchenverein* pastors throughout the period only 22 percent had affiliated with the Society. In Indiana 26 percent, in Illinois 10 percent, and in Ohio 50 percent of the churches served by the *Kirchenverein* pastors joined the Society.³⁹

It thus appears that the *Kirchenverein*, during the latter part of the period, was losing some of the pure missionary zeal which had marked the first decades. With both Lutherans and Reformed occupying fields in the Northwest, with a cessation of German immigration during the Civil War, and with the need to consolidate its own internal affairs, a policy of church expansion was followed which was not conducive to the robustness of spirit which character-

³⁸ See financial statistics in Appendix VIII.

³⁹ The lax practice of permitting K. pastors to serve unaffiliated congregations was in marked divergence from the policy followed by the Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota Synods and accounts for the wide-spread sense of Evangelical freedom, falsely so called, which has little regard for synodical direction in church matters. Churches applying for membership were, in many instances, required to rewrite their constitutions.

ized the early days. The winning of new churches through aggressive missionary zeal rather than through mergers with other churches would have reflected a more normal physical development and might have definitely altered the subsequent course of developments.

The vital growth of the *Kirchenverein* may also be noted in the steadily increasing number and changing personnel of the pastors. One by one the charter members left the active scene, being supplanted by a new generation which continued the European traditions, sometimes with less appreciation for American church life than was found in the pioneers. The membership of 25 pastors in 1850 had increased to a membership of 122 in 1866, a total number of 156 pastors having held membership in the Society.⁴⁰ Although some of these held their membership for a brief period, they must all be included in the general picture of the Society. It will then be noted that certain trends of the first decade continued to manifest themselves.

The Society continued to be served by a wholly foreign-born ministry.⁴¹ Of the 139 whose birthplaces could be ascertained, fourteen came from Switzerland, two from Alsace, and the remainder from Germany. Without exception, they were all committed to the German traditions. Of the overwhelmingly German contingent (123), 38, or 30.8 percent, hailed from pietistic Württemberg, the next highest numbers having emigrated from Lippe-Detmold (11), Hanover (11), and Prussia (10). It is equally clear that, measured by their socio-economic background, *Kirchenverein* pastors came mostly from the lower economic groups, with relatively few whose families belonged to the higher, professional classes.⁴²

⁴⁰ See roster of K. pastors in Appendix III.

⁴¹ This may be assumed, although the native home of 17 could not be ascertained. The remaining 139 had emigrated as follows: from Württemberg, 38; Switzerland, 14; Lippe-Detmold, 11; Prussia, 10; Hanover, 11; Bavaria, 8; Rhine Province, 7; Baden, 6; Nassau, 5; Westphalia, 6; Saxony, 3; Hesse, 4; Bremen, 2; Alsace, 2; Silesia, 2; and 1 each from Brandenburg, Birkenfeld, Hesse-Darmstadt, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Lübeck, Holstein, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, and Hesse-Nassau.

⁴² The records of 33 of the 40 Basel men who joined the K. give their previous vocations as follows: farmers and shoemakers, 5 each;

The most significant change in type and character of *Kirchenverein* pastors may be noted in their academic training. An analysis of the cultural-educational background of later years indicates the rising significance of Marthasville for the life of the Church. The primary distinction between university-trained men and those educated at the mission houses still prevailed. Of the 147 pastors of whose academic background we have some knowledge, twenty-eight are known to have received their training in foreign universities.⁴³ Not included in this number are the graduates of Basel and Marthasville who had also attended the Basel University.

This overlapping of both universities and mission houses with Marthasville is indicative of the widening horizon manifest in *Kirchenverein* circles. Although interest in theological abstraction and confessional controversy never characterized the Society, the presence of the academic spirit prevented the rise of an extreme type of pietism. Thus it was that Marthasville, serving both the academic and pietistic interests, made its significant contribution to the rise of a new Evangelical generation. Indeed, the union of the university outlook with the mission-house spirit at Marthasville is indicated by the fact that occasionally both university and Basel men completed their education at Marthasville.⁴⁴ Including students of this nature, Marthas-

weavers, locksmiths, and vintners, 3 each; tailors and waiters, 2 each; apprentice, baker, clerk, blacksmith, carpenter, factory employee, printer, saddler, student, and wagonmaker, 1 each.

⁴³ Included in this number are the so-called "theological candidates," 2 Catholic converts, and pedagogical students. Among the universities represented are those of Strassburg, Göttingen, Leipzig, Bonn, Breslau, Berlin, Halle, Erlangen, Tübingen, Zurich, Munich, Freising, Ratisbon, Jena and Bern. The pastors who attended the Basel U. are not included, since, it would seem, they belonged to the mission-house tradition.

⁴⁴ European theological candidates assigned to confessionalistic synods were frequently required to attend the respective theological schools in order to be duly indoctrinated prior to ordination. The Berlin Society objected to this procedure on the part of the Wisconsin Synod. Basel emissaries sometimes completed their education at Marthasville, more for the purpose of being thus inducted into American life than for the purpose of acquiring a particular theological point of view. During the K. period, 40 Basel men joined the Society;

ville, in the first sixteen years of its history (1850-1866), sent fifty-one men into the Evangelical ministry.

DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

The growth and expansion of the *Kirchenverein* in size and in numbers inevitably affected its organizational structure. The attempt to divide the Society into smaller units was occasioned by the desire to conserve certain spiritual values which were increasingly difficult to maintain in the larger body. Among the important features which had characterized the early meetings were devotional discussion of the pastoral letters,⁴⁵ a communion service, and the intimate exchange of personal experiences—an entire morning of the early conferences being devoted to the informal discussion of these and similar subjects. The daily private devotions during conference periods was also emphasized.

Meetings of the *Kirchenverein* had been held twice a year

from Barmen (Langenberg), 12; from Gossner, 1; from *Rauhes Haus*, 3; and from St. Chrischona, 7.

Although Wall did not establish official relations with the *Pilgermission von St. Chrischona*, near Basel, reference should be made to this institution, which was spiritually akin to Basel. Basel objected to the growing foreign-mission activities of St. Chrischona and urged that the main interests of this institution be confined to the training of *Lehrer* and *Diakonen* for home missions and the work in North America. Concerning the sometimes strained relations with Basel, see Johannes Kober, *Christian Friedrich Spittlers Leben* (Basel, 1887), 166 f., 244 f., 252 ff. Spittler was the founder and first *Inspektor* of St. Chrischona. Between 1840 and 1866 a total of 116 missionaries were sent to America, most of whom located in Texas, where, in 1851, the First German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Texas was organized by St. Chrischona men. At least seven K. pastors had been trained at St. Chrischona, four of these (Beck, Ankele, Fotsch, and Härdtle) having first been members of the Texas Synod, which joined the General Synod in 1853 and the Synod of Iowa in 1896. Two attended Marthasville. See Nos. 72, 75, 79, 87, 89, 144, and 156 in roster of K. pastors in Appendix III; M. Heinrich, *History of the First Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Texas* (Chicago, 1927), 2, 83; J. Mgebroff, *Geschichte der Ersten Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode in Texas* (Chicago, 1902), 346 ff. St. Chrischona men were also active in the early history of the Lutheran Synod of Minnesota, which, as member of the General Synod and of the General Council, was unionistically inclined until it joined the Synodical Conference in 1872. G. C. Haase and W. J. Schulze, *op. cit.*; C. H. Rappard, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre der Pilgermission auf St. Chrischona* (Basel, 1890).

⁴⁵ K. P., I, 18 June, 39, 45, 59, 62. The earliest "Vorträge," or what later came to be known as *Referate*, were of a devotional rather than theological nature. *Ibid.*, 37.

until 1846, when, because of the difficulty of procuring full attendance of the scattered membership, it would seem, annual meetings were authorized. Again the growing membership in 1851 led to the authorization of so-called *Spezialkonferenzen*—also referred to as District Conferences—whereby the more intimate gathering of smaller groups was made possible. The membership was divided into three districts: the first district consisting of the four pastors residing in Iowa and northern Illinois; the second, of the ten pastors in the southern part of Illinois and St. Louis County; and the third, of the fifteen members in the remainder of northern Missouri. These groups were referred to respectively as the Northern, the Southern Illinois, and the Missouri District Pastoral Conferences. Although the meetings of these conferences were not so well attended as anticipated, they mark the beginning of the division into district units. Thus the informal regional pastoral conference preceded the formal district organization.

The first district pastoral conferences convened in the fall of 1851. The largest, and the most important for years to come, embodied the ten pastors of the churches along the Missouri River, only three of whom were present at the first meeting at Second Creek. About the same time, the pastors of the Northern Pastoral Conference, consisting of Jung of Quincy, Illinois, Krönlein and Dresel of Iowa (Riess of Muscatine was absent), assembled at Burlington, Iowa.⁴⁶ A communication from President Wall constituted the basis for informal discussions of such subjects as the proposed union of the Evangelical Churches, the seminary, pastoral practices in administering the sacraments, and the need of a constitution for local churches.⁴⁷ No resolutions were passed. The most aggressive of these districts, as they now came to be called, was the one in Missouri, to which Binner,

⁴⁶ The Southern Illinois Conference failed to meet. The total attendance at the two meetings was only six. For organizational developments, see chart facing p. 394.

⁴⁷ "Auszug aus dem Bericht der nördlichen Pastoral Distrikts Konferenz," F., II (1851), 93. The conference at Second Creek was held in connection with the dedication of the church at that place. *Ibid.*, 92.

Baltzer, Birkner, and Rieger belonged, the second meeting of which, in the fall of 1852, was again held at Second Creek. This conference, attended by six pastors, formulated several recommendations which led the general conference of the following year to adopt a number of resolutions pertaining mainly to the relations of pastor to congregation, the completion of an abridged catechism for schools, and especially the introduction of a common order of worship.⁴⁸

The three conferences of 1853, led by Missouri, sponsored a number of measures which were adopted by the *Kirchenverein*. Chief among these were the request for the more rigid organization of local churches, the adoption of disciplinary measures in congregational affairs, greater guarantees of pastoral salaries, the founding of a pastors' widows' fund, the establishment of proper procedure in the case of questionable baptisms, and the reestablishment of the *Reiseprediger*⁴⁹—the latter item recommended by the Northern Conference. Thus the district conferences were beginning to function as committees whose resolutions were welcomed by the larger body.

The geographical expansion of the *Kirchenverein* toward the East and West necessitated more fundamental changes. The Northern District, by the year 1855, included churches in Wisconsin, whereas the eastern development had extended into Ohio. These developments led to the reorganization of the *Kirchenverein* into the following five districts:

First District—northern Illinois and Wisconsin;

Second District—central Illinois and Iowa;

Third District—central Missouri;

Fourth District—southern Missouri and southern Illinois;

Fifth District—Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky.⁵⁰

This, however, was destined to be but a temporary arrangement; for in the following year (1856) a threefold division was adopted which practically reconstituted the

⁴⁸ K. P. (1853), 7 f. "Districts-Pastoral-Conferenz," F., III (1852), 93. If the other conferences convened, they failed to report.

⁴⁹ K. P. (1854), 9. For report of the Missouri District Conference, see F., IV (1853), 83.

⁵⁰ K. P. (1855), 8.

three original pastoral conferences as "*Districts-Vereine*." Under this new plan the Northern District embodied the states of Iowa, Wisconsin, and the northern part of Illinois, including Warsaw—the erstwhile First and Second Districts; the Middle District embraced the state of Missouri and the southern part of Illinois—the previous Third and Fourth Districts; and the Eastern District included the new territories mainly in the states of Indiana, Kentucky, and Ohio. The *Kirchenverein* effected this division fully cognizant of the dangers and difficulties involved in the establishment of independent administrative bodies.⁵¹

The first duty of the districts thus provisionally organized was: to examine the administrative provisions of the new constitution about to be adopted. With the adoption of the new constitution in 1857 the tripartite division into districts was formally accomplished—an epochal step in the organizational history of the Society. Each of the new districts was organized on the pattern of the *Kirchenverein*, having its own staff of officers and operating under the statutes of the Society but with great freedom to administer local affairs. Examination and ordination of applicants for membership as well as the installation of pastors, acceptance of pastors and congregations into membership, care for vacant congregations, and "furtherance of missions" became the province of the respective districts. District conferences were required regularly to submit a copy of their proceedings and the annual statistical reports of the pastors to the secretary of the Society. The policy enunciated in the constitution of 1841 was still reflected in the provision that the inner and external affairs of local congregations did not concern the district, although the congregation could appeal to the district if it desired.⁵² The possibility of individualistic development thus assured, the respective districts began to assume specific characteristics. The Northern District, facing the frontier, consistently asserted its mission-

⁵¹ *Ibid.* (1856), 18 f.

⁵² See *Revidierte Statuten*, 1857. Disciplinary cases arising within the districts could be referred to the president of the Society, who had the right to suspend.

ary interests; the Eastern District in its older churching areas developed an ecclesiastical sense for the institutional; and the Middle District, as the heart of the *Kirchenverein*, spent its zeal in the furtherance of internal affairs.

The first district conferences were held in April and June, 1858. Fear and expectation greeted the new experiment as one awaited to see how the new order would affect the development of the *Kirchenverein* as a whole. The meeting of the Eastern District, held at Zion Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, was especially noteworthy, since it marked the acceptance of the six members and five congregations of the *Kirchenverein* of Ohio and the provisional acceptance of two other congregations into its membership. The total membership of this district rose to nineteen pastors and thirteen congregations.⁵³ At the first meeting of the Middle District, held at St. Peter's in St. Louis, thirteen new members, nine pastors and four seminary graduates, were accepted into membership.⁵⁴ The Northern District convened at Freeport, Illinois, in September.⁵⁵ Since the "*Districts-Vereine*" met annually, the "*Gesammt-Verein*" convened biennially *in pleno*, although the constitution of 1857 had stipulated that triennial meetings of the general conference would suffice. Thus in June, 1859, the first general conference of the Society, under the presidency of Wall, convened at St. John's Church, in Louisville, Kentucky, being attended by sixty pastors and delegates from twelve congregations.⁵⁶ The conference felt its new-found strength, and the plan of district-divisions was recognized as eminently successful—particularly since the attendance of all members at the general conferences made possible the continued

⁵³ "Bericht . . . ," F., IX (1858), 81 f.

⁵⁴ "Die Konferenz des mittleren Districts," *ibid.*, 97 f. The seminary graduates were first examined and ordained.

⁵⁵ It is significant that this frontier district, most of whose discussions concerned the home-missionary cause, should express concern over the need of maintaining close relations between the secretaries of the districts and the Society and between the districts and the educational institutions. "Bericht . . . ," *ibid.*, 156.

⁵⁶ Absent from this conference were seventeen pastors and ten delegates. Thirteen pastors and three churches were admitted to membership.

intimate fraternal relations which had marked previous meetings.

The most phenomenal development occurred in the Eastern District, which grew in strength through its absorption of the Synod of the East and of the *Kirchenverein* of Ohio. Bounded, in 1860, by Lake Erie on the north, the Ohio River on the south and with members residing in New York in the East and in Indiana in the West, its membership of thirty-seven pastors and fifteen congregations was greater than that of the entire *Kirchenverein* but six years before. This district also voiced the desire that the relations of districts to the mother body be more clearly defined. The question of "district rights" seems to have been involved.⁵⁷ Accordingly, a committee was appointed and instructed to prepare a draft for a new constitution to be presented to the conference of 1862. Thus another revision of the statutes was inaugurated, which finally resulted in establishing the synodical status of the *Kirchenverein*.

SYNODICAL STATUS

We have had occasion to point out how the little pastoral circle known as the *Kirchenverein* had steadily assumed more definite institutional forms. Breaking away from the ecclesiastical authoritarianism of the fatherland, the pioneer German churches in the West began to flourish in the democratic surroundings of their new habitat. As they became established in that habitat and developed an independent status, the fear of "synods"⁵⁸ became less pronounced. As

⁵⁷ E. D. P. (1860), 11, 13. The question of "district rights" was raised from another angle in the conference of the Eastern District in 1863. In unmistakable language President Steinert and Vice-president Will were severely taken to task for not being present and were vigorously reprimanded for this neglect of duty. *Ibid.* (1863), 11 f., 15. An entire page of the *Protokoll* is consumed with the discussion of this "injustice."

⁵⁸ The tyranny of the German system was apparent in the domination of the church by civil authorities. The social origin of the German Churches in America determined the development of the voluntary system with respect to the organization of local congregations as well as of the Church or synods at large. See Kraushaar, *op. cit.*

Throughout the development now to be described, the K., like all American Churches of the day, was a voluntary society. Indeed, the

local churches increasingly developed confidence in the Society and applied for membership, the pastoral character of the *Kirchenverein* disappeared; its very name was discarded, and there arose upon the foundations now firmly established the German Evangelical Synod of the West.

The term "synod" had acquired a meaning in America different from that associated with the German *Synode*. The German synod referred to an assembly of ecclesiastical representatives where the functions of the church were discussed and defined. In some German provinces the meetings were composed of pastors to the exclusion not only of the public but also of the lay officials. The liberal demagog opposed the tyranny of the German system with its consistories and was thoroughly incensed upon his arrival in America to discover, as he thought, that an ecclesiastical bureaucracy was here being harbored by church bodies which were called synods. The fear of such super-church organizations with powers to legislate over local congregations for the purpose of robbing them of their possessions and controlling their inner affairs led many liberal-minded churches to avoid any synodical affiliation. In deference to this wide-spread prejudice the founders of the *Kirchenverein*, as we have seen, refrained from the use of the term "synod" and sought to disarm all suspicion by explicitly guaranteeing the rights and preserving the autonomy of individual congregations.⁵⁹

use of this term as indicating the uniqueness of German Churches in America has a point only with reference to the state-church status which prevailed in Germany. Reu, *Die Eigenart d. am.-luth. Kirche u. Theologie*.

The presbyterial and synodical patterns were native to the Reformed Church in Germany as the episcopate was native to the Lutheran. With the rise of constitutional forms the German synod became a representative gathering of congregations. The consistory revolved about the bishop or regent of the land, independent of congregational connections. Some of the organizational problems of later days centered about the effort to combine the various forms.

⁵⁹ Note the careful phrasings in the constitutions of 1841 and 1843. The ministerial meetings held in connection with general conferences, but attended only by ordained members of the K., were often regarded as breeding places for synodical conspiracies. The F. posed the argument as follows: "*Meint ihr denn, die Prediger halten umsonst ihre geheimen Sitzungen bei den Conferenzen und führen umsonst geheime*

A number of circumstances, nevertheless, gradually led to a more rigorous, centralized organization. The constant hazard of churches' falling into the hands of impostors and sectarians was a plague to earnest souls, and, particularly after the establishment of the seminary at Marthasville, the *Kirchenverein* was repeatedly requested to provide reliable pastors. Indeed, the founding of Marthasville not only strengthened the corporate consciousness of the Society, but also raised its prestige among the congregations it sought to serve. The conclusion was apparent that a church body which sought to provide congregations with worthy and capable pastors and teachers and provided a hymnal, a book of worship, and a catechism for their use was entitled to support.

The question of effecting the synodical organization of congregations served by the *Kirchenverein* was first raised by President Wall in 1848,⁶⁰ when the revision of the constitution was being considered. The main proponent of such a procedure was Binner, who argued that only thereby could the scattered congregations be adequately protected and preserved. Although the time was not considered ripe for such a step, certain merits of Binner's contentions were recognized. Indeed, the constitution of 1848, which was formulated at a time when the corporate strength of the *Kirchenverein* was about to be tested in the building of the seminary, stipulated that congregations as such *could* be-

Bücher, von denen kein Mensch weiss, was drinnen steht? Wer weiss, ob sie es nicht unter sich ausmachen, wie sie es mit den Gemeinden anfangen wollen, um dieselben immer tiefer in ihre Netze zu vergarnen, ihnen auch den letzten Heller aus der Tasche zu spielen und sie in die Bande der Knechtschaft zu schlagen auf Kind und Kindeskind!" "Was es bei den Conferenzen unsers evangel. Kirchenvereins mit den sogenannten Ministerialsitzungen für eine Bewandtniss hat," F., XI (1860), 105.

When *Generalsuperintendent* Hoffmann in 1853 suggested that, in order to secure the support of the German Church, the professors at Marthasville be accredited by the German *Oberkirchenrat*, Wall expressed the fear that in such a case "*alle Blätter Lärmen gegen uns schlagen und uns verdächtigen würden, wir haben unsere Gemeinden verkauft und gingen damit um, sie unter das Pfaffen- und Monarchenjoch zurückzuführen.*" Wall's *Diary*, 46.

⁶⁰ K. W., June meeting of 1848.

come members of the Society. Thus the first major step toward synodical organization was cautiously taken.

The status of churches affiliated with the *Kirchenverein* and the benefits to accrue from such affiliation needed to be more precisely defined. A statement was accordingly formulated in which the mutual relations between the Society and congregations were described.⁶¹ It was stipulated, first of all, that, after a congregation had committed itself to the doctrinal position of the *Kirchenverein* and had formally been accepted into its membership, the constitution must be signed by a delegate duly accredited by the congregation. Delegates of congregations were entitled to participate in all business deliberations with the right to vote. Congregations thus affiliated with the Society would receive preferential consideration when applying for pastors. This did not commit them to any financial obligations, although voluntary contributions would gladly be received. The congregations assumed the obligation of accepting only pastors recommended by the Society, but retained the privilege at any time to acquaint the Society with whatever grievances might arise. It was to remain purely a congregational concern whether the advice or mediation of the Society should be requested in any matters other than those pertaining to spiritual life and faith. Coercion in every form was to be avoided—it was hoped, however, that members would abide by the principles which characterize every true Christian relationship. If at any time a church desired to sever its connections with the Society, a simple statement to this effect to the president would suffice.⁶²

This statement of principle patently was an invitation to congregations served by *Kirchenverein* pastors to effect a formal membership. That such affiliation did not ensue in most cases has already been noted. However, the growing

⁶¹ The committee which wrote the report included, in addition to the pastors Birkner and Weitbrecht, the layman Ernst Schoenemann of St. Paul's Church, St. Louis.

⁶² 1500 copies of this statement were printed. The document was printed again in 1857 with the revised statutes of that year. Here ordained pastors and congregations were admitted to full membership. Candidates and school-teachers were recognized as advisory members.

concern of the Society in the welfare of local congregations and the efforts to nurture their development stimulated the denominational consciousness and served to bring their affairs directly within the sphere of *Kirchenverein* interests.

This tendency toward ecclesiastical administration manifested itself particularly in the increasing number of complaints which occupied the attention of the Society. Accusations of various kinds, some being referred to the general conference from distant district conferences, began to distract the deliberations of the central body. Most of the cases, interestingly enough, were brought by congregations against their pastors⁶³ and were heard by a specially appointed investigation committee, which in turn reported to the Society. In later years the more grievous cases were considered in the closed ministerial sessions. It sometimes happened that pastors, for various reasons, were suspended from membership or reprimanded for unwise administration of congregational affairs. Indeed, the development of disciplinary functions led to the provision for ministerial sessions in the constitution in 1852, at which time the right of suspension was conferred upon the president. With the physical expansion of the Society new administrative and ecclesiastical responsibilities developed, so that finally, according to the essential nature of its organization and the character of its functions, it differed little from other bodies known as synods.

Thus it came about that, despite the not entirely dispelled

⁶³ The *Klagesachen* pertained to: (in 1857) Zion, Evansville, Ind.; St. John's, St. Louis, Mo.; Bethany, Big Berger, Mo.; St. John's, Des Moines Co., Ia.—and (in 1862) St. Paul's, Andrews, Ind.; St. Peter's, St. Louis; Zion, St. Louis County; Belleville, Ill.; and Massillon, O. Commenting on the rise of numerous cases of this kind, President Baltzer in his report in 1857 stated: “. . . *wiewohl einerseits ziemlich deutlich bei solchen Zerwürfnissen als bewegende Ursache die Widerspenstigkeit gegen das Wort hervortritt, so ist doch auch nicht zu verkennen, dass manche dieser Störungen bei weisem und besonnenem Verfahren der betreffenden Prediger vermieden oder wenigstens zu einem minder unerfreulichen Resultate geführt werden könnten. Namentlich sollten sich die Prediger wohl hüten, beim Ausschluss von Gliedern aus ihren Gemeinden irgendwie eigenmächtig und ohne Beirath und Beistimmung der Gemeinde selbst . . . zu verfahren . . .*” K. P. (1857), 22, 13; (1862), 13.

fears of the synodical specter, the *Kirchenverein* in 1866 became the *Deutsche Evangelische Synode des Westens*. The official adoption of the new name had been preceded by various cautious usages of the term. Not only had the conferences been referred to as "*Synoden*," but the very term *Kirchenverein* had from the beginning been interpreted as "synod" by friends⁶⁴ and foes alike. To help break down the prejudice which persisted against the name, particularly in lay circles, the *Friedensbote* dwelt at length on the subject and explained that, according to Scripture, synods were almost as old as Christianity and that, as the Church assumed empirical form, it became increasingly necessary to resort to organizational means and assemblies. Synods, then, are but "organizations whereby the individual church bodies achieve both an internal as well as external unity whereby the establishment, maintenance, expansion, and unification of true Christian faith and life are to be assured." Indeed, was it not to be assumed that the sense of common purpose among evangelical Christians was strong enough to find corporate expression?⁶⁵ The division into district conferences in 1858 had also marked a decisive step toward synodical organization. Even prior to this time the term "synodical" had been used to distinguish between the district organizations and that of the *Gesamtverein*—the latter being referred to as synod. By the year 1862, for all practical purposes and according to the phraseology of the official minutes, the *Kirchenverein* had become a synod.

The formal action required to effect the change was initiated by the Eastern District, which on previous occasions had manifested an interest in ecclesiastical organization. This district in 1862 called attention to the necessity of revising the constitution and of engaging a full-time president. The committee which had been instructed to consider

⁶⁴ This was particularly the case in official relations with other church bodies. Thus the instructions given to Wall on his trip to Germany in 1864 referred to the "*Wunsch unserer Synode*." Acta E. O. K., I, 216.

⁶⁵ "Wie Synoden in der Kirche Christi nothwendig sind," F., XVI (1865), 93. The Luth. had previously discussed the same subject in the article "Was ist eine Synode?" VIII (1852), 123.

these changes reported in 1864 that it did not feel competent to present definite recommendations. It was, therefore, not until two years later at the conference in Evansville, Indiana, that formal action was taken in the adoption of a new constitution,⁶⁶ which brought to a conclusion the history of the *Kirchenverein des Westens*.⁶⁷

What definitely established the new organizational status was the election of a full-time president. Professor Baltzer of Marthasville, who was elected to this newly created position, moved his office to St. Charles, Missouri, which, because of its central location and proximity to the seminary at Marthasville, was ideally situated to become the heart of synodical activities.⁶⁸ The presidency could not have fallen on more capable shoulders. Baltzer was a man of dynamic personality, who, gifted with great administrative talents, could now devote all his time to the furtherance of the Church which he had helped found.⁶⁹

Several other changes of 1866 indicate the new organizational status which was now established. Membership in the synod was restricted to pastors⁷⁰ and congregations, the latter being required to hold annual collections for the district treasuries. The general conferences, which up to this time had been attended by all members, were reconstituted

⁶⁶ Previous constitutions had been adopted in 1840-41, 1848, and 1857.

⁶⁷ It was here resolved: ". . . an die Stelle des unbestimmten und das Wesen und die Aufgabe unsers kirchlichen Körpers nicht richtig bezeichnenden Wortes 'Kirchenverein' den allgemein kirchlich anerkannten und entsprechenden Namen Synode zu setzen . . ." K. P. (1866), 9.

⁶⁸ A committee consisting of the erstwhile president, Steinert, the three district presidents, and the laymen H. Feldwisch of Cincinnati, O., and H. Buhrmann of Nashville, Ill., was instructed to draw up detailed instructions for the administration of this new office.

⁶⁹ H. Baltzer, *op. cit.*, 157-159.

⁷⁰ A discussion of secret societies at the conference of 1854 had led to a resolution that "no member of secret societies could be accepted into membership of the Society or remain as a member thereof." K. P., (1854), 17. This provision, which was embodied in the constitution of 1858, was reiterated in 1866. This action was in consonance with that of other church bodies of that period. The deistic spirit of secret societies and their affinity with the prevailing rationalistic views antagonized religious bodies.

as delegated meetings to which each district conference was authorized to elect one clerical and one lay representative for every six congregations. These delegates were to be provided with instructions from the district conferences. In the light of these fundamental changes we can see how the conference of 1866 marked an epoch in the history of the Society. The pastoral movement, which had sprung spontaneously from the response of consecrated men to the needs of destitute congregations surrounding them, now assumed all the aspects of a formal and closed organization.

The rise of the new institutionalism had not occurred without awakening misgivings in the minds of certain souls, who saw in such a development a secularization which threatened the spiritual genius of the Society. The spirit of Evangelical freedom seemed compromised by too many laws and organizational regulations. As early as 1863 a warning was sounded by the Northern District that "*Diplomaten- und Prediger-Conferenzen*" were not able to solve the world's problems, since the actual, bona-fide *General-Präses*—God—was not always present.⁷¹ The suspicion voiced against a super-synodical organization, which continued through the following decades and which did not hesitate to ascribe episcopal ambitions to the incumbent of the presidential office, was grounded in the free spirit which had prevailed in the *Kirchenverein* period.

Although the trend toward a fixed, centralized organization characterized the subsequent development, the moral and spiritual values of the *Kirchenverein* were too dynamic to be lost. Even when conditions demanded a more intensively centralized administration, the spirit of the *Kirchenverein* continued to counsel and guide later generations in the appreciation of the Evangelical heritage received from the fathers. The democratic spirit of subsequent years, the reluctance to abide by external forms, a freedom of action

⁷¹ "Etwas von der Conferenz des nördlichen Districts," F., XIV (1863), 156. Note also how J. B. Jud, *Das Regierungsprincip der Evangelischen Synode von Nordamerika* (Buffalo, 1892), 9 ff., from a later perspective, laments the surrender of the democratic principle of government.

which was interpreted as being an inherent part of so-called "congregational rights," have a lineage which, although not always properly traced, go back to *Kirchenverein* rootage.

PUBLICATIONS

The vital forces at play in the development of an institution are of such subtle nature that they oftentimes escape analysis. Next to the influence of living personalities, however, we may place that of the printed word, and it is in this connection that the publication enterprises of the *Kirchenverein* become significant.

It was a foregone conclusion that an active organization could not long expect to grow or flourish without an organ through which to express itself. There were few German religious periodicals in the West.⁷² The Eastern synods, Lutheran and Reformed, were amply supplied with English

⁷² An American correspondent of the B. A. K. XIV (1852), 86, estimated that about fourteen German evangelical papers were being printed in America. Chief among these were the *Lutherischer Kirchenbote*, Baltimore (General Synod); The *Lutheraner* ("das gut geschriebene, charakterfeste, bekenntnisstreue aber freilich auch ziemlich schroffe Organ der altlutherischen Missouri-synode"); *Kirchliches Informatorium* (published by the Grabau faction of Old Lutherans at Buffalo); *Lutherischer Herold* (New York); *Jugendfreund*; *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung* (distinguished by its "christlichen Geist, Anstand, Würde . . . wird aber an Reinheit und Gewandtheit des Styls von dem *Lutheraner* und *Friedensboten* übertroffen") *Christlicher Botschafter* (Nast); *Geschäftige Martha* (Otterbein); *Amerikanischer Botschafter*; and *Friedensbote*.

The post-office records of newspapers received at Femme Osage, Mo., from July 1 to Sept. 30, 1851, give an interesting cross-section view of the type of periodicals read in the *Kirchenverein* community of which this little village was the center. The *American Messenger* [*Amerikanischer Botschafter*] of New York led the list with 40 subscribers, followed by the *Messenger of Peace* [*Friedensbote*], 32; *Anzeiger des Westens*, St. Louis, 11; the *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, and the *Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, 4; *Metropolitan*, Jefferson City, Mo., *German Tribune*, St. Louis, and *Church Friend* [*Kirchenfreund*], Mercersburg, Pa., 3; *Chronotype*, St. Charles, Mo., *Western Journal*, St. Louis, *Jefferson's Inquirer*, Jefferson City, Mo., *Weekly Union* and *Christian Advocate*, St. Louis, 2; and single subscribers to *Herald Red Liberty*, *Western Watchman*, *Lutheraner*, *Counterfeit Detector*, and *Intelligencer*, St. Louis, *Missouri Telegraph*, Fulton, Mo., *Christian Advocate* and *Southern Ladies Companion*, Nashville, Tenn., *Godey's Book*, *American Journal*, *Graham's Magazine*, and *Medical News*, Philadelphia, *Missionary*, Pittsburgh, *Church Paper*, Chambersburg, *Youth's Friend*, Allentown, *Chr. Messenger*, New Berlin, Pa., *Shepherd's Voice*, Baltimore, Md., and *Lutheran Standard*, Columbus, Ohio.

and German papers, some of which, such as the *Christliche Zeitschrift* and the *Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, were being read by *Kirchenverein* pastors. The publication of the *Amerikanischer Botschafter*, which more adequately fulfilled the requirements, was warmly welcomed by the Society.⁷³

As far back as 1843 the need was voiced of providing the Evangelical Church of the West with a periodical of its own. Not trusting in its ability to establish such a paper, an appeal was directed to the Evangelical *Hilfsverein* of Basel with the hope that funds might be granted for the purchase of a printing-press.⁷⁴ For a time it seemed as though the *Theophilos*, published by M. Schaad of Zanesville, Ohio, would be adopted as the official organ.⁷⁵ In the meantime, however, other matters occupied the attention of the Society, so that the *Botschafter*, which was rapidly gaining subscribers, was again heartily recommended.

The subject again came to the attention of the Society in the June meeting of 1849, after several so-called "unscriptural" articles which dealt with the political situation in Germany had appeared in the *Botschafter*. The matter was thoroughly discussed, and it became clear that a periodical must be founded. When it was ascertained that an edition of 100 copies of a paper the size of the *Lutheraner* could be published for twenty-one dollars, other difficulties assumed minor proportions. Binner was immediately elected editor, to be assisted by Baltzer in technical matters, and

⁷³ "We acknowledge with heartfelt thanks to God all the blessings which have come to our people through the American Tract Society, particularly that in addition to the large number of books of edification and tracts, we are now permitted to enjoy a periodical published in the true Evangelical spirit." K. P., I, 54 (June, 1847). The association of Rauschenbusch and Garlichs with the paper helped establish the confidence of the Society.

Die Christliche Zeitschrift of the German Reformed Church became the *Reformirte Kirchenzeitung* in 1848 under the editorship of B. Schneck.

⁷⁴ This step was taken prior to the publication of the *Lutheraner*, which appeared in September, 1844. The first publication committee, authorized to investigate the publication question, consisted of Nollau, Riess, Rieger, and Wall.

⁷⁵ K. P., I, 30.

in January, 1850, the first issue appeared. On the title page stood the verse from Ephesians 4: 3, "*Seid fleissig zu halten die Einigkeit im Geist durch das Band des Friedens,*" which came to be adopted as the motto of the Church. The leading editorial in the first issue emphasized, in various tones, the keynote of *peace* and pleaded for an understanding of the peaceful mission of this new enterprise.⁷⁶

The *Friedensbote* and the seminary had been founded in the same year; together they had their origin and together they grew and flourished. The vital thread that bound them together was their common leadership; for the editor of the *Friedensbote* was also the president of the seminary. This was also true in the case of Irion, who was the successor of Binner and became editor in 1857. These close contacts naturally led to the establishment of the first publishing house at Marthasville.

For the first two and one-half years the *Friedensbote* was published in St. Louis,⁷⁷ where the business affairs lay in the hands of Wall. The seminary directorate, which was held responsible for its publication, recommended in 1851 that the Society purchase a press for the seminary, the first year's profit of \$64.90 evidently justifying this step. It will be recalled that it was about this time (August, 1852) that Bigelow donated the sum of five hundred dollars for the reduction of the seminary debt. Simultaneously with the announcement of this gift came the news that the seminary had its own press,⁷⁸ which together with the English and German type was valued at three hundred dollars—the gift of the same benefactor. To provide for adequate accommodations for the press, Bigelow had added a gift of five hun-

⁷⁶ "Ich komme zu dir im Namen des Königs, der da heisst Friedefürst und von dem seiner grössten Herolde einer, Doktor Luther gesagt hat, er sei der rechte Friederich, der uns mit F r i e d e r e i c h macht, und ein Friedefürst, der das feinste und sicherste Geleit hält wider Sünde, Tod und die Pforten der Höllen."

⁷⁷ The name of the St. Louis publisher, Moritz Niedner, is first given in the issue of January, 1852.

⁷⁸ *Supra*, p. 305. "Gelobt sei Jesus Christ," F., III (1852), 57. The first issue to be printed at Marthasville on the newly acquired Washington press appeared on July 1st, 1852.

dred dollars for the erection of a printing-shop. Work on the new building, the first floor of which was also to contain a dining-room for the seminary, was immediately begun and was completed the following August at a total cost of \$1,052. The printing-press was located on the second floor with quarters for the printer and his apprentice and several servants.⁷⁹

Thus the *Friedensbote* was finally established and, with its absorption of the *Missionsbote* of the Ohio *Kirchenverein* in 1852 and an ever increasing number of subscribers, its future was assured.⁸⁰ In 1858 it began to appear semi-monthly without any increase in its subscription rate of fifty cents per year. At this time the publication of tracts was discontinued as an unnecessary and unprofitable competition with the American Tract Society. Indeed the Marthasville press had by this time developed such a widespread publishing business⁸¹ that separate financial reports

⁷⁹ The first Marthasville printer, a man by the name of Becker, was engaged for \$250 a year with free wood and residence. For further details of building operations, see C. E. Schneider, *op. cit.*

⁸⁰ *Supra*, p. 393. The K. P. reported the number of subscribers for preceding years as follows: 1851, 1100; 1853, 1300; 1854, 1400; 1855, 1500; 1856, 1960; 1857, 2200; 1859, 2800; 1862, 3000 (decrease in net gain because of loss of 500 due to war); 1864, 3284; 1856, 3750; 1866, 4320.

⁸¹ The early publications, including the K. P. up to 1852, and some of the larger volumes of a later date, such as the *Agende* and the hymnal, were printed by private concerns. The main publications were:

1840—Statutes.

1845—Nollau's tract, *Ein Wort für die gute Sache der Union*.

1848—Catechism.

1849—Statement on status of congregations.

Catechism, second edition.

1850—*Friedensbote*.

1851—Catechism, third edition.

1852—*Dein Reich komme* (consisting of 81 mission hymns).

1853—*Dein Reich komme*, second edition.

1853-54—*Augustana*, Latin edition for the seminary.

1854-55—Constitutions for local congregations.

Spruchkästchen and Sunday-school Karten.

New edition of mission hymns.

Formulare für die Actus Ministeriales.

1855-56—*Was fehlt mir noch* (tract).

Kommunion-Büchlein.

First six chapters of St. John in Latin for use in the seminary.

Baptism and marriage certificates.

of the *Friedensbote* and of the publication treasuries were presented to the annual conferences. The profits of both enterprises reverted to the seminary.⁸²

Everywhere, except in confessionalistic Lutheran circles, the *Friedensbote* met with a warm welcome,⁸³ and its grow-

1855-56—Liturgical draft.

Sundry appeals.

1856-57—*Die Namen Jesu erklärt durch Bibelspruch und Liederverse* (tract).

Antonio Paleario, *Von der Wohltat Christi* (tract).

Synodaldpredigt von Baltzer (1 Thess. 2: 9-11).

Constitution of *Kirchenverein*.

Constitution of *Prediger-Wittwen-Kasse*.

Auszug aus dem Katechismus.

Grundlage einer allgemeinen Kirchenordnung.

With the establishment of its own printery, the K. desired to secure publication rights of its catechism and became involved in a long-drawn-out controversy, which was settled in 1857 in favor of Witter.

⁸² According to the incomplete financial records available, the following sums were remitted to the seminary:

	<i>Friedensbote</i> TREASURY	PUBLICATIONS
1855	\$110.44	\$20.51
1856	86.12	(94.92½ — deficit)
1857	251.08	46.51
1859	353.45	60.55
1862	400.00	
1864	527.87	
1866	643.51	

The publication treasury was established in 1864 and reported in 1866:

Value of stock.....	\$2530.26
To seminary debt.....	1000.00
To <i>Agendeschuld</i>	312.00
Value of plates.....	1530.00

\$5372.26

⁸³ The appearance of the F. was greeted with derision by the Luth., which stated that the very first issue, containing "*ein Köchervoll vergällter und vergifteter Pfeile*" which were directed against the Lutherans, belied its peaceful purpose. The intention of the F. never to attack or to respond to an attack was denounced as dishonorable and cowardly. "*Der Friedensbote*," Luth., VI (1850), 79. Soon thereafter a poem appeared entitled "*Der Friedensbote, Eine alte Fabel mit neuer Moral*," the first and last stanzas of which read as follows:

*Ein alter Haushahn hielt auf einer Scheune Wache;
Da kommt ein Fuchs mit schnellem Schritt
Und ruft: O kraeche, Freund, nun ich dich froehlich mache;
Ich bringe gute Zeitung mit.
Der Thiere Krieg hoert auf, man ist der Zwietracht muede,
In unserm Reich ist Ruh' und Friede.*

*Trau, Freund, dem Frieden nicht, den Fuechse dir verkuenden
Sie rufen: Friede! nur fuer ihren Bauch.
Was sie verheissen, ist hienieden nicht zu finden;
Drum kaempfe fort, das ist der Christen Amt und Brauch.*

ing list of subscribers testified to the manner in which it filled a need extending far beyond the confines of the *Kirchenverein*. That it had critics within its own family may be accepted as a matter of course,⁸⁴ nor were voices lacking which insisted that it abandon its peaceful spirit and engage in the controversial discussions of the day. Whatever its shortcomings may have been, it played a vital part in the growth and expansion of the *Kirchenverein* from within and without. It never lost sight of its decision to avoid theological controversy and found its chief joy in bringing spiritual nurture to heart and soul. Devotional discussions of Scriptural passages and of the catechism sought to awaken new interest in family devotions and religious education. News was brought from home- and foreign-mission fields, and hymns, sermons, poems, stories of current religious significance, and biographies of Christian men and women filled its pages.

In addition to these subjects of general religious interest, the *Friedensbote* immediately became the great integrating factor in the development of the religious ideals and ecclesiastical loyalties of the *Kirchenverein*. Every aspect of church life and every congregational interest in some way came under its surveillance. Accounts of mission festivals, the founding and dedication of new churches, and the reports of the district and general conferences and of the various activities of the Society and its organizations filled its columns and make it an indispensable source for the understanding of the religious life and ideals of the *Kirchenverein*. With little outward glamour it faithfully served its

⁸⁴ Note the humorously phrased report of the conference of the Middle District of 1860 which was introduced with the comment: "*Zugleich mit der Seminarsache kam auch der Friedensbote auf's Tapet. Dieser arme Tropf hat eigentlich immer den schlimmsten Stand, wie alle Blätter mit mir bezeugen werden, die für jedes Wörtchen nicht nur einer ganzen Synode, sondern auch noch vielen andern Menschenkindern in aller Form Rechnung stehen müssen. Der Eine wünscht, der Friedensbote soll sich in den Strudel der konfessionellen Streitigkeiten hinein werfen Ein Anderer wünscht mehr merkwürdige und interessante Geschichten Ein Dritter tadelt die scharfe Sprache, ein Vierter die Wahl der Gegenstände, die das Blatt bespricht.*" "Etwas aus den Verhandlungen des mittleren Districts" F., XI (1860), 100.

twofold purpose of strengthening the Evangelical consciousness within the Society and of securing its prestige abroad. As the geographical expansion carried pastors to new fields and as strange elements needed to be assimilated, this paper more than any other single factor became at once the defender and the interpreter of the cause which it espoused.

The six pastors who met in the log-cabin parsonage at Gravois Settlement, Missouri, on October 15, 1840, had no intention of founding a new denomination. In order better to fulfill the mission which had brought them into the West, they met to counsel each other concerning the problems and questions which were common to them all. After twenty-five years this little pastoral group had increased to a total of 122 pastors serving as many main congregations scattered through the nine states of Missouri (33), Indiana (26), Illinois (22), Ohio (17), Iowa (9), Wisconsin (8), Kentucky (4), New York (2), and Minnesota (1). In the course of these years a total of 156 pastors had joined the Society. The records of this period contain the names of not fewer than 207 communities where congregations at one time or other were served by *Kirchenverein* pastors. At the close of the period 68 of these had affiliated with the Society.⁸⁵

The function of the *Kirchenverein* as a frontier Church becomes more significant as we note how the internal developments accompanied the physical growth. Not a spectacular physical expansion, but a steady and consistent development in various fields of religious and ecclesiastical life indicates how an immigrant Church was adapting itself to the physical and religious atmosphere of the new environment. According to the needs of the time, new functions were nurtured and old ones laid aside. Finally the swaddling-clothes were discarded, and, rebaptized under the ecclesiastically more dignified name of the Evangelical Synod of the West, the *Kirchenverein* entered upon a new period of growth and development. Thus the Evangelical Synod

⁸⁵ See Appendices X and XI and map in back of book.

assumed new tasks, which oftentimes were not met in the spirit characteristic of its early days. And yet, however new the task or unaccustomed the way, subsequent years witnessed the rise of no problems which could not have been better solved if the spiritual ideals of the fathers had more purely been maintained.

CHAPTER XIV
THE AMERICANIZATION OF THE
GERMAN CHURCH

The Christian religion has always functioned as an immigrant Church crossing new frontiers. The history of Christianity is largely the story of its advance into unoccupied areas, where it assumed new forms according to the needs it was called upon to meet. In the course of its westward expansion the time came when it crossed the Atlantic and became established in the New World. Under the pressure of various forces in the seventeenth century, Lutheran and Reformed groups emigrated from their German homes to find refuge in the land of their adoption and eventually became accommodated to American life. A similar situation arose in the nineteenth century, when another wave of German emigrants arrived in America to perpetuate the religious traditions of the Continent. By hundreds of thousands Germans of most diverse background—social, political, educational, philosophical, theological, spiritual—poured into the Far West, where they stimulated the rise of new ecclesiastical and religious forms.

The story of the religious developments among these new European groups does not, as we have indicated, revolve solely about the *Kirchenverein des Westens*. It might equally have been fitted into the frame of almost any of the German denominations arising in the West during the early part of the nineteenth century. From whatever other perspective this study might have been undertaken, however, the essential picture of German religious and ecclesiastical conditions prevailing in the West at this time remains unchanged. This we hold to be true, although the distinctively liberal temper of the *Kirchenverein*, it might be urged, was not characteristic of all, or even of most, German groups espousing the Christian cause in the West at this time. Confronted by certain constant spiritual needs, German Churches in the West were all subjected to a test of function in which in-

herited traditions underwent vital modifications. Differences in perspective, therefore, should not, essentially affect the conclusions which now suggest themselves concerning the establishment of the German Church on the American frontier.¹

It might appear to the casual observer that the founding of immigrant Churches in America represented a direct transplantation of a foreign culture to the New World, where it continued to perpetuate its old ideals. This, as we have seen in the case of the *Kirchenverein*, was far from being the case. On the contrary, the history of this religious community illustrates in a specific way how the religious development among the German immigrants of the nineteenth century was affected by European influences, how fiery convictions and burning loyalties were tempered by the frontier environment, and how, from the interplay of diverse forces, a new religious type evolved.

I.

The early days of the *Kirchenverein* were characterized by the retention of certain European patterns without which no point of contact could have been established with the constituency it served. In the confused frontier conditions of an unknown land, the sense of affinity with the mother Church in Germany lent an indispensable element of stability. What at that time was a blessing, later proved to be a handicap; for certain attitudes and practices of the early period were difficult for a later generation to abandon. Old World customs and traditions of vital significance to the fathers were all too frequently adopted by subsequent generations with little appreciation for their original meaning.

At the time, however, conformity to German patterns was necessary in order for the new Church to function. A replica of German civilization was thus established in the West. An odd mixture of pietists and rationalists, Lutherans, Reformed, and Evangelicals, political refugees and intellectual liberals, gentlemen of leisure and hard-working peasants,

¹ This chapter is much indebted to H. Niebuhr, *Social Origins of Denominationalism* (New York, 1929).

persons of nobility and social outcasts had congregated in the West, bringing with them their political problems, theological controversies, religious and ecclesiastical prejudices, cultural and social traditions, and all the other *Weltanschauungsprobleme* to which the German is habitually heir. If the Christian religion was to function in its new environment, these specifically German factors must be taken into account. That the *Kirchenverein* was able to meet all these needs is not maintained. Indeed, more failures than successes marked some of its efforts.

It was unable to impress the hardened rationalists or warm the sympathies of the educated and cultured groups. In an irenic mood it met the opposition with patient silence, avoided the opprobrious title of "synod," and espoused the old-time religion of the fatherland with tempered zeal.

Since the early pastors were largely products of the pious mission houses of Basel and Barmen, where the unionistic spirit of the Evangelical Church of Prussia prevailed, it was natural that their interests and ministrations would first be directed to the members of the Evangelical Church whom they found in the West. All too frequently pastors restricted their labors to their own congregations, beyond which they were not able to make their influence felt. Under such conditions they readily confined themselves to the German language and sought to retain the practices and procedures with which their congregations were acquainted.

The factor of geographical seclusion also encouraged the retention of inherited forms and retarded the immediate adoption of American patterns—all of which was favorable to the growth of the tender plant in its new habitat. Situated apart from the main stream of American culture with its established traditions and separated from the German Churches of the East, which by this time had become Americanized in various ways, this new body of Germans, fresh from Europe, easily retained its native customs and traditions in the isolation of the Western country. Indeed, so distinct was the Western German from his elder brother in the East that each abided by his own peculiar characteris-

tics. Again, however, what at the time favored the establishment of the young Church in the West, in later years impaired its function within the widening American field.

The religious motive which inspired *Kirchenverein* pastors in their labors and constantly whetted their zeal was the ambition to save souls. They were, with some exceptions, the spiritual sons of Continental missionary societies, the Pietistic traditions of which were sometimes upheld to the point of disesteem for the liberal arts so ardently espoused by rationalistic contemporaries. They inspired the new church with religious zeal but did not endow the movement with intellectual prestige.

Fortune played into the hands of this little group, therefore, when a number of university graduates arrived who, far from rejecting the Pietistic tradition, undergirded it with intellectual leadership. Although these two groups never clashed on vital issues so as to divide the Society into an "old" and "new school," they constantly represented two distinct cultural and religious points of view. The origin of many conflicts of later years may be traced to these diverging interests.

Thus a German Church was established in the West which in its subsequent development at times remained all too loyal to European precedents. And yet, if the *Kirchenverein* was vitally to function in its new habitat, it needed to accommodate itself to the specific conditions which there prevailed. And this, as we have seen, is what occurred.

II.

The desire to conform to the German traditions of the homeland was complemented by a trend toward independence. In the first place, we note a tendency found in all newly founded religious communities of this kind. The religious devotion which characterizes the first generation of immigrants is not always sustained by their children, who may view with indifference customs and practices of sacred significance to their elders. So it was with the *Kirchenverein*. What began as an informal movement, declined toward ritualism and formalism. With the growing sense

of strength and power institutional interests arose. Gradually the little pastoral conference of the first decade outgrew its early ideals and, striving for close-knit unity in worship and organization, assumed a formal, denominational stature. Spiritual spontaneity was supplanted by studied effort.

The need of independent action and initiative in a land where support from the state was not available hastened this process. As the burden for the support of educational institutions and for the publication of the church paper, hymnal, catechism, and book of worship fell on the Society at large, the sense of corporate responsibility was aroused, not only for the religious ends to be achieved, but also for the unmitigated material obligations which must be met. How else could this challenge be met but by concentrated effort, and how could such effort be assured except through officially designated channels and administrative efficiency!

The adaptation of the *Kirchenverein* to American conditions was further hastened by the physical conditions prevailing in the West. Geographical factors led to differentiations and the rise of new characteristics. In a land of few churches scattered through wide areas, and of wide-spread spiritual destitution at every hand, the German custom of the settled pastorate frequently proved inadequate. New methods were needed, and the German saddle-bag preacher arrived on the scene, distributing tracts and religious literature after the manner of his more experienced American brother. Although circuits in the American sense were rarely established, a practice more in consonance with German precedents arose when from some central location a pastor served a number of smaller churches in his neighborhood.

Worship and preaching and educational methods were likewise modified to meet the needs of the West. Although here as everywhere German patterns hovered in the background, new forms unmistakably betrayed the moulding power of the new environment. The peculiar social problems of the frontier called for moral courage and certain disciplinary procedures which no German precedent could

have suggested. A widening social vision also became apparent in the preaching of the day, which sought not placidly to edify Christian congregations, but to convict of sin, to win men to the church, and to lead them to active acceptance of the Christian life. The quietistic, contemplative mood under the agitating influence of the frontier was stirred to aggressive action.

Such an emphasis was in spiritual consonance with the attitude of Eastern Christians, notably those of the American Home Missionary Society, who appreciably assisted in the Americanization of the *Kirchenverein*. Financial dependence of many German churches in the West upon assistance from friends in the East served to acquaint the German pioneers with the spirit of American Christianity. Discovering a spiritual affinity between the rigors of American Puritanism and the ascetic ideals of German Pietism, *Kirchenverein* pastors easily followed the customs and practices prevailing in Presbyterian and Congregational churches. We may, in this way, account for the evangelistic methods adopted by some pastors and the insistence on regeneration as a condition for membership. The use of English forms in official documents indicates a similar trend.

German immigrant Churches in America during the first half of the nineteenth century were thus confronted by the twofold task of emancipating themselves from the ties which bound them to the fatherland and of establishing themselves in the new environment. The various modifications which occurred were at every point sociologically conditioned. This does not mean that the sense of religious function was lost. Rather, as the specific needs which called these Churches into existence disappeared, not only the impetus of organization, but also the growing sense of spiritual purpose continually created new fields of service on the American scene.

III.

Certain questions may still be raised, however, concerning the process whereby German elements were assimilated into a new German-American type. Although the final socio-historical task of synthesis and interpretation may require

a factual perspective which is still lacking, a number of questions are being asked with respect to the sociological process which was involved. In the transfer of cultural and religious heritages from the Old to the New World, so it is maintained, old folk patterns were lost and fundamental racial values were compromised by sociological conditioning.² According to this view, German immigrants could never have "remained too loyal to European precedents," and the adaptation of German Churches to American ways, referred to above, is decried as a deterioration of type. The normal and wholesome development of immigrant groups is rather to be sought in the rejection of foreign elements and the maintenance of racial integrity. Indeed, it is sometimes maintained that, because the German immigrant did not remain true to his racial genius, he was unable to make a positive contribution to the country of his adoption.

These contentions play directly upon the question of the socio-religious adaptation of nineteenth-century immigrant groups to their American environment. What are the relative values of race and environment in the religious transfers from the Old to the New World? Is the maintenance of racial and folk integrity or the functional adjustment to the new environment of greater significance for the religious development of foreign groups on American soil?

The national and racial argument is not entirely unique to our day; for certain German missionary leaders of the nineteenth century invoked its sanction in their pleas for the spiritual care of German emigrants to America—pleas which unconsciously, perhaps, but nevertheless very tangibly, reflect the political ideology of the day. We need to remember that the pre-Colonial as well as the pre-Civil-War emigrations occurred before the German Empire had been founded. The German emigrant of the early nineteenth cen-

² Note, for instance, the thesis advanced by Heinz Kloss, *op. cit.*, that the German element in the United States constitutes an incompleting folk unit (*Unvollendete Volksgruppe*), the development of which into some socio-cultural entity is yet to be attained. Various other German studies indicate a similar analysis of German developments in the United States.

tury, therefore, had no consuming sense of national or folk loyalty.³ And yet the ideology of the national awakening of those years permeated the thinking of the religious leaders to such an extent that the racial argument was also enlisted in the cause of German missions in America. More than a hundred years ago Löhe voiced his conviction that the retention of German *mores*, especially the continued use of the German language, was essential to the normal development of his work among the German emigrants to America.⁴ The elaborate home-mission work inaugurated by Wichern crystallized about the concept of the German *Volk*, of which the German emigrants in foreign America were an intrinsic part.⁵ The general feeling prevailed that the factors of race, folk, and nation were normative for the vital, spiritual development of the Germans in America.

And yet, in spite of these emphases, the history of German immigration is the story of its Americanization. Our main interest in this subject, however, does not lie in the socio-political issues which are involved in the broader aspects of this question.⁶ We are here concerned with the religious

³ Observers commented on the fact that the German emigrants no sooner boarded their ships than they sang songs "for America and against Germany." See letter of "Bruder Hunsche" in F. B., II (1845), 99.

⁴ See *supra*, p. 420. Similar statements of Löhe are being widely quoted in German circles today.

⁵ Note how a certain Pastor Orth of Berlin, at the Berlin Church Diet of 1853, replied to Wichern's racial appeal for the care of the Germans in the *Diaspora*: "Aber, lieben Brüder, es ist doch nothwendig in dieser Sache zu unterscheiden. Ein Anderes ist es—das deutsche Blut, und ein Anderes ist es—die deutsche Nation. Das deutsche Blut ist nichts Werth, wie alles Fleisch. Das deutsche Blut ist zu einer Nation erst dadurch geworden, dass, wenn es erlaubt ist so zu reden, der Vater vom Himmel durch seinen Sohn Jesus Christus den heiligen Geist dem deutschen Blute beigemischt hat. . . . Für das deutsche Blut in der Fremde thue ich gar Nichts, aber wenn es sich um das deutsch-evangelische Bekenntniss in der Fremde handelt, so sorgen wir dafür, indem wir dies Wort dort predigen lassen. . . ." *Verhandlungen*, 177.

⁶ Why were German immigrants never able to maintain their cultural integrity in America as successfully as in other lands? Why, for instance, is the German in Russia and in Czechoslovakia referred to as the Russian- and Sudeten-German, whereas the German in America is known as the German-American? S. Scharfe, *Deutschamerikanertum* (Marburg, 1927), 4. How may we account for the failure

issue which is raised by the question of whether the adaptation of the German immigrant to the foreign environment embodies serious spiritual losses. Did the Americanization of the German imperil his spiritual and religious well-being? Or would a more stubborn resistance to American influences and a more loyal maintenance of racial ideals have helped the consummation of his religious development? Or can the factors of race and folk ever be urged as finally normative in the appraisal of religious values?⁷

We grant the thesis that religion unfolds itself within the warp and woof of given socio-historical situations. The trellis on which our religious life rises is not a product of our own making. Children of earth, we are dependent on the traditions and the religious patterns which we have inherited from the past. On these premises a proud and virile nation may be tempted to seek its salvation within the matrix of its own race and blood. It is fundamentally impossible, however, organically to subject the Christian religion to these criteria; for the validity of the accommodation process must here be determined with reference to the

of German groups to assert themselves on American soil? Matching the factor of race with that of environment, the former was clearly overwhelmed by the latter. Erhorn blandly states that the early German immigrant groups failed to "oppose the factors leading to their assimilation and were led to participate in American politics of a decidedly Anglo-Saxon nature" *Op. cit.*, 9, 11. Among these factors were: the scattered nature of most of the migrations and the lack of leadership in critical formative periods. The necessity of laboring side by side with the American in the common conquest of the frontier helped him to become a native of the soil. German perspectives were more easily retained in cases of group migrations and where European leadership continued to assert itself.

Today, when Germany is being confronted by the fact that one of every three Germans lives outside the *Reich*, the question is being raised anew as to whether all persons of German descent in America are still German. Thus it is maintained that as a father may proudly refer to his child who has left his home to achieve glory and renown elsewhere as "my son," without asserting any rights over his person, so Germany may today look upon America as her own. See Colin Ross, *Unser America* (Leipzig, 1936), 301.

⁷ Notwithstanding the bona fide arguments which support the vital relation between language and religion, it is disconcerting to note how, with the political ascendance of Germany after 1870, new zest was given to the argument that with the adoption of the American language the indigenous spiritual genius of the German people would be destroyed.

spiritual values which are at stake. The consummation of the eternal destiny of an individual is of greater moment than the maintenance of his racial integrity.

Granting that the German immigrants in the West in many instances lost the sense of group consciousness and of cohesion to the fatherland, it hardly follows that their religious or ecclesiastical accommodations to American conditions constituted them a spiritually lost group. Indeed, it may well be questioned whether any vital religious values are intrinsically involved either in Germanization or in Americanization. The term "Americanization" in this connection is used to indicate the functional adjustment of a foreign group to certain conditioning factors of the American environment looking toward the better fulfilment of given spiritual ends. A vitally religious adjustment and accommodation to the prevailing American *mores* is testimony, therefore, to the functional vigor, not of a national or secular institution, but of a higher, spiritual community. Any preconceived committal, for example, to the perpetual use of the German language or to German forms and German methods would condemn the Church of God as an earthly institution. Americanization as a process of adapting spiritual life to socio-historical conditions is at once the challenge and the method for the vital functioning of any spiritual community which would strike roots on American soil.

By virtue of its inherent genius the Christian religion transcends its historical setting by an inner dynamic which does not always lend itself to logical analysis. Whereas the exponent of folk integrity laments the fact that a normal sociological development has been disturbed, the adaptationist points out that in the hard-fought process of social interaction and cultural diffusion the German frontier Churches have progressed in various ways toward the completion of their spiritual calling. Indeed, just this consummation did not occur amongst certain liberal German groups of the day, which, bent on retaining the marks of German culture, finally became oblivious of all religious appeals. Religious

progress does not necessarily lie in the retention of inherited forms or in the further Germanization of cultural or religious values, but in the increasing ability to transcend the broken historical forms in which eternal truths have been unfitly cast. Ties of race and connection with a given folk belong to the inescapable historical situations, within which limitations, all biological theories to the contrary, children of earthly parents must realize their higher calling as sons of an eternal God.

The story of the rise of the German Church on the American frontier is therefore presented as a study of how historical continuity is preserved in the religio-cultural developments of immigrant Churches. Folk and racial factors are important as elements in the process, but not as divinely instituted "things in themselves" which in their own right predetermine the development. The sociological pressures emanating from the frontier sufficiently account for the modifications of inherent urges inherited from the fatherland; for the Far West in this sense was not only an American frontier where cultural transfers from East to West were taking place, but also a European frontier where two worlds were measuring strength. In the midst of these conflicting forces the various German immigrant Churches in the West sought to preserve their traditional heritage, only to find that greater range of development was possible when roots were struck in American soil, whence the vital nourishment and the sufficient energy to maintain their functions were more immediately and adequately derived.

APPENDICES

I. MISSIONARY REPORT OF EZRA KELLER

(From *Minutes of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania, 1837*)

After describing his experiences in Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, Keller continued his report as follows:

The first settlement of Lutherans I found in Illinois, is seven miles north of Peoria, on Farm Creek. In this neighborhood there are about sixty families of European Germans, twelve of whom are Lutherans and the rest Mennonites. These people were visited by Revd. Mr. Heyer, in the Spring of 1836. I continued with them five days, visited most of the families, preached twice, confirmed one, administered the Lords supper to twenty-nine and baptized four infants. These people were hungry for the bread of life and it was pleasant to break it unto them. On both days the Lord was evidently with us and blessed his ordinances and the preaching of his word to those that enjoyed them. These people formerly met on the Sabbath for divine worship; but this excellent practice they have relinquished. They wish their thanks to be given to the Synod, for the kindness which has been manifested in ministering their spiritual wants, and they earnestly petition for more ministerial aid.

From this I went fourteen miles farther north, where I found about fifteen members of our church on Blue creek, some Europeans and Virginians. With these people I remained two days, preached twice in a cabin, administered the Lords supper to eleven persons, and baptized three infants. This settlement had never before been visited by a German minister.

While here, I heard of more members of our church. Black Partridge, Henepin and Attawa, are said to be settlements of Lutherans; and at the latter place I was credibly informed there are upwards of a hundred members. These people are very anxious to have a minister. I would have visited them had it not been so late in the season. But the weather and roads were such at this time that it would have been dangerous for a stranger to attempt the journey. I therefore resolved to go south and first visited Peoria, a flourishing town, situated at the mouth of a lake of the same name. In this place I found about twenty communicant members of our church, who had never been visited by a Missionary. I continued among them one week; preached five times and baptized two infants. If a Minister would locate in this place he could preach for the settlements above mentioned, and thus would have a large field of labour and of usefulness. Into this part of the state many Germans will yet emigrate, and therefore it is important that these people should be attended to.

From this place I travelled twenty miles south-east and reached a German settlement on the Mackinaw river, eight miles from Pekin. I arrived here about the 20th of December. The weather became suddenly so excessive cold, that I had to continue two weeks in this neighborhood. During this time I found fourteen members, all Europeans. I preached for them five times, baptized six infants and administered the Lords supper to nine persons. These people greatly need the constant preaching of the Gospel, for the majority are very indifferent about their Salvation.

I next visited Beardstown, on the Illinois river. It was now the 7th of January. In this place and its neighborhood there are about two hundred and fifty Germans, mostly protestants. Here I unexpectedly met the Revd. W. Bolenius from West Pennsylvania, who came to this place last July and has organized two congregations to which he now attends. Wickedness abounds here to an alarming extent. The Sabbath I was there, four hundred hogs were slaughtered and this I have been told is of frequent occurrence. I hope and pray our dear brethren will do all they can to save these people from their immorality and wickedness. I continued here but two days and preached twice.

I now left the Illinois river and visited Quincy on the Mississippi.— This town and its vicinity have about sixty families of European Germans, mostly protestants. They are like many others in the west entirely destitute of Gospel ordinances, though they are a people who rightly appreciate and value the privileges of religion and greatly desire the stated means of grace. They were much deceived last summer by a certain Mr. Hohnholtz, who came among them in the garb of a Lutheran Minister. They received him with open arms, supposing him to be what he professed. But it was soon discovered that he was a notorious drunkard and liar, and by his wicked deeds he brought himself into prison. He is still strolling through the west, a deceiver of the people. With the people of Quincy I spent ten days, visited most families, preached six times, delivered a lecture on temperance, and baptized four infants.

From Quincy I went to Alton, having been previously informed that some Germans resided there. On my way to this place, I found five or six families of European Germans living in the vicinity of Atlas, on Snycarte river, Pike County. I did not stop to preach for these people, as I resolved to return; but circumstances have frustrated my design.

At Palmyra, in Missouri, there are eight or ten families of European Germans. I had the great pleasure of finding the Revd. N. Rieger, at Alton. This gentleman came last summer from the Basle Missionary Institute for the purpose of labouring among his countrymen in the Valley of the Mississippi. He has spent the winter in this place, where are about sixty Germans most of them unmarried and not permanent residents. He intends to enter into another field in the spring. He seems to be a man of the right spirit, having a love for souls, and willing to labour for their salvation.

In St. Clair county there are more Germans than in any other one in the west. I did not however visit these settlements; and the reason was, because the report which your former Missionary [Haverstick] gave of their disposition and character so displeased many of them, that a Missionary in the service of your Synod would scarcely find a reception among them, and much less be beneficial to them. This they have avowed in the public prints. Mr. Rees from Basle is located in this country and is doing much good.

The next place I visited was St. Louis. Here I became acquainted with the Revd. G. W. Wall, who came from Basle in company with Revd. Mr. Rieger. The congregation at St. Louis has no pastor at this time, Mr. Wall preaching only as a supply. But I suppose he will soon be elected and become their regular minister. This congregation is large, there being about 400 communion members. For some time past they have worshipped in the Methodist Episcopal Church and are doing so yet; but they intend to build a house for themselves next summer. Recently a Sabbath-School has been organized in the

Presbyterian Church for the benefit of the Germans. It already numbers 125 Scholars. Here they are taught the English language and also made acquainted with the Gospel. Children and adults attend.

From St. Louis, I had purposed going to St. Charles and then up the Missouri as far as Boonsville; but I was informed that Messrs. Heyer and Niece, who were sent into this country by the Bannen Missionary Society of Germany, were now labouring in St. Charles and the surrounding country. I was also credibly informed that the Revd. Mr. Garlich was actively engaged in a German settlement at Pinkney and Marthasville and therefore did not deem it necessary for me to visit that part of the state. The Revd. Mr. Picker is located in a German settlement on Apple Creek and I hope is doing good. At St. Louis I met with Revd. Mr. Posthauer a licenciate of your body, who was on his way to Jonesboro in Union County. Thus all the German Settlements, in this section of Country, of which I had any certain information, being supplied, I found I could now close my tour without liability of censure. I was anxious to close at this point for two reasons; 1. I was by this time completely worn out by the various hardships of my journey; 2. I had determined to return to the west and make it my future field of labour. In this however, I have been disappointed. I reached my home about the 1st of March, after having been engaged six Months in your service.

The following statements are a summary of my Mission: I travelled at a moderate computation, three thousand miles—preached eighty Sermons and lectured frequently—baptized twenty-four—confirmed one—administered the Lords supper to thirty Communicants—collected for Missionary purposes \$38.56.

The results of this mission, which cost me so much toil and anxiety of mind, eternity alone can fully unfold. My earnest prayer has always been that my labours may be useful to those, to whom I was sent to minister.

I would now in conclusion beg leave to suggest to your body, not to assign to your future missionary so large a field of labour. The people in the west have been imposed upon by unworthy men. This has made them suspicious of strangers and every man who comes among them, however good his credentials, must remain sometime before he can secure their confidence. A man who has three states to traverse cannot stay long in one place. He cannot become acquainted with the character and wants of the people and though he may preach the truth faithfully, the impression seems evanescent.

I would also recommend that your next missionary be instructed to pay particular attention to the State of Missouri; for it is highly probable, that within its bounds there are many Germans who have never been visited.

May the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls abundantly bless and prosper you in this great and important enterprise, is the prayer of your humble servant.

EZRA KELLER

May 24th, 1837

II. PART OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE "PRO-
TESTANTISCH-EVANGELISCH-CHRISTLICHE
GEMEINDE" OF CINCINNATI, OHIO, 1834

WITH INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS OF PASTOR BÜTTNER

(Reprinted from Büttner, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*, I, 129 ff. Translated by R. H. Pantermuehl)

THE GERMAN CONGREGATION IN CINCINNATI

THE CONGREGATION OF PASTOR RASCHIG

Mr. Raschig, son of an eminent preacher of Saxony, received his first instruction in his parental home, continued his education by attending the *Gymnasium* at Meissen, and came to America for his theological training at the seminary of the High German Reformed Church. He distinguished himself as an able scholar and, after being ordained as a circuit preacher in 1834, was sent by the commissioning committee of Easton, Pennsylvania, to Cincinnati for the purpose of founding a German Reformed church. His sermons were well received, a goodly number of Germans gathered themselves around him and soon were ready to elect him as their pastor. Since the majority of these were Evangelical [*Unierte*] as compared with very few Reformed, and since all desired to be united on a Christian basis, a constitution was drawn up and the newly founded church was given the name Protestant-Evangelical-Christian Church. I herewith list some of the articles of union:

1. Resolved, that we are not seeking a union of Lutherans and Reformed under a common name in order thereby to establish something new or in order to effect changes in our confessions of faith.
2. Resolved, that we do not recognize any need or occasion to effect changes in such matters.
3. Resolved, that this union proceed from the conviction that both confessions do not essentially differ in their articles of faith.
4. Resolved, that we especially desire this union since the majority of the members of this church enjoyed the benefits of the Union in Germany.
5. Since this circumstance was ever an obstacle to joining one or the other (Lutheran or Reformed) party;
6. Since without such a union dissensions easily, indeed inevitably, arise in our families;
7. Since we are convinced and know that many of our countrymen would gladly join us as soon as these divisive obstacles are removed;
8. Since the welfare and the further progress of our congregation is inseparably dependent on a union:
9. Resolved, that from this day on all use of the terms "Reformed" and "Lutheran" in our congregation cease.
10. Resolved, that, in order to further a true Christian spirit among us and in order to maintain peace and harmony, we unite in the same way as did the Lutherans and Reformed in Germany under the name Protestant Evangelical Church.
11. Resolved, that without any changes we retain all church usages in vogue among us and only with respect to the Lord's Supper

12. Request our minister to observe the sacrament in the same manner as is customary in the Evangelical churches in Germany.
13. Resolved, that the choice of a suitable catechism for confirmation instruction be left to the discretion of our minister.
14. Resolved, that, as long as no union of both confessions exists in America, the worthy synod of the High German Reformed Church of North America be asked to receive us into membership.

III. ROSTER OF KIRCHENVEREIN PASTORS

The following information is derived mainly from obituaries in the *Friedensbote* and from Basel records. The names are listed according to their first appearance in the official records of the *Kirchenverein*. In later years, when members were accepted into the K. through district conferences, the actual date of membership antedates the year given. E. g., numbers 100-105 joined through their respective districts in 1860; 108-115 were Marthasville students who, because of the great need, were examined and ordained at the conference of the Middle District in 1860 and admitted to the K. in 1862. Unless otherwise noted, the date of commissioning is also the date of ordination in Germany and of arrival in America. Records vary not only in the spelling but also in the use of surnames. Birth-places are given as listed in the records and have not been closely classified.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
1. Nollau, Louis E. ¹	1810-1869	Prussia	Barmen	Barmen	1837
2. Daubert, Karl L. ²	1801-1875	Hesse	Strassburg U.	To America Ordained	1826 1834
3. Garlichs, Hermann ³	1807-1865	Hanover	Göttingen, Leipzig, Bonn, and Munich U.S.	To America Ordained in Ger. Langenberg	1832 1835 1847
4. Heyer, Philipp J. ⁴	1807- ?	Württemberg	Barmen	Barmen	1836
5. Riess, Johann J.	1811-1855	Württemberg	Basel; Basel U.	Basel	1835
6. Wall, Georg Wendelin	1811-1867	Württemberg	Basel; Basel U.	Basel	1836
7. Rieger, Joseph A.	1811-1869	Bavaria	Basel	Basel	1836
8. Gerber, Johannes	1796- ?	Switzerland	Basel	Basel	1821
				To Sierra Leone To America	1822 1834

¹ Resigned in 1846, to Germany. Readmitted in 1851.

² Ordained at Philadelphia by Reformed Church. Resigned in 1845, to Louisville, Ky. Readmitted in 1864.

³ Resigned in 1846, to Germany. Upon his return in 1847 joined the Lutheran Ministerium of New York, located at Brooklyn.

⁴ Resigned in 1843 and joined the Presbyterian Church in 1845.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
9. Arcularius, Eduard ⁵	1819-1881	Württemberg	Basel; Basel U.	Ordained by K.	1842
10. Knauss, Jakob J.	1819-1881	Württemberg	Basel; Basel U.	Basel	1842
11. Jung, Johann Christoph ⁶ (later Young)	1806-1883	Württemberg	German university; Basel	Basel Ordained in London	1844 1844
12. Köwing, Johann Friedrich ⁷	1814-1892	Hanover	Private	Bremen Ordained	1843 1845
13. Bode, Kaspar H.	1805-1875	Silesia	Private	To America Ordained by K.	1832 1845
14. Binner, Wilhelm F. ⁸	1817-1880	Prussia	Breslau U.	Ordained Bremen	1833 1845
15. Baltzer, Adolf H.	1814-1896	Hanover	Berlin and Halle Us.	Bremen Ordained	1845 1845
16. Schünemann, Wilhelm	1815-1884	Hanover	<i>Rauhes Haus</i>	Bremen Ordained	1844 1846
17. Eppens, Heinrich A.	1818- ?	Lippe-Detmold	<i>Rauhes Haus</i>	Bremen Ordained	1844 1846
18. Tölke, Heinrich ⁹	1819-1888	Alsace	Barmen	Langenberg Ordained	1843 1846
19. Wettle, Johann	1819-1882	Württemberg	France (pedagogical); Basel; Basel U.	Basel (Gustav Adolf)	1844
20. Schrenk, Christian	1819-1882	Württemberg	Basel	Basel Ordained in London	1844 1844

⁵ Never active.⁶ Basel records only.⁷ Suspended in 1862.⁸ Resigned in 1857.⁹ Resigned in 1852, to Presbyterians.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>1849</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
21. Birkner, Friedrich ¹⁰	1824-1862	Bavaria	1849	Erlangen U.; Basel	Ordained in Germany Langenberg	1847 or 1848 1848
22. Dresel, Theodor H.	1822-1887	Westphalia		Basel; Basel U.	Basel	1848
23. Weitbrecht, Gotthilf ¹¹	1816-1884	Württemberg		Basel; Tübingen U.	To America Ordained in Ger.	1848 1848
24. Krönlein, Johann Michael ¹²	1811-1883	Bavaria		Basel (1830-34)	Langenberg	1848
25. Steinert, Gottlieb, Ph.D.	1813-1876	Prussia		Halle U.	Bremen Ordained by K.	1848 1848
26. Grote, Heinrich	1815-1853	Lippe-Detmold		Barmen	Langenberg Ordained by K.	1848 1848
27. Hoffmeister, Karl	1819-1897	Lippe-Detmold		Barmen	Langenberg Ordained	1848 1848
28. Austmann, Ludwig	1816-1897	Lippe-Detmold	1850	Germany (common school); America (private)	To America Ordained	1848 1850
29. Riess, Konrad	1809-1893	Württemberg		Beuggen, near Basel; America (private)	To America Ordained by K.	1839 1850
30. Kröhnke, Diedrich	1808-1882	Hanover		Germany (medical, theological); America (private)	To America Ordained by K.	1840 1850
31. Will, Johannes	1821-1898	Württemberg		Basel	Basel	1848
32. Liesc, S. ¹³			1851	Cand. theol.	Ordained by K.	1851

¹⁰ Resigned in 1854, to Germany. Not mentioned in Basel records.

¹¹ Not mentioned in Basel records. Resigned in 1854, to Wisconsin Synod. Returned to Germany in 1857.

¹² Langenberg records do not list him. ¹³ Resigned in 1852.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
33. Maul, Georg	1822-1895	Hesse-Nassau	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1848 1851
34. Witte, Karl Fr.			Marthasville	To America	1851
	1852				
35. Kampmeier, Wilhelm	1823-1892	Lippe-Detmold	Germany (pedagogical); Marthasville	To America Ordained	1848 1852
36. Nestel, Karl C.	1825-1908	Württemberg	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1850 1852
	1853				
37. Irion, Andreas ¹⁴	1823-1870	Württemberg	Basel	Basel	1851
38. Welsch, Johann P.	1823-1902	Prussia	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1852 1849 1853
	1854				
39. Kopf, Johannes M.	1824-1913	Württemberg	Basel	Basel	1853
40. Döhring, Karl F.	1825-1883	Württemberg	Basel; Basel U.	Basel	1853
41. Zimmermann, Johannes ¹⁵	1826-1909	Switzerland	Basel; Basel U.	Basel	1853
42. Lenschau, Ferdinand ¹⁶	1826-1897	Lübeck	Basel; Basel U.	Basel	1854
				Langenberg	1864
43. Rahn, Hermann Ulrich,	1815-1878	Switzerland	Basel; Zurich U.		
J.U.D. ¹⁷					
44. Kruse, Michael	1816-1901	Holstein	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1848 1854
45. Weiss, Sebastian ¹⁸	1806-1885	Bavaria	Munich, Freising, Ratis- bon Us.; Marthasville	To America Ordained	1854 1854

¹⁴ Not able to go to Russia, served as colporteur in Alsace before coming to America.

¹⁵ Of Reformed extraction. President of the German Evangelical Synod of North America, 1882-1901.

¹⁶ Resigned in 1864, to Germany. Readmitted in 1866.

¹⁷ Suspended in 1856. Was a brother of Adolf, professor at seminary at Bloomfield, N. J. Not mentioned in Basel records.

¹⁸ For 18 years Catholic priest in Germany.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
46. Schaller, Karl	1815-1857	Brunswick	Jena, Göttingen Us.	To America Ordained	1841 1854
47. Homeier, Wilhelm ¹⁹		Lippe-Detmold	Cand. theol., Lippe Society	Ordained by K.	1853
48. Quinius, Hermann F.	1822-1883	Prussia	North German Society	Gossner	1839
49. Mengert, Johannes ²⁰	1814-1876	Bremen	Basel; Basel U.	Ordained To East Indies To America	1840-50 1850
50. Fausel, Friedrich	1827-1888	Württemberg	Germany (pedagogical); Marthasville	To America Ordained	1848 1855
51. Kuhlenthaler, Simon	1820-1882	Lippe-Detmold	Marthasville	Ordained	1852
52. Knauss, Ludwig	1825-1899	Württemberg	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1849 1855
53. Lange, A. ²¹			Cand. theol.	Ordained	1855
54. Judt, Friedrich C.	1806-1885	Württemberg	Basel	To Schuscha To Russia To America	1829 1835 1845
55. Umbeck, Friedrich	1803-1857	Prussia	Germany	Ordained To America	1827 1847
56. Seybold, Johann ²²	1827-1902	Württemberg	Basel; Basel U.	Basel Ordained by K.	1855 1856
57. Roos, Ernst	1820-1896	Baden	Germany	To America	1853

¹⁹ Suspended in 1862. Had been recommended by Inspector Wallmann of Barmen.

²⁰ Resigned in 1859, to Luth. Syn. of N. Carolina.

²¹ Suspended in 1857.

²² Temporary affiliation with Presbyterians in New Orleans in 1859.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
58. Schrenk, Martin ²³	1806-1860	Württemberg	America (private)	To America	1846
59. Koch, Ignatz ²⁴		1 8 5 7			
60. Haack, C. Gottlieb	1830-1897	Rhine Province	Barmen	To America Ordained	1856 1857
61. Bühler, Johann Jakob	1820-1900	Württemberg	Basel	Langenberg Ordained	1856 1856
62. Weissgerber, F. F.	1812-1901	Baden	Private	Basel Ordained	1847 1857
63. Schlundt, Johann Fr.	1826-1898	Westphalia	Marthasville	To America Ordained by a Lutheran Synod	1852 1857
64. Drewel, Friedrich	1832-1916	Hanover	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1843 1857
65. Buehrig, L. H.	1833-1921	Württemberg	Basel; Basel U.; Marthasville	Ordained	1857
66. Zeller, Albert				To America Ordained	1856 1857
67. Riggerbach, Johann Jakob ²⁵	1824-1908	Alsace	Basel	To America	1857
68. Göbel, Philipp	1832-1887	Nassau	Marthasville	To America Ordained by K. of Ohio	1849 1855
69. Wagner, Philipp	1829-1907	Rhine Province	Marthasville	To America Ordained by K. of Ohio	1848 1855

²³ Resigned in 1862.²⁴ Cath. priest of Stuttgart, recommended by Josenhans. Suspended in 1859. Served Zion Church, St. Joseph, Mo., from 1861 to 1863, when he joined the Episcopal Church.²⁵ Returned to Switzerland in 1862.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
70. Galster, Matthias	1811-1887	Württemberg	Private	To America Ordained (English) Charter member of K. of Ohio	1829 1846 1855
71. Romanowsky, E. ²⁶					
72. Beck, Christian ²⁷	1829-1922	Württemberg	St. Chrischona	To America Ordained From Ev. Luth. Syn. of Texas	1855 1856
73. Conrad, C. E. ²⁸					
74. Jung, Wilhelm P. E. ²⁹	1833-1921	Nassau	Basel	Basel	1857
75. Ankele, David C. ³⁰	1826-1895	Württemberg	St. Chrischona	To Texas Ordained From Luth. Syn. of Texas	1848 1856
76. Abele, J. G. ³¹					
77. Schäfer, Philipp	1820-1908	Rhine Province	America (private)	From K. of Ohio To America From K. of Ohio Ordained	1839 1851 1851
78. Krauss, Theodor	1811-1888	Nassau	Marthasville	Ordained	1858
79. Fotsch, Martin ³²	1831-1880	Switzerland	St. Chrischona	To Texas Ordained From First Evang. Luth. Syn. of Texas	1854 1856
80. Schory, Albert	1829-1911	Switzerland	Marthasville	To America Ordained by K. of Ohio	1857 1833 1855

²⁶ Dropped in 1862, to Presbyterians.²⁷ First located at Independence, Texas.²⁸ Resigned at conference of M. D. in 1860.²⁹ Trained for India.³⁰ First located at Houston, Texas.³¹ Suspended in 1862.³² First located at Bellville, Texas.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
81. Aulenbach, Karl	1813-1881	Rhine Province	Erlangen U.	To America Ordained by K. of Ohio	1852
82. Guebner, Georg F. ³³	1826-1883	Hesse	Theol. Sem. at Lexing- ton, S. C.	From Ev. Luth. Syn. of Illinois	1854
83. Höfer, Heinrich	1836-1908	Lippe-Detmold	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1858
84. Röder, August ³⁴				Ordained	1858
85. Braschler, Johann H. ³⁵	1818-1888	Switzerland	Bern U.	To America Ordained in Texas	1848
86. Steiner, Johann M. ³⁶	1818- ?	Bavaria	Basel	From Ev. Luth. Syn. of Texas	1854
87. Dürr, J. Louis ³⁷	1838-1890	Baden	Basel	Basel From K. of Ohio	1846
88. Davies, Friedrich	? -1876	Saxony	St. Chrischona; Marthasville	To America Ordained	1855
89. Härdtle, Johann ³⁸		Württemberg	Marthasville	Ordained	1863
90. Kraus, Konrad ³⁹	1811-1888	Nassau	St. Chrischona	To America Ordained From Ev. Luth. Syn. of Texas	1866
			Private	From K. of Ohio Ordained	1854 1856
					1853

³³ Ordained by the Ev. Luth. Synod of South Carolina in 1849, was immediately sent by that synod to Texas. Applied for membership in the K. in 1856.

³⁴ Had been preaching in Russia. Resigned in 1864.

³⁵ Was one of the seven founders of the First Ev. Luth. Synod of Texas in 1851, having been stationed at Neubraunfels. Resigned from that synod in 1858.

³⁶ Dropped in 1866, to Dutch Reformed.

³⁷ No Marthasville records.

³⁸ First located at Yorktown, Texas. Suspended in 1866.

³⁹ Dropped in 1862.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
91. Sträter, Kaspar H.	1807-1874	Westphalia	Halle and Berlin Us.	Ordained by K.	1859
92. Kirschmann, Christian	1831-1894	Württemberg	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1851 1859
93. Stark, Christoph F.	1834- ?	Württemberg	Basel; Marthasville	To America Ordained	1858 1859
94. Haas, Christian	1831-1913	Württemberg	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1854 1859
95. Müller, Andreas	1834-1913	Baden	Basel; Marthasville	Basel Ordained	1858 1859
1862					
96. Karbach, Philipp ⁴⁰	1813-1886	Rhine Province	Germany; America (private)	To America Ordained by Luth. Olive Branch Syn.	1850 1853
97. Zwolaneck, Johannes ⁴¹				From First Evang. Luth. Syn. of Texas	
98. Streit, Karl F.	1836-1877	Switzerland	Basel	Basel	1859
99. Feutz, Christian G.	1816-1876	Switzerland	Pedagogical	To America Ordained	1852 1860
100. Stanger, Johann Georg	1807-1891	Württemberg	Basel	To East India To America	1841 1859
101. John, F. H. Rudolph (Ph.D., Leipzig)	1818-1904	Silesia	Breslau and Leipzig Us.	To America	1854
102. Delveau, Friedrich ⁴²	1812-1885	Hanover	Germany; America (private)	To America	1853
103. Schenk, Friedrich W. ⁴³	1816-1887	Prussia	America (private)	To America Ordained	1847 1860

⁴⁰ Joined K. in 1859.⁴¹ First located at San Felipe, Texas. Dropped in 1864.⁴² Ordained by Werth of the St. Louis Presbytery.⁴³ Had been colporteur for A. T. S.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
104. Klaussen, K. E. ⁴⁴	1820-1891	Lippe-De tmold	Berlin and Halle Us.	To America From Syn. of East	1848
105. Müller, Gottlieb	1827-1905	Württemberg	Europe, teachers' seminary	To America Ordained by K. of Ohio	1852
106. Conradi, J. Philipp ⁴⁵				From Syn. of East	1860
107. Schelle, Fr. ⁴⁶	1831-1902	Saxony	Germany (classical)	To America Ordained by Syn. of East	1853
108. Buchmüller, Heinrich	1837-1929	Saxony	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1849 1860
109. Häberle, Louis F. ⁴⁷	1838-1928	Württemberg	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1852 1860
110. Ehlers, Heinrich		Bremen	Marthasville	Ordained	1860
111. Reidenbach, Johannes A.		Hesse	Marthasville	Ordained	1860
112. Off, Karl F.	1834-1913	Württemberg	Basel; Marthasville	To America Ordained	1858 1860
113. Kirehloff, Heinrich	1831-1904	Bavaria	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1840 1860
114. Göbel, Johann Peter	1836-1905	Nassau	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1850 1860
115. Feil, J. Christoph	1834-1900	Baden	Basel (2 yrs.); Marthasville	To America Ordained	1858 1860
116. Dulitz, Friedrich ⁴⁸	1796-1892	Mecklenburg- Strelitz	Berlin and Jena Us.	Langenberg	1841

⁴⁴ After arrival in America, assistant to Dr. Nevin at Mercersburg. Later spelled Clausen.

⁴⁵ Honorable dismissal by E. D. in 1864.

⁴⁶ Resigned in 1864. Later listed as member, serving St. Stephen's, Buffalo, N. Y., 1854-1898. Buried at Berlin.

⁴⁷ "Inspector" of Eden Seminary, 1879-1902.

⁴⁸ Resigned in 1864, to Europe. Readmitted in 1866.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
117. Krehbiel, Christian	1828-1877	Bavaria (Palatinate)	Germany (theological)	To America Ordained by K.	1857 1862
118. Engelbach, Johann	1818-1896	Hesse-Darmstadt	Germany (theological); America	To America, Re- formed Church in U. S. Ordained by K.	1845 1862
119. Gubler, Jakob	1834-1906	Switzerland	Basel (2 yrs.); Marthasville	To America Ordained	1859 1862
120. Meili, Hans H. ⁴⁹	1838- ?	Switzerland	Basel (2 yrs.); Marthasville	To America Ordained	1859 1862
121. Jud, Johann Balthasar	1838-1900	Switzerland	Basel (2 yrs.); Marthasville	To America Ordained	1859 1862
122. Biesemeier, Wilhelm	1833-1914	Lippe-Detmold	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1854 1862
123. Schulz, Joachim Fr.	1832-1909	Prussia	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1855 1862
124. Siekmann, Heinrich	1834-1909	Württemberg	Marthasville	Ordained	1862
125. Niethammer, Otto	1828-1898	Württemberg	Tübingen U.; Marthasville	To America Ordained	1854 1862
126. Betz, Konrad	1806-1883	Württemberg	Germany; America (private)	To America Ordained by K.	1857 1862
127. Burkart, Nikolaus ⁵⁰	1836-1912	Württemberg	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1846 1863
128. Fromm, Wilhelm ⁵¹	1806-1883	Mecklenburg- Schwerin	Germany (theological)	To America	1853

⁴⁹ Dropped in 1864. Joined Episcopals, Davenport, Ia.

⁵⁰ Dropped in 1866.

⁵¹ Resigned in 1866. Readmitted in 1878, VI District.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
129. Hagemann, Gustav	1834-1892	Hesse-Cassel	Barmen	Langenberg Ordained by K.	1862 1862
130. Viehe, Kaspar H.	1837-1915	Prussia	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1845 1862
131. Umbeck, Friedrich A.	1837-1913	Rhine Province	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1849 1863
132. Reller, Ernst	1827-1917	Hanover	America (private)	To America Ordained by K.	1846 1863
133. Schierbaum, Johannes	1835-1904	Hanover	Barmen	Langenberg Ordained	1863 1863
134. Bank, Johann ⁵²	1818-1892	Birkenfeld	Germany (theological)	To America	1864
135. Waldmann, Heinrich ⁵³	1836-1920	Bavaria	Basel	To America Langenberg From Wisconsin Syn.	1862 1862 1864
1 8 6 6					
136. Eisenhauer, A. ⁵⁴			Catholic priest	Ordained	1864
137. Vontobel, Jakob	? -1891		Cand. theol.	Ordained	1865
138. Berger, Eduard	1836-1906	Westphalia	Barmen	Langenberg (ordained)	1864
139. Ragué, Louis von	1838-1910	Westphalia	Barmen	Langenberg Ordained in A.	1864 1864
140. Schöttle, Johann G.	1841-1921	Württemberg	Barmen	Langenberg Ordained in A.	1864 1864
141. Pfeiffer, Friedrich	1839-1905	Switzerland	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1856 1864
142. Hotz, J. J.	1834-1899	Switzerland	Marthasville	Ordained	1866

⁵² Pastor in Germany for 16 years.

⁵³ Induced by Mühhäuser to go to America. Ordained by Wisconsin Synod in 1862.

⁵⁴ Had been accepted by N. D. in 1863 to be ordained when stationed.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth—Death</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Commission</i>	<i>Date</i>
143. Mernitz, Joachim F.	1835-1912	Brandenburg	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1852 1865
144. Albert, Philipp J.	1837-1904	Baden	St. Chrischona; Marthasville	To America Ordained	1865
145. Breuhaus, Otto	1841-1917	Rhine Province	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1854 1865
146. Ebling, G.	1836-1880	Nassau	Marthasville	Ordained	1865
147. Meusch, Philipp ⁵⁵	1835-1919	Hanover	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1852 1864
148. Wulfmann, C. Heinrich	1839-1929	Lippe-Detmold	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1848 1866
149. Frohne, Philipp	1838-1913	Prussia	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1854 1866
150. Berges, Dietrich	1838-1912	Westphalia	Marthasville	To America Ordained	1852 1866
151. Rasche, Friedrich	1820-1882	Württemberg	Basel	Ordained	1846
152. Gackenhaimer, David	1828-1886	Hanover	Basel; Karlsruhe and Basel Us.	Berlin Society	1865
153. Fleischhacker, J. C. ⁵⁶	1841-1901	Württemberg	Basel	To America Ordained	1864 1864
154. Kauffmann, Friedrich ⁵⁷	1838-1929	Württemberg	Barmen	Langenberg Ordained	1865 1865
155. Mohr, Christian Albert	1838-1923	Switzerland	St. Chrischona	St. Chrischona To America	1866

⁵⁵ President of Elmhurst in 1874.

⁵⁶ Commissioned by Basel (1856) as missionary to the Jews in Jerusalem, where he was ordained in 1857. Returned to Germany in 1864.

⁵⁷ Called to a professorship at Marthasville in 1866. Returned to Germany in 1880.

IV. MISSIONARY AID TO GERMAN CHURCHES

(From the *Home Missionary*, January, 1851)

The increasing influx of Germans into our country (about thirty per cent of the whole emigration,) has been every year bringing the question of their moral condition and prospects more and more under the attention of philanthropic and christian men. A very slight acquaintance satisfies the evangelical inquirer, that the majority of this class have not been educated in notions sufficiently strict in respect to experimental piety. The incompleteness of the Reformation in many parts of Germany—varying from Romanism as little as possible, lest it should too much shock the prejudices of the multitude; the alliance of the Church with the State; and competition with the Papists in hierarchical orders and ceremonial display, have all tended to render religion an affair of forms. It is true, that in the creeds and catechisms of the German churches, there is embodied a recognition of the necessity of spiritual renovation; and the truth pertaining to this great feature of Christianity has not been wholly inoperative. A succession of godly pastors and pious church members attests the presence of a divine vitality really existing in those churches. But, for some cause, after which it is not our province here to inquire, the operations of this spiritual life have been greatly obstructed; and we have precipitated among us great numbers of people, claiming to be Christians, and demanding to be recognized as such at the Lord's table, who, by their deportment, demonstrate their entire ignorance of that preparation of heart, which the pious of this land regard as the first requisite for church membership and communion.

The German Reformed and Lutheran churches of this country, we have been accustomed to regard as having a higher standard of qualifications for their members than is discoverable in the case of recent emigrants. But they find a practical difficulty in maintaining this superiority, because the church symbols and the process of admitting members, are, for the most part, the same in Europe and America; and it is not easy to refuse the ordinances to those who bring certificates of membership in the old country, even though their deportment be against them. The emigrant presents his child, at the age of fourteen, and claims for him confirmation, or an admission to all the privileges of church membership. If he have the required acquaintance with the routine of instruction, and is not guilty of decided immorality, it is difficult for the minister to refuse. Admission in such cases is so much a matter of course, that a rejection would be a personal offence, and an occasion of alienation of the family and friends of the candidate. And in this way, to the great grief of spiritual minded persons, both clerical and lay, a large amount of unconverted material is found in many of the churches.

The case is still worse, when, as is now becoming common, the emigrants seek no alliance with the old German churches of this country, but proceed to form independent congregations for themselves, and determine the terms of membership, not by the requirements of the creeds and catechisms, but so as to suit their own characters and prejudices. In some of the German colonies in the West, they will endure no restraint whatever, but demand of their preachers an unobstructed access to baptism, confirmation and the Lord's supper; and if this be refused, denunciation and persecution generally follow. Some of our missionaries complain of abuse, amounting in some cases to personal violence, where the occasion was merely the

denial of the ordinances of the church to the grossly immoral. And there are cases of ministers from abroad, who while they *mourn over* this state of things, still yield to the circumstances because, as they say, "If we are strict now, the people will leave us; we must therefore wait, till we gain an influence, and gather a congregation, and build a house; and then we can adopt a higher standard of churchmanship." It is needless to say that this is a delusive policy. Such a course will establish a usage and confirm a public sentiment all on the wrong side. Besides, and above all, men have *no right* so to lower the terms of gospel fellowship; the church is not ours but Christ's and he alone can define the conditions of access to its privileges.

This subject demands the attention of all evangelical denominations in this country, and especially of all our Missionary Societies. The power of public sentiment among surrounding Christians will be felt, and will increase as the obstructions of language diminish, and intercourse between the German and American churches becomes more intimate.

The applications for missionary aid from German congregations of every grade of evangelical character, are so numerous, that this Society has made its duty in the premises the subject of careful inquiry. Of the main fact, that the membership of the German churches, in many instances, is made up without what appears to American Christians sufficient evidence of regeneration by the Spirit of God, there is no longer reason to doubt. To countenance such a mode of admission—to aid in building up churches on such a foundation—would, in the view of most who compose this Society, be unadvisable and hurtful in its tendency. It would lower the standard of godliness, encourage formality, and prepare the way for a religion of external display, and thus produce the very state of things which our pious fathers crossed the ocean to escape.

These views, which are held by all the friends of the Society who have given attention to the subject, are approved also by leading minds in the German Reformed Church in this country. A correspondent whose position in that Church gives high authority to his statements, writing in behalf of its Board of Missions, thus endorses the position above taken:

"We, as an Executive Committee, entirely agree with you, as to the qualifications for admission to church membership, and think that no person ought to be confirmed who has not given credible evidence of conversion and of a change of heart. We can assure you likewise that our Board concurs with yours in this particular, as well as the large majority of the ministers of our church.

"Candor obliges us, however, to acknowledge, that in those portions of our church where the German language prevails, a few of our pastors have been lax in their application of this rule, but it has been the endeavor of the respective Classes and of the Synod to correct this evil wherever it exists. But for years back, the Church has been rapidly advancing towards its entire removal, and at no time more rapidly than at present.

"In the Western States, where foreign Germans settle, who have been accustomed to have their children become members of the church, according to law, at a certain age, no doubt we shall meet with difficulty in a more formidable form." "This Board would not vote its funds to the support of a Missionary who would not insist on this spiritual qualification in all applicants for church membership. In this position we shall be firm, as we have no wish to build up churches which shall be compelled to go through the trial of disciplining mem-

bers out of its communion, or encourage the form of godliness without its power."

This full and decided testimony of our German brethren, sustained as it is by worthy individuals who have addressed us on the subject, is grateful to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, since it brings them together as laboring with common views for the up-building of a spiritual church throughout the land. Sustained, therefore, by this unanimity, the American Home Missionary Society cannot but aim to maintain the highest standard in the churches of this character which it may be called to aid. It therefore requests all German congregations applying for assistance, and all clergymen and others introducing and recommending such applications, to accompany their requests with specific statements, as to whether the *admission of members is made to depend on their giving credible evidence of their having been regenerated by the Holy Spirit*. An affirmative testimony in this particular will be regarded as an indispensable condition of assistance.

V. RUBRICS OF THE *KIRCHENVEREIN* AGENDE OF 1857

(Translated by R. H. Pantermuehl)

THE SUNDAY CHURCH SERVICE

Three complete forms are given. The first is to be used in a liturgical service in which the congregation participates by responsively singing verses from the hymnal. In most instances this is probably the best suited as well as the most simple practice. The second is intended for a liturgical service with responses to be sung either by the congregation or by a choir. Here all the essential elements of a complete altar service (introit, ascription, confession of sins, creed, Scripture lesson, praise, and petition) have their separate places. The third form is to be used in such cases where neither the first nor the second is suitable. The liturgical elements in unbroken progression are here embodied in a unified service as has hitherto been customary in most congregations.

The sermon should never exceed forty-five minutes in length; especially if the first or second order is followed. The creed, as a general rule, should never be omitted, since it constitutes an essential element of the Christian cult. It may, however, be expressed in the form of a hymn sung by the congregation. It would be advisable if, in addition to the pericope of the Sunday, another portion of Scripture were read whereby the Old Testament would receive proper attention. This would serve to introduce the congregations more thoroughly to the Bible; for the Evangelical Church should be a Bible Church. The general church prayer or petition following the sermon, as also the benediction, is best given at the altar. Immediately preceding the general prayer, another stanza of the sermon hymn should be sung.

Every minister should insist that the congregation gather quietly and reverently, that the altar be covered with a clean cloth, and that in all respects cleanliness and order prevail (pp. 3 f.).

MAIN SERVICE ON FESTIVAL DAYS

The form for festival services is the same as that for Sundays. In the forms here given the separate prayers are placed in such sequence that they may easily be used in the second order of worship. The general prayer is omitted at the main service of the second festival day and in its stead a closing prayer is given on the general thought and content of the sermon. The entire congregation should remain for the communion service, which follows the main worship service (p. 41).

LENTEN SERVICE

During the period of Lent, week-day services should everywhere be conducted in addition to the main service on Sunday, and, wherever possible, daily services should be held during the Passion week. In place of the usual pericopes, selections from the Passion story are to be read. It is not necessary that a sermon be preached at all of the Lenten services. The minister may instead read the Passion story in five or six sections with short prayers between the parts. Appropriate passages from the Old Testament, such as those containing the prophecies concerning the sufferings of Jesus, may be read, and after the reading of the various sections one or two stanzas of a hymn may be sung. A Lenten devotion, if arranged in this manner, is conducive to spiritual edification in no less degree than a sermon. Such a service should not exceed one hour in length (p. 80).

INSTRUCTION OF CHILDREN [*KINDERLEHRE*]

It should be the concern of every minister that the children of his congregation who have not as yet been confirmed actively take part in this instruction. Those who have been confirmed, and adults as well, should be persuaded to attend. The minister should be careful not to embarrass or discourage the children with difficult questions or by displaying his displeasure, but should so conduct the entire discussion that even the adults will be edified and led to a richer understanding. The period of instruction, including the singing of hymns, should not exceed one hour (p. 177).

HOLY BAPTISM

As a general rule all baptisms should be administered before the assembled congregation; local conditions will determine whether at the beginning or at the end of a service. Only such children are to be baptized whose parents (mother or father) or guardians give due promise of properly guiding them in the discipline and admonition of the Lord. Care is therefore to be exercised when baptism is requested for children whose parents are not members of the church. No one who has not been baptized or confirmed or who leads a life of indifference and unbelief can be accepted as a sponsor (p. 203).

EMERGENCY BAPTISM [*NOTTAUFE*]

Every minister should be extremely careful lest he in any way support or confirm those mistaken views which are so often connected with emergency baptism or encourage that unchurchly attitude which pleads an emergency baptism so that the child need not be brought to church. If danger of death is actually present, the minister is to shorten the prescribed form or else forthwith baptize the child after a brief prayer and afterwards address those present, as may be fitting.

In case the child which was baptized by the father or some other person before the minister arrived later recovers, the rules of the Church require that it be brought to church, where the minister will inquire concerning the form according to which it has been baptized. If the form is according to that instituted by Christ, the minister will confirm the baptism and offer a prayer. Otherwise he will now baptize the child according to the required form (pp. 224 f.).

ADULT BAPTISM

There is no special form for the baptism of adults, the only difference being that the questions usually addressed to the sponsors are here addressed to the candidate, who is also required to confess the creed. It is assumed that a thorough instruction has preceded the baptism. Even with children beyond six years of age a period of instruction intended to awaken a loving faith in Christ should precede the sacrament (p. 226).

HOLY COMMUNION

The Lord's Supper should be celebrated at least four times annually in every congregation; namely, on the three great festivals of the Church and either on Harvest Day or on Reformation Day. The larger the congregation, the more frequently should this sacrament be observed. Each communion service should be announced on the two preceding Sundays. Attention should be directed to the significance of this sacrament for every one who would belong to Christ and to the

need of earnest preparation for its celebration. A separate preparatory service is strongly advised, even in such cases where a confessional [*Beichte*] cannot be included. Only in an exceptional case should any one who has not attended the preparatory service be permitted to attend.

All who wish to partake of communion should inform the minister of their intention before the preparatory service; this is especially necessary for those who are not members of the congregation. Persons who have for some time been living within the church parish without having joined the congregation should no longer be admitted to communion.

The minister should strive in every detail, not excluding the external features, to emphasize the communion service as the center and climax of Christian worship. The bread is best prepared by the minister himself and placed by him upon the communion plates. The wine should be unadulterated and should not be placed upon the altar in bottles, but should at once be poured into the communion vessels. Both the bread and wine should be placed in clean and suitable containers upon the covered communion table (altar) before the service begins and are to remain covered with a white cloth until the minister takes his place at the altar to begin the communion service proper or until he is ready to pronounce the words of institution. The preceding service is not to be extended too long, so that the congregation will not be fatigued before the communion service begins.

If the wine in the tankard has been consumed during the service, the minister should give the tankard to one of the members of the board to be filled as inconspicuously as possible while the distribution is momentarily discontinued until the tankard is again placed upon the altar and the wine consecrated by a repetition of the words of institution. The distribution may now be continued (pp. 227 f.).

PREPARATORY SERVICE

The preparatory service for communion is to consist merely of hymns, prayer, and a sermon, as is customary in ordinary week-day services. In such communities and in such congregations where it is possible for the minister to make arrangements which will assure him that no one who has not been present at the preparatory service will attend communion, the confessional [*Beichte*] and absolution may be included in the preparatory service, which may be held on the day before the communion service or immediately preceding the service itself. Where local conditions make this impossible, it is advisable that, in addition to the preparatory sermon of the preceding day, a separate preparation, including a confessional according to the forms herein given, be held immediately preceding the communion service. In this case, however, the congregation should sing one stanza from a suitable hymn, such as: "*Herr, Du wollst uns vorbereiten,*" before the preparation and the service proper. In case that the confessional and absolution can be combined with the preparatory service, the address should be followed at once, after the minister has resumed his place at the altar, by the confession of sins, absolution, closing prayer, and benediction (pp. 229 f.).

BEDSIDE COMMUNION

It is assumed that the minister will have conversed with the patient and convinced himself of his sincerity [*bussfertige Gesinnung*] and faith before he administers holy communion. The patient's condition will determine whether the minister is to give a brief address or

whether he will shorten the service as much as possible. In any case, the communion form will serve merely as a general guide, to be modified according to the patient's spiritual and physical condition. It is desirable that one or more members of the immediate family participate in such a service. This can easily be arranged where the patient has been bedridden for some time and where the minister has had frequent conversation with him. A person not wholly conscious is not to be given communion (p. 252).

CONFIRMATION

The beginning of confirmation instruction is to be announced at least fourteen days previously. The parents and guardians of the children are to be requested personally to bring the children to the minister for enrolment. Never should children under fourteen years of age be confirmed. Only such children should be accepted for catechetical instruction who are able to read. Confirmands who are illiterate usually do not become living church members, because, since they lack the necessary means of growing in understanding and grace, they are not even able to join in the singing of hymns in the worship services. Only those may be confirmed who have given evidence of a desire to enter the faith and to live in Christ. The opening of instruction should be announced to the congregation after the main service of the following Sunday, when the minister presents the confirmands by name and commends them to the care and intercession of the congregation. The minister will not neglect, in every subsequent service, to include a short intercession for the confirmands.

At the conclusion of the period of instruction the public examination of the confirmands should be arranged for an afternoon and should be announced a week previously. The examination is to be as simple as possible and should show that the children have been instructed in the truths of salvation and are now willing and able to confess their Lord. All punishment and embarrassment of individuals who are to be confirmed is quite out of place. The examination should be brief. It is not proper to combine the examination with confirmation unless local conditions demand it.

The confirmation service is never to be held on a main festival and is to be conducted as simply and reverently as possible. It should publicly be announced on the two preceding Sundays. It should take place at a regular main church service and publicly before the congregation. The sermon is to be supplanted by an address to the confirmands. Any unnecessary lengthening of this service only serves to weaken its impressiveness.

Should any of the confirmands be prevented by illness from being present at the service, they may be confirmed upon recovery, if possible at the next communion service. It may happen that adult persons, even those already married, may so grow in faith as to desire to be confirmed in order to become members of the congregation and to receive communion. Such persons are privately to be instructed with all possible consideration and kindness. After answering a few simple questions before the congregation, they may be consecrated and at once be admitted to communion (pp. 261 f.).

MARRIAGE

Wedding ceremonies should be held in the church. The minister should carefully inquire as to the marriage laws of his particular state. Above all, care should be taken that the persons to be married are not already married, that they are not related contrary to civil

law, that they are not divorced, and that they are not minors (age restrictions differ in the various states). A conscientious minister, however, will not marry even those who are of age without first assuring himself of the consent of the parents; unless unusual circumstances justify an exception. It is desirable that the ceremony be performed in the presence of witnesses who are known to the minister at least by name and whose names he will enter into the church records. The minister should also remind the engaged couple to attend communion either before or after the wedding (p. 287). . . . In case the one party has children of a previous marriage, the other party is to be asked the following question: "Are you willing to assume and faithfully fulfil the responsibilities of mother (father) toward the children which this marriage brings to you?" (p. 292).

LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF A CHURCH

The minister, with the congregation, proceeds to the building-site and takes his position near the foundation or corner-stone. The service begins with several stanzas of a hymn. After the hymn, the minister says: . . . (p. 352). . . . The minister may now read Ps. 96 or some other suitable passage of Scripture and may close the reading with a *Votum*; e. g., "Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light upon my way. Amen." He now reads a brief historical account of the building operations and describes the documents which are to be preserved in the stone. These documents are to include: the constitution of the congregation, the names of those who contributed to the building, the statutes of the church body to which the congregation belongs, and a catechism. To include a Bible is, apart from the difficulty of making a sufficiently large opening in the stone, not in place. The Bible does not belong in the ground, but in the heart, and, besides, only such documents which portray the Evangelical spirit and the specific character of the congregation are here to be preserved. The stone is now firmly placed in its position by the builder. The minister thereupon takes the hammer in his right hand and says: . . . (p. 353).

DEDICATION OF A CHURCH

If it is convenient, the congregation will gather at the old place of worship. Here, following the singing of a hymn, the local minister gives a short address, whereupon another suitable hymn closes this part of the service. Thereupon the minister and the congregation, singing a hymn, march festively to the new place of worship. Upon arrival, the minister and the elders wait at the entrance until the entire congregation has gathered. An elder of the church presents the key to the minister, who opens the door as he says, "Enter into His gates with thanksgiving, and into His courts with praise: Be thankful unto Him, and bless His name." Or some similar verse may be used. Thereupon the festive gathering enters the church and sings the first stanza of "*Allein Gott in der Höh usw.*" or any other suitable hymn. The minister who officially is to dedicate the church now steps to the altar, upon which the sacred vessels have been placed—which had been carried into the church by the elders or by visiting ministers—and says: . . . (p. 355).

VI. PREFACE TO THE *KIRCHENVEREIN* HYMNAL OF 1862

(Translated by R. H. Pantermuel)

With praise to the Lord our God we gratefully present this Evangelical Hymnal as a publication of our Evangelical Church Society of the West to take its place alongside the Evangelical Catechism and the Evangelical Book of Worship previously published by our Synod. We heartily commend this hymnal to our people for use in both church and home. The committee authorized by the Synod to publish this work has faithfully kept in view the one purpose of producing a collection of hymns particularly suited to the needs of the Evangelical Church. These hymns, each and all, are a living testimony to the ever-present power and unity of faith in the Church of God. They are a vital and effective expression of the Evangelical spirit and faith and are adapted to all the requirements of family devotions as well as of church worship.

The treasure of religious songs and church hymns is practically inexhaustible. Each century claims its own inspired writers of songs and hymns; the harp of David has never been silent within the walls of the Church. It is true that each day has its own characteristics, even as each individual has his own distinctive features, but as long as all of these differences are united in the one purpose of singing praise to our God, as long as all contributing poets and singers are truly members of the body of Christ in the unity of the Spirit, this variety can still produce a glorious harmony. The present collection is therefore not restricted to hymns selected from the rich tradition of our sister Churches of the Protestant confession, but includes within its scope all that has won a place for itself in the singing Church of our Lord regardless of time or place of origin.

The committee has found many hymnals of recent date very helpful. The need for hymnals which had made itself felt in Germany during the past several decades led to some outstanding contributions in this field, so that our fatherland of old now possesses splendid books of this kind. This was of great assistance to us and facilitated our task. But above all we must acknowledge our indebtedness to a work which appeared in our country only three years ago, namely the German hymnal of Dr. Philip Schaff, Philadelphia, 1859. This excellent work, based on a wide-spread and thorough study of the hymnological problem, was an indispensable guide for the selection and arrangement of the hymns as well as for the revision of the text. Our book is greatly indebted to the work of Dr. Philip Schaff. Whether or not our book, through its selection of hymns, expresses a more churchly character than his hymnal, only time will tell; but this has certainly been our goal.

Thus we present this hymnal to our congregations. May it generously contribute to the development of Evangelical life and faith among the German people of our communion. We commit this book into the hands of our Lord. May His blessing rest upon its use. To Him alone be all honor and praise.

Written, May, 1862, by authority of the Evangelical Church Society of the West.

THE HYMNAL COMMITTEE

VII. ROSTER OF MARTHAVILLE STUDENTS

This list is compiled from reports in F. and K. P. Reports for later years are missing. Numbers in parentheses refer to the roster of K. pastors in Appendix III, where additional details may be found. Names printed in italics are those of graduates; names followed by * are those of new students; and names followed by † are those of students who discontinued their studies.

1850 - 1851

1. *Karl Friedrich Witte* (34)
2. *Georg Maul* (33)
3. H. H. Hanrath†
(died September 10)
4. Wilhelm Kampfmeier (35)
5. Karl Ph. Sautter†
(dismissed)
6. Johann P. Welsch (38)
7. Karl Chr. Nestel (36)
8. F. W. Riemenschneider†¹
Enrolment, 8; discontinued, 3;
graduated, 2; remaining, 3.

1851 - 1852

1. *Kampfmeier*
 2. *Nstel*
 3. Welsch
 4. Michael Kruse* (44)
 5. Philipp Göbel* (68)
(K. of Ohio)
 6. Philipp Wagner* (69)
(K. of Ohio)
 7. Albert Schory* (80)
(K. of Ohio)
- Enrolment, 7; graduated, 2;
remaining, 5.

1852 - 1853

1. *Welsch*
2. Kruse
3. Göbel
4. Wagner
5. Schory
6. Ludwig Knauss* (52)
7. Daniel Hege*
(Mennonite)
8. Arnold Fismer*
(teacher student)
9. Heinrich Obenauer*†
(returned to Germany)

10. Simon Kuhlenhölter* (51)
Enrolment, 10; discontinued, 1;
graduated, 1; remaining, 8.

1853 - 1854

(School year began June 18.)

1. *Kruse*
 2. *Göbel*²
 3. *Wagner*²
 4. *Fismer*
(graduated Oct. 30, 1853; to
Nauvoo, Ill.)
 5. *Friedrich Giebeler**
(teacher student; entered
June, 1853)
 6. *Ferd. Springer**³
 7. *Sebastian Weiss** (45)⁴
 8. Schory
 9. Knauss
 10. Hege
 11. Kuhlenhölter
 12. L. H. Buehrig* (65)
 13. Friedrich Fausel* (50)
 14. Friedrich Drewel* (64)
 15. Christian Roignac*†
(left June 27)
- Enrolment, 15; discontinued, 1;
graduated, 7; remaining, 7.

1854 - 1855

(Two classes organized.)

CLASS I

1. *Schory*
(to the K. of Ohio)
2. *Hege*
(was not ordained)
3. *Knauss*
4. *Kuhlenhölter*
5. *Fausel*

CLASS II

6. Drewel

¹ Methodist lay preacher of Smith Creek, Mo., who remained only two months. He was examined at the conference of 1852. Ordination was deferred till the following year, but did not occur.

² Examined and referred to the K. of Ohio for ordination.

³ After 6 months, upon receiving a call from a Lutheran church in Texas, left without ordination.

⁴ Admitted as auditor. Recommended by Pastor Legrand of Basel.

7. Buehrig
8. Wilhelm Richter*
(Lippe-Detmold)
9. Oswald Accola*
(Switzerland)
10. Gottlieb Brandstettner*†
(Bavaria; dismissed April,
1855)
11. Jean Jacques Büchler*†
(Alsace; dismissed April,
1855)
12. Gottfried E. Alexander*†
(Constance)
13. Heinrich Höfer* (83)
Enrolment, 13; discontinued, 3;
graduated, 5; remaining, 5.

1855 - 1856

(School year began July 16,
1855.)

CLASS I

1. Drewel
2. Buehrig
3. Richter†
(left April, 1856)
4. Accola

CLASS II⁵

5. Höfer
6. Wilhelm van Ronzelen*
(Bremen)
7. Louis F. Häberle* (109)
8. Heinrich Buchmüller* (108)
9. Theodor Krauss* (78)
10. Friedrich Daries* (88)
11. Ernst Hagemeister*†
(Prussia; left Sept. 13, 1855)
12. W. Geiger* (Ohio)
13. Heinrich Ehlers* (110)
14. Christoph Schiller*†
(Bavaria)
Enrolment, 14; discontinued, 3;
remaining, 11.

1856 - 1857

CLASS I

1. Drewel
2. Buehrig
3. Albert Zeller* (66)
4. Accola†
(not being recommended,
dropped out)

CLASS II

5. Höfer

6. van Ronzelen†
7. Häberle
8. Buchmüller
9. Krauss
10. Daries

CLASS III

11. Geiger†
(became steward at the
college)
12. Ehlers
13. Heinrich Kirchhoff* (113)
14. Christian Kirschmann* (92)
15. Christian Haas* (94)
16. Blaufuss*†
(left secretly Nov. 4, 1856)
17. Stumpf*†
Enrolment, 17; discontinued, 5;
graduated, 3; remaining, 9.

1857 - 1858

(Students not listed according to
classes.)

1. Höfer
2. Krauss
3. Daries
4. G. König*
(Baden)
5. Häberle
6. Buchmüller
7. Ehlers
8. Kirchhoff
9. Kirschmann
10. Haas
11. Johann Peter Göbel* (114)
Enrolment, 11; graduated, 4;
remaining, 7.

1858 - 1859

1. Kirschmann
2. Haas
3. Christoph F. Stark* (93)
4. Andreas Müller* (95)
5. Häberle
6. Buchmüller
7. Ehlers
8. Kirchhoff
9. Göbel
10. Heinrich Siekmann* (124)
11. Joachim Fr. Schulz* (123)
12. Wilhelm Bieseimer* (122)
13. Johannes A. Reidenbach*
(111)
14. J. Christoph Feil* (115)
15. Karl F. Off* (112)

⁵ Of the nine new arrivals only three could write, and the remainder were not able to write correctly. Class I was retained for a third year.

16. R. Rogge*†
(Prussia; left because of ill health)
Enrolment, 16; discontinued, 1;
graduated, 4; remaining, 11.

1859 - 1860

1. *Häberle*
2. *Buchmüller*
3. *Ehlers*
4. *Kirchhoff*
5. *Göbel*
6. *Reidenbach*
7. *Feil*
8. *Off*
9. *Siekmann*
10. *Schulz*
11. *Biese-meier*
12. *Nikolaus Burkart** (127)
13. *Kaspar H. Viehe** (130)
14. *Friedrich A. Umbeck** (131)
15. *Jakob Gubler** (119)
16. *Hans H. Meili** (120)
17. *Johann Balthasar Jud** (121)
Enrolment, 17; graduated, 8;
remaining, 9.

1860 - 1861

1. *Schulz*
2. *Biese-meier*
3. *Siekmann*
4. *Burkart*
5. *Viehe*
6. *Umbeck*
7. *Gubler*
8. *Meili*
9. *Jud*
10. *Otto Niethammer** (125)
11. *F. Gabriel*†*
12. *Friedrich Pfeiffer** (141)
13. *W. Rein*†*
14. *Philipp J. Albert** (144)
15. *J. J. Hotz** (142)
16. *Dietrich Berges** (150)
17. *Friedrich Rasche** (151)
18. *Philipp Meusch** (147)
19. *G. Ebling** (146)
Enrolment, 19; discontinued, 2;
remaining, 17.

1861 - 1862

1. *Schulz*
2. *Biese-meier*
3. *Siekmann*

4. *Gubler*
5. *Meili*
6. *Jud*
7. *Niethammer*
8. *Burkart*
9. *Viehe*
10. *Umbeck*
11. *Pfeiffer*
12. *Albert*
13. *Hotz*
14. *Berges*
15. *Rasche*
16. *Meusch*
17. *Ebling*
18. *Joachim F. Mernitz** (143)
19. *E. Nolting**
(teacher student)
20. *Philipp Frohne** (149)
21. *Otto Breuhaus** (145)
Enrolment, 21; graduated, 7;
remaining, 14.

1862 - 1863

1. *Burkart*
2. *Viehe*
3. *Umbeck*
4. *Pfeiffer*
5. *Albert*
6. *Hotz*
7. *Berges*
8. *Rasche*
9. *Meusch*
10. *Ebling*
11. *Mernitz*
12. *Nolting*
13. *Frohne*
14. *Breuhaus*
15. *C. Heinrich Wulfmann** (148)
16. *J. F. Rödel**
17. *H. C. Zimmer**
18. *Georg Göbel**
(Canal Dover, O.)
19. *K. Kraus**
20. *H. W. Meier*⁶*
Enrolment, 20; graduated, 3;
remaining, 17.

1863 - 1864

(Seniors, presumably the first seven, remained for another year, thus establishing five classes.)

1. *Pfeiffer*
2. *Albert*
3. *Hotz*

⁶ The places where these students had come from were as follows: Prussia, 6; Lippe-Detmold, 3; Switzerland, 2; Nassau, 3; Baden, 2; Hesse-Darmstadt, 2; Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, 1; Hanover, 1.

4. Ebling
5. Mernitz
6. Breuhaus
7. Meusch
8. Berges
9. Rasche
10. Nolting
11. Frohne
12. Wulfmann
13. Rödel
14. Zimmer
15. Göbel
16. Kraus
17. Meier

Records do not give the names of new students but state that the total enrolment amounted to 31, indicating an addition of 14 students. Discontinued, 3; remaining, 28.

1864 - 1865

1. Pfeiffer
2. Albert
3. Hotz
4. Ebling
5. Mernitz
6. Breuhaus
7. Meusch⁷
8. Berges

9. Rasche
10. Nolting
11. Frohne
12. Wulfmann
13. Rödel
14. Zimmer
15. Göbel
16. Kraus
17. Meier

Records do not give the names of new students but state that the total enrolment amounted to 39, indicating an addition of 11 students. Discontinued, 3; graduated, 7; remaining, 29.

1865 - 1866

1. Berges
2. Rasche
3. Nolting
4. Frohne
5. Wulfmann
6. Rödel
7. Zimmer
8. Göbel
9. Kraus
10. Meier

Records for this year are incomplete.

⁷ Served St. Peter's, St. Louis, during Wall's trip to Germany.

VIII. FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS ACKNOWLEDGED IN THE
FRIEDENSBOTE, 1850 - 1866

	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855
I. KIRCHENVEREIN CAUSES						
General Treasury				\$		\$
District Treasury						
Seminary	\$1,280.60	\$1,443.29	\$ 957.77	2,600.55	\$1,380.15	1,499.15
College						666.00
Teachers' Seminary						
Widows' Fund						
TOTALS	\$1,280.60	\$1,443.29	\$ 957.77	\$2,601.55	\$1,380.15	\$2,252.40
II. HOME MISSIONS						
Itinerant Missionary				\$		\$
<i>Innere Mission</i>						
Local Churches						
Hospital						
Orphans					113.01	85.25
Hospital and Orphans						
TOTALS				\$	\$ 104.01	\$ 144.40
III. FOREIGN MISSIONS						
Unclassified						
Basel						
Barmen						
North German Mission						
St. Chrischona						
Sundry Projects						
Jews						
Palestine						
TOTALS				\$	\$ 163.64	\$ 362.50
IV. MISCELLANEOUS						
GRAND TOTALS	\$1,280.60	\$1,446.29	\$1,186.27	\$2,967.57	\$2,021.94	\$3,141.50

I. KIRCHENVEREIN CAUSES						
General Treasury	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861
District Treasury	\$ 114.60	\$ 18.03	\$ 53.20	\$ 41.61	\$ 23.25	
Seminary	1,708.10	3,115.21	3,291.60	2,779.48	2,421.12	\$ 58.25
College	1,878.28	644.30	171.20	244.40	790.86	2,821.83
Teachers' Seminary						391.23
Widows' Fund					10.00	3.00
TOTALS	\$3,700.98	\$3,818.60	\$3,563.25	\$3,065.49	\$3,245.23	\$3,274.31
II. HOME MISSIONS						
Itinerant Missionary	\$ 277.95	\$ 5.50	\$ 3.00	\$ 68.40	\$ 156.90	\$ 136.62
<i>Innere Mission</i>	1.50		16.47	146.15	445.90	
Local Churches	165.01	278.90	21.86	572.65	578.18	485.85
Hospital			779.17	2,294.09	780.05	1,349.12
Orphans				485.15		14.65
Hospital and Orphans	\$ 444.46	\$ 284.40	\$ 820.50	\$3,566.44	\$1,961.03	\$1,936.24
TOTALS						
III. FOREIGN MISSIONS						
Unclassified	\$ 43.25	\$ 51.00	\$ 4.00	\$.25	\$ 624.75	\$1,033.12
Basel	498.79	679.43	920.35	1,138.16	554.99	576.22
Barmen	264.00	315.80	619.74	724.08	174.64	97.06
North German Mission			108.77	36.00	11.50	8.00
St. Chrischona			25.00	15.00	5.00	29.93
Sundry Projects	111.00		26.00	2.00		27.41
Jews			11.70	46.20		69.87
Palestine						
TOTALS	\$ 917.04	\$1,046.23	\$1,715.56	\$1,961.69	\$1,370.88	\$1,841.61
IV. MISCELLANEOUS						
.....	\$ 192.63	\$ 52.85				
GRAND TOTALS	\$5,255.11	\$5,202.08	\$6,099.31	\$8,593.62	\$6,577.14	\$7,052.16

IX. ADDRESS OF PASTOR G. WALL AT THE HOME
MISSION CONGRESS OF THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL
CHURCH, BREMEN, SEPTEMBER, 1852

(Reprinted from *Die Verhandlungen des 4. Congresses für die innere Mission . . .*, 76 ff. Translated by R. H. Pantermuehl)

“Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord.’ With these words I would address you, brethren in Christ, not so much in my own name as in the name of our dear German brethren in America. We have been conducted through the ships and have heard what is being done for the emigrants to America. But the emigrant all too soon becomes an immigrant. Our German people come into a very different climate; they must subsist on food to which they are not accustomed, and the circumstances under which they must live are totally new to them. Often those of strong physique succumb to the heat of the summer. Again, they may move into forests where only a half-year before wild beasts roamed and where Indians put on their war-paint. They may become blessed with earthly goods, but spiritually they become impoverished. Spiritual gifts are not being offered them.

“May I remind you of the thought with which I started? The Church is often represented symbolically as a woman. Woman, what will you do for your children? They were baptized in the name of Christ and are now become sorely distressed. Is there no one who will have compassion upon them? I know that, thanks to the dear friends of the homeland, the daughter Church has not been completely forgotten. Preachers who have been sent were blessed in their work. Yet, I do not mean to give any descriptions; I desire merely to fulfil the mission given me by the Church Society of the West, which is located in the states of Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

“Upon my arrival in this region, in 1834 [?], I found only four preachers. The population of St. Louis, which at that time numbered 10,000, has now grown to 100,000. A similar growth marks the entire area. The preachers who arrive from time to time are forced to teach in schools, although it is not proper that a preacher should only teach. Many mothers come with the plea: Baptize our children (often these are ten years old). In 1839 [?] we founded the Church Society. Up to this time the congregations and preachers were independent, like the Congregationalists, and the danger of sectarianism was always present. Today there are 28 Evangelical pastors and 48 Evangelical congregations.

“Frequently messengers from congregations of the backwoods come as far as several hundred miles to plead for ministers. What are we to do? We no longer receive ministers from Germany. So we decided, in 1849, trusting in God’s help, to found a seminary at Marthasville, Missouri, in order to train preachers at least in a practical way. Four seminarians have already been ordained. There were many difficulties at first, but these often resulted in blessings.

“On Ascension Day 100 homes in St. Louis were destroyed by fire; during one year 7000 inhabitants fell prey to the cholera. How many of these had to die desiring holy communion and the comforts of the Gospel—and no preacher could be found!

“Our seminary now has nine students and a debt of \$1800. We have issued a call for funds, and with the Lord’s help we have re-

ceived \$900. Our annual requirement is \$1500. Our congregations are poor and have given more than we could expect of them. Candidates are heartily welcomed, but they must be able to accomplish more than the present students are able to do. We still lack a library. We need books and ask for funds, which the Langenberg Society might administer for this purpose. Every one who is concerned for the German Church in America will cooperate in this project. Do not permit me to return to America empty-handed, to report that I have made my plea in vain."

In response to this plea the notice was added that the Messrs. Vietor, Treviranus, Mallet, Müller, and v. Hanfstengel of Bremen and the Herold Publishing Company of Hamburg were prepared to receive donations for this cause. Wichern made the personal request that all book dealers and writers present copies of their books to Marthasville.

Captain Hermann of Langenberg commented on the report of Pastor Treviranus that the Bremen Society had been dissolved. He had been authorized by the Langenberg Society to report that this organization still existed, that seventeen of its envoys were working in America, and that the present need was for men rather than for the means wherewith to send them. The Langenberg Society had received a notable gift from a kind donor in Bremen and from the king of Prussia. Five crates of books had also been sent from Langenberg. Most of these books, however, were of a general nature, such as every one had to spare, and a complaint to this effect had come from America. He, therefore, called attention to the need of exercising greater care in the selection of books and of sending only those of a serious and scientific nature.

X. CHURCHES SERVED BY *KIRCHENVEREIN* PASTORS

Churches are listed in the order of their appearance in the K. P. and district minutes. Most of them, especially those of the first decade (see Chapter V), are arranged according to states. Names followed by * are those of churches which finally joined the K. (compare with Appendix XI). Where the name of a church could not be ascertained, the name of the pastor serving at the time is given. Where names have been changed, the present names are given, when known, the original name appearing in parentheses. Where congregations did not advance to the point of organization, names are entirely lacking. Uncertainty or lack of information is indicated by (?). Compare this list with the map of *Kirchenverein* churches.

1840-1850

MISSOURI

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. St. Louis — Holy Ghost 2. St. Louis — St. Paul's* 3. St. Louis — St. Mark's 4. St. Louis — St. Peter's* 5. Mehlville (Gravois) — St. John's 6. Des Peres — Zion* 7. Oakville — St. Paul's 8. Jefferson County — St. James's (?) 9. Stratmann (Central) — St. Paul's 10. Ballwin — (?) 11. Near St. Charles—Friedens* 12. Femme Osage — Evangelical 13. Old Monroe — St. Paul's* 14. Cottleville — St. John's 15. Hamburg — Friedens 16. Augusta (Mt. Pleasant) — Ebenezer* 17. Holstein (Charette) — Immanuel 18. Pitts (Upper Charette) — Strack's Church 19. New Melle — St. John's* 20. Washington — St. Peter's 21. Marthasville — Evangelical 22. (Smith Creek) — Bethlehem (?) 23. Pinckney — St. John's 24. Lippstadt — Evangelical 25. Big Berger — Bethany 26. Gerald (Shotwell) — St. Paul's* 27. Casco (Port Hudson) — St. John's* 28. Boeuf Creek (near Gerald)— Ebenezer 29. Near Union — Mantel's Church (?) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 30. Bay (Mt. Sterling, Second Creek) — St. Paul's* 31. (Sugar Creek) — (?) 32. (Osage Point) — (?) 33. Bem (Fork Creek) — St. John's 34. California (post office address for McGirk) — Salem* 35. Prairie Home (Midway) — St. Peter's 36. Boonville — Evangelical 37. Little Berger — (?) 38. Jamestown (Moniteau) — Advent 39. (Charles' Bottom) — (?) 40. Pilot Grove — St. Paul's <h4 style="text-align: center;">ILLINOIS</h4> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 41. Alton — (Pastor Rieger) 42. Highland — Evangelical 43. Beardstown — (Pastor Rieger) 44. Quincy — Salem* 45. Liberty — (Pastor Jung of Quincy) 46. Millstadt (Centerville, Dutch Hill, and New Aargau) — Zion 47. Near Centerville — Salem 48. Freeburg (Turkey Hill) — Evangelical Protestant 49. Okawville (Okaw) — St. Paul's 50. Belleville—St. Paul's 51. Near Edwardsville — St. James's (?) 52. Red Bud (Long Prairie) — (Pastor Riess) 53. Horse Prairie — St. Mark's 54. (Horse Creek) — (?) 55. Round Prairie — (Pastor Baltzer) 56. Bluff Precinct — Salem |
|---|--|

57. Near Waterloo — (?)
(St. Martin's)
58. Waterloo — St. Paul's
59. New Hanover — Zoar
60. Columbia — St. Paul's
- INDIANA
61. Vanderburgh County —
St. Paul's
62. Vanderburgh County —
St. John's
63. Evansville — Zion*
64. Lippe (Tersteegen) —
Zion*
65. Posey County (Black Hawk
Mills) — Salem
66. Freelandville (Maria
Creek) — Bethel*
- IOWA
67. Burlington —
First Evangelical*
68. Dodgeville — St. John's
69. Augusta — St. John's
70. (Walnut Creek) — (?)
(Pastor Dresel)
71. Muscatine —
Evangelical Protestant*
72. Donnellson — St. Peter's
73. Franklin Center — St. Paul's
- LOUISIANA
74. New Orleans —
First Evangelical
75. New Orleans and Lafayette
— St. Paul's Ev. Lutheran
- 1853
76. Hermann, Mo. — St. Paul's
77. Fort Madison, Ia. —
(Pastor K. Riess)
- 1854
78. Freeport, Ill. — St. John's*
79. Holland, Ind. — St. Paul's*
80. St. Louis, Mo. — St. John's
81. Carondelet, Mo. —
(Pastor Kampmeier)
82. Near Concordia, Mo. (Cook's
Store) — St. John's
83. Warsaw, Ill. — Evangelical*
- 1855
84. Nashville, Ill. — St. Paul's*
85. (Rock Run, Stephenson Co.,
Ill.) — St. Paul's*
86. Cincinnati, O. — Zion*
87. Louisville, Ky. — St. John's*
88. Cumberland, Ind. —
St. John's*
89. Huntingburg, Ind. —
Salem*
90. Town Hermann, Wis. (How-
ard's Grove) — St. John's
- 1856
91. Princeton, Ill. — Salem*
- 1857
- MISSOURI
92. Warrenton —
(Pastor Döhring)
93. Iron Mountain —
(Pastor Mengert)
94. Lexington —
(Pastor Welsch)
95. (Brush Creek) — (?)
(served from Augusta)
- ILLINOIS
96. Plum Hill — St. John's
97. Eleroy (New Erin) —
Salem*
98. Mendota — (Pastor I. Koch)
- INDIANA
99. Vincennes — St. John's*
100. Inglesfield (Sandersville) —
Salem
101. Haubstadt —
(Pastor Bühler)
- WISCONSIN
102. New Glarus — (now "Swiss
Reformed Church")
103. Town Rhine — St. Peter's
(served from Town
Hermann)
104. Green Bay Road — (Pastor
Lenschau of Town Hermann,
who was also serving con-
gregations in Town Russell,
Mosel, and near Sheboygan)
- OHIO
105. Mansfield — St. John's*
- IOWA
106. Sigourney —
(Pastor Haack)
- 1859
- MISSOURI
107. Beaufort — (Pastor Maul)
108. (New Brunswick) — (?)
(Pastor Zeller)
109. Jefferson Mills —
(Pastor Fotsch)
110. (Gall's Prairie) — (?)
(Pastor Romanowsky)

111. Stolpe (Gasconade Ferry) — St. John's*
 112. Cape Girardeau — (Pastor Daries)
 ILLINOIS
 113. Jacksonville — (Pastor Krauss)
 INDIANA
 114. Evansville — (?) (Pastor Braschler; perhaps a rural church in the neighborhood of Evansville)
 115. Andrews — St. Paul's*
 116. Bippus — St. John's*
 117. Bremen — Immanuel*
 118. Newburgh — Zion*
 119. Cannelton — St. John's*
 OHIO
 120. Powhatan Point — (Pastor Weissgerber)
 121. Massillon — (Pastor Abele)
 122. Canal Dover — (Pastor Schäfer)
 123. Miltonsburg — (Evangelical Prot.) St. Peter's*
 124. Stone Creek — (Pastor Aulenbach)
 125. Cleveland — St. Paul's*
 126. Bolivar — St. John's
 127. Hannibal (Baresville) — Zion*
 128. Zanesville — (Pastor Sträter)
 KENTUCKY
 129. Louisville — St. Peter's*
 WISCONSIN
 130. Town Oakland — St. John's
 131. Near Fort Atkinson — (Pastor L. Knauss of Town Oakland)
 1862
 INDIANA
 132. Kasson — Zoar*
 133. Elberfeld (Bluegrass) — Immanuel*
 134. Indianapolis — Zion
 135. Near Indianapolis (Fenton) — Zion*
 136. Posey County (Hickory Branch) — St. Paul's*
 137. New Albany — Zion*
 138. Stewartsville — (Pastor Schenk)
 139. Boonville — St. John's*
 140. Urbana — St. Peter's*
 141. Wabash — St. Matthew's*
 142. (Sugar Creek, Hancock Co.) — (Pastor Krehbiel)
 143. Santa Claus — (Pastor Zwolaneck)
 144. Lawrenceburg — Zion
 145. New Albany — German Evangelical
 KENTUCKY
 146. Newport — (Pastor Klaussen)
 OHIO
 147. Pomeroy — Evangelical*
 148. Hayesville* — (Pastor Krönllein, who in 1863 served Salem and Trinity)
 149. Liverpool — (Pastor Müller)
 150. Navarre — Immanuel*
 151. Homerville — (Pastor Schory)
 152. Loudonville — St. Paul's*
 153. Port Washington — (Pastor Engelbach)
 MISSOURI
 154. Jefferson City — (Pastor Rieger)
 155. Morse's Mill — (Pastor L. Knauss)
 156. Florence — (Pastor Feil)
 ILLINOIS
 157. Breese (Shoal Creek) — St. John's*
 158. Adeline and North Grove — Zion*
 159. Oquawka — Evangelical
 160. Peru — (Pastor Siekmann)
 WISCONSIN
 161. Lakemills — (Pastor Off)
 162. Station — St. John's
 IOWA
 163. Newton — St. John's*
 164. Keokuk* — (Pastor Meili)
 NEW YORK
 165. Buffalo — (Pastor Schelle)
 166. Rochester — (Pastor Conradi)
 MINNESOTA
 167. Cannon City — (Pastor Weiss)
 1864
 KENTUCKY
 168. Louisville — St. Paul's
 INDIANA
 169. Southbend — (Pastor Wagner)

170. Edwardsport — Salem*
 171. Bourbon — St. Paul's*
 OHIO
 172. Cincinnati — Texas Church*
 ILLINOIS
 173. Near Nashville (North
 Prairie) — Zion*
 174. Olney — (Pastor Feutz)
 175. Central City — Zion
 176. Forreston — St. John's
 IOWA
 177. Lowden — (Pastor Härdtle)
 WISCONSIN
 178. Monroe—St. John's*
 179. Edwards—St. Mark's*
 1866
 INDIANA
 180. (Central Point) — (?)
 (Pastor Schäffer)
 181. Fulda (Kratzburg) —
 Trinity*
 182. Madison — (Pastor Bühler)
 183. (Farmer's Retreat, Dearborn
 Co.) — (Pastor Krehbiel)
 184. Buffaloville — St. John's*
 185. Warrenton — St. Stephen's*
 OHIO
 186. Van Wert — St. Paul's*
187. Mansfield — (Pastors
 Lenschau and Wulfmann)
 188. Chillicothe —
 (Pastor Sträter)
 ILLINOIS
 189. Pana — St. John's
 190. Centralia — St. Peter's
 191. (Walker) — (?)
 (Pastor Viehe)
 192. Hollowayville —
 (Pastor Buehrig)
 MISSOURI
 193. Kansas City —
 (Pastor Feil)
 194. St. Joseph — Zion*
 IOWA
 195. Council Bluffs —
 (Pastor Hoffmeister)
 WISCONSIN¹
 196. Richfield — St. James's
 197. Russell—St. Paul's
 198. Town Mosel — St. Mark's*
 MINNESOTA
 199. Wheeling — St. John's
 NEW YORK
 200. Brooklyn — (Pastor Bank)
 201. Williamsburgh —
 (Pastor Reidenbach)

¹ According to other sources, churches were being served at Jackson, Plymouth, Meeme, Spring Grove, Germantown, and Moscow, Wis. See Chapter XIII.

XI. CHURCHES AFFILIATED WITH THE KIRCHENVEREIN

Listed according to their first appearance in K. P. Original locality given in parentheses. Churches listed as "old" congregations had been previously admitted by districts. Records of K. P. and D. P. do not always coincide.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. St. Louis, Mo., St. Paul's — 1849-66</p> <p>2. St. Louis, Mo., St. Peter's¹ — 1851-62</p> <p>3. Burlington, Ia., First Evangelical — 1852-66</p> <p>4. Casco (Port Hudson), Mo., St. John's — 1852-66</p> <p>5. Near St. Charles, Mo., Friedens — 1854-66</p> <p>6. Freeport, Ill., St. John's — 1854-66</p> <p>7. Holland, Ind., St. Paul's — 1854-66</p> <p>8. Rock Run, Ill., St. Paul's — 1855-66</p> <p>9. Cincinnati, O., Zion — 1855-66</p> <p>10. Des Peres, Mo., Zion — 1855-66</p> <p>11. Louisville, Ky., St. John's — 1856-66</p> <p>12. Princeton, Ill., Salem — 1856-66</p> <p>13. Cumberland, Ind., St. John's — 1856-66</p> <p>14. McGirk (North Moreau), Mo., Salem² — 1857-66</p> <p>15. Evansville, Ind., Zion — 1857-66</p> <p>16. Lippe (Tersteegen), Ind., Zion — 1857-66</p> <p>17. Nashville, Ill., St. Paul's — 1859-66</p> <p>18. Andrews (Belden), Ind., St. Paul's³ — 1859-66</p> | <p>19. Bippus, Ind., St. John's⁴ — 1859, 1866</p> <p>20. Louisville, Ky., St. Peter's — 1859-66</p> <p>21. Freelandville, Ind., Bethel — 1859-66</p> <p>22. Cannelton, Ind., St. John's — 1859-66</p> <p>23. Eleroy (New Erin), Ill., Salem — 1859-66</p> <p>24. Bremen, Ind., Immanuel⁵ — 1862, 1866</p> <p>25. Quincy, Ill., Salem⁶ — 1862-66</p> <p>26. Hayesville, O.⁶ — 1862-66</p> <p>27. Hannibal (Baresville), Ohio, Zion⁷ — 1862</p> <p>28. Augusta, Mo., Ebenezer⁶ — 1862-66</p> <p>29. New Melle, Mo., St. John's⁶ — 1862-66</p> <p>30. Huntingburg, Ind., Salem — 1862-66</p> <p>31. Adeline, Ill., Zion⁸ — 1862-66</p> <p>32. Newburgh, Ind., Zion — 1862-66</p> <p>33. Cleveland, O., St. Paul's — 1862-66</p> <p>34. Near Indianapolis (Fenton), Ind., Zion — 1862-66</p> <p>35. Boonville, Ind., St. John's — 1862-66</p> <p>36. Vincennes, Ind., St. John's — 1862-66</p> <p>37. Urbana, Ind., St. Peter's — 1862-64</p> |
|--|---|

¹ Dropped in 1864.

² Later (1864) served by the pastors from California, which is not listed separately.

³ The churches at Andrews and Bippus were the first to join the K. under Galster after the merger with the K. of Ohio.

⁴ The records of 1862 and 1864 contain no reference to this church.

⁵ Listed as an "old" congregation. The records of 1864 contain no reference to this church. Changed to "First Evangelical" in 1923.

⁶ Listed as an "old" congregation.

⁷ Neither Baresville nor Hannibal occurs in later K. records. Hannibal is listed as a member in E. D. P., 1865.

⁸ Also referred to as Zion of North Grove and Adeline.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 38. Wabash, Ind., St. Mathew's — 1862 ⁹ -66 | 52. Bay (Mt. Sterling, Second Creek), Mo., St. Paul's ¹⁰ 1866 |
| 39. Miltonsburg, O., St. Peter's ¹⁰ — 1864-66 | 53. Monroe, Wis., St. John's — 1866 |
| 40. Stolpe (Gasconade Ferry), Mo., St. John's ¹⁰ — 1864-66 | 54. Town Mosel, Wis., St. Mark's — 1866 |
| 41. New Albany, Ind., Zion ¹¹ — 1864-66 | 55. Warsaw, Ill., Evangelical — 1866 |
| 42. Breese, (Shoal Creek), Ill., St. John's — 1864-66 | 56. Keokuk, Ia., Evangelical — 1866 |
| 43. Old Monroe, Mo., St. Paul's — 1864-66 | 57. Warrenton, Ind., St. Stephen's |
| 44. Edwardsport, Ind., Salem — 1864-66 | 58. Elberfeld (Bluegrass), Ind., Immanuel |
| 45. Posey County (Hickory Branch), Ind., St. Paul's — 1864-66 | 59. Muscatine, Ia. (St. Paul's of N. D. P., 1866) |
| 46. Bourbon, Ind., St. Paul's — 1864-66 | 60. Loudonville, O., St. Paul's |
| 47. Navarre, O., Immanuel — 1864-66 | 61. Mansfield, O., St. John's |
| 48. Edwards, Wis., St. Mark's — 1864 ¹² -66 | 62. Fulda (Kratzburg), Ind., Trinity (or St. Peter's, Lamar) |
| 49. Near Nashville (North Prairie), Ill., Zion ¹³ — 1866 | 63. Kasson, Ind., Zoar |
| 50. Gerald (Shotwell), Mo., St. Paul's ¹⁴ — 1866 | 64. Buffaloville, Ind., St. John's |
| 51. Cincinnati, O., Texas Church ¹⁰ — 1866 | 65. Van Wert (Harrison Township), O., St. Paul's |
| | 66. Pomeroy, O., Evangelical ¹⁵ |
| | 67. Newton, Ia., St. John's |
| | 68. St. Joseph, Mo., Zion |

⁹ Included in the forty-two congregations listed in the K. P. of 1862 were churches at Pomeroy, Bolivar, and Loudonville, O., and at New Albany (Evangelical), Ind., which, according to subsequent records, did not join at this time, and a double listing of Huntingburg, Ind. The church at Bippus, Ind., was inadvertently omitted. Thus four must be excluded, leaving the first thirty-eight here listed.

¹⁰ See *supra*, n. 6.

¹¹ Zion, organized in 1861 by a faction of the German Evangelical Church, applied for membership in 1862 (under Jud), but was not accepted until 1864. The following year the two churches reunited (under Young) as the German Evangelical Church.

¹² Included in the fifty-one congregations listed in the K. P. of 1864 were congregations of Warsaw, Ill., Keokuk, Ia., and South Bend, Ind., which did not join. Huntingburg is again listed twice. Bippus and Bremen, Ind., should be added.

¹³ Listed as an "old" congregation. Founded from Nashville; now Zion at Hoyleton.

¹⁴ Listed as an "old" congregation. Originally located one mile west of Gerald.

¹⁵ Had applied for membership in 1862. Present name of the Pomeroy church (Friedens) was adopted in 1875.

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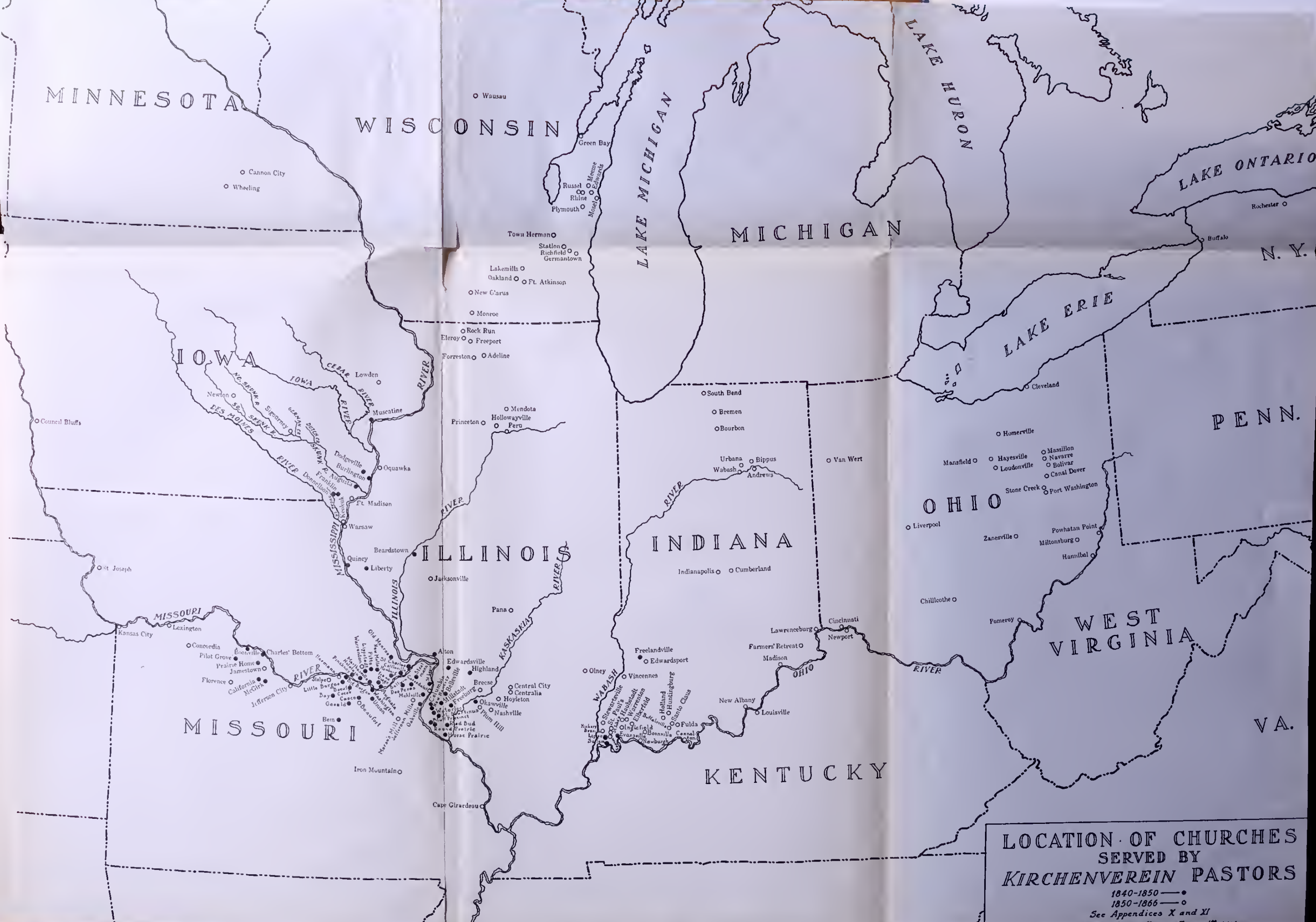
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