Lutheranism in Maine 1741-1986

Ingo Dutzmann

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_dutzmanni@cs.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.csl.edu/stm

Part of the Christianity Commons, and the Religious Thought, Theology and Philosophy of Religion Commons

Recommended Citation


This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Concordia Seminary Scholarship at Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master of Sacred Theology Thesis by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csedu.
LUTHERANISM IN MAINE 1741-1986

A thesis Presented to the Faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Department of Historical Theology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Sacred Theology

by
Ingo R. Dutzmann

May 1988

Approved by Quentin Wesselschmidt
Advisor

Jacob A. D. Press III
Reader
TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE  ******  iv
INTRODUCTION  ..................................................  vi
METHODOLOGY  ..................................................  vii

Chapter

I. THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN MAIN E, 1604-1740  *******  1

II. THE FIRST LUTHERANS AND THE FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND: WALDOBORO, 1741-1860  *******  9

III. THE ETHNIC MIGRATIONS, 1871-1921  *******  22

IV. LUTHERANISM IN THE INTERIM, 1922-1955; THE SUOMI SYNOD  *******  40

V. LUTHERAN CONSOLIDATION AND NON-ETHNIC GROWTH, 1956-1987  *******  47

VI. WHERE LUTHERANISM NOW STANDS IN MAIN E: THE THEOLOGICAL DIMENSION AND IMPACT OF THE NEW LUTHERAN CHURCH  *******  61

EVALUATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS TO DATE  *******  72

CONCLUSION  ..................................................  75

APPENDIXES:

A. STATUS SHEET OF LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS AND MISSIONS IN Main e (REVISED DECEMBER 31, 1986)  *******  78

B. COMPARISON OF POPULATION OF MAIN E COMMUNITIES WITH ACTIVE LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS OR MISSIONS WITHIN THEIR BOUNDARIES (REVISED DECEMBER 31, 1986)  *******  80

C. ITINERARY OF MAJOR IN-MAIN E INTERVIEWS AND DISTANCES FROM CAPE ELIZABETH (REVISED FEBRUARY 1, 1987)  *******  82

D. MAP OF PAST AND PRESENT LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS AND MISSIONS IN MAIN E (REVISED FEBRUARY 1, 1987)  *******  83
E. BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EACH LUTHERAN CONGREGATION AND MISSION IN MAINE (REVISED FEBRUARY 8, 1987) 84
F. CONGREGATIONAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS 114
G. PASTOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS 116
BIBLIOGRAPHY 117
PREFACE

In the summer of 1983 with the Lord's leading, I accepted a call to move with my family to Redeemer Lutheran Church, Cape Elizabeth, Maine. It was the year of the 500th Anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther and as such it seemed only fitting and proper to arrange for an appropriate celebration of this event at Portland's beautiful City Hall with its 7800 pipe Kotschmar organ. The event was a resounding success and brought Lutheran consciousness to the fore in Maine in a substantial way for the first time in the history of the state.

Maine has virtually no recorded history of Lutheranism even though the oldest Lutheran church in all of New England still stands within its borders. There is no written or oral history of Lutherans in Maine. There are more references at the Portland Public Library for "Winston Churchill" for example than for all of Christendom in the last 2000 years!

For anyone interested in history this comes as a bit of a shock. This thesis is the first attempt in Maine to rectify that situation. Lutherans in Maine have had and continue to have a story to tell. It is a story full of sin and grace both sad and proud. It is a story which ought to be told because it is significant in a number of ways. First, Lutherans in a given place ought to know their roots. Second,
neighbors of Lutherans ought to know who Lutherans are and what they believe. Third, other small struggling Lutheran areas ought to have access to contemporary histories of similar struggles and how these were met. Fourth, no history of Lutheranism in America is complete without an understanding of each of its components; Maine is one of those components and its Lutheran history has not been told heretofore. May this be a beginning.

A word of thanks is in order to Betty Grant, Donna Speckmann, Julie Pflug, Debby Hamilton, Stephen and Patti Crafts, Redeemer Lutheran Church of Cape Elizabeth, Maine, and my wife, children and mom: without them there would be no written History of Lutheranism in Maine. Thanks also to Jan Heins without whom this degree would not have gotten -Off the ground.

Easter 1988
Ingo R. Dutzmann
INTRODUCTION

What follows is a mere synopsis of the story of Lutheranism in Maine. It is, I believe, a story of Biblically-motivated human beings whose efforts have enriched our own in this ninth decade of the Twentieth Century. There is a history to be learned here. The important question is whether we care or ant to learn from that history.

My purpose in this writing is very simple. First, to tell the story for the first time. Second, to establish and comment upon basic demographic data for Lutheranism in Maine and to provide brief overviews of every Lutheran congregation in Maine to date. And third, to make some observations about the practical and theological state of the Lutheran denominations in Maine especially with reference to the establishment of the new Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, as it may relate to the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod.

Lutheranism in Maine has developed during three distinct eras: the Gennan Waldoboro era from 1741-1860; the era of general ethnic migrations from 1871-1921; and the era of consolidation and non-ethnic growth from 1956-1987. Although the Waldoboro congregation was the first Lutheran one in all of New England, growth has been painfully slow in the intervening two and one-half centuries. The reasons for this pace as well as the prospects for the future will be addressed.
METHODOLOGY

The method employed in gathering materials for this enterprise was rather straight-forward; that is, going right to the source. In the past year I have driven several thousand miles, made several hundred calls, conducted dozens of oral histories and interviews, and gathered thousands of bits of information verbally, photographically, and in written and printed form.

All the traditional methods for gathering information were employed. These included visits to the libraries at Harvard Divinity School, Bangor Theological Seminary, The University of Maine at Orono, the University of Southern Maine at Portland, the Portland Public Library and the Thomas Memorial Library in Cape Elizabeth. Also perused were the Guides to Periodical Literature, the National Union Catalogues, and bibliographies appended to secondary works too numerous to mention. By far the most helpful was the Portland Room at the Portland Public Library, but even there, information of a primary nature related to Lutheranism in Maine was minimal. Items and interviews gathered directly on location have been the best primary sources along with newspapers and the Journal of the New England Lutheran Historical Society.

While there are entire volumes about Catholicism, Methodism, Congregationalism, and the Baptists in Maine, no comprehensive work has ever been done about the Lutherans. With this as a given, I felt it important
to accomplish several objectives in the body of the paper. First, to establish the broadest possible reading list. Second, to establish a network of Lutherans in Maine, from each of the five denominations represented, who are interested in the history of Lutheranism here and who would be willing to serve as resources for this and future research. Third, to state the facts as succinctly as possible within the context of the greater history of the state of Maine and of Lutheranism in America. And fourth, to begin a collection of photographs which represent each Lutheran site in the state.

The oral histories made in the course of this research have been transcribed and will be duplicated and submitted to the Concordia Historical Institute in St. Louis, Missouri, as well as the New England Lutheran Historical Society and the Archives of the New England District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. All materials gathered to date or in the future will be available to any interested parties. The photography collection is also in my possession. It is my intention to continue the study of Lutheranism in Maine and I pray this effort may prompt others to do likewise.
CHAPTER I
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN MAINE 1604-1740

When the great American adventure of settlement and destiny began on the North American continent three hundred and eighty years ago, it was no kith or kin, economics or enterprise which brought settlers to these shores, but by d large, it was a yearning to worship freely and to experience peace with God. Not that the other factors played no par4 but they were secondary. In a pamphlet published in London in 1613, entitled "Good News from Virginia • • • " there was even a plea for people "who may venture their persons hither, and heere not only serve God but helpe these poore Indians."1

Settlement activity in 'Maine' (so named due to its location providing the first encounter with the "maine" of the continent when sailing from Europe) began quickly. The first formal religious service was celebrated on Saint Croix Island by Father Nicholas d'Aubri in 1604 with Samuel de Champlain himself in attendance.2 The colony was moved across the Saint Croix River to Nova Scotia the next year due to the perception that the Indians there were friendlier. In 1607 George Popham, commanding the ships 'Gift of God' and 'Mary and John,'


established Maine's first colony (also the first colony in New England.)³ The Reverend Richard Seymour was among the 120 colonists and, the day after arriving in the New World, conducted the first service of the English Church in all of New England.⁴ This colony also failed in short order, but the precedence for religious services regularly conducted had been set, and the record of future Maine colonization bears this out.

A word is in order about the nature of the religion brought to the Maine shores. As with most items brought by the colonists, religion came in distinctly European forms; Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The first was identifiable by the traditional Latin mode of worship, the saying of the Mass, and a humble devotion to the Virgin Mary: in fact, "Maine is the only New England state with a Catholic history rooted deep in the colonial period."⁵ The essential features of the second included Luther's sense of 'Justification by Faith,' the centrality of the Scriptures, the 'Priesthood of all believers,' and the nature of the Church.⁶ In Europe many turned to this reformation of Christian belief and practice because they believed in


⁴Hebert p. 403.


it, while others adopted it as a convenient way out of the Roman Catholic Church. In America, Luther and Calvin's convictions, especially concerning scripture and the church, "would flourish . . . as nowhere else in the world."7

There were no Lutheran-Roman Catholic Dialogues in Seventeenth Century Maine. The honor of one's religion was defended to the death. Given Maine's unique position of being in the middle of what was to become a protracted and ugly conflict between France and England, it was only natural that the respective churches would become embroiled as well, despite their best inclinations to the contrary.

Trouble once brewing has a way of not waiting long to boil. In 1613, the Catholic Mission at Mount Desert (now the site of Acadia National Park) was destroyed by the English and one lay-brother was killed.3 The motivation for this and other raids was invariably the conflicting claim to Maine by both French and English monarchies. In the single most flamboyant gesture of that era;

King Louis XIII gave to Madame de Guercherville all of America between the St. Lawrence and the Floridas; and she, fired by missionary zeal, sought to bring Christianity to all the Indians in her vast domain . . . 9

Following the bloodshed at Mount Desert the struggle for supremacy in Maine, though with some periods of relative quiet, did not cease until the French suffered defeat at the hands of the British in eastern Canada in 1763. The interim did see some mutual toleration as witnessed by the warm reception given to the Jesuits and other French orders by

7Rbid., p. 8. 8Hebert, p. 404. 9Rbid., p. 404.
the Puritan traders along the coast. Similarly, the English endeavor to convert the Indians to Congregationalism was respected by the French for a time. Yet wars did erupt in 1627-32 and 1654-67 with the results seemingly no more favorable to either side than before the fighting began.10

During the years of alternating toleration and warfare a pattern of relationships with the Indians was developing which was to have a major impact upon the missionary efforts of both countries. The French, it seems were much more willing to mingle with the Indians and treat them as equals, while the English were more aloof; reserved and, on occasion, downright deceitful.11 When the French and Indian Wars began in earnest in 1675 it came as no surprise that most of the Indian nations and tribes sided with the French.

The key figure in the turbulent years which followed was undoubtedly Sebastian Rasle, also known as "Father Rale," who established himself at Norridgewock in 1694. He was fluent in several Indian dialects, an extraordinary leader and a missionary at heart.12 He reported to his superiors that "the whole nation of the Abnakis is Christian .

10Lucey, pp. 6-7.
11Smith, pp. 122-123. It was virtually unheard of for an Englishman to marry an Indian, John Smith and Pocahontas being rare exceptions. Among the French on the other hand, marriage to an Indian was favorably regarded. One of the more famous marriages was that of the Baron de Castin (after whom Castine, Maine, is named) who came explicitly to live among the Indians, fell in love and married the daughter of Sachem Madockawanda. "His life and example made easier the work of converting the Indians to Catholicism." John Wedda, New England Worphips, (New York, Random House, 1965), p. 225.
12Lucy, pp. 12-13. "Rasle" also spelled "Rale."
and very zealous to pursue their religion."13 With the English interested in further exploiting the natural resources of the area and Rasle convinced that all of Maine rightfully belonged to France, the stage was set for a conflict which cost English settlers over 6000 lives, while it effectively reduced the Indian population of Maine to become mere wards of Massachusetts.14 The bitter episode came to an abrupt end when a famous raid upon Norridgewock resulted in Rasle's death as well as the departure of Catholicism from Maine for the next seventy-five years.15 The nature of the church in Maine was radically changed as a result and the competition for souls became one between the Church of England and the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; the latter having the zealous edge in the contest:

The Puritans wished to fulfill their original aspirations for England in the American colonies. They wanted to see a purified Gospel applied to the lives of individuals. They wanted a complete reformation of the church. They wanted society in all its expressions to glorify God.16

The lack of religious diversity which resulted from the Puritan entrenchment in the northern 'district' of Massachusetts prior to the Lutheran emigration from Saxony in the years following 1740 was only

13Hebert, p. 404.

14Hebert, p. 405. Once Charles I of England had been beheaded in 1649, the Puritans under Cromwell took control and during the period 1652-1658 the state came under control of Massachusetts. Even with the ascendancy of Charles II, and the indigenous clamor for rule by Massachusetts to be removed, the hold of the Puritans on Maine lasted until statehood was finally granted as part of the Missouri compromise of 1820. Smith, pp. 95-97.


16Noll, p. 33.
challenged by the arrival of several groups of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians under the direction of Colonel David Dunbar. Having been appointed "Surveyor of the King's Woods and Governor of the Province of George, also called Sagadohoc" (coastal area just north of Portland; principle cities, Brunswick and Bath) in 1729 by King George, II, Dunbar confessed and antagonized Puritan control for three years before he was deprived of his offices, due in large measure to the intense lobbying efforts of the Massachusetts authorities in England.17 Ironically, it was one of the leaders of this effort to rid Maine of Dunbar's influence who was to be the principal player in the effort to bring the first Lutherans to the area: General Samuel Waldo, Governor Belcher's highest-ranking military officer.18

Two other religious groups sought to make inroads in the spiritual matrix of Maine; the Quakers from 1656-1662 and the Baptists from 1682-1684. After brief toleration but rigid refusal to permit the Quakers any inroads to the hearts of Mainers, the 'Society of Friends' left the state not to return for more than a century.19 The Baptists' short stay in the Kittery area resulted in their moving to more tolerant climes in Charleston, South Carolina, where they founded the first Baptist Church in the state.

---

17 Smith, pp. 172-173.


19 Hebert, p. 408.
From this seed, planted by a man from Maine, all the Baptist Churches in the South developed, until the denomination became the largest and most powerful in that part of the country.  

Lest one leave this period of the development of the church in Maine with a distinct distaste for Puritanism (perhaps typified by H. L. Mencken's definition of a Puritan as "a person in constant dread that someone somewhere might be happy."), given its radical approach to establishing the church of God on earth, it may be well to mention among their many attributes the Puritans' devotion to family and community, their understanding of evil, God's grace and the complexity of human existence, and their deep and continual yearning for the things of the spirit.  

In the pursuit of establishing the perfect church-state, it was readily acknowledged that fallible human beings could never hope to achieve this goal. Therein lay Puritanism's greatest paradox: trying to attain an unattainable goal. In the end, the 'Puritan Dilemma' was resolved by recognizing that the Massachusetts Bay Colony "could not longer hope to evangelize the world ... but that she could at least try to save the strangers whom God deposited on her shores." Maine therefore had the good fortune to be just far enough from the center of Puritanism to avoid some of the excesses experienced further south. Maine was to see no

---

20bid., p. 408.  
21Noll, p. 31.  
witch trials, Quaker hangings, or Baptist banishments (despite some
efforts in these directions) and thus the seeds, of what was to be-
come an air of religious freedom, began to take root which prepared
the way for the first Lutheran congregation in all of New England to
be founded on the banks of the Medomak River.
CHAPTER II
THE FIRST LUTHERANS AND THE FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH
IN NEW ENGLAND: WALDOBORO; 1741-1860

When General Samuel Waldo first contemplated bringing Saxon Germans to Maine, the American scene was undergoing radical changes. The fourth decade of the eighteenth century saw the advent of the "Great Awakening" with fiery itinerant preachers like Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen, Gilbert Tennent, Jonathan Dickenson, and the great George Whitefield, conducting what amounted to the first evangelistic crusades from New England to Georgia.1 During his New England tour of 1740, Whitefield got as far north as York, Maine, and daily addressed crowds up to 8,000 for a month straight.

It was probably the most sensational event in the whole history of American religion • • • There were hundreds for whom the sole important question had become 'What must I do to be saved?'2

It was not long before the American religious scene had become one of two camps; the 'New Lights' who favored the heady revival and the 'Old Lights' who "were shocked by the sight of ignorant men screaming damnation and of the masses of people wallowing in terror or ecstasy."3


Jonathan Edwards emerged as the colllllcodile theological mouthpiece for revival while Charles Chauncey took the rational 'Old Light' position to its logical end; denying the supernatural altogether, setting the stage for Unitarianism, Universalism and Deism, and creating a theology which needed neither Christ nor clergyman.4

Other winds were also blowing from across the sea. For one, the population of America was increasing at breath-taking speed. The colonial population in 160 estimated at 75,000 reached 20,000,000 a century later. Cities in the New World rivaled all but London itself in size and complexity and the very nature of the immigration patterns necessitated a move toward greater toleration and understanding. The year 1739 saw the advent of the Society of Methodists under the energetic direction of John Wesley, who capitalized on the Great Awakening's promotion of discontent with many of the established church bodies.5 By 1740, Lutherans (the first having arrived fifty-seven years earlier from Germany aboard the good ship "Concord") already comprised the fifth largest church body in America with 95 congregations out of a total of 1176 on the entire continent.6 And thanks to the economic benefits afforded England by the colonies, George II encouraged further emigration, signing an act granting full rights of

4bid., pp. 61-67


6Noll, p. 97.
citizenship to all religious minorities in the land except for Catholics. Thus for Protestants, Quakers and Jews in the Old World, the New World was beginning to be recognized for what it was to become most famous for, a land of opportunity, industry and toleration.

Conditions in parts of Europe, the Gennan states in particular, had become so intolerable with the advent of the plague, the continued unrest following the gruesome Thirty Years War, and the social and religious persecution which followed, that many Gennan speaking people would have done most anything to escape to the haven across the sea. During the period 1683-1727 alone, over 20,000 Germans emigrated to Pennsylvania; the first of them coming aboard the appropriately-named "Concord." In the period 1700-1740, the number of Luther congregations in America jumped from seven to ninety-five and that of the German Reformed Church from zero to fifty-one. Not one of those churches was in Maine. That was soon to change.

7Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, Number 1, 2nd edition, 1905, pp. 94-98; "An Act for Naturalizing Such Foreign Protestants and others therein mentioned, as are settled or shall settle in any of His Majesty's colonies in America." (Transcribed letter for letter from the original.) Interestingly, these provisions carefully extended such citizenship to Jews living in America, while excluding them from the same privilege in England.


9Noll, p. 97
It is striking, given the Lutheran interest in the past, that we do not hear more of the First Lutherans in New England and their Lutheran church in New England (third oldest church in all of Maine). This was a hundred years before the flight from the same area of Germany, prompted by the Prussian Union, saw the likes of Martin Stephan, Johann Loehe and C. F. W. Walther first stepping upon the shores of the new Lutheran "Zion on the Mississippi." The answer to the apparent disinterest would seem to lie in the lack of confessional integrity among these first Lutherans in Maine, particularly with regard to the Lord's Supper, but more on that later.

Although General Waldo had arranged for the first settlers to arrive as early as 1741 and the first Minister of the Gospel, Philip Gottfried Kast to serve them by 1742, worship was irregular. Two factors influenced this irregularity; first, a thriving town complete with fertile, cleared fields and homes ready to move into was not nearly as real as the good General had described, and second, the arrangements agreed to by Kast were not lived up to by Waldo.10 The solution was that the settlers spent nearly all their time clearing the land while Kast returned to Boston and sued Waldo for breach of contract: not an auspicious beginning.11


A layman, John Ulmer took up the work of establishing a church and, in 1743, a large log cabin had been built to serve as a church and a block house. This enterprise also met with disaster when the renewed French and Indian Wars saw a major attack upon Waldoboro in 1746 resulting in most of the German settlers being killed and the church destroyed. From 1746-1748 there were no worship services at all.

The next major group of settlers, again inspired by Waldo, arrived from Saxony in November of 1748, having been told the same story about the homes and fields just waiting for occupants. This subtle, or not so subtle, misrepresentation of the prevailing conditions is confusing. Many Germans were eager to leave their homeland and certainly willing to endure most any hardship to do so. Why then this less than honest enticement to get them to come? The quality of the settlers certainly seems to indicate that they would have come even if they had been fully forewarned about the initial hardships they would face. So why did Samuel Waldo, an honorable man by all reports, provide unfounded inducements when they were not even necessary? Jaspar Stahl, the leading authority on Waldoboro, suggests Waldo was representing what he anticipated would actually be there’. Ironically, precisely the same misrepresentation also prompted the Swedes a hundred and thirty years later to settle in Maine and establish the Lutheran settlement of New Sweden.

---


Among the thirty to forty families comprising the group landing at Broad Bay in 1748 was a couple named Holtzopple (sic?) without whose talents and deep Christian commitment it is doubtful that any of the group would have survived that first awful winter. Dave Holtzopple was a carpenter-extraordinaire, and before the worst of the winter had set in he had built a house and a sixty-foot shed. Into these two buildings he and his wife proceeded to accommodate everyone who needed a place to stay for the duration of the winter; a feat of epic proportions.\(^\text{15}\) On one particularly cold and stormy night a young mother, having just lost her husband and fearing for the life of her seriously ill child, rushed to the Holtzopple house on the hill not knowing what else to do. The home and shed were already filled to overflowing and Dave gently urged his wife to turn the young woman away. His wife turned to him firmly and declared softly, "They turned Mary from the Inn; would you do likewise?" Needless to say, a spot was found for them by one of the fireplaces. The young woman died but her little boy became like a son to the Holtzopplies and later moved with them to South Carolina where they lived out their remaining years.\(^\text{16}\)

Dave Holtzopple exemplified Lutheran piety and dedication. Although over thirty died that first winter, the German presence in

\(^{14}\) Given the normal German pronunciation, the spelling should probably be "Holtzoppel." In the text I will use the spelling given however.


\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 53.
Waldoboro was secured; no thanks to Waldo who spent the time comfortably in Boston.17 The Holtzopple home stands to this day on the height of land across the shallow valley from the German Lutheran Church, a silent sentinel of one couple's extraordinary courage.

The congregation built the present structure in 1772, and it was moved to its present location in the dead of winter across the ice with teams of oxen; an extraordinary accomplishment given the fact that the site occupies a hilltop over a mile from the shore. The Holtzopple's never saw the building itself but at least they had the opportunity to partake of the Lord's Supper with the same oIIIUnion service, dated 1750, which remained in use till the congregation's demise just over a hundred years later.

It is difficult sometimes to keep the denominational affiliation of the various groups involved in the Old Gennan Church straight. When the second Lutheran Church was erected near Meeting House Cove in 1762 and "Dr. Johannes Martin Schaeffer (he was neither a doctor of medicine or of theology but practiced both and was handsomely paid) became the shepherd of the Gennan flock," there were already both Lutheran and Reformed among them. The latter never did like Schaeffer much and it was their initiative which resulted in the building of the present structure.18 Somehow the Lutherans were invited to participate and they did; hence the name 'Reformed Lutheran Church.'

17stahl, pp. 127-128.
18payne, p. 5.
The building itself is a treasure. It pre-dates the United States as a formal entity. It is a fitting legacy to a stern and worshipful people who took their worship very seriously. Attendance records are still intact and Sunday attendance averaged eighty percent of the membership. The interior is austere but exudes wannah and vitality. Instead of pews there are four rows of "boxes" with walls three feet high all around, benches in a "U" configuration inside and a little door to get in and out. These boxes were owned by the respective families and each had a deed to prove it. The price was high; as much as twenty dollars. If a family did not have the money however and wished to join the church, they would be permitted to donate time and materials to the church and upon satisfactorily completing their share of the work, they would be given a deed which was just as valid as everyone else's.19

The issue which eventually proved to be the downfall of the congregation was that of language. Both Lutheran and Reformed Gennans insisted on Gennan as the language for the worship service. In the meantime, an increasing number of second and even third generation Germans pushed for bi-lingual services while a group of Puritans who used the structure for their own worship wanted only English used. Apparently, the German pastors were willing in some instances to conduct English worship but at the annual meetings of the town, held in the church, the Germans still outnumbered the Puritans and English was kept out of the 'German' services.20

20Stahl, pp. 156-158.
In large part, the entire extraordinary episode of moving the physical structure across the Medomak River to its present location several hundred vertical feet above the water's edge and a mile inland, was due to the language debate. Once the church was on the German side of the bay, a move was made to secure the services of the first full-time ordained pastor in the congregation's history (all others having been part-time or not ordained) and the key stipulation was that this pastor should not even have the ability to speak English.\textsuperscript{21} They found such a man in The Reverend Friedrich Augustus Rudolphus Ritz, the first of the two great Lutheran pastors of Waldoboro, and a gentleman of the highest order. Thanks to his personal industry, charm, and charisma, the wounds with the English-speaking citizens and church members were lovingly assuaged and although he never did master the English language (and never could preach in it), the English membership of the church actually increased during his tenure.\textsuperscript{22}

There is an interesting anecdote of the time relating to Ritz's lack of facility in English. There was an itinerant Congregational person by the name of Paul Coffin who kept a diary of his travels and thus provides a rare non-merchant and non-military glimpse of Maine at the turn of the Eighteenth Century. In 1796 he was in Waldoboro, "which," he wrote, "is a large town," and visited "Augustus Keets, minister of the Lutheran Church at Waldoborough." The misspelling of

\textsuperscript{21}payne, P. 7. \textsuperscript{22}stahl, pp. 189-194.
the last name may be explained by the strange looking capitol "R" in Gothic Gennan. Coffin goes on to write that he "and the minister had an interesting conversation;" 'Keets' in Gennan and Coffin in Hebrew.\textsuperscript{23}

Despite the carmunity spirit imbued by Ritz, and given his obvious love for the Gospel, it would not be unfair to say that the congregation at Waldoboro was not evangelical or mission-minded. Indeed, the congregation never did attempt to move beyond its borders and this, in the end, also helped to seal its fate. By contrast, the Baptists and Methodists, who did not really establish themselves in the state until the last decades of the Eighteenth Century, doubled their membership in ten years.\textsuperscript{24}

By 1811 Ritz was not only old but sensed his impending death. At his urging, three parishioners traveled to Pennsylvania to find a replacement which they did in The Reverend Johann Wilhelm Stannann. While they were gone, the pastor with the heart of gold died. He lies buried next to the church. Marge Freeman, one of the curators of the

\textsuperscript{23}Smith, pp. 283, 290.

\textsuperscript{24}Henry S. Burrage, History of Baptists in Maine, (Portland, ME, Marks Printing House, 1904), p. 85. The first year for which figures are given show 7 ministers, 8 churches, and 470 members in 1789. By 1799, there are 14 ministers, 16 churches, and 1420 members. The membership figure for 1987 is 20,523 (P. 448) and this represents the entire membership of the LC-MS in all of New England in 1987. So while Waldoboro came and went, Baptists and Methodists and Roman Catholics came, stayed and prospered. Slightly over half of all church members in Maine are Roman Catholic. "If religion can sway the voter, then Catholicism wins hands down." Portland Press Herald, 24 October 1985.
church in Waldoboro, says;

This is interesting. They went by boat (to Pennsylvania) and one of these men put in a bill for three hundred dollars. Reverend Starmann came from Pennsylvania by boat for twenty-three dollars. ZS

There was apparently also some drama given Stannann's bachelor status. The congregation picked three women for him to interview, hoping he would choose one to be his wife. The first of the three met with his favor, he asked her to marry him, the other two interviews were cancelled and that was the end of that. 26

Starmann lived up to his name in many and sundry ways. He was a powerful preacher, a loving father and devoted husband, a champion of education, and a true friend of the parish. Under his encouragement, one-room school houses were established all over the region and by the middle of the nineteenth century there was an eight-grade school system which owed its very existence to his determination and enterprise. 27

Reading was taught in the old-fashioned way; right from the Bible. This learning would then be reiterated in Sunday School and finally pronounced as Gospel in the sermon. 28 Starmann's name is well-known and revered in Waldoboro to this day. He spent the last forty-three years of his life in a parish that was dying. He literally gave his life to save it but he could not. If he had a failing, it was that his English was poor and although he attempted to preach in English in later years, it never really suited him. When he passed away in 1854 after a protracted illness, the spirit of the congregation that was left seemed to

25Freeman, p. 3. 26Bid., p. 3. 27Stahl, pp. 218-220.

28Freeman, p. 4.
pass away with him. Several feeble attempts were made to secure the services of another pastor but to no avail. The last regularly conducted service was held in 1859 and by 1860 the last of the church organizations had ceased to function altogether.29 The first great era of Lutheranism in Maine had arrived in adversity but with detennination to succeed. When the end came, it left with hardly a whimper as most remaining parishioners "sought their spiritual and religious needs in the Congregational church" - in English!30

The only Lutheran church in Maine had closed its doors and it would be another eleven years and a bloody Civil War in between before another Lutheran congregation would open its doors. In the meantime, Waldoboro's sons with names like Heber, Cranmer, Eichorn, Schumann and Waltzgruber were dying so that slaves might be set free. They came from a state which never had any slaves and returned home on foot or in boxes having insured that other states would not have any either: a fitting tribute as these all hailed from the Lutheran roots of Waldoboro.31

Pastor Frederick Neu of Saint Ansgar in Portland mentions in his oral history, "If the church in Waldoboro had survived, there would no

29stahl, p. 222-224.

30Payne, p. 9.

31United States Government Census Bureau, First Census of the United States: Heads of Families - Maine, 1790. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Figures show Maine with a total population that year of 96,540 of which none were slaves (there actually is a category "Slaves" for every census through that of 1860). The same year shows Waldoboro with a population of 1717 (11th in the state) with the largest town being Gorham and Scarborough; 4475. Waldoboro reached its greatest population with the boom years of sail-powered ship building and recorded almost 4800 citizens in the 1890 census.
doubt be three times as many Lutheran congregations in Maine today."

We shall never know.

32 Oral History of Pastor Frederick Neu, August 22, 1986.
CHAPTER III
THE ETHNIC MIGRATIONS: 1871-1921

This chapter could almost be renamed the "Scandinavian Migrations" as nine of the ten Lutheran congregations formed during the fifty years from 1871 to 1921 were established by people of that region. Of the twenty-seven Lutheran congregations ever to have had their time in the Maine sun, these nine were all established from 1871-1915 with two-thirds of them completed before the end of the nineteenth century.

America at the time the Scandinavian Lutherans emigrated to Maine from Canada, or directly from their native lands, was already beginning to experience a tremendous acceleration of development in virtually every facet of society, a trend which characterizes the late twentieth century even more. It was a time of Darwinian evolution, Brahms' "Ein Deutches Requiem," the First Vatican Council, the Industrial Revolution,

1see Appendix A. Except for Auburn, which was German, all others of this era were Scandanavian: Falmouth, Westbrook and Portland's Saint Ansgar were Danish; Harrison and South Paris Finnish; New Sweden, Portland Enmanuel, and Stockholm Swedish, and Portland First, a combination of Danish, Norwegian and Swedish.
the opening of the Suez Canal and much of Europe at war.2

On the national religious scene, with the bloodiest war in United States history over and the expectation that with slavery abolished a truly Christian America would emerge, Protestantism was enjoying its short-lived heyday during what has come to be called "The Guilded Age." Outwardly Protestantism prospered but inwardly it was suffocating on its own success. It was particularly true in New England.

Protestants' apparent cultural dominance rested on a strong base of the wealthiest and the oldest American families and institutions. Protestants had been the first to settle almost everywhere in the American colonies and so naturally their heirs held most of the positions of power and influence. Of the leading Americans of the late nineteenth century almost all had Anglo-Saxon, Scottish, or Germanic names - Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Tilden, Garfield, Blaine, Arthur, Harrison, Cleveland, Gould, Fisk, Rockefeller, Morgan, Carnegie, Howells, Clemens, Moody, Beecher, Brooks - reflecting the continuing strength of these predominantly Protestant ethnic groups. It is hardly surprising, then, that the prevailing moral values of the civilization reflected this heritage.

There is always more to a given situation than meets the eye, however, and even a casual scratching of the surface of Protestantism and its "Guilded Age" (so named by Mark Twain) reveals an Era marked by the assassination of two presidents and the impeachment of another, a stolen election, and a reign of rant political and business corruption and greed. A veneer of evangelical Sunday-school piety covered almost everything in the culture, but no longer did the rhetoric of idealism and virtue seem to touch the core of the materialism of political and business interests. It was a dime-store millennium.

2Alfred Mayer, 400 Jahre Europäischer Kulter-Gemeinschaft in Uebersichten, 1500-1900, (Munich, Ernst Reinhart Verlag, 1979), pp. 87, 92, 108.

3Mark A. Noll, etal, editors, Eerdmans Handbook to Christianity in America, (Grand Rapids, 1983), p. 283

4 Ibid., p. 280
Important as these factors were, however, the demands upon and expectations of the Scandinavian immigrants were not nearly so dramatic. They came for the topographical likeness to their respective homelands, for freedom of worship and for an opportunity to have homes, farms and businesses of their own. They were, and are a talented, detennined and energetic people; and one is struck by the relative ease with which they were received into the fabric of Maine life and industry. This is not to say that Scandinavians were always greeted with open arms but they fared far better than their Roman Catholic counterparts:

The "Know-Nothing" party, then still active, sought to arouse public sentiment against foreigners and Catholics on alleged patriotic grounds. The Catholic Church at Bath was burned. At Ellsworth, Father John Bapst was ordered out of town; then, upon his return, he was tarred and feathered and ridden out of town on a rail. In Bangor the authorities refused to permit a church in State Street, although the obstacles were at length overcome there and the foundations of St. John's were laid October 12, 1856. In Lewiston the Catholics bought an old Baptist church and moved it to a new site on Lincoln Street, where it was burned by incendiaries.

The story of Scandinavian Lutheranism in Maine begins with a man who was not even a Lutheran, but whose direct involvement in the enterprise of founding New Sweden, Maine, insured its success. William Widgery Thomas was a native of Portland and distinguished himself by his service as Abraham Lincoln's Secretary of War. Following the Civil War he was appointed to serve as America's ambassador to Sweden, and soon developed a special regard for the Swedish people.6

In Maine, meanwhile, there was a growing interest in developing its northern frontier. Thomas, recalling his travels through that tremendous


wilderness called "Aroostock" in previous years, and recognizing the similar topography, weather and soil conditions between it and most of Scandinavia, encouraged the state to grant a township to the people of Sweden. This Maine did gladly, along with promising fertile cleared fields and homes already built and ready for occupancy. With such an enticement, Thomas had little difficulty finding people to apply for passage. To his credit (and in stark contrast to General Waldo), Thomas accompanied the fifty-one immigrants personally, and arrived at Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada, in the late Spring 1870. A month later they arrived by oxen train at the site of the present community and held the first religious service; a funeral for one Hilma Clase. Contrary to the promises given, the Swedes found no cleared fields, and no ready-made homes. Fortunately they arrived early enough in the year to avoid having to live through their own version of the Waldoboro catastrophe during Dave Holtzhopple's time. Regular Lutheran services conducted by New Sweden's first ordained pastor began in June of 1871. By August of the same year, the much revered Pastor Wiren presided over the signing of the congregation's charter, within the New York Synod, of the General Synod of the Lutheran Church in America. Under the name "First Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church" Clater changed to "Gustaf Adolph") the congregation remains the oldest active Lutheran church in the state.a

71bid., p. 3.

The present Gustaf Adolph structure, with additions and renovations, is the original dedicated in 1880 and thus the oldest Lutheran Church in Maine outside of Waldoboro. It is an amateur historian's delight with pictures of every pastor in its history, innumerable items over a century old, and beautiful stained glass. The sense of pride surely present when the church was young, is still very much in evidence today.

In 1887, Gustaf Adolph left the New York Synod to join the more confessional Augustana Synod, with its strong stand on an inerrant Scripture and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. This concern for doctrinal matters, particularly in the areas of word and sacrament, remained a distinctive trait of the congregation well into the twentieth century. In fact, in 1979 Pastor Hans Andrae accepted the Divine Call to serve Gustaf Adolph, having to leave his native Sweden to do so. His stated reason for so drastic a move was his dissatisfaction with the Swedish Lutheran Church's liberal stands on homosexuality, abortion, and women's ordination.

In 1906, New Sweden was instrumental in starting a daughter congregation, Trinity, Stockholm, eight miles to the north. In 1956, it helped found another congregation, Faith, Caribou, fifteen miles to the south. All three congregations comprise the "Northern Maine Lutheran Parish".

---

9Ibid., p. 5.

which, until the departure of Pastor Andrae in 1985, had only one
pastor. At present, the parish is served by a husband-wife pastoral
team. Todd Merken is in residence at Gustaf Adolph, while his wife,
Gisele Berninghaus, divides her efforts between Trinity and Faith.

Looking at a map of Maine, one is struck by the fact that the loca-
tion of the parish puts it almost two hundred miles from its nearest
Lutheran neighbor in Bangor, over three hundred miles from Portland.
Consequently, the parish has had to become extremely self-reliant and
expresses this reliance in many ways. Both New Sweden and Stockholm
have fine historical museums, annual church and church-sponsored com-
munity festivals, and a wide range of active church organizations. The
faith and industry of the people of the area are noteworthy. More im-
portantly, however, the historical significance of Lutheranism in this
region is even more captivating.

The second major center of ethnic-based Lutheran congregations
resides within the history of First Lutheran Church of Portland, which
celebrated its one hundredth anniversary in 1974, just three years after
Gustaf Adolph. If one were to draw a circle five miles in diameter with
its center at First, one would have within that small area four of the
eight active ethnic Lutheran congregations in the state; and all of them
have direct links to First Lutheran. In 1882, First assisted in the

11 "Welcome to the Northern Maine Lutheran Parish" brochure, 1981.
12 First/Portland; Saint Ansgar/Portland; Ennaus/Falmouth and
Trinity/Westbrook.
formation of Trinity Lutheran Church in the mill town of Westbrook, even though its membership was (and remains to this day) heavily Danish. This is not an indictment, just an unusual statement of fact about First Lutheran, which had the temerity to set aside ethnic differences in order to participate in the greater work of the Gospel. This "ethnic blindness" is no doubt attributable to the initial makeup of First's membership; drawing collectively from Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In succeeding years, First actively promoted the growth and influence of Lutheranism in southern Maine, especially under the forceful leadership of Pastor K. O. Storli in the 1890's. It was during this time that assistance was rendered in the formation of Enmaus, Falmouth:in 1893, Saint Ansgar, Portland in 1894, and Enmanuel, Portland in 1895. The New Hampshire border did not hold back First's zealous lay and pastoral missionaries as Trinity, Berlin, owes First a debt of gratitude as well. Perhaps most unusual was the boost given to the Scandinavian Bethlehem Church, which, as has been the case with most non or quasi-confessional Lutheran churches, has become decidedly more Reformed in its faith and practice and is now the Payson Park Evangelical Free Church. By the time of the arrival of the Battleship "Maine" in Portland's harbor just prior to its blowing up in Havana and setting off the Spanish American

---


14 Ibid., p. 2. The word "Evangelical" is generally a strong indication of the Lutheran heritage and beliefs underlying the roots of any congregation having that word in its name. In most European countries, "Evangelisch" is "Lutheran."
War, the Scandinavian Lutheran community in the area, with its five congregations, was an important factor in the spiritual life of southern Maine at the turn of the century.15 Compared to other denominations in size, however, Lutheranism was still among the smallest with perhaps 2000 members while the Roman Catholic Church already had 80,000 in 187416 and was operating the most impressive parochial school system anywhere in New England, save that in Connecticut.17

It is said in Scandinavian circles that the Lutheran Church would not have gotten off the ground in the Portland area without the advance work done by the "Ladies Aid Societies" of the day. In Falmouth, for example, the Ladies Aid also cared for the spiritual needs of the men and even recorded their absence from regularly scheduled meetings.18 It was this group which approached Pastor Eiestad of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in Portland (now First Lutheran) for pastoral services and worship opportunities prior to incorporating into Emmaus congregation.19

There is some difference of opinion about the initial point of origin of the Danish people who founded "The First Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Westbrook" (now Trinity) in 1882. There were

16Hebert, p. 417.
18ibid., p. 9. 19ibid., p. 9.
apparently Danes from New Denmark, New Brunswick who immigrated to Westbrook in the early 1880s, yet the official centennial history of Trinity makes no mention of this. In a delightful interview I had with Mrs. Maren Christiansen, who was confirmed at Trinity in 1910, she also did not recall any mention at the time of the New Brunswick connection. She did, however, have a great deal to say about the strong ethnic pressures inherent in Danish Lutheranism. In one instance, three brothers married three sisters of another family: all six were members of Trinity. When one of them, Ernest Smith, was asked why he and his brothers had been so unimaginative in their marital choices, he replied, "we were supposed to marry Danish and Lutheran and they were the only family we knew (with eligible girls)."

The third major ethnic Lutheran center in Maine is in and around South Paris (curious name for a Scandinavian area!) which has been the focus of Finnish immigration patterns since just after the advent of the Twentieth Century. Gathering information about this aspect of Lutheranism in Maine is very difficult.

---


21 Maren Christiansen, Interview in her home in Westbrook, Maine, July 31, 1986.

22 When I arranged to meet with Pastor Hultgren he assured me that he would contact all of the older members of the congregation to participate in the oral history. He did. None came.
Dr. Helmut Lehmann, in introducing his presentation on "The Religious Experience of Finns in New England" to the annual meeting of the New England Lutheran Historical Society in 1984, said, "the Finns are the least known of the ethinic groups in New England." He said that this was due in part to a general taciturnity among Finns. To illustrate the point, Lehmann told the story of a Finnish farmer who signaled to his mute son to bring him a pitcher of milk. Watching his father drink deeply, the boy was afraid there would be none left for him and he cried, "Stop, father, leave some for me!" "My son, you can speak!" cried the father in astonishment. "Why have you never spoken before?" To which the son replied, "There was never anything to talk about." On the serious side, the Suomi Synod, in the 1920s and 30s was beset by the dual problem of "mixed marriages" and the "language question." From the mid-twenties to the mid-thirties, the baptized Suomi membership dropped a full third; from roughly 36,000 to 24,000. In Maine, out of the four congregations established between 1914 and 1952 only one, Trinity, South Paris, survives. Former Pastor Hultgren estimated in September of 1986 that fully 93 percent of the congregation is made up of people who were born and raised in South Paris and environs.


24 Ibid., p. 13.


"rarely let their feelings out," and that "there is no commitment to proclaiming the Gospel to this community either in word or in deed," and you have the makings of a very precarious situation.27

The fourth major ethnic Lutheran center in Maine is in the twin-cities area of Lewiston and Auburn. Here we encounter a major twist in the usual tale of immigrants migrating to a given area with the Lutheran church close behind. Auburn and Lewiston were, and are major manufacturing cities in Maine; especially of cotton goods. This trade attracted many German immigrants but never in large groups as was the case in Waldoboro, or the Lutheran neighborhoods of Portland. Consequently, the Germans of the twin cities, not having a Lutheran congregation, looked for their spiritual nurture in the Episcopal and Congregational churches.28

Some of the German immigrants had come with special identification papers which certified their status as faithful members of "The Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed Church Union" (the State Church of Prussia). These papers were to serve as letters of introduction to a Lutheran congregation in the United States certifying that the bearer had been properly baptized and confined as a Lutheran Christian. Usually these letters were addressed directly to existing congregations in America. It is doubtful that the establishment of Gennany as a nation in 1870 would have given cause to alter the basic format of these letters other

27Ibid., p. 3.

28Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church, Year Book and Church Directory, Lewiston, Maine, (1931?), Eleventh page (pages unnumbered).
than the identity of the name of the country. The following then is such an identification paper of one Linda Mueller from the Mark Brandenburg in Prussia, written by her pastor in a Low German dialect on December 18, 1853.

Linda Mueller who is 14 years old must now leave our glorious land and immigrate (sic) to America. A party of 8 people will travel with her aboard His Majesty's ship. She will go to join part of her family in America. She will land in New York. I write this letter as her Pastor to identify her to our congregation in America. Caroline Anna Lindy Mueller was born June 26, 1839. She was baptized by my hand July 14, 1839, in our German Evangelical Lutheran church of Berlin--the Cathedral Church. Her mother is Anna Augusta Linda (Wendt) Mueller. Her father is Wilhelm Karl Johann Mueller. Linda Mueller will go to America to live with her Uncle George Mueller, the brother of her father Johann. She will go to America to study in school there and to help her Aunt Pauline who is ill. I am sending (with her) a letter to our congregation in New York--our Zion Evangelical Lutheran Church ***

The trouble for the immigrants coming to Lewiston and Auburn, Maine, was that there was not a Lutheran Church in over forty miles (Portland), and no German Lutheran Church in over one hundred and forty miles (Manchester, New Hampshire). Apparently when the name and location of the congregation to receive the newcomers was in doubt or did not exist, the identification papers were simply addressed to the congregation nearest the person's intended destination; even if that was a hundred or more miles away, in the hope that somehow contact and incorporation would be made.

The German yearnings for a church of their own in Lewiston/Auburn began to have some real basis for hope with the first Lutheran service in the mother tongue being conducted by E. C. Wenzel, then of Lowell,

Massachusetts, in December of 1915, and every other week thereafter. In 1916, Pastor Bernard W. Janssen, a candidate for the Holy Ministry, accepted the Call issued by the Board of Missions of the Atlantic District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States to serve the Lewiston and Auburn area. Pastor Janssen served nine fruitful years and is very warmly remembered by many of Grace's senior parishioners. In the 1923 "Directory" published by the congregation, the service schedule was as follows:

Every Sunday morning at 10:45 German services are held.  
Every second and fourth Sunday of the month English services are held at 7:30.  
During Lent, services on Wednesday evening at 8:00 o'clock.

By the time of the 1931 "Yearbook" a major language shift was evident;

Divine Worship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English Services</td>
<td>9:45 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German Services</td>
<td>11:00 A.M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening worship and special Holy Day Services</td>
<td>7:30 P.M.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Union Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English - Easter morning, Second Sunday of February, June, August, October and December.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German - Easter morning, first Sunday of January, May, July, September and November.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

30 Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church, eleventh page (pages unnumbered).

31 Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church, Directory, Lewiston, Maine, 1923, Second Page (pages unnumbered).

32 Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church, Yearbook and Church Directory, Lewiston, Maine, (1931?), seventh page (pages unnumbered).
This shift in emphasis from the Gennan language to English came about early during the tenure of the man who shaped the direction of Grace for almost half a century, Pastor Edgar R. Fehlau. Fehlau was the second eldest of ten children born to The Reverend Theodore R. and Katherine Fehlau and though born in South Dakota, spent most of his childhood years in Alabama where his father served many years as pastor of Trinity, Selma. When he accepted the Call to Grace as a candidate right out of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, he went the route of many pastors of his day; graduated in June of 1925, married August 7 of the same year, ordained August 16, and installed August 30. What was unique about Fehlau however was the uncommon bond of kinship among his entire family and the vigor with which they devoted themselves to the mission of Grace Congregation. A look at the composition of the congregation as recorded in the 1931 Directory bears this out:

CHURCH OFFICER

Church Council

Mr. Max Geyer •••••••••••••••••• President
Rev. Edgar R. Fehlau ••••••••• Secretary
Mr. Otto L. Brehm •••••••••••• Treasurer

Trustees

Mr. John H. Schott Mr. Henry Hoffmann
Mr. Ernst Bauer, Sr.


34 Grace Lutheran Church, "Fifty Years of Service for God in Lewiston Maine, 1915-1965," Seventh Page (pages unnumbered).
Ushers
Mr. Otto L. Fehlau          Mr. Yngurd M. Fehlau
Mr. George Lang             Mr. Erich Kramer
Mr. Martin Lang             Mr. Martin Fehlau
Mr. John Lang               Mr. Herbert Hahnel

(QIURCH ORGANIZATIONS

Sunday School
Rev. Edgar A. Fehlau*******Superintendent
Mrs. Edgar R. Fehlau*******Sec'y and Treas.

Teachers
Rev. Edgar R. Fehlau*******Bible Class
Miss Irmela Fehlau**********Senior
Miss Lucy Berling**********Intermediate
Miss Margaret Kern**********Junior
Miss Verona Fehlau**********Primary

Ladies' Aid
Miss Bertha Scheibner*******President
Mrs. Itarl Leber**********Vice President
Mrs. Edgar R. Fehlau*******Secretary
Mrs. Henry Reichel**********Treasurer
Mrs. Gustav Kramer and
Mrs. Frank Pohle**********Visiting Com.

Young People's Society
Mr. Y. M. Fehlau**********President
Miss Erna Rolmann**********Secretary
Mr. John Lange, Jr**********Treasurer

Junior Society
Rev. Edgar R. Fehlau*******President
Miss Erna Hahnel**********Secretary
Mr. Henry Herling**********Treasurer

(page 8)
During his years, Pastor Fehlau saw the erection of a worship structure in Lewiston, the purchase of property and building of the current church in Auburn, the serving of German prisoners of war during World War II, and the spiritual nurture of entire families for two generations. When he retired in 1972, he had spent his entire ministry in one place. Asked why he had never taken any one of the number of Calls he had received over the years, his immediate answer was always, "There were more reasons for staying than there were for going; so I stayed!" It has been said that if all the people who were baptized and confirmed by Pastor Fehlau had remained Lutheran, and their families with them, Grace would be the largest church in Lewiston-Auburn (no small feat as the Catholic community in that area is the largest in the state).
Two hundred and eighteen years earlier, the Reverend Johann Wilhelm Starmann died knowing that his life's work would not survive in the congregation he had nurtured and loved for forty-three years. The Reverend Edgar R. Fehlau, after forty-seven years of nurturing and loving, saw Grace sever its association with the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod to join the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC) under the charismatic leadership of Pastor Lowell Timn, less than five years after his retirement.37 Always the gentleman, Fehlau never criticized his congregation publicly and continued warm friendships with many of its members. Fehlau had his membership at Redeemer Lutheran Church of Cape Elizabeth, until his death in 1984. When a controversy related to Communion practice arose at Redeemer, his strong views against the open Communion policy of the AELC crune to the fore however. During a spirited congregational meeting, he said, "I want you to know that I support your position for 'close Communion' and I would defend it with my life."38

Thus we come to the end of the ethnic Lutheran era of Maine. At its height it was impossible to worship in any of the ten churches without the Word of God being proclaimed in the language of the European community which that congregation represented. In the thirty-five years


38Comment by Edgar Fehlau made on Sunday, October 23, 1983.
from the chartering of Grace, Auburn, in 1921, to the founding of Faith, Caribou, in 1956, there were in fact two more ethnic congregations founded. Yet, particularly with regard to language, the churches had to give way to the use of English for survival. That they did not do so quickly enough may be debated, but there will in all likelihood never again be a Lutheran mission started in the state for ethnic reasons. That time came, is gone, and will never come again.
CHAPTER IV

LUTHERANISM IN THE INTERIM, 1922-1955; THE SUOMI SYNOPD

Lutheranism in Maine was at a very interesting juncture in 1921. The ethnic migrations had effectively come to an end in the years just before the Great Depression and the small Lutheran communities centered at New Sweden in the North, South Paris in the West, Portland in the South and Lewiston in the middle had pretty much spent their missionary zeal. The population of Maine which had stagnated in the period 1870-1890 with a combined increase of only 28,000 to a total of 660,261, began a much more rapid rise in the succeeding years, especially as the shoe and textile industries came into their own the first half of the twentieth century, so that by the 1940 census Maine had 847,226 citizens. The population increase for the state was also reflected in the growth of the Lutheran congregations to their highest level ever; or since. The combined membership of the ten congregations mentioned in Chapter III in 1930 was 2980, while the figure for the same congregations in

United States Census Bureau, Maine, 1870, 1890, 1940, United States Government Printing Office, 1871, 1891, and 1941 respectively.
1986, minus Harrison and Portland Emmanuel (which had closed) was only 2185.2

Looking at the records of the Finnish congregation in South Paris, one is struck by the rather extraordinary sequence of events which began with the formation of a two-point parish with the congregation in Harrison in 1924 for the purpose of "both congregations to avail for themselves the services of same pastor."3 It took six years to bring the aforementioned desire for a resident pastor to fruition.

(1930 became an) important year for the congregation, for now for the first time she had a resident pastor when Pastor George Autio accepted the Call, and moved here from Wisconsin.4

One would think that with the first resident pastor finally on location, the parish would settle down, consolidate its gains and begin to think of how to make ends meet with the extra burden of weekly salary payments and related pastoral expenses. Instead, members of the South

2Membership figures for the ten congregations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1930 (est.)</th>
<th>1986</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falmouth</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>closed 1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Sweden</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland (Emmanuel)</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>closed 1953(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland First</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland St. Ansgar</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Paris</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westbrook</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2980</td>
<td>2185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Independent) of South Paris, Maine, Minutes of Wednesday, June 11, 1924.

4Our Fifty Years, 1912-1962," Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, South Paris, Maine, nineteenth page (pages unnumbered).
Paris congregation who lived in the Hebron-West Minot area withdrew "mainly for practical considerations," to form their own church, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Hebron-West Minot. While it is true that Sunday School and monthly services had been conducted in private homes in Hebron at least since 1919, one finds it highly impractical for a minority of an already struggling congregation to think they can make a go of it when the parent organization is barely surviving. Pastor Autio ended up taking a Call in 1936 under less than happy circumstances as he felt there was real division within the parish over how much time should be spent at each location. Eleven years later however, the combined membership realized that it had lost a real good man and extended a second Call to him which he accepted and then served the parish until his death in 1954. The present name of the South Paris Congregation was adopted in 1950 when it became Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church.

---

8 Ibid., p. 19.

6 Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Independent) of South Paris, Maine. Discussion of time to be spent at the two locations (South Paris and Harrison) with the South Paris members feeling they should get more time because they had the larger membership. See particularly minutes of 1935, September, October, and November.

7 Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, South Paris, Maine, "Our Fifty Years, 1912-1962," p. 19. His remains lie in the Finnish Cemetery owned by the Trinity congregation on a beautiful hillside off Harrison Road looking across a valley that must have brought tears of nostalgia to the Finns of the area.
In retrospect it all seems to have been so futile. With the loss of the Hebron-West Minot members, the South Paris-Harrison parish was continually strapped for funds and by 1975 there were only summer services at Harrison with the congregation closing entirely in 1978.8 The Hebron-West Minot group fared worse, having to close their home church by 1969, and apparently never having had more than eighteen to twenty-five members at any given time.9 Remnants of both coIIIUlities attend Trinity today but most have been lost to other denominations or dropped out of sight entirely. This is a phenomenon not unusual to Maine Lutheranism.

The eare with which members may be lost is often due to the tremendous distances they live from their church. Examples of this phE:nomena are found even among staunch Lutheran families. For example, in February of 1985 I was at Paul Kyllonen's bedside when he died a very depressed, bitter and morose man who continually challenged assertions that there was a God who cared. "Prove it," he would say as he winced from the pain wracking his diabetic body. Paul was the son of Pastor Edwin Kyllonen who served not only the Finnish Lutheran Church of Thomaston (more on that later) but also the South Paris-Harrison parish from 1958-1965. Although Paul's daughter was confined at Redeemer, Cape Elizabeth, and his family regularly attended while living locally,

his wife has since requested a peaceful release and they are attending the local congregational church in Bridgton, Maine, 45 miles away. I have encouraged the family to seek spiritual nurture at Trinity in South Paris, which is only 20 miles away, but suspect that Paul's son will never be confirmed. The Lutheran identity seemingly loses its importance in direct proportion to the increase of the distance of members from their church. On a similar note, when Lutheran families moved to Maine from the mid-west, the distance factor similarly precludes their membership even if they had been highly active in their home congregation.

The final story of the Finnish Lutherans during the interim period 1922-1955 takes place on the coast at the town of Thomaston. The Finns had been living along the coast from Thomaston to Rockville for over half a century without a Lutheran Church anywhere near. In 1949 preliminary efforts were made by the locals to form a church and Holy Trinity Lutheran Church of the Suomi Synod was formed in 1952.10 Pastor Kyllonen was the first resident pastor and he remained there until 1959, when he accepted the Call to serve Trinity, South Paris, having been interim pastor at the South Paris congregation from late 1958.11 According to Mrs. McClure, an eighty-six year old Finnish Lutheran presently living in Rockland, the Thomaston congregation felt it had no choice but to join the newly forming Lutheran Church in America in 1962

10Interview with Lydia McClure, November 14, 1986.

because "Suomi was dying off." With mounting financial problems and dropping membership, Holy Trinity merged with the new Lutheran Church in America mission in Rockland in 1963. This in itself was not without negative emotional ramifications as joining the Nativity mission, a mere ten miles down the road, was seen as a slap in the face by the Finns.

Pastor Hultgren's comments on his relationship with Trinity congregation and its formidable Finnish members may well be indicative of the special world of Finnish Lutheranism. When asked his perception of "where the congregation's least impact on the community is," he replied;

That area I think without a doubt is evangelism. There is no commitment to proclaiming the Gospel to this community either in word or in deed. Outside of the community of the church there does not seem to be a desire to move beyond the walls of the church. It is a very close-knit family. Their customs, languages, loves, are such barriers between this congregation and the community that surrounds it. There is no interaction.

He was asked if there "is anything else (he) would like to share about the community and how the congregation fits in,"

As I listen to myself going through this, explaining my impressions, it has come off very negatively, and I guess that's because I feel very frustrated at this time seeking to live as the body of Christ and I hate to leave this type of interview with that taste. They are people of principle; they do feel very strongly when they have made up their mind and it is extremely difficult to change them. It has been a struggle as long as I have been here and yet I can still see God's hand in that inasmuch as I needed to struggle to do the things I had never been forced to do before.

---

12 McClure Interview. See also Heikkinen p. 230. In reality Suomi had merged into the Lutheran Church in America in June of 1962.

13 Ibid.


15 Ibid., pp. 5-6.
By God's Grace, despite the difficulties, this congregation does appear to be determined to carry on. Whether it will take the now former Pastor Hultgren's words to heart remains to be seen. He resigned his position just weeks after this interview took place.
CHAPTER V
LUTHERAN CONSOLIDATION AND NON-ETHNIC GROWTH 1956-1987

The transition from the Eisenhower years to the Kennedy presidency was a turning point in the history of the United States, not only socio-logically but religiously. The euphoria which followed the close of the Second World War, interrupted temporarily by the Korean "Police Action," was in full stride during much of the "I Like Ike" era. It was a time when Woodie Guthrie was strumming his way into the hearts of Mainers and all Americans with,

"This land is your land, this land is my land,
from California to the New York Island,
From the redwood forest to the Gulf Stream water,
This land was made for you and me."1

By 1960, however, Guthrie's cozy national scene had been lost. In his now famous "Address to the Ministers of Houston," in which he defended himself against the assertion that he would be a puppet of Rome if elected President, John F. Kennedy called for a new look at the issues facing the country,

While the so-called religious issue is necessarily and properly the chief topic here tonight, I want to emphasize from the outset that we have far more critical issues to face in the 1960 election: the spread of Communist influence, (until it) now festers ninety miles off the coast of Florida; the humiliating treatment of our President and Vice-President by those who no longer respect our power; the

---

hungry children I saw in West Virginia; the old people who cannot pay their doctor bills; the families forced to give up their farms; an America with too many slums, with too few schools, and too late to the moon and outer space.

These are the real issues which should decide this campaign. And they are not religious issues, for war and hunger and ignorance and despair know no religious barriers.2

On the religious scene, however, major factors were at issue. The influence of television was an added and unpredictable ingredient in the national debate over issues as diverse as the "New Morality," the "Death of God," "Jesus People," and "Born Again." Religious catch phrases began to occupy the media vernacular and these would often be used "without careful definition, without meaningful content, and without historical context."3 Phrases like "The Age of Aquarius," "The Silent Majority," "Right to Life," and "Freedom of Choice" flooded auditory and visual perceptions complete with shallow definitions spoon-fed to a gullible public by media commentators who seemed larger than life. Rather than leaving Mainers and others more informed and thus more competent in making spiritually sound decisions, the media tended to leave even more confusion and correspondingly less motivation to get involved in religious issues at all.

Despite such confusion and negativism regarding religion on the national scene, the Maine era of Lutheran consolidation and non-ethnic growth would witness a burst of missionary activity very similar to that


going on throughout the country. In the Missouri Synod alone, during its "Preaching, Teaching, Reaching" mission from April 1955 to January 1964 which was an attempt to reach the unchurched, the following figures reveal the extent to which church complacency was turning into Gospel-motivated church activism.

- 4,500 congregations participated
- 39,000 agreed to come to Pastor's class
- 3,500,000 attended services of which 200,000 were non-members
- 9,500 reaffirmations
- 29,000 were baptized or brought children to be baptized
- 6,650 enrolled in Sunday School

In 1917 the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod had passed the one million member mark for the first time. It took thirty-six years to reach two million, and only seven more to stand at 2,605,177.5 The other Lutheran church bodies experienced rapid growth as well, and so did virtually all denominations in the country.

Maine fit the overall pattern for growth in church membership, but, after all was said and done, it still had the lowest percentage of church members of any state in the country; a situation which remains to

4Lutheran Open House Regional Coordinators, Meeting Notes, prepared by Erwin Kolb, Executive Secretary for Evangelism, The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, St. Louis, MO, November 19-20, 1986, p. 1.


6Noll, pp. 463-464. Noll also points out that in 1935 Lutherans as a group were not even among the five largest religious affiliations. In 1965, however, Lutherans were fourth representing 7.9% of religious membership (behind Roman Catholics, 41.9%; Baptists, 21.4%; and Methodists, 12.9%). see pp. 408, 463.
this day.7 The national precedent for increasing the number of congregations did come to Maine, however, and it is noteworthy that the third major era of Lutheranism in Maine began with a mission heavily supported by the oldest ethnic congregation in the state, Gustaf Adolph in New Sweden. The year was 1956 and the mission, Faith Lutheran Church of Caribou.

A quick review of Appendix A reveals a great deal about the intensity with which the various Lutheran church bodies went about the task of starting congregations. For the entire period from 1956-1986, there were seven new congregations of the American Lutheran Church, four of the Lutheran Church in America, two of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and one each of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, for a total of fifteen. This figure needs to be adjusted slightly given the nature of the formation of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Church's congregation in Auburn, out of the Grace Lutheran congregation in Lewiston which had been Missouri Synod. Nevertheless, the fourteen new congregations or mission starts in thirty years represents the largest single growth among Lutherans in Maine in the history of the state; in fact, the figure represents an increase of one hundred and eight percent of the total number of Lutheran churches in Maine prior to 1956. At the height of the building boom, in the years 1961-1964, seven new congregations were begun at a rate of almost one every six months.

7Portland Evening Express, January 3, 1961, p. 2. "Only 41% of Maine people belong to Churches."
Even a cursory review of the map in Appendix D reveals that the growth in the last thirty years has begun to deal with the relative isolation of the four major Lutheran centers in the state. Six new congregations stretch out the Lutheran reach along the coast from Kennebunk, through Cape Elizabeth, Brunswick, Damariscotta and Rockland to Ellsworth. Three new congregations have grown up along the Interstate 95 artery, Augusta, Waterville and Bangor. North Windham's congregation is twenty miles out of Portland toward New Hampshire along the major highway leaping to the White Mountains. The Caribou congregation is fifteen miles south of New Sweden and near Loring Air Force Base in Limestone, Maine. Farmington's mission lies in the northwest part of the state near Maine's premier ski areas and a campus of the University of Maine. Finally, there are two new missions right in Portland, one of the Wisconsin Synod and one of the American Lutheran Church. It may be useful to note that of all the Lutheran Synods in New England, the American Lutheran Church is strongest in Maine, while the Lutheran Church in America is the strongest Lutheran church body in New England overall with the Missouri Synod second and the American Lutheran Church third.a

Appendix B reveals several interesting facts as well. First, there is virtually no correspondence between the size of a given town or city and the size of the congregation(s) within its borders. For example, half of New Sweden is Lutheran while Lutherans number less than

8Lutheran Council in the United States of America, 1985 Yearbook, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1986. 146 LCA, 64 LC-MS, 42 ALC.
one-half of one percent of the population of Bangor. Second, four of the top ten congregations in size are among those chartered in the last twenty-five years and these have a combined membership of 1563, or thirty-five percent of all the Lutherans in the state. The fourteen congregations begun in the last thirty years have a combined membership of 2217. The eight remaining ethnic congregations begun in the period 1871-1921 have a combined membership of 2082. Thus the increase of the Lutheran population in Maine based upon growth in new congregations is over one hundred percent in thirty years, or fifty-two percent of the current total membership of all twenty-two congregations and missions. Third, the ethnic congregations, even though they are heavily non-ethnic in most cases today, and even though there are no regular non-English services remaining, are not growing as a group: their total membership has remained static for fifty years.

The efforts to foster a climate conducive to church growth toward the latter part of this third great era of Lutheran development in the state deserve a closer look. Who is for it? Who is not? What seems to work in Maine particularly in the decade of the 80s and what does not? To begin with, there is not a single anti-growth Lutheran pastor in the state. Growth is recognized as a necessary ingredient not just for maintenance but for survival.

Pastor Daniel Gilbert of Damariscotta finds opportunity for growth among a category of people often neglected. He says, "the mission of
(this) church I believe is going to be directed toward the caring and understanding in ministry to the aging."9 Pastor Carolee Uits of the brand new mission in Portland, uses puppets to deliver her message in places like hospitals;

Each puppet has a handicap of some kind. There is Suzie Wong, a deaf child who uses sign language to communicate. There is also Jerry Feather, an American Indian who gets about in a wheelchair.10 Her growth anticipation is among another neglected portion of American and Maine society. She says;

I want this ministry to make a preference for the poor. I want to tell people to come as they are, no matter what clothes they might be wearing.11

Pastor Paul Janke of Beautiful Savior in Portland describes his congregation's and his own personal Scripture-centered attitude toward growth as well as some of the fears that just naturally come with the territory;

I think the last four years have seen a heightened awareness of the need to be a reaching out congregation with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Sometimes in a mission setting, (I don't know if this is peculiar to Wisconsin Synod), the congregation views itself as a last bastion of orthodoxy and views outsiders with a certain amount of suspicion. But I think we, Pastor and members included, have gotten around to the viewpoint we can't just stay within our four walls and practice our orthodoxy there. The Great Commission wants us, urges us, commands us to get out with the Gospel of Jesus Christ and tell others about it and I think that is the sort of growth we have seen in the last four years. That is the sort of personal growth also that I have experienced. I recently read a quote from John W. Montgomery that one of the things we don't do well in the Lutheran seminary is that we don't teach missions the way we should.


10 Portland, Maine Evening Express, December 27, 1986, "It's easy to hide poverty: Lutheran ministry reaching out to West End's 'hidden poor'" p. 5.

11 Ibid., p. 5.
We view ourselves during our seminary days as maintenance ministers going out to serve an established congregation and going to serve God's people with God's Word and the idea of going to the unchurched with the Gospel, while it is there, it is certainly not there in any great measure. This is something I have discovered I have to overcome. I never envisioned myself going to a mission congregation. I almost swallowed my teeth when I heard my assignment.

Pastor Allen Barnes of Westbrook spoke to the difficult adjustments that an old established ethnic congregation has to go through in order to encourage and cope with meaningful growth:

I think one of the things that happened to the Lutheran churches is they were seen as ethnic churches so even though they had a good confessional, good spiritual, good scriptural background and they preached the Word, it was always seen as a Danish church or the Norwegian church. They hung on to their traditional languages up until the late '50s, early '40s before they went to full English services here. So it blocked out a lot of the community. If you didn't marry one of the people who went here and were not willing to learn Danish or at least come to the services in Danish, there wasn't a real outreaching group.

Pastor Jack Maxim of the new mission in Ellsworth has a rather unique handle on "growing a church!" Thanks to the encouragement of the only other minister of a liturgically based congregation in town, Father Gorham of Saint Joseph's Roman Catholic, Pastor Maxim was introduced to a couple from Father Gorham's congregation. They became so excited about the possibility of the new Lutheran mission in town that they put up the first $25,000 on a prime piece of land for Saint Andrew's to build its edifice upon in the near future. The source

---

12oral History of Paul Janke, August 18, 1986, pp. 1-2.

13oral History of Al Barnes, July 31, 1986, p. 5.

14st. Andrew Lutheran Church, Ellsworth, Maine, June 1986 news release, p. 2.
and nature of this gift was so extraordinary that some interesting Lutheran protocol strings needed to be pulled for the gift to be accepted by the Mission Board of the Eastern District of the American Lutheran Church but, as might be expected, it was.\textsuperscript{15} Another congregation which has benefitted from a Roman Catholic sense of benevolence is Holy Cross of Kennebunk. Pastor John Corgan tells the story as it was related to him by his parishioners;

I don't know the exact date but I believe it was 1977-78 when the Catholic church in town, St. Monica's which had previously worshiped here and then moved to the north side of town. They were looking to sell this building and property and they sold it to us for I believe $8,000 and the property next door and a small lot behind the church. Today! who knows what the property would be worth but it was a real gift.\textsuperscript{6}

Finally, with regard to growth, there is a very encouraging correlation between the two congregations with the largest budgets and their emphasis on intensive, ongoing Bible study. First Lutheran Church of Portland is not only the second oldest active congregation in the state (and therefore decidedly ethnic in origin), but also has the fourth largest membership. It had a budget of $30,000 for 1986 and although it fell short of that by over twenty thousand dollars, it was still the second largest budget of any Lutheran congregation. When this amount is considered in light of a debt-free facility (the largest Lutheran edifice in Maine) and a membership of only three hundred and fifty, its impact is substantial; especially when twenty-five to thirty percent of the total is given to benevolences.\textsuperscript{17} Prince of Peace of

\textsuperscript{15}oral History of Jack Maxim, July 28, 1986, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{16}oral History of John Corgan, July 15, 1986, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{17}oral History, Greg Pagh, July 23, 1986, p. 3.
Augusta, the state's Capitol, met its budget of $45,000 for 1986, added its second addition in five years, is the only Lutheran church in the state to average over two hundred people per worship service, and, besides the largest budget, also has the largest membership. The congregation is only twenty-four years old but has the benefit of having had the same resident pastor for the past seventeen years.18 Both Pastor Greg Pagh of First and Bruce Meyer of Prince of Peace attribute their congregation's growth to experiences with in-depth Bible studies such as Bethel and Word and Witness.19 Such Bible studies challenge members to look at their discipleship and stewardship of all they have and are in a whole different light. The result is greater giving levels for virtually all participants. Both Pagh and Meyer say that the particular Bible study used is not the key to success as much as just having one. They agree with the remarks made by Pastor Harry Wendt in his taped introduction to the Crossways Bible study, when he says, "The key for renewal in a Christian's life is not that he puts God 'first' in his life, but that he makes God 'all' in his life.20

Another important and highly visible aspect of Lutheranism in Maine lies in the area of mutual cooperation and fraternization. The center of these activities and opportunities is, by virtue of geographic


reality, the city of Portland and environs. The contacts among the Lutherans are both informal and formal and include all of the congregations in the greater Portland area except for the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran congregation. The Missouri Synod congregations in Cape Elizabeth and Waterville remain out of formal altar and pulpit fellowship but find other opportunities to be part of the Lutheran experience in greater Portland.

There are several concentric circles of joint Lutheran congregational endeavor in the area. First, there is the group of congregations which cooperates in virtually all endeavors and includes three American Lutheran congregations, Trinity, Westbrook; Emmaus, Falmouth; and First, Portland; plus the only Lutheran Church in America congregation in the area, Saint Ansgar. These congregations even pool their efforts for combined Lenten services and the like. Second, there is a group which participates, in addition to those congregations just listed, in a weekly Pastor's Bible Study, in yearly Choral festivals and Refonnation celebration and in the social ministry arm of Lutheranism in southern Maine known as Portland Area Lutheran Services (PALS), as well as the administration of the Portland office of the New England Lutheran Service Association (LSA) which has its regional headquarters in Framingham, Massachusetts. These congregations include two more American Lutheran congregations, Holy Cross, Kennebunk and Faith, North Windham; Grace, Auburn of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches; and the Missouri congregation, Redeemer, Cape Elizabeth. Finally, there is the largest group which includes all of the foregoing
congregations and represents those additionally which participate in the above activities from time to time. These congregations include two more American Lutheran churches, Good Shepherd, Brunswick, and Water of Life, Damariscotta, one Lutheran Church in America church, Trinity, South Paris, and the only other Missouri church in Maine, The Lutheran Church of the Resurrection, Waterville. Together these twelve congregations have 2,800 members and had the combined resources and talents to host a celebration of the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth in early November 1983 which attracted over 1100 people to Portland's city hall with its famous 7800 pipe Kotschmar organ, and received considerable coverage in the visual and print media.

Special mention should be made of the largest formal venture among Lutherans in the state, the Portland Area Lutheran Services organization known as "PALS." According to one of its recent brochures, "PALS":


The most visible of the PALS projects to date is a twenty-four unit condominium complex combined with a fifty unit congregate care lodge for the elderly known as "Ocean View," in Falmouth. This project, built at a cost of $4,500,000 and dedicated January 11, 1987, is a joint

21Portland Area Lutheran Services, Inc., Portland, Maine brochure January 1987 (undated), "PALS FUTURE."
venture with a major consulting and construction firm in the area, Dictar Associates. This undertaking is considerable for such a small group of Lutherans but generally acknowledged to be worth the risk and hard work involved. PALIS was the dream of two former Maine pastors, Linn Opderbecke of First and George Kraus of Redeemer. Opderbecke, now in Virginia, was the special guest speaker at the dedication, and Kraus is currently a Professor at Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, Indiana.

Both Lutheran fraternal insurance organizations are represented in Maine, on a small scale. The Aid Association for Lutherans has just over four hundred policyholders while the Lutheran Brotherhood has about two hundred. The AAL branch has "Gold Star" status which means that it sponsors numerous activities each year which must be attended by a minimum percentage of policyholders in the state. With many members two and three hundred miles away, it is no small feat to be able to carry out its functions successfully. The largest task undertaken to date by AAL was the five thousand dollar construction of a Christian pre-school playground at First Lutheran Church of Portland. The Lutheran Brotherhood is in the process of setting up a fraternal branch in the Portland area and will be headquartered at Elllllllll, Paltlpaupl.

---


23 conversation with John Kraus, Dr. Kraus' youngest son, Feb. 8, 1987. All four of Kraus' sons have returned to live in Maine since calling Redeemer's parsonage "home" from 1974-1977.

24 conversation with Julie Pflug, February 21, 1986, at Redeemer Lutheran Church Aid Association for Lutherans Branch 4680 meeting.
In light of the range of worship opportunities, activities and joint ventures which Lutherans of Maine are involved in, it seems fair to say that the relative impact of such a small number of people and congregations is much greater than one would expect; and, at present, it appears that this impact is going to continue to rise.
CHAPTER VI
WHERE LUTHERANISM NOW STANDS IN MAINE:
THE THEOLOGICAL DIMENSION AND IMPACT OF THE NEW LUTHERAN CHURCH

Lutheranism in Maine stands at a critical crossroad in 1987 because of the momentous decisions which will be made at the Cumberland County Civic Arena in June of this year. From the eleventh to the thirteenth The Constituting Convention of the New England Synod of the new Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (ELGA), will be in session. The anticipated vote on the final merger plan is a foregone conclusion. What the impact of that vote will be upon the doctrine and policy of Lutheranism in Maine is still an open question.

In Maine, the news of the initial merger vote by the three merging bodies was applauded by the media. Most supportive was Michael J. McManus who in his article entitled, "Hallelujah for merger of Lutherans" quoted Jesus praying to His Father for the unity of His followers;


2Not one of the AELC, ALC or LCA pastors in Maine expressed any doubt that the New England Synod would approve the final merger vote by a wide margin.

3Each pastor interviewed indicated that for practical purposes the merger would have little impact upon the day to day operation of their parish, but disagreed about where the doctrinal and practical issues will finally come to rest.

61
"that all of them may be one . . . so that the world may believe you have sent Me," and went on to describe the merging partners;

The three merging denominations are liberal. All ordain women, for example, and are deeply ecumenical and committed to social activism on behalf of the poor while the Missouri Synod disagrees on each issue.4

The Regina Journal Tribune of Saskatchewan, Canada, reported the event as saying this would now be "an American church . . . that brings together all the ethnic strands of American Lutheranism:"5 Missouri Synod's Alive publication of September 8, 1986, simply reported the event under the caption "Three Lutheran bodies give go-ahead to merger in concurrent conventions," with no editorial comment.6 It did not report that President Ralph Bohlmann appeared at the Lutheran Church in America convention on Friday, August 29, 1986, to offer his "congratulations and best wishes in this wonderful moment."7

The major issue which separates Missouri from the merging bodies is with regard to the basic understanding of whether Holy Scripture is God's inerrant Word. The accepted Lutheran understanding of the issue, until recently, has been that of the Preface of the Book of Concord which refers to Holy Scripture as "the pure, infallible Word of God."8

4Michael J. McMannis in Ethics and Religion section of the Portland Press Herald, September 6, 1986.

5Jerry Schwartz in Religion section of the Regina Journal Tribune, Saturday, August 30, 1986, p. 5.


7Schwartz. p. 5.

John Warwick Montgomery in his The Suicide of Christian Theology, states that either the Bible is "inerrant because it is inspired" or it is a book "which is no different qualitatively from other books." A major concern about the doctrinal position of the new Lutheran church is precisely on this question and one has cause to wonder if the answer will come out in traditional Lutheran tenets.

In a resolution not supported by the floor committee but presented to the 1984 Convention of the New England Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, it was moved to include:

In the constitution of the new Lutheran Church a description of the Holy Scriptures as the record of God's redemptive act in Christ, for which the Old Testament prepared the way and which the New Testament proclaims, and an acknowledgement that the Holy Scriptures as a whole and in all their parts are divinely inspired, revealed—and inerrant Word of God, and the only infallible authority in all matters of faith and life.

The motion was an attempt to bring together under one paragraph the two differing views of God's Word. The first statement reflects the constitution of the Lutheran Church in America, while the second reflects the constitution of the American Lutheran Church. The motion was defeated.

---

9Jo Warwick Montgomery! The Suicide of the Christian Theology, (Minneapolis, Bethany Fellowship, 3rd printing, 1975), p. 40.

A sampling of the constitutions collected over the past year yields the following statements. The first is from Gustaf Adolph, New
Sweden (LCA), while the second is from Trinity, Westbrook (ALC).

ARTICLE II Confession of Faith - Gustaf Adolph, New Sweden (LCA)

Section 1. This congregation confesses Jesus Christ as Lord of the
Church. The Holy Spirit creates and sustains the Church through the
Gospel and thereby unites believers with their Lord and with one
another in the fellowship of faith.

Section 2. This congregation holds that the Gospel is the revela-
tion of God's sovereign will and saving grace in Jesus Christ. In
Him, the Word Incarnate, God imparts Himself to men.

Section 3. This congregation acknowledges the Holy Scriptures as
the norm for the faith and life of the Church. The Holy Scriptures
are the divinely inspired record of God's redemptive act in Christ,
for which the Old Testament prepared the way and which the New
Testament proclaims. In the continuation of this proclamation in
the Church, God still speaks through the Holy Scriptures and
realizes His redemptive purpose generation after generation.71

ARTICLE II Confession of Faith - Trinity, Westbrook (ALC)

This congregation accepts all the canonical books of the Old and New
Testaments as a whole and in all their parts as the divinely in-
spired, revealed and inerrant Word of God, and submits to this as
the only infallible authority in all matters of faith and life.12

Clearly, these two statements are substantially different.

A comparison of the variety of ways in which confessional sub-
scription is handled by the various Lutheran bodies shows the major dif-
fferences of understanding about the normative quality of the documents.

11Constitution of Gustaf Adolph Lutheran Church, New Sweden,

12Constitution and Bylaws, Trinity Lutheran Church, Westbrook,
The first statement below is the "form paragraph" used in practically all Missouri Synod Constitutions;

The Congregation accepts all the Symbolic books of the Lutheran Church contained in the Book of Concord of the year 1580, viz, the Ecumenical Creeds (the Apostolic, the Nicene and the Athanasian); the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of 1530; the Apology of the Augsburg Confession; the Catechisms of Martin Luther; the Smalcald Articles; Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope; and the Formula of Concord as a correct and sound exposition of Christian Doctrine taken from and in full accord with the Holy Scriptures.

Accordingly, all teachings of this Congregation shall agree with this doctrine. 13

The second statement is a "form paragraph" for American Lutheran Congregations; notice the Treatise is not specifically mentioned.

As brief and true statements of the doctrine of the Word of God, this congregation accepts and confesses the following symbols, subscription to which shall be required of all its members: (1) the ancient ecumenical creeds: the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian (2) the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism.

As further elaboration of and in accord with these Lutheran Symbols, this congregation also receives the other documents in the Book of Concord of 1580: the Apology, Luther's Large Catechism, and the Smalcald Articles, and the Fonnula of Concord; and recognizes them as normative for its theology.

This congregation accepts without reservation the Symbolic books of the evangelical Lutheran Church, not insofar as, but, because they are the presentation and explanation of the pure doctrine of the Word of God and a summary of the faith of the evangelical Lutheran Church. 14

13Redeemer Lutheran Church, Cape Elizabeth, Maine, Constitution and Bylaws, July 10, 1984, p. 2.

The third statement is a variation of a "form paragraph" for congregations of the Lutheran Church in America; Again, the Treatise is omitted.

Section 5. This congregation accepts the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism as true witnesses to the Gospel, and acknowledges as one with it in faith and doctrine all churches that likewise accept the teachings of these symbols.

Section 6. This congregation accepts the other symbolical books of the evangelical Lutheran Church, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Large Catechism, and the Formula of Concord as further valid interpretations of the confession of Church.\(^{13}\)

Rather than describe the theological differences of the three statements in minute detail, the following presents two views of lay people on the importance of Scriptural and Confessional subscription. In the following discussions I am "I.D."

**Interview III**

J.H. - While I was growing up, there was no such thing as recognizing other churches that much, you know. And now we work quite closely with the Baptist church, and even with the Catholic church. As a matter of fact, our speaker next Sunday is the visiting priest from the Catholic church and he's not the first one who has come over to our church to talk. So I think that's good, from all indication, I guess, of growth and becoming more mature.

R.S. - Along that same line, we have interfaith services: all the churches in this community and in New Sweden. We have Thanksgiving service, Christmas services and Easter services. When Pastor Andrae was here, we had interfaith service at the Catholic church in town and he was the speaker. The Baptist minister delivered the message in our church, or we would go to all the churches in the two communities.

I.D. - Does this kind of activity allow you still to retain your own identity as Lutherans?

---

M.A. - I think so. Your question here about how would a non-Lutheran resident of your community describe the congregation. They describe us as being unique. More than one person has said, I have never known such wann friendliness anywhere as in your church and if I could belong here and attend all the time, I would like to.

I.D. - Lutheranism was founded upon the basic Biblical principal of the importance of God's Word and the centrality of the sacraments. How would you say those two items fit into your life as a congregation?

M.A. - I think they are both important. I think sacrament once a month is what is considered.

I.D. - And where in your life together, if at all, is there an impact of the Lutheran confessions?

J.H. - I was going to ask you about just exactly what is meant by the confessional Lutheranism. I don't think we do discuss it. I'm sure it's in the constitution, but what do you mean by that?

I.D. - All I mean is that Lutheranism still relies on the Confessions, at least in part for the way it operates.

J.H. - Yes. I would say that we do.16

Interview #2
I.D. - In your estimation, how would a non-Lutheran resident in the community describe your congregation and why?

M.F. - One of the good features of a Missouri Synod Church is there is almost a guarantee, implied or otherwise, that a person will hear the Gospel, that the truth of the Word will be known and preached that the basic tenets of the Old and New Testaments will be adhered to strictly, with no variance from the intent of the Word.

I.D. - And you believe this is something that people in the area with time come to do?

M.F. - Those people who feel strongly about learning about the Bible and the actual impact of the Words as inspired by God will come to a Missouri Lutheran Church. Those who feel strongly as opposed to that, who want a loose interpretation and certain parts of the Bible perhaps discounted, will stay away from a Missouri Lutheran Church. That is unfortunate but that is a fact of life and that is one of

the reasons why perhaps there has not been a rapid growth in Maine because people in the State of Maine are accustomed to interpret and to have the latitude to interpret the Word rather than adhere to a strict impact of the Word as known.

I.D. - How would you describe your congregation's goals and are those goals being met? Why or why not? Why do you think we are here - what is our purpose?

L.D. - To spread the Gospel, the Word of God, and have the church grow.

I.D. - You think that is the real primary reason? L.H. - Yes.

I.D. - Is it being accomplished? L.H. - I think so, yes.

L.H. - I would like to say every time there is a baptism I feel that is the most important thing that ever happens in our church and when I see a child being baptized, I think nothing will ever be more important in that child's life - no matter what he attains or she.17

At this point one might simply ask, which conversation took place with people who were versed in Scripture, Confessional subscription and Word and Sacrament Ministry? Both groups were absolutely delightful, but that is not at issue here. Whether the church is a social gathering place or the body of Christ is more to the point.

The fear then on the part of some for the parishes of the new Lutheran church is that the Confessional laxity already in evidence would only become worse after the merger and would therefore permit the Gospel to be watered down to a document referred to as "that nice story." In all fairness, it should be noted that there apparently is some concern for what is happening to the basic knowledge of and regard for the

17oral History of Redeemer Lutheran Church, Cape Elizabeth, Maine, July 10, 1986, pp. 1-2.
Confessions. Pastor Paul Scherzer says he teaches a course on the Confessions year round\(^{18}\) while Pastor Hultgren said concerning Lutheranism in Maine:

The exposure that I have had, which is rather limited, I think it is lacking in the confessional end, I think there is severe loss of struggling with Scripture, pardon the expression, the "intellectualism" \(\cdots\) instead, people ask "do we feel good about this?" It seems to be the "CollililUnity Congregational" Church emphasis.\(^{19}\)

The importance of having a strong Confessional understanding in Maine cannot be overemphasized. Lutherans in this state probably get more mail from Bangor Theological Seminary than from any other religious institution in the country. You come to realize that there is a different air blowing at Bangor when one of its professors declares in an interview with the Associated Press; "There's racism in the Bible. There's Anti-Semitism in the Bible. And there's sexism in the Bible."\(^{20}\)

In the new lectionary being worked on by Bangor's Professor William Throckmorton and others will have Jesus called the "child of God," rather than His son, and will see Him praying to a God characterized as "Mother and Father."\(^{21}\)

There is another related concern for the future of Lutheranism in Maine: instead of five relatively small camps in the state, as of January 1, 1988, there will be two small ones and one large one. Out of

---

\(^{18}\) oral History of Paul Scherzer.

\(^{19}\) oral History of Philip Hultgren.


\(^{21}\) Ibid.
the twenty-two congregations and missions in Maine, all but three will be part of the merger; leaving just the Wisconsin Synod congregation in Portland and the two Missouri congregations in Waterville and Cape Elizabeth. The result seems obvious. Whenever there might be an opportunity in the media to make a "Lutheran" pronouncement, it will most likely come from a representative of the new church and will be perceived by the average person as reflective of all Lutheran churches including Wisconsin and Missouri. Pastor Paul Janke of the Wisconsin Synod remarks on this probability:

I think it is going to be confusing because there is going to be such diversity within Lutheranism that I certainly don't care to be tarred with the same feather that is used to describe this new Lutheran Church. 2

In the day-to-day interaction among the Lutheran pastors in Maine, one hears topics like "deutero-Isaiah," "Process Theology," and even the occasional question about the virgin birth and bodily resurrection of Jesus. Clearly lacking are concerns for an inerrant Bible, Sacramental integrity, a young Earth and the right of fetal children to live. Yet, the opportunity for fellowship and Bible study in the Portland area with the Lutheran pastors on Wednesday mornings is welcome; especially in light of the fact that there are so many things which are still held in common.

The future of Lutheranism in Maine does appear to include real growth in searching the Scriptures, in caring for the elderly, in clinging to a common liturgical and hymnody heritage, and in developing a

---

22oral History of Paul Janke, August 18, 1986, p. 3.
sense of religious identity in a state which has little, outside of Roman Catholicism. While cooperative Lutheran ventures will certainly continue in many areas, complete altar and pulpit fellowship would appear to be even less possible in the future, given the merger, than before. We draw comfort from God's Word which declares that "when we were still powerless, Christ died for the ungodly." 23 The apparent present powerlessness of the Missouri Synod to affect the doctrinal direction of the merger will certainly not be the last word on the matter. When all is said and done, two facts of modern-day Lutheranism in Maine stand out. First, that, without hesitancy the Gospel is being upheld as the best possible news for mankind by all the Lutheran clergy. And second, that the Lutheran laymen here are invariably far more conservative in their theological leanings than their respective clergy and may thus have a moderating effect upon the liberal drift of the new Lutheran church.

23 Romans 5:6b (New International Version)
EVALUATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS TO DATE

Lutherans have been in Maine for most of two and a half centuries yet their initial small numbers coupled with their general disinclination to adapt to and do evangelism within their communities, have contributed to the slow growth of the church in this state. Add to this a gradual de-emphasizing of Word and Sacrament ministry, which held the growth rate in check even more, and one marvels that the church survived so well. The first true mission start in the state was the Lewiston congregation of 1921, in that the mission came to where Lutherans already were, instead of arriving with them in the first place. Since 1956 all of the new congregations established have followed this pattern and this is one of the hopeful signs for future growth on the horizon of Maine Lutheranism.

It is significant that the Lutheran laity in Maine by and large is more conservative than its clergy. This is particularly true of those congregations which will become part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. Even on the issues of "open communion" and "women's ordination" there is still strong disagreement among the laity concerning these now accepted practices. On other issues such as abortion, homosexuality/lesbianism, and the errancy of the Bible, the laity is almost totally opposed while even a fair percentage of the clergy are similarly
disposed, despite national leadership views to the contrary. These are concerns which will have an impact upon the future of Lutheranism in Maine and around the country for many years to come.

There is a special quality that is part and parcel of working in a true missionary environment such as Maine. This part of the country has been referred to as "The Eastern Front" and its challenges are ever there. A significant aspect of the finding related to this thesis is that the basic needs for worship and witness remain. God's Word and Sacrament are still the order and need of the day. The problem in Maine Lutheranism is that so often the ethnic limitations coupled with the dilution of Word and Confessions have in effect limited the Gospel as well. Certainly the Holy Spirit works through the Word and Sacrament where He wills - yet we are to be His spokesmen in word as well as action. This thesis shows that such work has not been done with either constancy or consistency in Maine. It is significant that so much time and effort have produced such meager numerical results to date. Yet, it is also significant nevertheless that the faith of many Lutherans has been sustained in Maine by Word and Sacrament for generations. The challenges for growth remain but the history of Lutheranism in Maine continues to carry bright possibilities for the future of a church of the faith in this state.

1Pastor Dennis Perryman, Mt Calvary Lutheran Church, Alton, Massachusetts, at Evangelism/Church Growth Convocation, Redeemer Lutheran Church, 22 April 1985.
A word about the extensive use of oral histories in this thesis is in order. At first glance these might be regarded as the only solution to the dearth of written materials on Lutheranism in Maine. Yet they provide more than just raw material. Oral histories convey the mood and the intensity of feeling of those being interviewed as no other medium. In the arena of precision however, especially with regard to dates and names, oral histories are less helpful and must be independently verified. People also have a tendency to tell only their side of a given story. Despite these failings, however the oral histories were invaluable to this research and essential to its completion.
CONCLUSION

The finest thing to come out of the process of doing this thesis is the realization that the stereo-type of Maine "Down East" irreligion, though tempting, is just not true. This is not to deny that the lack of church membership in Maine is a national scandal. There are reasons for the lack of church membership which are now far more convincing than the commonly held view of an anti-religion Maine mind set. Yes, it is true that this is a society where there are multiple generations of family members who have never gone to church except for social reasons. Yet the reasons for this are far more profound and more dramatic than some simplistic notion that Mainers and God just do not get along.

There was no good, sound, tried and true Confessional Lutheranism in Waldoboro to give hope and reason to the deprivations and turmoils of the time. There was no solid Gospel preaching which exhorted parishioners to tell others the greatness of Christ and his mercy during the ethnic migrations. One can tell exactly when it was that Lutherans' imaginations were fired up by visions of crusading for the Lord: when they took it upon themselves to brave all and establish mission congregations. Whenever ethnic identity got in the way the Gospel sputtered. Whenever Christ was proclaimed, and the Sacraments administered, the Gospel soared.
Yet the sacrifices and occasional failures in establishing and maintaining Lutheran congregations in Maine deserve their proper place in the annals of the history of the Pine Tree State. The fact of the efforts makes the task of witnessing to the Gospel from a Confessional point of view easier today. For a Lutheran pastor to be able to say that his church body in broad strokes has been active in the state for over two hundred and forty years, immediately assuages the fears of those concerned about the rise of new religions and cults in New England. Nevertheless, to say that Lutheranism in Maine is flourishing would be deceptive, despite the fact that isolated congregations are flourishing. This is not a thesis which has the luxury of ending with glowing prospects for the future, especially in light of the many failures of the past. Yet it is also not a thesis which dares end in gloom when there are bright spots on the Lutheran horizon.

Lutheranism has been a part of the religious scene in Maine for two hundred and forty-six years and, as such is one of the oldest denominations in the state. Even with the diminished emphasis upon Word, Sacrament and Confessionalism in the new Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, what remains is still greater than in most church bodies at a time when people are yearning for stability and answers to their deepest spiritual yearnings. Lutheranism has the vehicle for providing such stability and answers and will, I believe, increase its share of the percentage of worshippers in this state. Furthermore, with the formation of the new church, there will be two distinct branches of Lutheranism in
Maine instead of five. The ELCA will attract those disenchanted with churches which have seemingly lost the Gospel of Christ in their search for social conscience, while the LC-MS and the Wisconsin Synod will attract those with similar disenchantments who additionally desire an inerrant Bible and stronger Confessional stance on important social issues. I would even venture to say that the so-called "electronic church" will begin to lose some of its appeal in favor of local churches which have the advantage of being on the scene when needed. While none of these factors guarantee that Lutheranism in Maine will flourish in the coming years, they certainly will not cause the opposite effect either. With some "main-line" churches suffering tremendous losses in membership given the lack of some of the very attributes which Lutheranism is noted for, all of the above seems to bode well for the future of Lutheranism in Maine.
APPENDIX A
STATUS SHEET OF LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS AND MISSIONS IN MAINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charter Date</th>
<th>Town or City</th>
<th>Name of Congregation</th>
<th>Synodical Affiliation</th>
<th>Name of Pastor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Auburn (Lewiston until 1973)</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>AELC</td>
<td>Steve Kenney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>Prince of Peace</td>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>Bruce Meyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>Redeemer</td>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>Paul Anderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>Good Shepherd</td>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>Paul Scherer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Cape Elizabeth</td>
<td>Redeemer</td>
<td>LC-MS</td>
<td>Ingo Dutzmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Caribou</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>Gisele Berninghaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19822</td>
<td>Damariscotta</td>
<td>Water of Life</td>
<td>ALC (mission)</td>
<td>DanGilbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Ellsworth</td>
<td>St. Andrew</td>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>Jack Maxim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Falmouth</td>
<td>Emmaus</td>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>Ed Baitzersen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19622</td>
<td>Fannington</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>LCA (mission)</td>
<td>Harry Wyckoff (Layman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Hebron</td>
<td>Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church</td>
<td>Independent, split from Trinity South Paris, in 1931 and closed in 1969(?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Kennebunk</td>
<td>Holy Cross</td>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>John Corgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>New Sweden</td>
<td>Gustaf Adolph</td>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>Todd Merken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Revised December 31, 1986.
2Year work begun.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charter Date</th>
<th>Town or City</th>
<th>Name of Congregation</th>
<th>Synodical Affiliation</th>
<th>Name of Pastor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895?</td>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>Emanuel</td>
<td>Augustana</td>
<td>Merged with St. Ansgar 1953?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>Greg Pagh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>St. Ansgar</td>
<td>LCS</td>
<td>Rick Neu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Rockland</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>Robert Gustafson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>South Paris</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>(vacant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>Gisele Beminghaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Thomaston</td>
<td>Holy Trinity</td>
<td>Suomi, merged with Nativity Lutheran Church in 1963 and the LCA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1741</td>
<td>Waldoboro</td>
<td>Reformed Lutheran Church</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Closed in 1860?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Waterville</td>
<td>Lutheran Church of the Resurrection</td>
<td>LC-MS</td>
<td>(vacant)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Westbrook</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>ALC</td>
<td>Al Barnes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3Not known precisely what name the congregation used prior to 1772.
APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF POPULATION OF MAINE COMMUNITIES WITH THE
ACTIVE LUTHERAN CONGREGATIONS AND MISSIONS
WITHIN THEIR BOUNDARIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>Population of Community</th>
<th>Name of Congregation</th>
<th>Baptized Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>21,199</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>21,819</td>
<td>Prince of Peace</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>63,541</td>
<td>Redeemer</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>17,366</td>
<td>Good Shepherd</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Elizabeth</td>
<td>7,838</td>
<td>Redeemer</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribou</td>
<td>9,916</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damariscotta</td>
<td>1,411</td>
<td>Water of Life</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellsworth</td>
<td>5,179</td>
<td>St. Andrew</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falmouth</td>
<td>6,853</td>
<td>Emnass</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmington</td>
<td>6,730</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennebunk</td>
<td>6,621</td>
<td>Holy Cross</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Sweden</td>
<td>527 (est.) 3</td>
<td>Gustaf Adolph</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Windham</td>
<td>5,492</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Revised December 31, 1986.


3Crows having less than 1,000 residents are not listed individually in the 1980 Maine Census.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>Population of Community</th>
<th>Name of Congregation</th>
<th>Baptized Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>138,568</td>
<td>Beautiful Savior Community of the Living Presence(^4)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td></td>
<td>First</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Ansgar</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockland</td>
<td>7,919</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Paris</td>
<td>2,128</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>319 (est.)</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterville</td>
<td>17,779</td>
<td>Lutheran Church of the Resurrection</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westbrook</td>
<td>14,976</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4,3004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\)Towns having less than 1,000 residents are not listed individually in the 1980 Maine Census.

\(^4\)Not yet a worshiping community.

My guess is that this figure is 500 higher than actual due to a few congregations actually attending to their recordkeeping. Even at this level (4300) the figure represents less than 1/2 of 1\% of the population of Maine.
APPENDIX C

ITINERARY OF MAJOR IN-MAINE INTERVIEWS AND DISTANCES FROM CAPE ELIZABETH
(Revised February 1, 1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Community</th>
<th>Name of Congregation</th>
<th>Date of Interview</th>
<th>Miles from Cape Elizabeth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>November 13, 1986</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>Prince of Peace</td>
<td>January 29, 1987</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>Redeemer</td>
<td>July 27, 1986</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunswick</td>
<td>Good Shepherd</td>
<td>August 28, 1986</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Elizabeth</td>
<td>Redeemer</td>
<td>July 10, 1986</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribou</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>July 29, 1986</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damariscotta</td>
<td>Water of Life</td>
<td>July 26, 1986</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellsworth</td>
<td>St. Andrew</td>
<td>July 28, 1986</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falmouth</td>
<td>Ermaus</td>
<td>July 31, 1986</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fannington</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>(not scheduled to date)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kennebunk</td>
<td>Holy Cross</td>
<td>July 15, 1986</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Sweden</td>
<td>Gustaf Adolph</td>
<td>July 28, 1986</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Windham</td>
<td>Faith</td>
<td>August 21, 1986</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>Beautiful Savior</td>
<td>August 18, 1986</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>First</td>
<td>July 24, 1986</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland</td>
<td>St. Ansgar</td>
<td>August 11, 1986</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockland</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>September 9, 1986</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Paris</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>September 5, 1986</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockholm</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>July 29, 1986</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waldoboro</td>
<td>The Old German Church</td>
<td>July 26, 1986</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterville</td>
<td>Lutheran Church of the Resurrection</td>
<td>July 16, 1986</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westbrook</td>
<td>Trinity</td>
<td>July 31, 1986</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX E

BRIEF HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF EACH LUTHERAN
CONGREGATION IN MAINE

Auburn - Grace Evangelical Lutheran Church (AELEC)

Grace began as a Missouri Synod mission in December 1915, when
the Reverend E. C. Wenzel gathered German families in the Lewiston-
Auburn area for services in the native language. In May of 1916, the
Reverend Bernard W. Jannsen became pastor and the congregation was
foundally organized in February of 1921, as Grace Evangelical Lutheran
Church of Lewiston and Auburn. That same year property in Lewiston
was purchased for the construction of an old style Gennan stone church,
which was completed in 1922. In 1925 the Reverend Edgar A. Fehlau
came to Grace, fresh out of Concordia Seminary, Saint Louis, and
served the congregation faithfully for 47 years until his retirement
in 1972.¹ It is interesting to note that in 1931 the membership of
Grace was as great as it was 50 years later in 1981.² It has been
said that if all the people who were baptised and confined by Pastor
Fehlau had remained Lutheran and their families with them Grace would
be the largest church in Lewiston-Auburn (which is no small feat given
the very large Catholic community).³ The Reverend Lowell Tirm

¹Interview of Pastor Fehlau, January 11, 1984.
²Grace Church Records
³Interview of Joseph Grube, August 24, 1986
succeeded Pastor Fehlau and after considerable controversy helped persuade the congregation to join the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC) on February 1, 1977. He left the congregation the next year. In 1973, a new church edifice had been built in Auburn, overlooking beautiful Auburn Lake, and immediately adjacent to the cemetery where Pastor Fehlau would be buried in 1984. Fehlau had joined several of his siblings worshiping at Redeemer, Cape Elizabeth, following his retirement. In February of 1982 a group of over 20 members of Grace, who had remained with the congregation following the decision to join AELC, left the congregation and attempted to form a Lutheran mission. I served this group (after consultation with AELC District Bishop Cyril Wismar (uncle to my predecessor at Redeemer, and former member of the LC-MS) and LC-MS District President Martin Dienst from the fall of 1983 through the summer of 1984. The group met in the town of Greene in the VFW hall and a fraternity house on the campus of Bates College, Lewiston, and has since disbanded with most people going to non-Lutheran congregations, some returning to Grace, while a few have sought out other Lutheran congregations. The former interim pastor, the Reverend Steven Kenney, has now served the congregation as its Called pastor, since October 5, 1986.

4 Fehlau Interview
5 Grube Interview
6 Grace, Oral History, November 13, 1986
Augusta - Prince of Peace Lutheran Church (ALC)

Prince of Peace had its beginning as a chartered congregation in 1963 after several years of preliminary work, cottage meetings and church services prior to receiving official mission status in the New England Conference of the American Lutheran Church. \(^7\) Pastor Bruce Meyer has served as pastor since September 1, 1970, which makes him the senior active Lutheran pastor in the state. During those seventeen years, the congregation had experienced normal growth patterns for this region of the United States (slow) until 1979-1980 when the heightened awareness of Christian discipleship arising out of the Bethel Bible Study changed everything. In the past seven years, Prince of Peace has doubled in size to almost 500 souls (largest Lutheran in the state), tripled its budget to $145,000 (largest among Lutheran Congregations in the state), added a Christian nursery program with seven teachers and over 120 students, built two additions, started the Bread of Life Soup Kitchen in August, founded the Water of Life Mission in Damariscotta, and helps fund the Lutheran Church in America mission attempt in Fannington (Mount Blue; now known as "Faj.th"). \(^8\) Seven families of the congregation have purchased an old gymnasium and are in the process of renovating it for use as a shelter for the homeless. Pastor Meyer attributes all of this rise in awareness and action to meet the awareness to the increase in Bible study and its direct implications for a Christian Life and discipleship. \(^9\)

\(^7\)Pastor Meyer, Oral History, January 28, 1987

\(^8\)ibid.

\(^9\)ibid.
Ironically, Prince of Peace is not much of a factor in the New England Conference of the ALC as Pastor Meyer is not much interested in meetings. He says "most guys don't even know I'm up here!" On the congregational level however, there is every evidence of good organization and I was particularly impressed by the organizational booklets which spell out every job description in the congregation.11

**Bangor - Redeemer Lutheran Church (LCA)**

There has never been an indigenous Lutheran population in the City of Bangor but with its growth and increased diversification since it founding 152 years ago Lutherans in some number have gradually gravitated to its opportunities and amenities. In 1884, Henry David Thoreau wrote:

> There stands the City of Bangor, 50 miles up the Penobscot, at the head of navigation for vessels of the larger class, the principle lumber depot on this continent, with the population of 12,000, like a star on the edge of the night, still hewing at the forest of which it is built, already overflowing with the luxuries and refinements of Europe, and sending vessels to Spain, to England, and to the west Indies for its groceries, - and yet only a few axe-men have gone up river into the howling wilderness which feeds it.12

The roots of Redeemer were nurtured by the Reverend Paul Berquist, who founded the congregation; presided over its incorporation in 1961, and the construction of the present building in 1965. In 1962 the 2.9 acre land on which the congregation rests, which was at the time known

---

10 Ibid.


as "the old arsenal property," was sold to the congregation. This arsenal was at one time the military depot for the Army Reserve Unit located in the City. Pastor Berquist served till 1968 and is well remembered and highly regarded to this day.

The ministry of the Reverend Reuben Lundeen 1972-1982 was a controversial one. He took early retirement after being asked formally by the congregation to leave. The issues surrounding his departure are yet somewhat murky but seem to have to do with his personal appearance and lack of desire to serve the outreach needs of the congregation. Ironically, Pastor Lundeen resides just three blocks from the congregation. The present pastor is the Reverend Paul Anderson, who arrived in 1983, and enjoyed considerable support and affirmation until the Spring of 1986. In his words, "The congregation has always been critical of the ministers. We are feeling no support; we are feeling nobody cares; and maybe nobody does." Yet, there is evidence of congregational vitality. A new roof is being put in place above the education wing; the flower bed is the most beautiful of any at a Lutheran Church in Maine; and the current fund drive is predicted to meet or exceed its goal. At the same time the congregation is not experiencing a net loss in membership, and in fact, Pastor Anderson is very hopeful that when the new military base in the Bangor area opens, Lutherans will be coming to Redeemer in increasing numbers. It is interesting to note that Pastor Anderson may be the only Lutheran pastor in Maine who has served two congregations within the state; he

13oral History Redeemer Lutheran Church, July 27, 1986, p. 5.
was in South Paris and Harrison from 1975 to 1978. There also is 
congregational support for his optimism, Al Klinge says, "I think 
that Pastor Anderson had a lot to do with drawing the congregation 
back together after he got here!"

Brunswick - Good Shepherd Lutheran Church (ALC)

The interview tape of the formal interview with Pastor Paul 
Scherzer of the Brunswick congregation unfortunately is inaudible but 
the following is from my notes of that interview. The Brunswick con-
gregation was formed in 1962 during the general Lutheran boom years 
and continues to minister to two distinct sets of parishioners: first, 
Lutherans in the immediate area who have come because of career oppor-
tunities in places like Bath Iron Works, Bowdoin College, or the local 
tourist industry and second, the personnel of the Brunswick Naval Air 
Station, which is one of four such facilities around the country. The 
congregation has enjoyed only marginal growth due in large part to the 
transient nature of its military members. Reverend Scherzer is well 
known for his prowess in Greek and gardening, has been at Brunswick for 
nine years and is very concerned about instruction in the Lutheran 
Confessions.IS

Cape Elizabeth - Redeemer Lutheran Church LC-MS

Redeemer's history traces its beginning to late 1959 when the 
Mission Board of the Atlantic District of the LC-MS extended a Call to 

141bid., p 5.

to candidate L. Frank Bunn, a graduate of Concordia Seminary in Saint Louis, to gather Lutherans around Word and Sacrament in the South Portland-Cape Elizabeth area. His efforts resulted in the formation of the congregation in December of 1962 and his installation as its first pastor.\(^{16}\) Without the prior efforts by dedicated laymen, however, the congregation would probably never have gotten off the ground, due to the predominant ALC presence in the Portland area. The prospect of strong adherence to the Gospel was the impetus which kept the founders going.\(^{17}\) The interim pastor, the Reverend Hermann Fink, Jr., spent a controversial nine months in the congregation: months which various parishioners still recall with disenchantment.\(^{18}\) The Reverend Walter W. Roberts succeeded Bunn in 1964 and served the longest ministry to date through 1973. It was during his time that the congregation was relocated on the present property on Spurwink Avenue and the building dedicated in 1968. The Reverend Dr. George Kraus, now Professor at the Fort Wayne Seminary, is remembered by the parish as the strong teaching pastor with a special love for deaf ministry. Kraus is remembered by local Lutheran pastors as the founder of the Lutheran ''Winkel,'' the impetus behind the formation of PALS (Portland Area Lutheran Services) and the defender of Lutheran orthodoxy in Maine. He served 1974-1977. Under the Reverend Greg

\(^{16}\)Go With Christ; Grow With Christ, Redeemer Lutheran Church brochure, 1967, 3rd page (pages unnumbered)

\(^{17}\)oral History, Redeemer Lutheran Church, July 15, 1986, P• 1.

\(^{18}\)bid., p. 3.
Wismar's leadership, from 1977-1983, a strong choral program was developed, Lutheran Worship adopted as the new hymnal, fellowship hall expanded, mission status ended, and the groundwork laid for the installation of a 70-year old pipe organ in the nave.

I have served as Pastor since August of 1983 and have concentrated on growth. In the three years since, church attendance has gone from 70 to 135 per week, giving from $35,000 to $72,000 and confirmed membership from 183 to 230. We serve a Cambodian contingent of 26 people, having baptized all but one, conduct signed services for the hearing impaired, participate in "Personalized Missionary Support," and manage to have newspaper coverage almost weekly. The "Alive in Christ" campaign, which was just concluded here, exceeded its $7,500 goal by over $15,000, for a total of $22,700.

Caribou - Faith Lutheran Church (LCA)

Faith celebrates its 30th Anniversary this year (1986) having been founded as a direct result of the New England Synod efforts to expand its influence in the northern Maine area near where their New Sweden-Stockholm congregations had been thriving. Mission status continued for the congregation until 1970, at which time it became part of the Northern Maine Lutheran Parish along with Trinity-Stockholm and Gustaf Adolph in New Sweden. Caribou is a one shop town, so to speak, in that its primary source of revenue and commerce is the Loring Air Force Base in Limestone, just a few miles down the road. In fact, the influence of the base is so strong that Betty Rinehart,
widow of Caribou's former pastor, Paul Gleichmann, stated that
"We have not really added any core people to the church in 30 years. The people that are on that charter are still here and everyone else fluctuates around the air force base!" Yet, at the same time, Burnam Morrell, current President of Faith, said in response to whether the congregation was a little apprehensive about the future, "We have high hopes. Very high hopes! If we could have had the strength that this congregation has developed in the past eight or nine months (vacancy-months); if we could have had the same strength eight or ten years ago, it would have been phenomenal."20

Damariscotta - Water of Life (ALC) (Mission)

Water of Life exists as a direct result of the outreach aspiration of Prince of Peace Lutheran Church in Augusta, which began in 1982. The Damariscotta area has not been known for Lutheranism but is becoming one of the more well known retirement areas on the coast of Maine and as such is attracting a fair number of Lutherans into the area. It is interesting to note that the mission has only one lifelong ALC family. Efforts are underway as of this writing to purchase property on Business Route 1 at a location near the new commercial hub of the town and with a commanding view of the Damariscotta River. Pastor Dan Gilbert, who has been serving the mission since 1983, is very interested in clown ministry and in ministry to the aging. He anticipates the formulation of a constitution which will attempt

20ibid., p. 5.
to incorporate the understanding that "if Christ is the Head of the church and He is indeed leading the church and we are following in His way that He will lead us in unity." This means that no major decision will be made in the congregation without unanimity. I was encouraged by the response Gilbert gave to my question how confessional Lutheranism can best be promoted in Maine: "Proclamation, Word and Sacrament. It is nothing new."  

Ellsworth - Saint Andrew Lutheran Church (ALC)

This congregation was part of the "SO more in 84" outreach of the American Lutheran Church. Pastor Jack Maxim was called to begin the ministry in 1984 based on his personal knowledge of and love for the area. Saint Andrew was chosen as the name of the ministry because of Andrew's status as a missionary and a fisherman. The congregation worships in the parish hall of Saint Joseph's Catholic Church and this cooperation between the Lutheran mission and established Roman Catholic Church is the closest I have experienced in any Lutheran congregation in Maine. Not only did Saint Andrew have difficulty making rental payments to Saint Joseph's (simply because the payments were never asked for) but when land acquisition was being discussed, it was Father Peter Gorham, priest of Saint Joseph's, who suggested that one of his families might be in a position to help. Indeed they did, paying $25,000 cash toward the purchase of a prime 3 acre site,


22 Ibid., p. 6.
costing $54,000. To date, Saint Andrew is still on mission status with about half of its income coming from outside the congregation (including $6,000 per year from their former congregation), but they hope to pay off their remaining indebtedness on the property within the next two years and look forward to beginning construction in 1988. Saint Andrew draws its membership from as far as 15 miles away and this is a feature common to all Lutheran churches in Maine; that fair numbers of people must travel in excess of half an hour or even an hour one way to attend service. Naturally, this inhibits opportunities for fellowship and service in the immediate vicinity of the congregation but encourages such activity in the local community where parishioners reside.

_Falmouth - Emmaus Lutheran Church (ALC)_

In 1891 eight women organized a Ladies Aid whose aim was "to further the Kingdom of God among us" in the Falmouth area. This was not the first time that the powerful influence of Scandinavian women was felt in the State of Maine in the formation of indigenous Lutheran congregations. Apparently, Ladies Aid Societies of 100 years ago or so were even attended by the men in their common spiritual hunger, inasmuch as their absence from a given meeting was noted in the record. The congregation was formally incorporated in 1893 under

---

2 Oral History, Pastor Jack Maxim, St. Andrew's Lutheran Church, Ellsworth, Maine, p. 4.

24 Ibid., p. 4.

the supervision of Pastor Ellestad of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in Portland (now First Lutheran) who came and preached regularly to the Danes in Falmouth. The congregation joined the United Evangelical Lutheran Church Synod (UELC) in 1899 and hosted the Atlantic District Convention in 1902. It remained with the UELC until joining the newly formed American Lutheran Church (ALC) in 1960. By 1966 the congregations' outreach interest had grown to the point where the congregation supported half of the salary of a missionary in New Guinea.26 Ironically, this outreach came at the same time as the congregation was experiencing the emotional difficulties of the then Reverend Preston F. Jones, who not only lost his family through divorce and left the ministry but later committed suicide.27 The present pastor, the Reverend Ed Baltzeren is very active in the local community as well as a leader in the Portland Area Lutheran Services (PALS), which is a consortium of Lutheran congregations including the AELC, ALC, LCA, and LC-MS to provide counseling, housing and other services to the community. At present the building project, known as "Ocean View" in Falmouth is a 4.5 million dollar privately funded building project, jointly managed by PALS and Dictar Associates, a prominent local construction firm. It was formally dedicated on January 11, 1987.28

26 Ibid.


Fannington - Faith Lutheran Church (LCA) (Mission)

Faith, (formerly Mount Blue) is the second of two missionary endeavors primarily supported by Prince of Peace Lutheran Church in Augusta. It has been served in the past by Pastor Dan Knock while he was the pastor at the LCA church in South Paris, 1978-1984. As of this writing, it is under the leadership of a layman, Mr. Harry Wyckoff, and many years past (late 60s and early 70s) was even the object of Pastor Edgar Fehlau's attention (LC-MS) when he tried to organize a congregation and held services in that area. Fannington is the seat of one of the University of Maine colleges and located at the strategic intersection of two major highways, U.S. 4 and U.S. 2. Paul Anderson, currently serving in Bangor, was originally considered to be called to serve Faith until its financial situation proved too precarious to call a full-time pastor at that time (1983).30

Harrison Congregation - ? (SUOMI/LCA)

The Harrison congregation was founded just after its sister Suomi Synod parish at South Paris by the same wave of Finnish immigrants. Harrison is a beautiful resort town surrounded by tall spruce and pine and located on Long Pond near the White Mountains. The area reminded the Finns of their beloved homeland. The congregation merged into one parish with South Paris in 1929 in order to share expenses for a pastor. George Autio accepted the Call to serve the dual parish as the first resident pastor.


pastor in 1930. He served till 1936 and then again from 1945 until his
death in 1954.\footnote{Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church "Our 50 Years"; 1912–1962 pp. 17–18.} Pastor Paul Anderson of Bangor served the congre-
gation until it officially closed and amalgamated with Trinity, South

Hebron - Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Independent)

The independent Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church split the
Hebron-West Minot members from Trinity in South Paris in 1971: Ironically,
this came just a year after the South Paris and Harrison congregations had
united in order to be able to afford a resident pastor. Prior to 1931,
Sunday School and monthly services had already been held in the Hebron
area. As the Finnish population dwindled and lack of non-ethnic evangeli-
ism persisted, the congregation, which never did have a building, ceased
in 1969.\footnote{Op. Cit., pp. 5.}

Kennebunk - Holy Cross Lutheran Church (ALC)

Beautiful Kennebunk on the coast of Maine saw the development of
a Lutheran ministry in 1971, and is the southern-most Lutheran congrega-
tion in the state. Holy Cross congregation was incorporated in 1971
under the direction of Pastor Ken Hauge. Holy Cross is another congrega-
tion that has benefitted from Roman Catholic benevolence in that the
present site of the church building was originally Saint Monica's Roman
Catholic Church. They sold it to Holy Cross for $8,000. The value
now over a quarter million. Holy Cross has gotten active in sponsoring
refugee families of which two have come so far and this is what the community probably knows Holy Cross best for. The present pastor is the Reverend John Corgan, who has been there since November of 1981. Corgan identifies the biggest difficulty the congregation has as "We don't do a good job. talking with our neighbors and friends about Christ •••"34 This is the concern that is reflected in all of the conversations that I have had with pastors and congregations in the last two months.

New Sweden - Gustaf Adolph Lutheran Church (LCA)

Outside of the old German Lutheran Church in Waldoboro, which had ceased to exist as a worshiping community by the 1860s, the First Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Sweden, Maine, which was founded in 1871, is not only the oldest Lutheran church in the state but remains the oldest active Lutheran congregation as well. Under the leadership, of W.W. Thomas (Secretary of War under President Abraham Lincoln), 51 souls arrived from Sweden in 1870 having been promised fertile cleared ground, similar to what they had in Sweden, as well as homes already built. As might be expected, that which was delivered was considerably less than that which was promised.35 The present church building was dedicated in 1880 and in 1887 the congregation joined the Augustana Synod. Prior to this time the church had been a member of the old New York Synod. Prior to this time the church had been a


member of the old New York Synod. Gustaf Adolph is integrally related to its \textsuperscript{6}Unity with about one-half of the total population of New Sweden claiming membership in the congregation. It was through the instigation of the congregation in 1901 that an annual celebration of the day of the founding of the town on July 2\textsuperscript{3}, 1870, began to be celebrated. The New Sweden congregation was instrumental in beginning a daughter congregation in Stockholm, Maine, eight miles to the north, in 190\textsuperscript{6}, and in the establishment of a Lutheran church in Caribou, 15 miles to the south. Gustaf Adolph now serves as the center of what is known as the Northern Maine Lutheran Parish comprised of all three congregations and until the departure of the Reverend Hanz Andrae in October 1985, having only one pastor to serve all three. It is interesting to note that Pastor Andrae came directly from Sweden because of his dissatisfaction with a number of practices in the Swedish Lutheran Church; foremost among them, the church's liberal stand on homosexuality, abortion, and women's ordination. How ironic that the pastoral couple coming to serve the Northern Maine Lutheran Parish will see the Reverend Todd Merken serving New Sweden, while his wife, the Reverend Gisele Berninghaus will serve Stockholm and Caribou. To make that situation even more pointed, the parsonage where the pastors will be living is immediately adjacent to the New Sweden congregation. Merken and Berninghaus will arrive the middle of October, 1986.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid., p. 9.
North Windham - Faith Lutheran Church (ALC)

Faith was founded in 1978 as it was recognized that the Windham area, 20 miles from downtown Portland, northwest on Highway 302, was going to be one of the next recreation and residential centers for southern Maine. After the congregation's initial formation under Pastor Mike Adams, Pastor Peter Bastien arrived to continue the work of the mission, having just come from Zion congregation in Plymouth, Massachusetts, where he had encouraged that congregation to leave Missouri Synod and join the American Lutheran Church in 1976. When I interviewed Pastor Horn on August 21, 1986, he had been on the job two weeks and looked forward to his installation on the 14th of September. Pastor Horn is from Michigan and left there following a heart attack in 1985. He found himself coincidentally serving as pulpit supply for Zion, in Plymouth, Massachusetts, through spring 1986. Horn's concerns for the growth of the mission are very basic. Mainly, that people ought to be willing to speak about their church in any situation. The North Windham congregation is an interesting mix of people including a number of Missouri Synod families and even the 1986 candidate for the Democratic Gubernatorial Nomination, Bill Diamond.

Portland - Beautiful Savior Lutheran Church (WELS)

Work in establishing the first ever Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod congregation in the State of Maine began as early as December of 1978 with the work of Pastors David Clark of Nashua, 37

37 Oral History, Pastor Paul Horn, August 21, 1986, p. 3.
New Hampshire, and David Scherbarth, of Rumford, Rhode Island, who compiled information concerning the potential for establishing a mission in the Pine Tree State.38 In May of 1942, seminary graduate Paul Janke was assigned to serve the then "exploratory mission" and he has been there ever since. Formal mission status was granted in February of 1944 and in September of that year a former Jehovah's Witness Hall was purchased as the first permanent home of the congregation. When asked about his congregation's growth, Janke replied:

But I think we, pastor and members included, have gotten around to the viewpoint we can't just stay within our four walls and practice our orthodoxy there. The Great Commission wants us, urges us, commands us to get out with the Gospel of Jesus Christ and tell others about it ... 39

Janke's comment with regard to the coming Lutheran merger is:

I think it is going to be confusing because there is going to be such diversity within Lutheranism and I certainly don't care to be tarred with the same brush that is used to describe this new Lutheran church.40

And, finally, his view on cooperation and even possible steps toward altar and pulpit fellowship between Wisconsin and Missouri:

I want to make this clear that although the Wisconsin Synod is not in fellowship with the Missouri Synod, I personally don't feel the church has the attitude that members of the Missouri Synod are not brothers and sisters in Christ. I think with the recent developments in Lutheranism, it would be a real blessing if the two church bodies could get together ... 41

---

38 A history of WELS mission work in Maine and Beautiful Savior Lutheran Church, dated May 5, 1955, second page (pages unnumbered).
40 Ibid., p. 4.
41 Ibid., p. 4.
Portland - Commnunity of the Living Presence (ALC Mission)

The Portland peninsula which had been the cradle of Lutheranism in southern Maine, had no Lutheran presence left by 1961 when the last of its three Lutheran congregations had relocated to the outskirts of town. The Community of the Living Presence is in direct response to this perceived neglect of the most heavily populated section of the city; the west end. Its pastor, the Reverend Carolee Uits, is a former Missouri Synod member, and brings with her inner-city experience from Detroit, a master's degree in Gerontology, and a variety of large "handicapped" puppets to convey the message that God can use us as we are. The Community has no worship services as yet.

Portland - First Lutheran Church (ALC)

Outside of Gustaf Adolph in New Sweden, First Lutheran is the oldest active Lutheran congregation in Maine. As the migration of northern Europeans to America came into full swing, during the middle to late nineteenth century, it is not surprising that by 1874 the congregation had been founded. First has a very distinguished history. Under the active leadership of Pastor K. O. Storli, in the 1890s, the Lutheran churches in Westbrook (Trinity), Falmouth (Eumaus), and Berlin (Trinity), New Hampshire, were begun. The former Saint Ansgar and Emmanuel Lutheran Churches (merged into Saint Ansgar in 1954) were also started by members of First Lutheran as well as the Scandinavian Bethlehem Church

42 Interview of Pastor Uits, January 11, 1947

43 Portland Evening Express, December 27, 1986, "It's Easy to Hide Poverty."
(now Payson Park Evangelical Free Church). The First Lutheran Church was originally located on the Portland peninsula but by the 1950s it was apparent that the present facility was inadequate and that expansion was impossible on that site. In May of 1960 the new First Lutheran edifice was dedicated in North Portland and with it the opportunity for greater involvement in Bible study. Bible study is the second great emphasis of First, in that no other church in Maine has had such a long and illustrious record for such study.

Under the leadership of the present pastor, Greg Pagh, who took up his responsibilities in 1982, the congregation had added two other distinctions; first, a budget in excess of $100,000 per year with over $25,000 going towards benevolence, and the only Lutheran preschool in the state. Yet, all of this did not come without some difficulties along the way and this is to be expected during a time of transition as the congregation strives to become more visible in "evangelism and outreach": As Pastor Pagh puts it, "there was a feeling it was time to get on the move again to begin to reach out to the community, both through social ministry and evangelism."

PORTLAND - ST. ANSGAR LUTHERAN CHURCH (LCA)

Saint Ansgar, (named after the ninth century Frankish saint who as bishop of Hamburg, Germany, was sent to Christianize the "heathens in

44"Be a Blessing," First Lutheran Church, Portland, Maine, Centennial booklet, fourth page (pages unnumbered).


Scandinavia") had its beginning in 1884 when immigrants from Sweden and Denmark established their respective congregations in Portland. Emmanuel Lutheran was the Swedish congregation and Saint Ansgar the Danish. In 1954, after considerable debate, these congregations decided to merge given the financial burdens of each. The congregation then continued to worship at Emanuel (since it had a larger edifice) while calling itself "Saint Ansgar" in deference to the Danes. Apparently, the decision as to what the final name would be was left to be decided following the dedication of the new church building in June of 1962. Given the apparent persuasiveness of the Danes, however, the name "Saint Ansgar" was retained and in the opinion of Pastor Neu imposes an inherent stumbling block to the ability of the congregation to at least members from its non-Lutheran surroundings. Saint Ansgar today is a blend of what is happening in more active ethnic congregations, namely, people of non-Lutheran background (even southeast Asia refugees) sitting alongside old established Danish and Swedish families whose age necessitates their decreasing importance in the voice of the congregation.

In the discussion concerning differences between the proposed Lutheran merger and Missouri Synod, Pastor Neu noted that "the LCA position has been the scriptures are the inspired Word of God, and the ALC has always held they are infallible." He notes that "we need to be

---


spending more time with our congregations on (the) Confessions. " and says that "the thing that pains a lot of us is the fact that Missouri Synod is not involved in the new church ..." On a closing note, it is interesting to see that despite Saint Ansgar's conservative roots it has been open to innovation. One of the most visible signs of this willingness is the fact that Pastor Neu is a physically disabled person.

Rockland - Nativity Lutheran Church (LCA)

Nativity Lutheran Church in the beautiful coastal Maine town of Rockland is another of the Lutheran "boom" years congregations and was founded under the leadership of Pastor Peter DeRouter in 1963. The congregation was formally recognized in March of 1964 and managed to barely hold its own through the pastorate of Ron Wisecarver until the arrival of the Reverend George Stadler in June of 1968. Pastor Stadler served the congregation for 18 years, retiring just this past January, and during that time the congregation has grown to the point where it no longer needs mission support dollars. The present church edifice has been the only worship site since the inception of the congregation. In 1963, on Thanksgiving Day, the congregation began worshiping in the then cattle barn located on High Street. Additions, renovations, and refinements have been made to the "barn" over the years, but no attempt has been made to move to a different location. Recognizing Pastor

51 Ibid., p. 4.

52 Interview with George Stadler, August 16, 1986
Stadler's accomplishments, a former member said, "He's good at raising money." I also know him to be a man who is devout and highly visible about his faith. As of November 1986, the congregation has been served by the Reverend Robert Gustafson. A potential stumbling block to his effective ministry in Rockland may be his compensation package, as Pastor Stadler thinks the congregation won't be able to afford him.

South Paris - Trinity Lutheran Church (LCA)

Trinity was founded by immigrants from Finland in 1912 and joined the Suomi Synod immediately thereafter. The present church building was dedicated in 1927 and then moved to its present location in 1930. Interestingly, a property was at that time offered to the congregation free of charge one-half mile further into town, but the cost of moving the edifice would have been twice as much and so the congregation decided against it. With present day emphasis on location as a major factor in church growth, one can't help but wonder "what if?" Until 1978 there was a second Suomi congregation located 13 miles away in the town of Harrison. From 1976 to 1978 this congregation only had services in the summer and by the end of 1978 had fully amalgamated with Trinity, South Paris. The Reverend Philip Hultgren, arrived in July of 1984, and was interested in beginning the first real evangelism program in the church's history. He saw this as very necessary given the congregation's

53 Conversation with Lydia McClure, June 26, 1986
54 Interview of Pastor Phil Hultgren, August 18, 1986
tenacious desire to retain its ethnic distinction - and its drop in membership. Two months after the interview, he was divorced, left Trinity and resigned from the ministry.

Stockholm - Trinity Lutheran Church (LCA)

Trinity originally began as "The Oscar Frederick Evangelical Lutheran Church of Stockholm, Maine" in 1906. The early years were very difficult financially and several pastors worked without remuneration and even when one was finally called in 1908, the salary was only $200 per year. Interestingly, the congregation at that time collected dues which amounted to 30 cents for men and 20 cents for women on a monthly basis. The present building was already in place by 1907 and on various occasions through 1940 the church basement was used as a classroom for the local school system. The most recent pastor in Stockholm, which is one of three congregations making up the "Northern Maine Lutheran Parish" of the LCA (along with New Sweden and Caribou) was the Reverend Hanz Andrae, who came directly from Sweden. He must be given credit for his confessional concerns in the National Lutheran Church of Sweden because he came to a congregation that has really had to struggle financially. During the years 1935 to 1937 the congregation was even closed for lack of a pastor and this lack was primarily due to lack of funds.

56 Oral History, Pastor Phil Hultgren, September 9, 1986
57 50th Anniversary brochure, Oscar Frederick Evangelical Lutheran Church, Stockholm, Maine, 1906-1986, fourth page (pages unnumbered).
58 Ibid., p. 8.
however, remains optimistic (is heavily involved in the Stockholm Historical Society, which is a delightful repository for items of historical worth) and they will be served by the Reverend Gisele Berninghaus (wife of Todd Merken who will be pastor in New Sweden). Mrs. Berninghaus will also serve Faith, Caribou.

Thomaston - Holy Trinity Lutheran Church (SUOMI/LCA)

Preliminary work, cottage Bible studies and scheduled services began among the Finnish population in the Thomaston area (site of Maine's only maximum security prison) in 1949. Holy Trinity Lutheran Church was chartered in 1952 and marched shakily toward merger with the New Lutheran Church in America in 1962. Despite protestations by some members, the congregation was amalgamated with Nativity Lutheran Church of Rockland in 1963 and ceased as a separate entity. Mrs. Lydia McClure, eighty-six years old, and a charter member of Holy Trinity, is the oldest native born Lutheran in the state, as far as I know - and a treasure-trove of information about the early twentieth century in Maine.

Waldoboro - The Old German Lutheran Church

Although this phase of my research concerning the history of Maine does not say much about other congregations which have closed since their inception, the Old Lutheran Church in Waldoboro is so much


60 Interview of Mrs. Lydia McClure, November 14, 1986
older than any other Lutheran establishment in the state and so much better preserved to this day, that it warrants greater detail. Germans began immigrating to the Waldoboro area under the leadership of General Waldo around 1740 and began to have irregular worship services at that time. The building for worship was constructed in 1772 and also served as the town meeting hall. By 1795, the building had been moved across the Medomak River during the winter to its present location, which is several hundred feet above sea level. The first minister of the Gospel was the Reverend Philip Gottfried Kast, who arrived in 1742 but left shortly thereafter because he believed his agreement with General Waldo had not been lived up to on the latter's part.61 The first of the two great German pastors of Waldoboro was the Reverend Frederick Augustus Rudolphus Benedictus Ritz, who served from 1795 until his death in 1811. By the turn of the nineteenth century however, Lutheranism had already reached its peak in Waldoboro. The successor to Ritz was the Reverend John Wilhelm Starman, "the last of the Lutheran preachers in Waldoboro."62 The Reverend Stannan served the congregation faithfully until his death in 1854. The congregation had disbanded by 1860 and sought to all their religious and spiritual needs in the Congregational church.63

61200th Anniversary Old German Church and Meeting House, Waldoboro, Maine, 1772 to 1972, third page (pages unnumbered).

62 Ibid., sixth page (pages unnumbered)

63 Ibid., p. 6.
So what we have here is the rise and fall of the first Lutheran church in the State of Maine prior to Lutheran activity of any kind taking place anywhere else in the state. In an interview with the Reverend Rick Neu, of Saint Ansgar Lutheran Church, Portland, on August 22, 1986, he said that "if the church in Waldoboro had survived, there would no doubt be three times as many Lutheran congregations in Maine today."

**Waterville - Lutheran Church of the Resurrection (LC-MS)**

Lutheran services, under the auspices of the Atlantic District Mission Board of the LC-MS, began in the Waterville area in 1963 and by September of 1964 the congregation was formally incorporated. Their beautiful 10.5 acre site was purchased that same year and the new structure was dedicated in February of 1967. The tenure of the first pastor, the Reverend Richard Drews, was very short and he was succeeded by the Reverend Howard Moeller in November of 1963. Moeller presided over all of the early developments of the congregation leaving there when an opportunity to serve as chaplain at the Bethesda Home in Wisconsin became available. Moeller's son was in need of Bethesda's services and this in part prompted him to leave. This same son died seven or eight years later and Moeller took a Call to a congregation outside of Cleveland. He was brutally murdered by a gang of youths while coming home from a hospital in Cleveland late one evening. His funeral was held in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, his family's home.
The succeeding history of the pastorate at Waterville is somewhat fraught with difficulty as the Reverend John Lescow resigned from the ministry in October of 1979 and the Reverend Theodore Evertsen resigned from the congregation in June of 1985. Pastor Evertsen attributes much of the difficulty in the congregation to "a growing separation in terms of the priorities (of the congregation) between pastor and members." He continues "They were more concerned about their own internal needs (while) I saw the priorities (of) the mission of the church." 64 The congregation members on the other hand, see the situation a bit differently and expressed themselves positively with regard to personalities and optimistic about the future. 65 Nevertheless the congregation remains on mission status.

It is interesting to note that the former Vicar in Waterville and his wife, (Wayne and Eilene Schwanke) were both active in deaf ministry thanks to their instruction under the Reverend Dr. George Kraus, formerly of Redeemer Lutheran of Cape Elizabeth, who is a major motivating factor in deaf ministry in the Missouri Synod. The result has been continued signed services since the Schwanke's departure in November of 1986. I serve as the vacancy pastor and have assisted in two-Call processes to date.


Trinity owes its initial founding thanks to the efforts of First Lutheran Church of Portland. Services were begun in 1876 under the Reverend N. J. Ellestad and culminated in "The First Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church of Westbrook, Maine" in November of 1882. Pastors from First Lutheran continued to serve the congregation, including the venerable Reverend Storli until 1893. There is some difference of opinion about the formation of Trinity Lutheran, Westbrook, in that there were apparently residents from New Denmark, New Brunswick, who immigrated to Westbrook about the time the congregation began. Yet, the official history of Trinity of 1982 makes no mention of this New Brunswick connection.

By 1934 services in English were conducted the first and third Sundays of each month. In 1945 the congregation voted to rename itself the "First Lutheran Church of Westbrook, Maine." In 1946, almost exactly to the day, it was voted to change the name again. This time to "Trinity Lutheran Church, Westbrook, Maine." It appears there was confusion between Trinity and First Lutheran Church of Portland with regard to the name.

The present pastor, the Reverend Allan Barnes, has seen the congregation begin to attract younger members after many years of decline.

---

66 Trinity Lutheran Church, 100 Year Anniversary booklet, Westbrook, Maine, 1882 to 1982, p. 10.


68 op. Cit., p. 15.
Danish congregations tended to be very pietistic, even to the point of chastising young people for going to a prom and prohibitions against smoking, drinking, and so forth. The present climate is substantially different and includes weekly coffee hours following services, where there had been none, church meetings in the sanctuary to reduce the arguing, and an increasing acceptance of non-Danish people into the congregation.

---

69 Oral History, Reverend Al Barnes, Trinity Lutheran Church, Westbrook, Maine, July 31, 1986, pp. 3-4.
APPENDIX F

CONGREGATIONAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

This process is designed to encourage a conversation among members of long standing concerning the formation, growth and subsequent development of the local congregation, its impact upon the surrounding community, and its adherence to the assumed Scriptural and confessional statements contained in its constitution. As a way of making a typed transcript of this oral history possible, each participant will be asked initially to identify himself/herself on tape as well as to repeat their name each time they make a comment during the course of this conversation. I thank you for the opportunity to be here among you and pray the Lord will bless our efforts together!

1) Date, Time and Location of interview; name of interviewer

2) Personal identification of members present

3) In your estimation, how would a non-Lutheran resident of your community describe your congregation? Why?

4) How would you describe your congregation's goals? Are these goals being met? Why or why not?

5) What personal experience in the congregation is most memorable to you?

6) What are the greatest historical events in the life of your congregation?

7) What is your congregation's position on the importance of Scriptural and confessional principles? Do you agree with this position? Why?

8) Are you proud of your congregation? Why?

9) How does your congregation best promote the great commission of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to "Go and make disciples of all nations?"

10) Is there room for Lutheranism in Maine? Why do Lutherans comprise such a small percentage of Maine Christians?

11) How should confessional Lutheranism be furthered in Maine, if at all? Why?
12) Are there any other comments you would like to make concerning
Lutheranism in your community or in the State of Maine?

13) What is your opinion of this process of historical and personal
inquiry? How might it be strengthened?

THANK YOU AND GOD BLESS YOU: ONE AND ALL!
APPENDIX G

PASTOR INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Date and time:
2. Name of Interviewer:
3. Name of Interviewee; name of Maine parish served and years served.
4. Seminary attended and date of graduation:
5. Age at graduation and notable prior experience.
6. Length of time in LC-MS to date:
7. Size of congregation (baptised+ confirmed:) ratio of transferred vs. newly confirmed members. Weekly attendance; yearly budget.
8. Year of congregation's incorporation:
10. Greatest area of personal growth during ministry at congregation.
11. Greatest congregational difficulty during ministry there.
12. Greatest personal difficulty during ministry there.
13. Can these difficulties be related to scriptural and/or confessional integrity?
15. Area of congregation's greatest impact on surrounding community.
16. Area of congregation's least impact on surrounding community.
17. How much does congregation's constitution reflect adherence to scripture and confessions?
18. How much does congregation's practice reflect its constitution?
19. How does/did your ministry reflect the congregation's constitution?
20. In your opinion, how can confessional Lutheranism be best furthered in Maine?
21. Any personal comments on the history of Lutheranism in Maine?
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Special Materials Gathered for Lutheran Congregations and Missions in Maine
(Revised February 15, 1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dewey Ref. II</th>
<th>Town or City</th>
<th>Congregation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>253.801</td>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>Grace Lutheran Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. 1923 Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. 1931 Year Book and Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. 50th Anniversary brochure, 1915-1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. 1980 (?) Directory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Interview of Edgar Fehlau, Jan. 1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Interview of Joseph Grube, 8/24/86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253.802</td>
<td>Augusta</td>
<td>Prince of Peace Lutheran Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Dedication, 11/24/63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Dedication, 9/9/79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. General organization of the Church Council, Revised 4/30/83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Bylaws, Revised 5/18/84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Annual Meeting and Annual Report 5/18/84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Annual Report, 5/10/85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 1/29/87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10. Organizational Booklet (updated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11. Directory (undated 1985?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12. Constitution (undated 1983?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253.803</td>
<td>Bangor</td>
<td>Redeemer Lutheran Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Portland Press Herald article, 7/13/67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Groundbreaking Bulletin, 7/16/67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Portland Press Herald article 7/16/67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. &quot;Go With Christ, Grow With Christ&quot; booklet, 1967</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

117
253.803 Bangor  Redeemer Lutheran Church  (Continued)
5. Portland Press Herald, 2/17/68
6. Dedication Bulletin, 9/1/68
7. Portland Press Herald, 9/7/68
8. Portland Press Herald, 11/17/68
9. Portland Press Herald, 1/26/69
10. Redeemer Information Sheet, 1985
12. LCA World Series "Europe," 11/87
13. Newsletter, February 1987
14. 27th Anniversary of First Service Bulletin, 2/15/87

253.804 Brunswick  Good Shepherd Lutheran Church
1. Constitution (undated)
2. 1986 Budget
3. H-895 Interview Sheet and Oral History (inaudible) 8/28/86

253.805 Cape Elizabeth  Redeemer Lutheran Church
1. Correspondence file, 1960-1987
2. Church minutes and agendas, 1962-1987
4. 5th Anniversary History (undated-2/65?)
5. Portland Press Herald article, 7/13/67
7. Portland Press Herald article, 7/16/87
8. "Go With Christ, Grow With Christ" booklet, 1967
9. Portland Press Herald, 2/17/68
10. Dedication Bulletin, 9/1/68
11. Portland Press Herald, 9/7/68
12. Portland Press Herald, 11/17/68
13. Portland Press Herald, 1/26/69
14. Redeemer Information Sheet, 1985
15. Oral History and Transcript, 7/10/86
16. Clipping file 1980-87
17. LC-MS Open House Regions and Coordinators (3 pages) 11/25/86
18. Greater Portland Evangelical Ministers Fellowship (2 pages) 2/3/87
19. Historical Letter written by first pastor, Frank Bunn, 2/5/87

253.806 Caribou  Faith Lutheran Church
1. Post card of the church, 1982
2. Faith brochure (undated-1982?)
3. Faith Annual Meeting, 2/2/86
4. Faith Constitution, effective 2/86
5. Oral History, Transcript, and Interview Sheet, 7/29/86
253.807 Damariscotta Water of Life Lutheran Ministry
1. 1984, 1985, 1986 Annual Reports included
   with Prince of Peace Lutheran Church, Augusta
2. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History,
   and Transcript, 7/26/86
3. Newsletter 7/86

253.808 Ellsworth St. Andrew Lutheran Church
1. News Release, June 1986
2. Oral History, Interview Sheet, and
   Transcript, 7/28/86
3. Brochure (undated-1983?)
4. "A New Church is Born" newspaper clipping
   11/25/84
5. Newspaper clipping "Future Building Site"
   6/8/86
7. 1986 Budget, 7/28/86

253.809 Falmouth Emmaus Lutheran Church
1. 75th Anniversary Booklet, 1893-1968
2. Portland Evening Express "Photo of the
   Aumaus Lutheran Church in Falmouth,
   organized in 1893," 3/1/86, page 5
3. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History,
   and Transcript, 7/31/86

253.810 Farmington Mount Blue Lutheran Ministry
1. Interview of Martin Fehlau, 7/10/86
2. Interview of Nona Spear, 12/21/86
3. Interview of Pastor Bruce Meyer, Prince
   of Peace Lutheran Church, Augusta, 1/29/87

253.811 Kennebunk Holy Cross Lutheran Church
1. Holy Cross Lutheran Church Constitution,
   1979
2. Annual Report for 1985
3. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History,
   and Transcript, 7/15/86

253.812 New Sweden Gustaf Adolph Lutheran Church
1. Brochure entitled, "Gustaf Adolph Evangelical
   Lutheran Church 90th Anniversary
   1871-1961"
2. Brochure, "New Sweden Centennial Celebr-
   ation, July 22-26, 1970"
3. Brochure, "New Sweden Centennial, July 22-
   26, 1970"
4. Booklet, "100 Years in New Sweden
   1870-1970"
253.812 New Sweden
Gustaf Adolph Lutheran Church (continued)
5. Booklet, "Gustaf Adolph Evangelical Lutheran Church 100th Anniversary 1871-1971"
6. Post card of the church, 1982
7. Brochure, "Welcome to Gustaf Adolph Lutheran Church" (undated-1982?)
8. Directory, 1982
10. Annual Meeting, 1985
11. Correspondence from Mrs. Ilene Mitchell, former Pastor's wife, 7/10/86
12. Midsummer Day Program, 6/22/86
15. Constitution of Gustaf Adolph (undated)
16. Brochure, "Welcome to the Northern Maine Lutheran Parish" (undated)
17. "Welcome to New Sweden" brochure (undated)

253.813 North Windham
Faith Lutheran Church
1. Faith Constitution (undated-1983?)
2. Annual Report, 1985
3. Letter from John Jorn (interim pastor) 3/28/86
4. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 8/21/86

253.814 Portland
Beautiful Savior Lutheran Church
2. Service of Dedication, 5/5/85
3. Congregational Survey, 7/86
4. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 8/18/86

253.815 Portland
Community of the Living Presence
1. "It's Easy to Hide Poverty," Portland, Maine, Evening Express, 12/27/86
2. Interview of Carolee Uits, 1/11/87

253.816 Portland
First Lutheran Church
1. Portland Press Herald "First Lutherans to Build Church on Auburn Street, Portland," 2/8/59, page 11a
First Lutheran Church (Continued)
4. Centennial Booklet, 1874-1974
5. Portland Press Herald, "First Lutheran Church Finds Living Accomodations For Family of Seven Vietnamese Refugees," 7/1/75, page 17; 7/20/75, page 1, 14
6. Portland Evening Express, "More Than A Dozen Churches of Various Denominations Have Been Targets of a Spray-Painting Spree," 7/19/83, page 1
7. Portland Evening Express, "Five Portland Churches Were Vandalized '666', 'Babylon' were Spray-Painted on the Buildings," 8/8/83, page 1, 12
10. Portland Press Herald "Dennis Friel Tells Why He Committed Those Acts and Talks About His Belief that 'the end is near,'" 8/17/83
11. Letter from Greg Pagh, 4/4/86
13. 1986 Budget
14. Constitution (undated)
15. "Be A Blessing" Centennial booklet 1874-1974
16. Portland Evening Express "Dennis Friel and Donald Lagasse Were Arraigned On Charges of Aggravated Criminal Mischief for Defacing Churches," 8/16/83, pages 1 and 12
17. 10/13/84 Portland Press Herald, "First Lutheran Playground," page 17

St. Ansgar Lutheran Church
1. Portland Press Herald, "St. Ansgar Lutheran Church Will Hold a Special Closing Service Tomorrow in the Old St. Ansgar Evangelical Lutheran Church on Mayo Street," 11/13/54
253.817 Portland
St. Ansgar Lutheran Church (continued)
2. Booklet, "Guidepost of Faith" (Undated-1961?)
5. Approved Constitution for Congregations of the Lutheran Church in America, 1962, with Amendments through 1976
8. Brochure (undated-1984?)
10. Annual Report, 1/19/86
11. Interview of Rick Neu, 3/12/86
12. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 8/11/86
14. 1987 "Camp Calumet" brochure

253.818 Rockland
Nativity Lutheran Church
1. Interview of George Stadler, 8/16/86
2. Letter from George Stadler, 8/18/86
3. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 9/9/86

253.819 South Paris
Trinity Lutheran Church
1. 50th Anniversary Booklet 1912-1962
2. Research paper, "The Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Paris" by Ingrid Scholz, 10/27/82
3. 1985 LCA Annual Report
4. January 20, 1985 Annual Meeting
5. Interview of Phil Hultgren, 8/18/86
6. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 9/6/86
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>253.820</th>
<th>Stockholm</th>
<th>Oscar Frederick Evangelical Lutheran Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Brochure, Tri-Cultural Museum, (undated-1978?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Post card 1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Brochure, &quot;Welcome to Stockholm, Maine&quot; (undated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Post card of Stockholm Museum (undated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>253.821</th>
<th>Waldoboro</th>
<th>Old German Lutheran Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Portland Press Herald, 8/22/70, &quot;Last Silller Services Set for Old Gennan Church.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. H-895 Congregational Interview Sheet, Oral History, and Transcript, 7/26/86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Brochure &quot;Visit the Old Gennan Church&quot; (undated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Post card of the Old German Church (undated)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>253.822</th>
<th>Waterville</th>
<th>Lutheran Church of the Resurrection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. 1986 Budget</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Newsletter, July-August 1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript of Pastor Ted Evertsen (CRM) 7/5/86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. H-895 Interview Sheet and Oral History of the Congregation and Transcript, 7/16/86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Written history of LCR by Ralph Smith, 7/16/86</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
253.822  Waterville
Lutheran Church of the Resurrection
(Continued)
8. Letter, dated 7/25/86, to prospective Pastors
10. Questions for Response sheet to prospective Pastors, August, 1986
11. Newsletter, September 1986
12. Letter from Call Committee, 9/15/86
14. Constitution, without a date
15. Brochure, Scott Somerset Plant

253.823  Westbrook
Trinity Lutheran Church
1. Constitution and Bylaws, dated 1961
2. Three different greeting cards of the interior of the church, 1981
3. Booklet, "Trinity Lutheran Church 1892-1982 - 100 Years of Good News"
4. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History, and Transcript, 7/31/86
5. Interview of Maren Christiansen, 7/31/86

253.824
President Martin Dienst, Retired New England District, LC-MS
1. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 10/14/86

253.825
Bishop E. Harold Jansen, Eastern District, American Lutheran Church
1. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and Transcript, 11/13/86

253.826
Portland Area Lutheran Services (PALS)
1. Minutes of PALS Incorporators, 4/24/84
2. 1984 Treasurer's Report
3. Brochure "Ocean View at Palmouth" (undated-1/1985?)
4. "Ocean View, a continuing care community in Falmouth, Maine, Questions and Answers" (undated-1/1985?)
5. PALS Entrance Loan Financing StmIDary 1/30/85  9pp.
7. Memo: "Progress to date and Future Schedule of Project," 5/29/85
8. Minutes of PALS Incorporators, 5/29/85
9. Flow Chart of PALS, 5/30/85
10. 1985 Treasurer's Report
11. Minutes of PALS Incorporators, 2/25/86
12. Newsletter, Ocean View at Palmouth, 6/15/86
253.826 Portland Area Lutheran Services (PALS) (continued)
13. Ocean View at Falmouth, Grand Opening
   Open House, 1/11/87
14. PALS Brochure (undated-2-1987?)

253.827 Aid Association for Lutherans (CALS)
   Branch 4680, (comprising all of the State
   of Maine)
1. Complete file of Newsletters, 1972-1986
2. Complete set of minutes, 1980-1986
3. Blueprint of $5,000 playground project
   at First Lutheran Church, 6/19/85

253.828 Lutheran Chaplaincies in Maine
1. Interview of Norman Bumby, LC-MS Chaplain
   at Mercy Hospital, Portland, Maine,
   9/15/86

253.829 Special Lutheran Ministries in Maine
1. H-895 Interview Sheet, Oral History and
   Transcript of Pastor Theodore Evertsen
   (CRM), Musician in Residence for the
   New England District of Lutheran Church
   Missouri Synod, 7/5/86

Published Works:

Adams, James Truslow. The Epic of America. New York: Triangle
   Books, 1931.


   New York: 1919.


Blum, John M., Bruce Catton, Edmund S. Morgan, Arthur M. Schlesinger,
"Bohlman, Nafzger present papers to Ecumenical Conference."


Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects; Works Projects Administration. Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Maine. Portland, Maine Historical Records Survey Project, 1940.


Vol. 5: British North America. Roman Catholics; Protestants. 1943.


December 8, 1973. "Local Churches move to conserve energy by turning down the thennostats and reducin activities within the Church," p. 4.
Portland Press Herald. cont.

October 25, 1983. "Mainer defends Bible revision."
April 1986, "Wherever Did God Go To?"
August 30, 1986. "Lutheran delegates approve merger."
September 6, 1986. "Hallelujah for merger of Lutherans."


Preus, Robert D. The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism.
Vol. 1: Study of Theological Prolegomena.

Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, Number 1.
"An Act for naturalizing such foreign protestants and others therein mentioned, as are settled or shall settle in any of His Majesty's colonies in America." Second Edition, 1905. Pp. 94-98

Report on American Values in the '80s: The I;act of Belief. By
Connecticut Mutual Life. Hartford, 1 1.


