

Concordia Seminary - Saint Louis

Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary

Doctor of Theology Dissertation

Concordia Seminary Scholarship

3-1-1998

The Mission and Ministry to German-Speaking Lutherans in Western Canada 1879 - 1914

Richard Kraemer

Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, ir_kraemerr@csl.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.csl.edu/thd>



Part of the [History of Christianity Commons](#), and the [Missions and World Christianity Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Kraemer, Richard, "The Mission and Ministry to German-Speaking Lutherans in Western Canada 1879 - 1914" (1998). *Doctor of Theology Dissertation*. 115.

<https://scholar.csl.edu/thd/115>

This Dissertation 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 Doctor of Theology Dissertation by an authorized administrator of Scholarly Resources from Concordia Seminary. For more information, please contact seitzw@csl.edu.

The Mission and Ministry to
German-Speaking Lutherans in Western Canada
1879 - 1914

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

by

Richard William Kraemer

March 1998

**To Janet, Jonathan, Cheryl, Rebekah, Janice and Jayson
for their love and support**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My thanks to Gail Gilbert for her assistance in producing this document, and to Norman J. Threinen and Karen Baron of the Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton, for their archival assistance.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
1. MISSION AND MINISTRY IN THE MISSOURI SYNOD 1843 - 1887	9
Wyneken's Appeal and Evangelical Fervor	10
The Importance of Being a Faithful Lutheran	15
Missionary Fervor During the Late Nineteenth Century	17
Summary	22
2. THE MISSOURI SYNOD ENTERS WESTERN CANADA 1879 - 1887	24
The Ministry to Ossowa	27
The Settlement Comes to an End	30
3. MISSION AND MINISTRY IN THE GENERAL COUNCIL 1867 - 1887	33
The Ministry to German Immigrants	36
Mission Work in the Early 1880s	39
Pastoral Supply – The Kropp Connection	42
4. THE GENERAL COUNCIL ARRIVES IN WESTERN CANADA	44
The First Resident Pastor Arrives	48
Schmieder's View of His Ministry	53
The Mission Expands, 1890	59

5.	THE MISSOURI SYNOD RETURNS INCIDENT AT LANGENBURG OCTOBER, 1890	70
	The Battle in Print – Phase One	77
	Missouri Responds	79
	The Battle Escalates	80
	Missouri Provides a More Official Response	82
	The Battle Winds Down	87
	The Sequel	90
6.	NEW DEVELOPMENTS, NEW CHALLENGES 1891 - 1892	91
	Berthold at Langenburg	91
	The Ministry of the Council Elsewhere	92
	Herman Buegel, Missionary to the West	95
	The Council Complains	100
	Pfothenhauer Again Reflects Missouri's Missionary Zeal	105
	Buegel's Convention Report	108
	Letter from Neudorf	111
	Letter from Landestreu and Hoffenthal	116
	Troubles with Streich	119
	Pempeit Alone and Under Pressure in Alberta	122
	Concluding Thoughts	124
7.	A YEAR OF UNCERTAINTY 1893	126
	Buegel's Reflections	128
	Hahn Suddenly Withdraws and Buegel Leaves	130

	Pempeit Develops Problems at Hoffnungsau (Stony Plain) . . .	131
	Two More Missionaries Arrive for the Council	136
	The Situation in the West – December of '93	138
8.	NEW BEGINNINGS	
	1894 - 1895	141
	The General Council – January to June	141
	The Continuing Challenges of Ministry on the Frontier	142
	The Missouri Synod – January to June	150
	The Missouri Synod Reaffirms Its Mission and Ministry in the West	153
	The Ministry of Emil Eberhardt	158
	The General Council Reacts	160
	Missouri Plans to Expand	165
	The General Council Drafts a "Solemn Protest"	168
	An Evaluation of the Protest	170
	The Aftermath of the Protest	174
9.	YEARS OF GROWTH	
	1896 - 1900	177
	The Missouri Synod in the West, 1896 - 1900	178
	Mission and Ministry Still a High Priority for Missouri	188
	The General Council in the West, 1896 - 1897	193
	The Manitoba Synod's Ministry, 1898 - 1900	209
10.	A NEW CENTURY, A NEW ERA OF CHANGE	
	1900 - 1905	222
	The Manitoba Synod in the West, 1900 - 1905	222
	The Ministry of the Missouri Synod in the West, 1900 - 1905	243

11.	THE OHIO SYNOD ENTERS THE FIELD LUTHERAN MINISTRY CONTINUES TO EXPAND, 1906 - 1914 .	258
	The Joint Synod of Ohio Arrives – Troubles Occur	260
	The Mission and Ministry of the Joint Synod of Ohio	263
	Three Synods at Work in the West, 1905 - 1914	270
	Men and Developments, 1905 - 1914	274
12.	CONCLUSION	305
	ILLUSTRATIONS	313
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	325

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Development Map of Western Canada – from Territories to Provinces	313
2. Current Map of Western Canada	314
3. Manitoba and Eastern Assiniboia Mission Field – 1893	315
4. Alberta Mission Field – 1893	316
5. Manitoba Mission Field – 1901	317
6. Saskatchewan and Assiniboia Mission Field – 1901	318
7. Alberta Mission Field – 1901	319
8. British Columbia Mission Field – 1901	320
9. Manitoba Mission Field – 1914	321
10. Saskatchewan Mission Field – 1914	322
11. Alberta Mission Field – 1914	323
12. British Columbia Mission Field – 1914	324

INTRODUCTION

During the last decades of the nineteenth century Canada experienced a period of slow expansion and growth on its western frontier. The Canadian Pacific Railroad pushed westward. The Canadian government offered generous terms to anyone willing to settle in the region. Among the settlers who came were a number of German-speaking Lutherans, some of them from Ontario, others from Germany and the United States. The vast majority, however, came from eastern Europe, and particularly from Russia and the Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

When they arrived in the Canadian west, they tended to establish their homesteads along the paths of the railroads. Furthermore, many of them formed colonies together with their own kinsmen and fellow countrymen. In some cases whole villages were transplanted from the old world. Thus, German-speaking settlers tended to have a common bond with their neighbors in the new world. None of these groups, however, seemed to be led or accompanied by a pastor.

More often than not most Lutheran settlers had to tend to their own spiritual needs when they first arrived, especially during the earliest period of western expansion. Some might even have to wait for a number of years before any pastor could reach them. There was a Lutheran settlement, for

example, near Pincher Creek, Alberta, which was begun in 1882 but could not have been served by a Lutheran pastor before 1890, and probably not until 1896.

Left to themselves, many settlers on the frontier conducted reading services or devotions in their homes. Feeling isolated, they might even have been open to the ministry of another church. Of course, there were always those who became inattentive, who according to one account "had not been active church members in their homeland and were not interested in establishing a church here."¹ Nevertheless, amid the confusion and contrasts of frontier life a surprising number remained conscious of their Lutheran background and heritage, and were very grateful to receive the ministrations of a Lutheran pastor whenever that might occur. To some—especially those from Russia and other parts of eastern Europe—it would not have been unthinkable to have to wait for a pastor for several months, even a year, before they could be served. They would have been able to adjust to such infrequent instances of pastoral care, particularly in view of the fact that that had been the pattern to which many of them had been accustomed in the countries from which they had come.

Over time, however, even those who did not even know what it meant to have a resident pastor in a local village available for regularly-scheduled worship services would certainly begin to appreciate the alternative if it was being offered. Ultimately, it would be the goal of all Lutheran synods

¹Alfred Rehwinkel, "Laying the Foundations of a New Church in Western Canada," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 38, no. 1 (April 1965): 12-13.

working in the frontier to eventually have enough pastors to provide a resident ministry to all congregations in the regions that were under their care.

During the earliest period of Lutheran ministry to German-speaking people in the western Canadian frontier it was the Missouri Synod and the General Council who did everything they could to provide a Word and Sacrament ministry to those who were in need. They continued to work in the region along separate, but parallel, lines for several years until the Joint Synod of Ohio entered the western provinces in 1905 to become the third synod to offer a ministry to those in need.

Initially the very first Lutheran pastors who came to the frontier were unhindered by inter-synodical rivalry—mainly because they were working alone and never at a time when missionaries of the other groups were there. For example, the Missouri Synod (the first to arrive) served a small settlement in central Manitoba from 1879 to about 1886. Thereafter their work on the frontier came to a temporary halt when the settlement itself became dispersed. The General Council did not arrive in the west until 1888 when they began a ministry among German Lutherans in Winnipeg. For a brief time they, like the Missouri Synod before them, also had the frontier all to themselves.

Trouble began, however, in the fall of 1890 when it became known to the German Home Mission Committee of the General Council that the Missouri Synod had every intention of serving the Canadian west again. The Missouri Synod actually never thought they had left the field, because they tended to view the entire Great Northwest of the continent as an area in

which they were at work. If they had apparently neglected one area for a time, it was to serve other areas where populations were growing more rapidly. Thus, the Missouri Synod's "return" in 1891 was in their view a normal move to respond to the news of new settlements opening up, as well as to concerns they had for members of the Missouri Synod itself who were known to have already migrated to the Canadian west from eastern Canada and the United States and were wanting to have the services of a Missouri pastor.

From the perspective of the General Council, however, the missionaries of the Missouri Synod did not belong in the Canadian west. The leaders of their Mission Committee and the pastors themselves who were working in the field had developed a view of mission and ministry by then that was highly territorial in nature. They were, in effect, trying to establish a territorial Lutheran church in the west that would assume a responsibility for ministry to all German-speaking Lutherans, regardless of their backgrounds. Given their perspective, it is no wonder that a conflict arose the minute it became apparent that the Missouri Synod contemplated a ministry in the Canadian west again. And when the first resident missionary appeared in Winnipeg in 1891 with every intention to stay, he was not exactly welcomed with open arms. Strong words were exchanged. Thus began a phenomenon which would continue to be a part of life in the region during the ensuing years: namely, the conflict over who should have the right to serve the growing number of German-speaking Lutherans who were coming to the frontier in

the late decades of the nineteenth century and continuing until the First World War.

During the next four years the conflict would seem to deepen whenever the missionaries of the two synods became involved with people from the same settlement or part of a settlement. Finally, it grew so intense that the General Council issued a formal complaint to the Missouri Synod in 1895, accusing the latter of interference and of "systematically and unscrupulously" disturbing their work. The Missouri Synod responded by pointing out that they had not sought conflict. Moreover, they had been careful not to become involved with any congregations or members of the General Council unless asked, but had been, on the whole, carefully serving only those who were their own.

Such differences in perspective continued unabated for another decade, while both synods eventually appeared to be finding ways to adjust to one another's presence in relative peace. Then the Joint Synod of Ohio entered the field in 1905 to create another opportunity for inter-synodical conflict. After establishing a base in Winnipeg through a controversial move involving a faction of a General Council congregation there, the "new" synod in the west became known by the other two as the "robber synod." They initially began to earn the name because of the aggressiveness with which they began to conduct their missionary outreach in the west, opening up preaching stations and establishing congregations wherever they could. They even managed to gain the support of some congregations that had been members of the other synods.

The following dissertation will provide a detailed account of the history of Lutheran ministry among German-speaking people in western Canada from 1879 to 1914. Particular attention will be drawn to the relationship between the development of congregations in the region and the views on mission and ministry that were being held by those who were most involved in the work—the pastors themselves and the leaders of the mission boards who supported them. Their work in western Canada did not, however, begin in a vacuum; it was begun within an historical context. Relevant, therefore, to this study will be a brief review of mission and ministry in the preceding years that led up to their work in the Canadian west. The major participants in a ministry to the region during the first twenty-five years were the General Council and the Missouri Synod; a review of their attitudes on mission and missionary will be incorporated into this study at appropriate points before the actual details of their mission work in the Canadian west are discussed. In the case of the Ohio Synod, a brief review of their attitudes on mission and ministry will be incorporated into chapter eleven where their work in the Canadian west is under discussion. It will be argued in this dissertation that the actual views on mission and ministry that these synods had not only shaped the development of their ministry in the west, but also did much to explain the kind of conflicts that were to arise between them.

Given the nature of this study, the best available primary sources on the subject are written reports that appeared in church newspapers and in the minutes of conventions where the actual progress of work in western Canada was being evaluated and discussed. The interpretation of what was

happening—often being offered by editors who were at the same time key members of mission committees—was seen to be often as important as the events themselves. Also important were the perspectives being offered by district leaders, particularly by district presidents, who in their devotional messages at conventions were seeking to place events into a theological perspective, while also seeking to inspire all who were gathered with the Gospel that they themselves were being called to share in the fields in which God had placed them. Also helpful, of course, were available diaries, letters, and similar sources that have been consulted, and which, in turn, have all tended to provide corroborating evidence to support the general thesis. Maps have also been provided for the convenience of the reader; it is assumed that anyone unfamiliar with the geography of western Canada would be greatly assisted by the kind of sense of position and place that only maps can give.

Although the following study does offer a rather comprehensive review of mission and ministry among all German-speaking Lutherans during the first thirty-five years of their work in western Canada, it is not by any means exhaustive. More attention is given to the first twenty-five years during which major trends were being set than to the last ten years during which the work had become in many ways more organized and predictable. Moreover, this study does not focus on every aspect of congregational development. For example, the development of parish schools, which tended to occur more predictably and extensively in the larger congregations in communities where pastors resided, though mentioned at certain points in this study, could receive further attention in a study of its own.

The ministry of Lutheran synods to German-speaking people in western Canada from 1879 to 1914 occurred during a time of great expansion. Waves of immigrants began to come in even greater numbers per year after 1900 than during preceding years. This study ends at the point when war broke out in Europe in 1914. It was then that an entirely new chapter in Lutheran history began, not only in western Canada, but also in many other places in the world.

CHAPTER ONE
MISSION AND MINISTRY IN THE MISSOURI SYNOD
1843 - 1887

The Missouri Synod from its inception had held a view of mission and ministry that was marked by a sense of urgency for the salvation of souls. It was a view that focused its attention primarily on the needs of German immigrants.² The mission outreach of the Synod was conceived as a Word and Sacrament ministry to people who might not otherwise be reached by anyone and who needed to be cared for by their own pastors. Sometimes they were described as sheep without a shepherd, or sheep who were straying in a world fraught with danger.

They were coming to North America in large numbers in the nineteenth century, and they were looked upon as "Landsleute" (fellow countrymen), "Glaubensgenossen" (fellow believers), German-speaking people from eastern and western Europe for whom the Synod felt a special responsibility.

²Initially the Synod also tried to accommodate the needs of the Chippewa Indians of Michigan and Minnesota—but that attempt ended in failure in 1868. During the last two decades of the 19th century attempts were also made to minister to Black Americans. Throughout this time period the mission work among German immigrants continued unabated and remained a principal subject of concern in sermon books and other publications of the Synod. See F. Dean Lueking, Mission in the Making: The Missionary Enterprise Among Missouri Synod Lutherans 1846-1963 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 25-158.

The mission strategy of the Missouri Synod—if one can even think in terms of a "strategy"—was based on the assumption that every one of them was a person for whom Jesus died. They all needed the comfort and assurance of the Gospel, especially in view of the fact that people living in a new world can certainly lose their way. Cut off from the ministry of their home church, lost in a world of urban squalor or rural isolation, they might not even realize that they were straying. The church needed to reach out to them. Their salvation depended on it.

Wyneken's Appeal and Evangelical Fervor

This view of mission and ministry was very pronounced among the early members of the Missouri Synod. Their experiences during the Saxon emigration had provided them with the kind of first-hand knowledge of immigrant conditions that kept them ever mindful of those who would be undergoing similar problems of adjustment in the new world. Moreover, the confessional fervor that they brought with them, given the circumstances of their departure from Saxony, would have had a lasting influence on the way they would express their views about the missionary task that lay before them. Leaders like Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther, Ottomar Fuerbringer, Friedrich Wyneken, Wilhelm Sihler, and Johann Friedrich Buenger helped the Synod to expand its missionary efforts during those formative years. Besides Walther, among the most influential of these was Friedrich Wyneken, whose missionary fervor did much to shape Synod's thinking about mission and

ministry, particularly through the publication of his tract, Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nord-Amerika.³

Wyneken had come to the United States in the summer of 1838. During his missionary journeys in Indiana and Michigan he had become convinced that he needed help—a great deal of help. He was of the opinion that too many of his countrymen were losing their way.

During a return trip to Germany from 1841 to 1843 he had gone on a preaching tour to seek support. He found a kindred spirit in Wilhelm Loehe, who helped him to publish Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nord-Amerika. The tract contained a number of themes that are worth exploring, given the fact that they continued to have an influence on the Synod's thinking long after Wyneken had returned to the United States, made contact with Walther, and subsequently become one of the founding fathers of the Missouri Synod.⁴

From the very outset, the pamphlet strikes a note of urgency:

Dear Brethren! In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . a preacher of the church appeals to your hearts and with tears pleads with you. Help your brethren who are bone of your bone and flesh of your flesh. . . . Help! Help at once! Help in Christian generosity!⁵

³Friedrich Wyneken, Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nord-Amerika, American ed. (Pittsburgh: Druckerei der lutherischen Kirchenzeitung, 1844), 1-13.

⁴Walter A. Baepler, A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod 1847-1947 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947), 53-64.

⁵Wyneken, "Help, in the Name of Jesus Help," translation of his Die Noth in Carl S. Meyer, Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 91.

Wyneken in this pamphlet went on to paint a vivid picture of the spiritual condition of his people in America. He told of German people sunk in a mire of vice and indecency in the cities. Even those who had managed to maintain a semblance of outward decency did not seem to fare any better. Cut off from the "fetters of church and as well as of the state," they were "without God, without the church, without hope, alas even without any longing for anything higher."⁶

On the frontier Wyneken believed that his countrymen were facing even greater hardships and dangers. In the wide west and across the prairie they could easily become victims of isolation and indifference. From his own experience he observed: "Often they have no neighbors for miles around, and even if they have some nearby, the dense forest so separates them that they know nothing of one another."⁷ Under these conditions it was no wonder that they tended to be forgetful of their spiritual lives. No preacher came "to rouse them from their earthly thoughts and pursuits, and for a long time the voice of the sweet Gospel" no longer could be heard.⁸

Wyneken was willing to concede the fact that in the larger cities there tended to be at least some who kept the faith of their fathers. Because their souls craved nourishment, he said some of them sought help. Consequently, congregations were formed, churches were built, and schools were erected under the ministry of faithful pastors. But he lamented the fact that the "number of German orthodox" pastors was small.⁹

⁶Ibid., 92

⁷Ibid., 93.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., 92.

These pastors had no time to minister to anyone but those gathered in their growing congregations. They were unable to go "into the dens of infamy, into the busy workshops" where people were laboring merely for the "bread of this life."¹⁰ Wyneken claimed that they were unable to reach the "countless sinners" who were not at all concerned about the church, or about the baptism and instruction of their children.¹¹

It is in this context that Wyneken made his appeal for more missionaries to go where others feared to tread:

Behold, here we need missionaries who burn with zeal for their Lord and dread neither the commiserating scoffing of the worldly-wise nor the diabolical mockery of abject indecency, but crowd their way into their houses and into their hearts to win them for the Lord.¹²

His appeal was all the more urgent in view of the fact that there were imposters, "hirelings," claiming to be ministers of the Word, who were forming congregations without any kind of proper call or training.¹³

Later in his pamphlet Wyneken made a similar appeal for missionaries in the frontier regions. As it was in the city, so it was on the prairies. The need was the same. People were facing spiritual death. Parents, children— young and old alike—were dying without the Word of God. No one aroused and admonished them, no one comforted them.¹⁴ They were obviously in need of pastors, of a Word and Sacrament ministry, of Holy Absolution and Holy Communion. Without these they would face the coming Judgment unprepared:

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid., 95.

Oh, what a blessing the ambassador of peace would now be with the effective absolution for the penitent soul and with the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which might catch hold of the doubting, roaming soul and direct its eyes to the body broken for the sinner and the blood shed for the sinner for the remission of sin. How many thousands die away into eternity unprepared and unconsolated?¹⁵

Thus, with a sense of unparalleled urgency Wyneken provided some of the main themes that would help to sustain the missionary vision of the Missouri Synod for many years to come. Here and there a thought would have to be modified or expanded, but the general pattern was falling into place.

Wyneken had forcefully argued that there were many people in the new world who were spiritually dying without the means of grace. They were in need of faithful missionaries who were willing to admonish and console them, missionaries willing to go anywhere and everywhere to reach them. If no one would help them, these people and their children could die in their sins. They might even have to face eternity unprepared and unconsolated. At the heart of the Missouri Synod missionary fervor, sparked by the influence of men like Wyneken, was a concern for the salvation of people such as these.

Wyneken's appeal had a way of reaching the hearts of many who might not otherwise have been aware of the problems these people were facing. The reaction of Wilhelm Sihler was perhaps typical. After reading the "Appeal" by chance on a trip to Riga in the Baltic region, he later said, "Like a flash of

¹⁵Ibid.

lightning, it pierced my soul, as though God spoke with emphatic words to me, 'You must go!'"¹⁶

The Importance of Being a Faithful Lutheran

While Wyneken was spreading his appeal, confessional Lutherans in Germany like Karl von Raumer and Johannes Konrad Wilhelm Loehe were coming to his support. Back in the United States, Walther's group in Missouri was already thinking about joining hands with anyone interested in strengthening the bonds of confessional Lutheranism in the new world. Upon his return to America in 1843, Wyneken decided to confront Reformed elements in his congregation in Fort Wayne.¹⁷ He had come to the conclusion that it was important to provide a ministry to German settlers that would not only reach the dying, but also reach them in a confessionally-sound manner.

Partly through his contact with confessional Lutherans in Germany and partly through his own personal faith development, he had come to the conclusion that congregations containing people with wide differences in belief tended to produce problems that can in the long run become very harmful to everyone concerned. He had observed, for example, how easy it could be for settlers in small, religiously-mixed communities to form union congregations served by union pastors ("Simultanpfarrer"). More often than not it would only lead to later schism. Loehe agreed, and expressed the view "that it is still the wisest and, for all that, the most peaceable thing to want to

¹⁶Wilhelm Sihler, Lebenslauf, vol. 1 (St. Louis: Druckerei des Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1879), 142.

¹⁷Baepler, 61.

remain whole and as unmixed as possible right from the start. . . . One must first be pure before he becomes strong."¹⁸ Thus, it was becoming very clear to Wyneken and others like him that the faithful missionary must not only be German and evangelical, but also truly Lutheran. "Unionistic" tendencies should be avoided at all costs.

When Wyneken came across copies of Der Lutheraner in 1844, he rejoiced to discover that there were others in North America who felt the same way. When he and the other Loehe men joined the Saxons of Missouri to form a synod in 1847, they said they would be committed to "the continuance of the unity of the true faith."¹⁹ Indeed, they had come together to provide "a united effort to resist every form of schism and sectarianism."²⁰ They would be linked together in their "renunciation of unionism and syncretism of every kind"²¹ Of course, that meant among other things that they were not to join "the heterodox in missionary efforts or in the publishing and distribution of literature."²²

Thus, it became clear from the very start that the missionary fervor of the Missouri Synod would naturally combine a concern for the lost with a zeal for the truth. The founding fathers of the Synod had become firmly convinced

¹⁸J. F. W. Loehe, "Confessional Lutherans Oppose Religious Unionism," in Meyer, 103. Translation of J. F. W. Loehe, "Eine allgemeine Bemerkung ueber sogenannte lutherische Gemeinden Americas," Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, 1846, no. 10, cols. 76-78.

¹⁹"Synodalverfassung," Der Lutheraner 3, no. 1 (September 5, 1846): 2.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid.

that a faithful missionary needed to remain faithful if he was going to minister effectively to the lost.

The pages of Der Lutheraner later carried a succinct summary of this view when it tried to describe the Synod's efforts to do mission work among native Indian peoples:

It is now upon us, brethren, to bring the Gospel to the heathen! The Lord has bestowed upon us in our new homeland religious freedom, temporal peace, and prosperity. And above all, with great mercy He has once again gathered us under one German nationality and lit the candle of pure truth. Yes, He goes with blessing through the wide land, uniting the hearts of the faithful in love for the truth and establishing here and there enduring altars to the pure Christian Confessions. . . . As we then have opportunity, let us happily and willingly fulfill the command of the Lord which He speaks also to us: "Teach all peoples!"²³

Missionary Fervor During the Late Nineteenth Century

During the following years, the Missouri Synod sought to expand its ministry to others. While occasional attempts were being made to minister to the needs of other ethnic groups, like the native Indian and the Black American, the Synod continued to direct its missionary fervor primarily

²³Translation by Lueking, 27. Original text: "Es ist jetzt an uns, Brueder! den heiden das Evangelium zu bringen. Der Herr hat uns mit gnaediger Hand hieher gefuehrt und uns hier viel Gutes gethan. Er hat uns in unserer neuen Heimath kirchliche Freiheit, zeitlichen Frieden und Wohlfahrt geschenkt. Und ueber das alles hat er uns hier mit grosser Barmherzigkeit gesammelt und noch einmal unter Deutscher Nation den Leuchter der reinen Lehre aufgerichtet. Ja! noch immer wandelt er segnend durch die weiten Lande, die Herzen der Glauebigen in der Liebe zur Wahrheit vereinigend, und gruendet hie und da dem lauterem christlichen Bekenntnisse bleibende Altaere. . . . Als wir denn nun Zeit haben, lasset uns freudig und willig das Gebot des Herrn erfuellen, welches er auch zu uns spricht: 'Lehret alle Voelker!'" In E. Johann Hermann Fick, August Craemer, F. W. Barthel, "Aufruf zur Mission unter den heidnischen Indianern," Der Lutheraner 4, no. 5 (November 4, 1847): 36.

towards the needs of German immigrants who were coming to this continent during the latter half of the nineteenth century.²⁴

During these formative years mission festivals began to emerge to encourage the faithful to reach out to their fellow countrymen who were in danger of losing their salvation. Congregational members responded by singing hymns like Luther's "May God Bestow on Us His Grace" and "There Still Is Room."²⁵ The pages of Der Lutheraner began to carry reports on home mission activities under such titles as "Come Over and Help Us," "Love for Our Abandoned Brethren," and "The Need of Gathering Our Straying and Perishing Brethren."²⁶ Missionary pamphlets were being distributed by Samuel Keyl at the port of entry in New York.²⁷ A pamphlet written by Walther warned newcomers of the dangers of joining up with Christian groups not connected with the Missouri Synod:

They do not preach the Gospel as a joyous message of forgiveness of sins which sinners need only to hear, receive, and believe, but they enclose the Gospel with so many stipulations . . . that they set bounds around Mount Calvary as if it were Mount Sinai.²⁸

²⁴See Footnote 2 above.

²⁵Lueking, 58. ²⁶Ibid., 56.

²⁷Keyl actually had a very extensive ministry that included advice to over 27,000 immigrants from 1870 to 1883 about possible places for settlement and available Lutheran churches. He also tried to help them with their financial and spiritual problems. See 135-136.

²⁸C. F. W. Walther, "Why Do We Cling So Closely to the Lutheran Church?", trans. Leuing, 64. Original text: C. F. W. Walther, Warum hängen wir so fest an der lutherischen Kirche? Beantwortet von C. F. W. Walther, 3d ed. (St. Louis, n.d.), 19.

In 1878, the Synod in convention established a Board for Home Missions which was given the task of coordinating the allocation of funds for the support of mission work in all of the districts. The primary responsibility for the work, however, remained with the districts. For example, all funds gathered in the districts for home missions were to remain in the districts and be disbursed by them. Any funds that were not so expended were to be sent to the Synod office for the support of those districts having the greatest need of expansion in their home mission endeavors.²⁹

In 1879, at the invitation of the Synod, Rev. Friedrich Lochner of Springfield, Illinois, began publishing a missionary journal entitled Missions-taube.³⁰ For seven years Lochner used the journal to describe missionary activities at home and abroad. He encouraged the Synod to stand firm in doctrine in order that the pure Gospel might be shared with others.

Also in 1879, a homiletical journal began to be published in St. Louis. From time to time it contained mission festival sermons containing phrases reminiscent of Wyneken's earlier appeals for support for home missions. For example, one author wrote in 1883:

For we have this noblest treasure through God's grace. . . . Should we not strive with all earnestness and energy then to bring this teaching to our fellow countrymen and brethren in the faith [einwandernden Glaubens- und Volksgenossen] who have and continue to emigrate to this land. In that way would we not want to prevent them from withering up spiritually as well as falling into the hands of the sectarians?³¹

²⁹Baepler, 169. ³⁰Lueking, 128.

³¹C. H. F. F., "Was ist jetziger Zeit die dringendste Aufgabe unserer lutherischen Kirche hier in America Betreff ihrer Missionsarbeit?" Magazin fuer Ev.-luth. Homiletik 7, no. 4 (April 1883): 106. Original text: ". . . denn durch Gottes Gnade haben wir diesen alleredelsten Schatz. . . ."

In a sermon written in 1886 Professor George Stoeckhardt encouraged every effort to spread the Word so that it might bear fruit here, there, and everywhere that it would. Implicit in his sermon was a criticism of those who would conduct mission work according to grand schemes:

The beginning of our church was small and unimpressive. A group of Lutheran Christians erected huts in this free land, having left their old fatherland for the sake of their faith and the Word. . . . They had no grand plans, schemes, or hopes in their heads as they began their work. But soon the command of God came upon this little group to lengthen the stakes of their tents.³²

Stoeckhardt in this sermon tried to discourage anyone who would want to convert "all or half the world at once."³³ In another sermon he described what the main goal of all mission work should be: "Our work and task is to reach

Sollten wir denn nun nicht denselben Ernst und Eifer beweisen, diese Lehre auch unsern eingewanderten und noch einwandernden Glaubens- und Volksgenossen zu bringen und sie dadurch sowohl vor dem geistlichen Verdorren, als auch vor dem Abfall zu den Secten zu bewahren?"

³²George Stoeckhardt, "dass es die Eigenart des Reiches Gottes ist, dass es waechst und zunimmt und durchdringt, nach aussen, wie nach innen," Magazin fuer Ev.-luth. Homiletik 10, no. 9 (September 1886): 260. Original text: "Der Anfang dieser unserer Kirche war klein und unansehnlich. Etliche geringe Haueflein lutherischer Christen, die um ihres Glaubens, um des Worts willen die alte Heimath rauemen mussten, schlugen hier in diesem freien Land ihre Huette auf. . . . Sie hatten keine grossen Plaene, Zwecke, Hoffnungen im Kopf, da sie ihr Werk begannen. Alsbald aber erging an dieses kleine Haueflein der Befehl Gottes, die Pfloecke des Zeltens weiter zu stecken."

³³Ibid., 258. Original text: "Es hat dem Reich Gottes noch zu keiner Zeit Gewinn gebracht, wenn man mit grossartigen, schwindelhaften Ideen und Plaenen schwanger ging und sich anstellte, als wollte man die ganze oder halbe Welt auf einmal zu Gott bekehren."

men everywhere . . . with the Word of truth and point them to the one way of help and the one Helper."³⁴

Another preacher, writing in 1886, was aware of the fact that German immigrants were settling everywhere in North America: "From Texas to Manitoba they are streaming in and scattering in all directions in the open and inexpensive lands of the West . . . without preachers, teachers, churches, or schools."³⁵ Again in terms reminiscent of the earlier pleas of Wyneken he said, "They languish in an unknown wilderness like sheep without a shepherd, sighing and weeping in spiritual abandonment and in longing for Word and Sacrament."³⁶

The mention of Manitoba in this sermon is significant. In 1878 (eight years earlier) the Missouri Synod had begun its missionary activities in western Canada in a community then known as "Town Berlin" or "Ossowa."

³⁴George Stoeckhardt, "Dass wir den Willen des Hirten an seinen Schafen, den verlornen Schafen, hinausfuehren," Magazin fuer Ev.-luth. Homiletik 13, nos. 7 and 8 (July and August 1889): 220. Original text: "Darum bezeugen wir Jedermann, an den unser Wort nur heranreicht, das Wort der Wahrheit, zeigen ihm den einigen Weg der Huelfe, den einigen Helfer."

³⁵W. A., "Die grosse Noth auf dem Gebiet unserer inneren Mission," Magazin fuer Ev.-Luth. Homiletik 10, no. 7 (July 1886): 200. Original text: "In die noch offenen und billigen Laendereien des Westens ergiesst sich er Strom und zertheilt sich nach allen Richtungen von Texas hinauf bis nach Manitoba. . . . Sie bringen sich keine Prediger und Lehrer mit und wo sie sich niederlassen, finden sie keine Kirchen und Schulen. . . ."

³⁶Ibid. Original text: "Sie sitzen in einer Wueste sind wie die Schafe, die keinen Hirten haben. Wie viel Seufzer nach Hilfe moegen da ausgestossen, wie viel Thraenen ueber geistliche Verlassenheit geweint, wie viel Bitten um Wort und Sacrament moegen zu Gott geschickt werden!"

Summary

The Missouri Synod during the three decades before entering western Canada held a view of mission work that was (1) marked by a sense of urgency for the salvation of souls, (2) primarily directed to the spiritual needs of German-speaking immigrants, and (3) especially concerned about the sick, the dying, and generally all who might have to leave this world without the comfort and consolation of the Gospel.

The missionary literature of the Synod stressed the importance of providing a Word and Sacrament ministry to people who might not otherwise be able to receive it. Missionaries were to be confessionally sound—that is, truly evangelical and also truly Lutheran. They should be prepared to encounter settlements containing people of mixed denominational backgrounds but should not be willing to engage in unionistic practices.

The Synod did not seem to have a particularly well-thought-out plan for doing mission work during this time period, although here and there one could see glimpses of a strategy: (1) the rise of the mission festival as a sign of tangible support, (2) the use of Der Lutheraner and mission publications to encourage that support, (3) the positioning of Keyl at the port of entry in New York City, and (4) the reliance on districts to organize and supervise the efforts of pastors and travelling preachers to newly-settled areas.

Other than the above, little evidence could be found in the Missouri Synod for any kind of working strategy or grand design for doing mission work in North America. The Great Commission simply called all faithful

pastors and congregations to go everywhere. And everywhere they would go, wherever and whenever the Lord seemed to be calling them.

CHAPTER TWO
THE MISSOURI SYNOD ENTERS WESTERN CANADA
1879 - 1887

In 1879 the Synod first began to hear the call to minister to German-speaking settlers in western Canada in a little community forty miles northwest of Winnipeg called Ossowa. The Synod had already been at work for several years in eastern Canada.³⁷ The impetus, however, for serving the west did not come from the east, but from the states that were located just south of the Manitoba border. This would have been a natural development for the Synod, given the fact that no railroad link existed at the time between eastern and western Canada. Furthermore, geographical proximity made it easier for the Synod to extend its ministry into western Canada from those congregations and preaching stations that were closest to the area in question.

The Northwestern District of the Synod was by far the most logical choice. In 1875 it had broken off from the Synod's old Northern District to form a district of its own—consisting of congregations in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Dakota. In 1882, when Wisconsin formed a district of its own, it became known as the Minnesota and Dakota District.

³⁷For a complete account of the Synod's work in eastern Canada, see Norman J. Threinen, Like a Mustard Seed (Kitchener: Valcraft Printing, 1989), 1-50.

In 1875 the District began to direct its attention to the needs of settlers that were coming particularly to its northern and western regions. A mission report of that year talked about a "ganz neues Missionsfeld" (an entirely new mission field) that had opened up for the district in "Dakotah."³⁸ German immigrants from Russia were settling in the territory and were responding well to the ministry of a Pastor Doescher who was now at work among them.³⁹ The Synod itself had pledged its support for the ministry taking place in the region and furthermore had encouraged the District to renew its energies in that direction:

The Synod has adopted the request of the Commission that "we ourselves and our dear congregations not only support this blessed work (of our 'Inner Mission') with renewed fervor, but also that other districts arouse themselves to greater participation—particularly the central ones where no mission field of their own exists."⁴⁰

In 1876 District President Carl Strasen exhorted the delegates assembled in convention in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to remember that they were being

³⁸Erster Synodal-Bericht des Nordwestlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1875), 62. Original text: "Ein ganz neues Missionsfeld hat sich in Dakotah fuer uns eroeffnet. Herr Pastor Doescher stattete einen muendlichen Bericht ueber die dort aus Russland Eingewanderten ab, unter denen er wirkt."

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid. Original text: "Die Synode eignete sich den Wunsch der Commission an, dass 'nicht nur wir selbst und unsere lieben Gemeinden mit erneutem Eifer dieses gesegnete Werk (unsrer "Innern Mission") unterstuetzen, sondern auch . . . andere Districte, insonderheit den Mittleren, als welcher kein eigenes Missionsfeld besitzt, zu reger Theilnahme . . . dazu ermuntern.'"

called to build and extend the Kingdom of God everywhere.⁴¹ In 1879 the District Mission Board reported that the mission field was huge, but the laborers were few. In fact, in one area where there were already fifteen Methodist travelling missionaries, the District had only one man at work.⁴² It was in that same year that the District began its work in Ossowa (also called "Town Berlin"), where a group led by William Wagner, a land surveyor, had been requesting the services of a pastor.⁴³

⁴¹Carl Strasen, "Synodalrede," Zweiter Synodal-Bericht des Nord-westlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1876), 9. The following is an excerpt from Strasen's sermon: ". . . Gottes Reich wollen wir gemeinsam bauen und ausbreiten;--wir Pastoren, unser Schullehrer, unsere Delegaten mit unsern Gemeinden, die sie gesandt haben. Dazu kommen wir alljaehrlich, wie Brueder, zusammen. Es ist dies das Reich, das unserm Gott lieb ist, um welches willen Christus gestorben ist; das Reich ist's, zu dessen Erbauung der Heilige Geist ausgegossen wurde und die Apostel in alle Welt gesandt worden sind; das Reich, um welches willen Gott besondere Gaben gibt, das erbauet werden soll bis ans Ende der Tage, um welches willen Gott die Welt immer noch bestehen laesst, ja, zu welchem, was Gottes allgemeinen Gnadewillen betrifft, allen Menschen, alle Erloesten des Herrn gesammelt werden sollen. Es ist dies die christliche Kirche, nach Christi Namen genannt, die Gemeinde der Glaebigen, deren Glieder wir sind; die Kirche, darin Gott uns mit Gnadenschaetzen ueberhaeuft hat, gegen die wir alles Geld und Gut der Erde nichts achten; die Kirche ist's die uns lieb ist, zu der wir uns mit Freuden bekennen, deren Erbauung wir fuer die eigentliche Aufgabe unseres Lebens, fuer unsern Christenberuf halten, fuer die wir alles, selbst Hab' und Gut, ja, Leib und Leben daran geben sollten."

⁴²Vierter Synodal-Bericht des Nordwestlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten (St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1879), 64. Original text: "Das Missionsfeld ist gross, aber wenige sind der Arbeiter, die auf diesem Felde angestellt worden sind; auf einem grossen Gebiete z. B. wo die Methodisten 15 Reiseprediger angestellt haben, haben wir einen einzigen Mann."

⁴³Norman J. Threinen, "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 47, no. 3 (Fall 1974): 111-116.

The Ministry to Ossowa

Early in 1879 Wagner had sent a letter to Rev. C. Strasen, President of the Northwestern District, informing him that a number of Lutheran families from Ontario were now settled at Ossowa and eager to call a pastor. Strasen referred the matter to Rev. Ernst Rolf, who was in a better position to make contact with the little settlement in Manitoba than Strasen was.

In 1879 a railroad link had been completed from St. Paul, Minnesota, to Winnipeg. Rolf used this connection to visit Ossowa from his parish at St. Paul, Minnesota. Although he was only able to visit Ossowa once, he was impressed during that visit with the sincerity of the people. When he arrived in May, 1879, an aging man said, "I can die happy now that my fervent prayers have been answered, and I have again heard a Lutheran sermon and received the Lord's Supper."⁴⁴ Rolf stayed at Ossowa for about two weeks, preaching four times and generally ministering to the people. Before he left, he encouraged them to contact Rev. Johannes Krueger, who lived about 190 miles closer to Ossowa than he did.

In the spring of 1880 Krueger came to Ossowa by train from his parish at Elizabeth, Minnesota.⁴⁵ It was actually at Fergus Falls that he boarded the

⁴⁴Ibid., 116.

⁴⁵Norman J. Threinen, A Sower Went Out (Regina: Manitoba and Saskatchewan District, 1982), 6. See Herman Meyer, The Planting Store of the Minnesota District of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Missouri, Ohio, and other States (Minnesota: 1932), 90. Meyer says that on this occasion Rev. Krueger baptized one child, solemnized two marriages, confirmed one woman, and communed thirty-two. His account agrees with Krueger's own account of his visit—although Krueger himself claims he only communed thirty-one—recorded in Rev. F. H. Rotermund, History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Western Canada 1879-1912 trans. John Meichsner

train with a round-trip ticket that had been sent to him by Wagner. The journey was a long one:

At that time travel was naturally slow, at times very slow. It took hours until we crossed the border at St. Vincent. Among other things, this delay was caused by lack of fuel for the engine. There was a pile of polewood at the St. Vincent station, but it was not cut into proper lengths for the engine. By means of a yoke of oxen in the treadmill, the wood was cut for the locomotive. When this wood was finally loaded on the tender, we continued our journey to Winnipeg.⁴⁶

After he arrived in Winnipeg, he rode with the overland mail by sleigh across the Manitoba plains in the direction of Ossowa. During the cold trip he made the acquaintance of two young Englishmen who had studied in Germany and who knew German folk songs. At Portage La Prairie he left that group and found another way to ride by sleigh from there to Ossowa.⁴⁷

Later Krueger wrote that his visit was a very productive one. In fact, it was then that a congregation was organized and a decision was made to call a pastor:

I remained a little more than a week, preaching and performing other ministerial acts. I had one baptism on April 10, 1880; united two couples in holy marriage; confirmed one formerly Catholic woman, and communed 31 persons. We also had a congregational meeting, and at this meeting, the congregation was organized and proceeded to call a pastor.⁴⁸

Krueger was definitely of the opinion that the Missouri Synod would have had a major early opportunity to serve subsequent Lutheran settlements had they been able to send a permanent pastor to Ossowa then; but Synod at the time was in no position to respond:

(Regina: Manitoba and Saskatchewan District Archives, 1912), 2-5.

⁴⁶Ibid., 2.

⁴⁷Ibid., 3.

⁴⁸Ibid.

Unfortunately, this call was sent in vain. How this grieved me! How I deplored it! How sad for the future! At this time in Winnipeg, there was no congregation. The only German Protestant was the immigration agent and a Reformed man. However, if we could have kept Town Berlin and had a pastor sent from the very beginning, we would have had a key to other settlements that would appear in the future.⁴⁹

At least once a year for the next few years thereafter, pastors of the Minnesota and Dakota District tried to minister to the people at Ossowa on a temporary basis. But none could remain for long, and the congregation could not find anyone to stay permanently.

The Synod actually had been trying to establish several preaching stations at this time throughout the Minnesota and Dakota region. In 1880, for example, three pastors including Krueger were trying to cover all of the western and northern parts of Minnesota, as well as Manitoba.⁵⁰ Pastor Charles Engel found that he was able to visit Ossowa in 1883 while he was serving the Red River Valley that extended along the Minnesota and Dakota

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Fuenfter Synodal-Bericht des Nordwestlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, un. a. Staaten im Jahre 1880 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1880), 73. "In Minnesota wurde im westlichen und noerdlichen Theile dieses Staates von den Pastoren Daeschlein, Vetter und Krueger missionirt. Das Gebiet des zuletzt genannten Reisepredigers erstreckt sich bis nach Manitoba hinein."

border up to Winnipeg.⁵¹ Others known to have visited the Ossowa settlement were Pastors Hermann Glaess and Adam Detzer.⁵²

The Settlement Comes to an End

This pattern might have continued indefinitely—or at least until a permanent pastor could be supplied—had it not been for the fact that Ossowa itself began to experience difficulties as a settlement. In the early 1880's the area was struck by drought. Most of the settlers began to suffer extreme economic hardship. Some of them complained that the soil was too sandy.⁵³ By 1884 many began to leave in search of better farmland elsewhere. Most of them went to the United States. Eventually only one family, the Neuman family, was left. And with that, the work of the Synod in western Canada in 1887 temporarily came to an end.⁵⁴ But the light of faith did not go out entirely. According to one account, "Father Neuman conducted reading

⁵¹Zweiter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1883), 72. "Im Nordwesten von Minnesota, in dem sogenannten Red-River-Thale, hat Herr P. Engel sein Arbeitsfeld. Dasselbe dehnt sich von Ada an nach Norden hin aus bis nach Manitoba hinein."

⁵²Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 7. According to Threinen, their names were Adam Detzer and Herman Glaess. Rotermund lists them as Pastors T. Detzer and Gloess. See Rotermund, 5.

⁵³Rotermund, 5.

⁵⁴Ibid. It was Rotermund who claimed that the Synod served Ossowa until 1887.

services until his children moved either to Pincher Creek, Alberta, or Poplar Point, Manitoba, and there became members of our existing congregations."⁵⁵

Had the Synod left for good? It had certainly left Ossowa and for reasons that are understandable. From the perspective of the District, Ossowa was only one of a number of places in the northwestern region requiring attention. The Minnesota and Dakota District at the time certainly had more than its hands full of requests for ministers to congregations and preaching stations in the northwestern states. That might explain, by the way, its inability to provide a permanent pastor at Ossowa. By 1888 the District had begun to receive reports from a number of its missionaries urging the District to send more laborers into the field:

At this year's Synodical meeting more of the travelling preachers reported orally about their work on the territory of the inner Mission in Minnesota and Dakota. Many of the brothers have more work than they can handle. On this account they made their urgent plea: "Give us helpers, so that we can supply the people in the Mission districts more richly with God's Word, as well as serve their children more with Christian School instruction than can take place under the current circumstances. Yes, send us help, so that we can hold the fields, which we occupy, and can begin work in new areas, where help is so urgently needed."⁵⁶

⁵⁵Quoted in Herman Meyer, 118.

⁵⁶Fuenfter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1888), 60. Original text: "Auch bei der diesjaehrigen Synodalversammlung erstatteten mehrere der Herren Reiseprediger muendlich Bericht ueber ihre Arbeit auf dem Gebiete der inneren Mission in Minnesota und Dakota. . . . Viele der Brueder haben mehr Arbeit, als sie bewaeltigen koennen. Daher sie auch die Bitte laut werden liessen: 'Gebt uns Gehuelfen, damit wir die Leute in den Missions-districten reichlicher mit Gottes Word versorgen, auch ihren Kindern mehr mit christlichem Schulunterricht dienen koennen, als solches unter den jetzigen Verhaeltnissen geschehen kann. Ja, schickt uns Huelfe, damit wir die Arbeitsfelder, die wir inne haben, halten und auf neuen Gebieten, da Huelfe so bringend noethig ist, die Arbeit beginnen koennen.'"

According to the Statistical Yearbook for the previous year, the District now had thirty-six missionary preachers, each serving four or more locations, for a total of 222 preaching stations in the region.

The Missouri Synod had begun its ministry in western Canada in 1879 at Ossowa. For about eight years travelling missionaries from Minnesota and Dakota tried to get to Ossowa at least once a year to provide a Word and Sacrament ministry. In 1880 the people there formed a congregation, but they were never able to find a permanent pastor. According to one source, the District continued to serve Ossowa until 1887. During those years the Synod had no other preaching station in western Canada, but it is evidently clear from District reports that the will was there to go everywhere and anywhere, including to other parts of western Canada, as soon as Synod would have the manpower to do so. The stage was set for the sending of the first resident missionary to the Canadian west—a matter to be discussed in the sixth chapter of this thesis.

CHAPTER THREE
MISSION AND MINISTRY IN THE GENERAL COUNCIL
1867 - 1887

While the Missouri Synod prepared for another mission undertaking in western Canada, the Canada Synod of the General Council also began to develop an interest in sending missionaries to the Canadian west.

The General Council from its inception held a view of mission and ministry that was in certain respects similar to the view being held at the time by the Missouri Synod. For example, many members of the Council seemed to have a compelling desire to provide a Word and Sacrament ministry to German immigrants who were without it. Furthermore, like Missouri, members of the General Council tended to be strongly concerned about matters of doctrine and practice. On the other hand, they had a different approach to the problem of settling sensitive doctrinal issues, and they did not have the same sense of cohesiveness that Missouri had.

The Council was, after all, the result of a merger of ten synods into a single federation.⁵⁷ Linguistically it was roughly one-third German, one-third

⁵⁷The following synods were all at one point members of the General Council during its first three years of existence: Pennsylvania Ministerium, the New York Ministerium, the Pittsburgh Synod, the English Synod of Ohio, the English District Synod of Ohio, the Michigan District, the Canada Synod, the Illinois Synod, the Minnesota Synod, and the Wisconsin Synod. By 1870 Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin withdrew to consider a closer affiliation with the Missouri Synod. See E. Clifford Nelson, editor, The Lutherans in

English, and one-third Swedish, while the Missouri Synod in the latter part of the nineteenth century remained almost entirely a German-speaking church body. Furthermore, the General Council did not have a strongly unified theological tradition, but a blend of traditions finding their common ground in confessional subscription to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.

More conservative than the General Synod, it was begun in 1867 as a result of discussions that had been initiated in the previous year under the leadership of Charles Porterfield Krauth. The Missouri Synod at the time was one of those synods willing to consider membership in the Council because of the latter's desire to take a more confessional stand, but eventually it withdrew when it felt that sufficient unity in doctrine had not been accomplished.⁵⁸

For the purposes of this study, it is significant to note that one of the synods that chose to join the General Council in its constituting convention was the Canada Synod, which had been organized in 1861 as a result of mission work done in Ontario by the Pittsburgh Synod. Missionaries of the Canada Synod would eventually be among the first to be sent to the Canadian west. In fact, they would eventually be sent to the same territory where Missouri had been at work in the early 1880's.

North America (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 234-237.

⁵⁸The Missouri Synod had tried to get the synods of the General Council to agree to a series of "free conferences" to resolve their differences before forming the new federation. After the Council was formed, it urged Missouri to have a free conference with itself. Missouri refused on the grounds that the synods now federated could no longer relate to Missouri on the same playing field. Furthermore, it did not perceive that real doctrinal unity had been achieved in the formation of the General Council. See *Ibid.*, 235-237.

When the General Council was formed, questions were being raised about its position on altar fellowship, pulpit fellowship, chiliasm, and "secret" societies—then known as the "Four Points." Immediate answers, however, were not forthcoming. It was the view of the Council that any synod concerned about such questions should first join the Council and then enter into discussions in subsequent sessions.⁵⁹

By 1872 the Council adopted the Akron Rule (later reaffirmed in 1875 as the Galesburg Rule) restricting Lutheran pulpits to Lutheran pastors, and Lutheran altars to Lutheran communicants.⁶⁰ Exceptions were to be left to the judgment of conscientious pastors. Still not clear, however, were the Council's views on chiliasm and "secret" societies.

In the meantime, five synods that had originally considered membership in the General Council became discouraged with the process and met with the Missouri Synod in 1872 to form the Synodical Conference.⁶¹

Ultimately these differences would have an effect on the way the General Council and the Missouri Synod would deal with one another when they each began to minister separately to settlers on the western Canadian frontier. No doubt, the fact that their missionaries belonged to church bodies

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Quoted in Richard C. Wolf, Documents of Lutheran Unity in America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 170.

⁶¹Represented in the formation of the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of North America were the following synods: Joint Synod of Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Norwegian, Minnesota, and Illinois. See Baepler, 160.

that had once tried to achieve unity, and had failed, would certainly have an effect on the way they would relate to each other.

The Ministry to German Immigrants

After the General Council was formed, it tried to develop a centralized approach to home mission work. By 1882, however, the Council had reached the conclusion that it would be best to shift to a more decentralized structure through the establishment of separate English, German, and Swedish home mission committees.⁶² Given the fact that the Council from the beginning had contained these language groups in varying proportions in its member synods, this development was certainly not surprising.

Arguments could be found for and against the move towards decentralization. On the positive side, the establishment of separate home mission committees allowed the Council to focus its energies in a more specialized manner on the needs of each language group. On the negative side, it would set up the kind of separation that could lead to conflicts between committees over the allocation of limited mission funds and resources.

In January 1882 the Siloah, a monthly newsletter edited by the Council's German Home Mission Committee, began publication in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The lead article outlined the need for German home mission work in the simplest of terms.

"Someone might ask," began the article, "why mission work should be undertaken among 'deutschen Landsleuten'; for one normally sends

⁶²Nelson, 265.

missionaries to the heathen (Heiden), and we are not heathen."⁶³ The editors pointed out in response that thousands of immigrants were coming to America in search of a new home in the west. Once they settled down, they were discovering on Sundays that there were no church bells, no houses of God, no Gospel to be heard. As the years went by, their children were not being baptized; nor were they being instructed and confirmed. Especially the sick were yearning for the Lord's Supper in preparation for their heavenly journey. Obviously these people were in need of the ministry.

The editors then tried to illustrate the point by describing several situations where the need was obvious. For example, a number of Lutherans in Kansas had been gathering together in different places to hold brief prayer services which included hymn-singing, prayers, and the reading of a sermon; but they had no pastor.⁶⁴ One family in another location wrote, "We have had enough of life without a church. We can hardly endure it any longer."⁶⁵ The article particularly mentions the fact that there were "Glaubensbrueder" in Michigan, Canada, Kansas, and Nebraska who were hungering and thirsting for the "Brode und Wasser des Lebens."⁶⁶

In terms reminiscent of Wyneken's 1838 appeal, the article closes with the plea:

⁶³"Was Wir Wollen," Siloah 1, no. 1, (January 1882): 2.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid. Text: "Wir haben genug von dem Leben ohne Kirche. Wir koennen es fast nicht mehr aushalten."

⁶⁶Ibid.

From nearly all the great western States and territories, to the coast of the Pacific Ocean sounds out the call: "Come and help us!" . . . This call the General Council has heard, and has taken to heart the great need of our dear brothers. No longer should we delay, but quickly should we lay the hand to the work, so that their needs may be fulfilled.⁶⁷

With that, the article ends by describing a field in need of their support.

While others may have sown the seed, it had become obvious to them that the Council was being called upon to reap the harvest.⁶⁸

Clearly the members of the General Council who had any concern for their German "brothers" were being asked by Siloah to support the establishment of a regular church life for them. Moreover, there did not appear to be any restrictions to the vision. The great "West" was being pictured as a "field" that was full and ready for the harvest. And who was being called to work in that field? They were.

Subsequent issues of Siloah continued to encourage readers to support all efforts of the Committee to minister to German immigrants in North America. Typically it carried articles of a devotional nature describing areas where immigrants were settling and the experiences of missionaries who were trying to reach them. Of particular importance were articles directed to the immigrants themselves, providing spiritual counsel and helpful advice to guide them to a successful adjustment to life in the new world.

⁶⁷Ibid. Text: "Von fast allen grossen westlichen Staaten und Territorien, bis an die Kueste des stillen Meeres ertoent der Ruf: 'Kommt und helft uns.' . . . Diesen Ruf hat das General-Concil vernommen, und ist ihm derselbe, mit der grossen Noth unserer lieben Brueder, zu Herzen gegangen. Nicht laenger soll gezoegert, sondern frisch die Hand ans Werk gelegt werden, damit bald die Noth ihr Ende erreiche."

⁶⁸Ibid. Text: "Ein volles Feld steht vor uns. Andere haben gesaet und wir brauchen nur zu erndten."

Mission Work in the Early 1880s

From 1882 to 1885 Siloah carried reports about the German mission work of the General Council in eastern Canada, Michigan, and Texas. Mention is made of attempts to minister to newcomers as they came off the boats in New York harbor. The Council's "Emigrantenhaus" in New York provided worship services for their fellow countrymen, pastoral care for the sick, and general spiritual counsel. The editors of Siloah also spoke of other possibilities for mission and ministry in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Dakota, Idaho, Colorado, and Utah.⁶⁹

In October 1885 Siloah reported, for example, that an exploratory journey had been undertaken in Dakota.⁷⁰ The author had visited a Pastor Geissendoefer at Alpena and also a Pastor Hahn in Hartford. From Hartford he and Pastor Hahn had travelled to Madison, Wentworth, and Sioux Falls. It was especially at Sioux Falls that their party encountered a number of people with varied opinions (mostly negative) about the value of expanding the church's activities in the region:

Sioux Falls is a city of about 5000-6000 inhabitants. About 100 German evangelical families are there, but most of them want to know nothing about God's Word and the Church. A girl from Darmstadt in Hesse, therefore a compatriot of mine, said: "I would rather give 10 Dollars for a dance than 5 Cents to the Church." Pastor Hahn said to a man: "Is there a church there (a German Protestant one)?" "No" [was his response]. "Don't you really want to build one?" "I need no Church, because I have been a long time beyond that." A hotel owner wanted a Lutheran church service, but only in order to civilize men, who in his opinion were just like animals. Others expressed similar opinions. One said that he once

⁶⁹"Der Westen," Siloah 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1882): 44.

⁷⁰"Aus Dakota," Siloah 4, no. 10 (Oct. 1885): 38.

contributed 15 Dollars to the Missouri Church outside the town, but he still had not visited it. "It's a shame you haven't visited it." [The man had no response], and he certainly had nothing to give to Pastor Hahn's church.⁷¹

According to the article, a Missouri Synod pastor named Stark had been using a church just outside of Sioux Falls since 1883 as a preaching station.

His ministry, however, had been a difficult one. Each time he had to rent the church for a worship service he had to pay a dollar from his own pocket.

Moreover, very few people seemed to be attending.⁷²

Given the apathy and indifference of the people in Sioux Falls and the struggles of the Missouri Synod to begin a ministry there, one might wonder if the General Council would be better off looking for other opportunities to

⁷¹Ibid. The pertinent section of the article is quoted below in the original text: ". . . Sioux Falls ist eine Stadt von wohl 5000-6000 Einwohnern. Etwa 100 deutsche evangelische Familien sind darunter, die aber meistens nichts von Gottes Wort und der Kirche wissen wollen. Eine Hessendarmstaedterin, also eine Landsmaennin von mir, sagte: 'Ich gebe lieber 10 Dollars zum Tanz, als 5 Cents zur Kirche.' Einen Mann sagte Pastor Hahn: 'Ist eine Kirche da (eine deutsche protestantische)?' 'Nein.' 'Wollt ihr auch keine bauen?' 'Ich brauche keine Kirche, da bin ich laengst drueber hinaus!' Ein Gasthausbesitzer wuenschte lutherischen Gottesdienst, aber nur zum Zwecke der Civilisation der Menschen, die nach seiner Meinung dem Thiere gleich stehen. Aehnlich wie diese beiden, sprachen sich auch die andern aus. Einer sagte er habe zur missourischen Kirche da aussen auf dem Lande 15 Dollars beigetragen und sie noch nicht einmal besucht. 'Schlimm genug, dass Sie sie nicht besuchten.' Er gab dann nichts zu Pastor Hahns Kirche."

⁷²Ibid. "Der missourische Pastor Stark predigt etwa zwei Jahre lang dort, muss aber die Kirche jedesmal um einen Dollar aus seiner Tasche miethen, auch hat er nur wenige Zuhoerer.--Nicht wahr, da lernt man Dakota noch von einer ganz andern Seite kennen." The Synodical Report of the Minnesota and Dakota District begins listing Stark at Sioux Falls in 1883, where he remained until he was replaced by Fischer in 1891 after he had accepted a call to Blue Earth, Minnesota. See Zweiter Synodal-Bericht, 4, and Siebenter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1891), 4-5.

build "the Kingdom of God" on earth. The author responds, "No," to such questions, and concludes,

It may be a sad fact that Sodom and Gomorrah are there, but it can only help to open our eyes to the misfortunes that the Lord God has allowed in the land. The worse the church's condition is up there, the more obligated we are to bring God's Word and the Holy Sacraments to the people. Only in that way will our fellow believers be protected from sinking into unbelief and heathenism, and also only in that way can the poor ones who are caught be rescued from it.⁷³

Thus, the General Council expressed the view in 1885 that they felt obligated to begin, if possible, new initiatives to "build the Kingdom of God" in Dakota. They seemed to be fully aware of the fact that the Missouri Synod was already at work in that region. In fact, according to Missouri Synod sources, twelve missionaries of the Missouri Synod were already at work at the time in the Dakota region.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the editors of Siloah were clearly of the opinion that they could hardly refuse to bring the Word and Sacraments to people in that region, too, or in any other area where they felt the Lord was leading them.⁷⁵ It is important to note this development,

⁷³"Aus Dakota," 38. Text: "Aber darf uns das abhalten, dort das Reich Gottes zu bauen? Die traurige Thatsache, dass dort auch Sodom und Gomorra ist, kann uns die Augen oeffnen fuer die Heimsuchungen, die Gott der Herr ueber das Land verhaengt. Aber je trauriger die kirchlichen Zustaende da oben sind, desto mehr muessen wir es uns angelegen sein lassen, den Leuten Gottes Wort und die heiligen Sakramente zu bringen. Denn nur dadurch werden unsere Glaubensgenossen dagegen geschuetzt, in Unglauben und Heidenthum zu versinken, und nur dadurch koennen die Armen, die bereits darin gefangen sind, daraus errettet werden."

⁷⁴See Dritter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Luth. Corcordia-Verlag, 1885), 4.

⁷⁵Obviously Dakota was being looked upon as "open" territory. Siloah would later opt for a more narrow territorial view when circumstances were reversed and missionaries of the Missouri Synod were exploring opportunities

particularly in view of the fact that the General Council would later adopt an entirely different point of view when Missouri Synod missionaries began to enter areas in the Canadian west where the Council was already at work. Protestations of "interference" would be heard as Council members complained about the presence of the other synod in places they claimed to be their own. At this point in their history, however, the Council was obviously of the opinion that an entirely different set of rules should apply as they explored the Dakota region. Obviously they believed that they should be free to go anywhere that they felt the Lord was leading them—even to areas where others were already at work—because the fields were ripe for the harvest, the laborers were few, and their intentions were good.

Pastoral Supply – The Kropp Connection

Of course, all good intentions are just that, unless they can be supported by a system that will supply pastors wherever they are needed. The General Council's own seminary in Philadelphia was not able to provide the necessary training for German-speaking missionaries. Therefore, the German Home Mission Committee began to look to Germany for a possible training centre that could supply the pastors needed.

At first, a connection with Neuendettelsau looked promising.⁷⁶ An even better possibility, however, began to surface at a seminary known as "Eben ezer," located at Kropp in Schleswig. Pastor Johannes Paulsen, founder

for ministry in parts of western Canada where the General Council had already begun its work. See, for example, pp. 75-88 of this paper.

⁷⁶See "Aus Deutschland," Siloah 1, no. 2 (February 1882): 6.

of that seminary, came to New York in the fall of 1882 to seal the arrangement. While he was there, he conducted a preaching tour that began at St. Peter's church in New York and continued with visits to other German evangelical Lutheran congregations at Philadelphia, Norristown, Reading, and Pottsville.⁷⁷

Although some candidates continued to be trained at other locations—like the Mission House in Berlin⁷⁸—Kropp became the source of the largest number of pastors coming from Germany to serve under the German Home Mission Committee. In August of 1887 Siloah reported that fifty-one students were at Kropp preparing for the ministry.⁷⁹ In October of the same year Siloah observed that twenty-two pastors from Kropp had already been assigned to congregations in North America.⁸⁰ Two of them, Heinrich Schmieder of Philadelphia and Ludwig Streich of Erie County, New York, would eventually be called to serve in the mission fields of western Canada.

⁷⁷"Pastor Paulsen," Siloah 1, no. 11 (November 1882): 44.

⁷⁸Pastors Pempeit and Berthold—both of whom ended up in western Canada in the 1890s—had studied in Berlin.

⁷⁹"Das theologische Seminar in Kropp, Schleswig," Siloah 6, no. 8 (August 1887): 61.

⁸⁰"Pastoren aus Kropp in America," Siloah 6, no. 10 (October 1887): 79. According to the report there were six from Kropp in New York, five in Ontario, four in Pennsylvania, two in Texas, one in Connecticut, one in Maryland, one in Michigan, one in New Jersey, and one in West Virginia.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GENERAL COUNCIL ARRIVES IN WESTERN CANADA

In December 1888 the work of the General Council was officially begun in western Canada with the arrival of Canada Synod President, F. Veit, at Winnipeg.⁸¹ He had recently received a letter from a group of Lutheran settlers in the city requesting his help.⁸²

Winnipeg at the time was a city of major importance—Canada's entrance to the west. It was a city that had almost grown up over night. In fact, some of the local residents could still remember what Winnipeg had been like when the first German settlers came there in 1872. Then it only "consisted of a few houses, had no railroad connection, and obtained most handgoods on the Red River from St. Paul, Minnesota."⁸³ A year later it was still a relatively small community with a population of about 1900. In 1878, however, a railroad connection was established between Winnipeg and St. Paul. From that point on, the city began to experience rapid growth. Another

⁸¹Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," Siloah 9, no. 4 (April 1890): 26.

⁸²Later the General Council certainly described it as an "urgent call." See Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1895 (Milwaukee: King-Fowle-McGee Co., 1895), 74.

⁸³Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Der Anfang unserer Nordwest-Mission," Siloah 30, no. 2 (February 1911): 11.

major breakthrough occurred in 1882 when the Canadian Pacific Railroad reached the city from eastern Canada. By 1884 Winnipeg had already grown to be a city of 16,694.⁸⁴

In view of these developments one may wonder why the city had been apparently ignored by Missouri Synod men when they had earlier been at work in the territory, for they certainly would have passed through Winnipeg on their way to Ossowa. Naturally, it was the kind of city that no one having a mind for strategic planning would have wanted to overlook.

This in itself, however, helps to clarify even further the view of mission and ministry that Missouri Synod missionaries seemed to hold as they travelled through the area in the early 1880's. It had been in response to a specific request from a specific group of people, rather than the result of some "master strategy," that had led Rolf and others to conduct their ministry at Ossowa until that settlement collapsed. Even though they would have passed through Winnipeg and would have noticed the excitement of that growing city, they appeared to be mainly concerned about Ossowa and the people there. Even so, there is some evidence to suggest that on at least one occasion a Missouri Synod pastor did try to offer a Word and Sacrament ministry to a group of German immigrants in that city, but the man apparently left before any good could come of it.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Canadian Annual Review (Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson Press, 1964), 110.

⁸⁵Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26.

Years later, Prof. Alfred M. Rehwinkel, who had spent part of his own ministry in the Canadian frontier, lamented the fact that there seemed to be no particular plan for the Missouri Synod to do mission work in the region during those early years:

Had our Church been fully alive as to what was happening in that great northland at the time when the first great Canadian trans-continental was completed in 1885 and had at that time placed an experienced man in the great strategic centers of that country, first in Montreal, the port of entry, another at Winnipeg, and at such places as Regina, Edmonton, Calgary, Vancouver, and other points as they increased in their importance, much could have been done to direct the incoming Lutheran immigrants into larger settlements and thus to build communities large enough to support and maintain their own churches and schools.⁸⁶

Rehwinkel thought that the benefits of such a plan would have been apparent to anyone: "Unwarranted duplication of mission activities could have been avoided, and much money and labor might have been saved."⁸⁷

This is now the second lament recorded in this dissertation about missed opportunities in the formative years—the first was from Krueger.⁸⁸ Of course, hindsight is often better than foresight. The fact remains, however, that Missouri Synod missionaries in the 1880's and 1890's seemed to look upon their work as a personal ministry to people wherever they may be found—and often in response to a specific request for help.⁸⁹ Interestingly enough, the very same view seemed to be at work in the General Council when its representative arrived in Winnipeg in 1888. He had responded to an "urgent

⁸⁶Alfred M. Rehwinkel, "The Beginnings of Lutheranism in Western Canada," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 16, no. 4 (January 1944): 119.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸See above pages 28-29.

⁸⁹See above page 45.

call . . . from the scattered Germans" of the region.⁹⁰ It is known for a fact that a letter signed by the heads of forty families had been sent on November 15, 1888 from Winnipeg to the Canada Synod office.⁹¹ The letter claimed to have the support of all the German colonies and also of all the isolated Lutheran settlers in the west. An immigration agent from Langenburg, Assiniboia, named D.W. Riedle had circulated the letter and obtained all the signatures that were required to demonstrate the need.⁹²

The letter made a strong enough impression on Veit to cause him to come to Winnipeg himself. As soon as he arrived, he formed a congregation there and promised them his support. A few days later he returned east and convinced the Mission Committee of the Canada Synod to send a missionary to the west. Consequently, on January 16, 1889, the Committee resolved to call a pastor not only to serve the congregation in Winnipeg, but also "to travel from there throughout the entire West to serve the scattered German settlers with Word and Sacrament."⁹³

⁹⁰Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention, 74.

⁹¹Schmieder, "Der Anfang," 11.

⁹²The connection with Riedle and his wife is made in Deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Dreieinigkeits-Gemeinde zu Winnipeg, "Chronik," handwritten account of the beginning of the congregation. Archives of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

⁹³Schmieder writes the following about the committee's decision to respond to the call of the settlers in Winnipeg: ". . . auf diesen Bittruf hin beschloss das Missionskomitee der Canada-Synode am 16. Januar 1889 den ersten deutschen luth. Pastor nach Winnipeg zu schicken, der von dort aus zunächst den ganzen Westen bereisen und die zerstreuten deutschen Ansiedler mit Wort und Sakrament bedienen sollte." See Schmieder, "Der Anfang," 11.

The First Resident Pastor Arrives

It only took the Canada Synod about a month to find such a pastor. In fact, on February 23, 1889, Heinrich Schmieder arrived in Winnipeg to be installed as the first pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church there. He was twenty-six at the time and had served three years as an assistant at St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Philadelphia before accepting the call to Winnipeg (his second appointment). Schmieder had been born and raised in Germany, had attended the Gymnasium in Halle, and had been theologically trained at the seminary at Kropp in Schleswig.⁹⁴ Young and energetic, he wasted no time in his efforts to begin a ministry to people in the whole western region.

Schmieder's own account of his first few weeks in Winnipeg speaks of difficult beginnings as well as determined efforts to reach as many German settlers as possible in the region:

On February 23, I arrived with wife and child after a somewhat difficult winter trip from Philadelphia, Pa. Quickly I made myself familiar with all conditions and sent a "pastoral letter" ("Pastorales Sendschreiben") to all Germans in the city, province, and territory, whose addresses I could find. While I liked the city and land, as well as the climate and living conditions in this so-called "Prairie Province," my work was very difficult.⁹⁵

Soon after he arrived, Schmieder began to review the circumstances that had led to his call to western Canada in the first place. He found out that German settlers had lived in Winnipeg for many years without the services of a Lutheran pastor. He also discovered that a Lutheran pastor from St. Paul, Minnesota, had at one point tried to offer a Word and Sacrament ministry to

⁹⁴"Pastoren aus Kropp," 79.

⁹⁵Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26.

people there, but he had been unable to provide a full-time ministry to them.⁹⁶

The pastor in all likelihood had been Rolf.⁹⁷

Schmieder was also told that a significant group of immigrants from Galicia and south Russia had arrived in the fall of 1888. Their arrival had apparently done much to encourage Riedle and others to seek the assistance of the Canada Synod. That, and the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railroad link had recently been completed from the east, as well as the fact that a certain German Baptist preacher was creating problems for those wanting to remain Lutheran, only helped to heighten Schmieder's awareness of the need for his ministry. The following is his own account of these developments:

[After] the Canadian Pacific Railroad was built and the same railroad in association with the Dominion government eagerly began to work for the colonization of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, a greater stream of immigrants flowed into the land. Therefore, about 40 to 60 German families also arrived in Winnipeg in the fall of the year 1888 out of Galicia and south Russia, in order to settle in the spring in the largest sections farther westward in the territory. There appeared for the first time the urgent need of a pastor for those coming and going, the necessity of a congregational organization for the city dwellers and visitors, and the need

⁹⁶Ibid. Text: "Aus Winnipeg, von wo aus ich die nordwest-Mission in die Hand nahm, haette ich nun kurz ueber Entstehung und Bestand der hiesigen? Gemeinde folgendes zu berichten: die ersten Deutschen kamen, so weit es sich erfragen laesst, wohl schon im Jahre 1872 nach Winnipeg, welches damals erst aus etlichen Hauesern bestand, keine Eisenbahnverbindung hatte und die meisten Handesartikel auf dem Red River von St. Paul, Minn., bezog. An Zusammenschluss zu einer kirchgemeinde wurde bei den vereinzelt Deutschen damals natuerlich noch nicht gedacht; doch wurde vor etlichen Jahren einmal ein lutherischer Pastor aus St. Paul gebeten, Wort und Sakrament zu spenden."

⁹⁷According to the District records the only pastor known to have come to Manitoba from St. Paul was Rolf. In fact, at the time that Schmieder came to Winnipeg, Rolf was still serving his congregation in St. Paul.

of a house of God for the many German Lutheran Christians in the provincial capital.⁹⁸

As for the German Baptist preacher, Schmieder had the following to say:

A German Baptist missionary, who represented himself simply as "the German Preacher" to all the immigrants, had already been there for a long time and had also estranged many helpless souls from the wholesome true doctrine (reinen Lehre), because a Lutheran Pastor had for so long been lacking⁹⁹

Soon after he arrived in Winnipeg, Schmieder addressed the problem of finding appropriate facilities for congregational worship. Initially services were held in a Bible classroom in the English Presbyterian Church (St. Andrew's, then located at the corner of Princess and Logan).¹⁰⁰ But as soon as the congregation had enough money, they rented a room of their own and also purchased land for a possible church site.¹⁰¹

In those first months of ministry Schmieder also began to turn his attention to the needs of other people in the region. At first he began a few preaching stations in south Manitoba. In May he organized a congregation 230 miles northwest of Winnipeg at Langenburg.¹⁰² The following October he organized a congregation another 130 miles further west, at Edenwald, near Regina.

⁹⁸Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26.

⁹⁹Ibid. Text: "Ein deutscher Baptisten-Missionar, der sich allen Einwanderern einfach als 'der deutsche Prediger' vorstellte, war schon laengst da und machte auch manche hilflose Seele abwendig von der heilsamen reinen Lehre, aber ein lutherischer Pastor haette so lange noch gefehlt"

¹⁰⁰Ibid. See also "Der Nordwesten," Siloah 8, no. 7 (July 1889): 49.

¹⁰¹Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26.

¹⁰²Ibid., 26-27. See also Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 17.

During this time, Schmieder carried out his ministry with a great deal of enthusiasm and he used the railroads to great advantage. Like other clergymen who travelled in the west, he was able to get a free pass from the railroads for any trip over a hundred miles. For shorter trips, he was able to go half-fare.

Given the longer distance to Langenburg and the free fare, he was able to visit that colony frequently with the use of the Manitoba and Northwest Railroad. By April 1890 he reported that he had also been able to visit other German colonies to the west at Grenfell, Balgonie, Regina, and Dunmore through the use of the Canadian Pacific Railroad. Furthermore, he reported that he had also been able to visit Strassburg—the oldest German colony in Assiniboia—located fifty miles to the north of the point where the railroad passes through Regina. At the time he was also contemplating a trip to Calgary, for he wanted to visit a new large German colony that was scheduled to be established eighty miles north of the city in the following summer. In the meantime, he was still involved with visits in Manitoba itself, especially at places like Selkirk and Brandon.¹⁰³

When he was not on the road, Schmieder was back in Winnipeg conducting services and touching the lives of people who for the most part were only planning to remain there long enough to earn enough money to move further west. Trinity Church in Winnipeg lay at the crossroads. In one annual report of the German Home Mission Committee it was described as a congregation full of transients:

¹⁰³Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26-27.

The character of this congregation is peculiarly different from all the others. Winnipeg is the gate of the Canadian North-West. The German Lutheran immigrants arriving in the Fall usually stay here until Spring when most of them take up land or hire out as farm hands. During their stay at Winnipeg they are considered as belonging to our church. More than half of the membership of this congregation is, therefore, of a floating character. On the 1st of October it consisted of 130 adult persons and sixty children. There were 110 communicants. On account of the lack of room there was no parochial school, but the Sunday School is attended by fifty children.¹⁰⁴

In spite of the constant turnover in membership, the congregation developed a faithful core that seemed strong enough in time to allow Pastor Schmieder to entertain the idea of moving his residence to a more central location within the frontier region. Consequently, in May 1890 he moved his family to Edenwald near Regina.

Schmieder's first attempts at establishing a ministry to German-speaking Lutherans in the Canadian west had indeed been significant. During the fifteen months in which he had been based in Winnipeg, he had managed to raise \$900 towards a new church building, organize several other congregations and preaching stations, and strengthen communications among Lutheran people throughout the frontier region. At the same time he had also helped to organize a German newspaper based in Winnipeg called Der Nordwesten. In other words, he had almost single-handedly established a Lutheran presence in the west that would not soon be forgotten.

¹⁰⁴Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1891 (Lancaster, Ohio: Republican Printing, Co., Printers, 1891), 21-22.

Schmieder's View of His Ministry

During the month before he moved to Edenwald, Schmieder began to reflect on his ministry in western Canada since the day he first arrived. Two phrases kept running through his mind as he thought about his ministry. He felt that his was the task of "building the Kingdom of God" and of "strengthening faith" in the West. With that came the responsibility that he felt for the preservation of Lutheranism among those who up to then had only been in contact with representatives of the Baptist Church and of the Church of England:

It has meant a lot to me to emphasize the importance of the building of the Kingdom of God and of faith to the wandering inhabitants, who for the most part had only been in America for a few months, and had above all, only worldly thoughts and concerns, instead of thoughts for their eternal home. It also has meant a lot above all else, to bear in mind from the beginning the western German colonies, to whom up to now the German Baptist preacher had dedicated his services and to whom also the Church of England had already for a time directed its attention.¹⁰⁵

A year earlier he had sent a pastoral letter (Pastorales Sendschreiben) to all his fellow believers (Glaubensgenossen) in the Manitoba region. In it he outlined a strategy for "building the Kingdom" in the west from his base in Winnipeg.¹⁰⁶ He began by emphasizing the importance of the call which he

¹⁰⁵Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26. Schmieder had been predisposed to thinking about his ministry in this way; for even before he had arrived in Winnipeg, while he was informing his congregation in Philadelphia that he was accepting the call to Manitoba, he had said to them that he would be "das Reich Gottes ausbreiten helfen" (helping to expand the Kingdom of God) there. See "Meine Mission nach Manitoba," Papers, Public Archives of Canada, 3.

¹⁰⁶Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Pastorales Sendschreiben," Papers, Public Archives of Canada. This collection has been gathered in random order and consists, for the most part, of reprints of undated articles and letters written by Schmieder during his ministry in western Canada from 1889 to 1893.

had been given to serve them. In fact, even before he had received his call, he admits that he had read about the need for a ministry in western Canada and already then had felt like he was hearing the "voice of God" calling him to move to the region.¹⁰⁷

In this Pastorales Sendschreiben Schmieder presented seven major proposals to guide his ministry to the people in the Canadian west. By taking this approach he was convinced that he and his readers would be able to carry out a program for the "Aufbau des Reiches Gottes" (the building up of the Kingdom of God) in their midst.

The following is a summary of his seven proposals: (1) Given the fact that Trinity congregation in Winnipeg was the first and oldest congregation in the province, she should be supported so that new congregations with their own pastors might be formed through her efforts. (2) In all situations requiring spiritual counsel and official pastoral acts, the Glaubensgenossen could look to him—and they could also look to him for Bibles, hymn books, and catechisms. (3) Very important were devotions being held in the home; they should be continued in families and in larger circles until regular church services can occur. (4) Those wishing to hear the Word of God and to receive the Lord's Supper should get together with others and send him a letter of

Schmieder refers to the "Pastorales Sendschreiben" in his "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26, where he indicates that it was sent shortly after his arrival in Winnipeg late in February of 1889. See above page 48. For a major study of the Schmieder papers see Klaus H. Burmeister, "Pioneer Missionary in the Northwest: The Schmieder Papers 1889-1893," Essay Competition of the Association of Lutheran Archivists and Historians in Canada, 1983.

¹⁰⁷Schmieder, "Pastorales Sendschreiben," 48.

request. (5) Again it should be emphasized that the work would occur more easily and quickly if the mother church in Winnipeg is to be sought out for support. (6) To help in that support monthly or quarterly offerings ("love gifts") should be gathered and sent in from house services, family gatherings, and other God-pleasing events, wherever they might occur. (7) Finally, it was stated that anyone willing to help in the organization of a preaching station should contact him.¹⁰⁸

The Pastorales Sendschreiben concluded with a general warning to avoid pastors claiming to be "evangelical" or Lutheran, but who are not. All Glaubensgenossen were being encouraged to remain true to the faith of their fathers and to pray God's blessing upon his work in the province.

Thus, from the very beginning Pastor Schmieder and his congregation in Winnipeg were accepting ultimate responsibility for the ministry to German Lutheran settlers wherever they might be located in the western region. Schmieder seemed to have an eye for organization. With the co-operation of everyone involved, at least on paper, he seemed to have the kind of system in mind that could allow for an effective ministry to virtually anyone requesting the services of a Lutheran pastor in the West. He believed that he had been given the call to serve them, and he would do everything he could, by God's grace, to serve all of them.

In reality, he was accepting a heavy responsibility, perhaps heavier than he may have at first anticipated. During his first year of ministry, Schmieder tried to keep his word. He seemed to be travelling everywhere—

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

by rail, by wagon, even occasionally by horse. The pastoral work in Winnipeg alone became more time-consuming than he might ever have anticipated. He was impressed by the extreme poverty of the people. Again and again he discovered that many had spent their last penny to get to western Canada. In Strassburg, for example, he found that most of the settlers were "entirely destitute people . . . to whom the Canadian government had had to lend for a moderate rate of interest the capital for the supply of their farming implements."¹⁰⁹ In Winnipeg whole families were unable to travel further until they could find a way to raise the money to continue their search for a homestead. Fathers ended up cutting wood; mothers, working as maids; and children, selling newspapers.¹¹⁰ Typical is Schmieder's description of his ministry to one of the families living outside the city:

Only last week I was told of a German family who lives outside the city in a miserable, dirty wooden shack. The mother has been deathly ill for weeks, needing an operation desperately. The husband is out of work. There are also four hungry children. The man who told me about them gave me \$2.50 for these people. I approached several of my parishioners and finally came up with \$6.00. I found these people close to despair. They owed for medicine at the pharmacy and had nothing to eat. They were in desperate need of physical and spiritual assistance. I was fortunate in getting some work for the man and some nourishment for the woman. Now she has had her operation and is improving a little.¹¹¹

In another moving account he tells of a funeral he once had to perform for a set of twins. He had arrived on the previous Sunday to baptize the

¹⁰⁹Schmieder, "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26.

¹¹⁰Burmeister, 8.

¹¹¹This is Burmeister's translation of an item that appeared in the Kirkenblatt under the title "Aus Winnipeg" and dated June 13, 1889. See Burmeister, 9, and Schmieder, Papers.

children; but when he got there, he discovered that one was already dead. The other was struggling. The second twin ended up dying the next day. When Pastor Schmieder arrived for the funeral, he said it was "a moving sight. In spite of it all, I realized, that neither prayer nor the scriptures had been in vain. That is my consolation and source of strength."¹¹²

Schmieder had happy moments, too. His first Christmas in Canada turned out to be a wonderful occasion for him and his parishioners in Winnipeg. He found that the weather was just right—wintery, sunny, snowy, not too cold—"exactly the way Christmas should be."¹¹³ Some wealthy English women had remembered the poor families of his parish and had sent money and Christmas presents to be given to them. Seventy children received nice gifts, especially warm scarves, shawls, gloves, and woollen caps. Meat and bread were sent to the homes of the really destitute. On Christmas Day children sang Christmas songs and spoke their lines. They had a large Christmas tree, of course, marvelously adorned and brightly lit with candles. "Both large and small were merry and full of Christmas joy!"¹¹⁴

Not every Christmas would turn out to be that special. Two years later he would encounter a very different situation. By then he had moved to his parish in Edenwald, and it had snowed for several days. The roads were impassible. Only one family could get to the church on Christmas Day. A

¹¹²Burmeister, 10.

¹¹³Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Weihnachten in Winnipeg," Papers, The Public Archives of Canada, 11. These events occurred on Christmas, 1889.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

man, whose watch had been frozen, did not arrive until the service was over.

There were no children's songs—no gifts to share. Schmieder remarked:

Believe me when I tell you that my heart was sad. For, is it not during the blessed Christmas season that a minister should fulfill his duties with the greatest happiness and enthusiasm? How can it but depress the festive spirit if there is no congregation. That's how I felt. Of course, there was no thought of getting to Strassburg either.¹¹⁵

During those early years Schmieder found himself more and more pressed for time and awed by the sheer physical impossibility of trying to minister to everyone in the west. He had moved to Edenwald (500 miles west of Winnipeg) primarily to find a more central location from which to continue his ministry to everyone. The month before he had left for Edenwald, he was not sure if he was actually accomplishing very much:

In general, I must say . . . here in the Northwest in the Diaspora it costs for one Missionary much time, expense, and labor, to visit the brothers here and there on their farms, in a field of about 60,000 square miles. It will take a long time therefore, before something positive will be noticeable; for the results of my weak efforts are, in comparison with the labor and work employed, very meagre, as only those who are here can correctly observe.¹¹⁶

Thus, he was feeling very much alone and in need of more help in his "great, spiritual, but also rather forsaken field."¹¹⁷

He was convinced, however, that the "Northwest mission" of his church could not have begun at a better time. For once, he said, the Lutheran Church did not arrive too late. He believed, however, that it was

¹¹⁵Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Weihnachten in Edenwald," *Siloah* 2, no. 2 (February 1892): 9-10. Translation from Burmeister, 19.

¹¹⁶"Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission," 26.

¹¹⁷Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Aus Winnipeg, Manitoba" [December 3, 1889], Papers, Public Archives of Canada, 11.

. . . absolutely necessary that at least one true worker be sent immediately so that what is now held together with difficulty, will not crumble again, but will be planted ever stronger on the foundation of Jesus Christ, grow up ever more splendidly, and bring always more blessed fruits.¹¹⁸

The Mission Expands, 1890

The earliest years of mission and ministry to German Lutheran settlers in the west had been marked by valiant attempts on the part of a few to reach the many. Pastors of the Minnesota and Dakota District of the Missouri Synod had fixed their attention on Ossowa from 1878 to 1887, but they tended to look upon their ministry to the area as part of a larger ministry to Minnesota, Dakota, and the entire northwest extending into Manitoba. It was a ministry requiring more men than were actually available. When Ossowa as a settlement collapsed, so did their ministry to that area. For the moment, they simply directed their attention to other areas of the "northwest" where the need for ministry seemed to them all the more apparent and urgent.

When President Veit of the Canada Synod came to Winnipeg in December 1888, his arrival marked the beginning of a new era. It led to the call of Pastor Schmieder.

Schmieder had taken his call very seriously. Furthermore, he had assumed that it included a ministry to literally all the German Lutheran Glaubensgenossen who were coming by rail to the territory. His instructions in his Pastorales Sendschreiben made it absolutely clear that he intended to provide with the help of Trinity congregation in Winnipeg a ministry of Word and Sacrament to everyone requiring the services of a Lutheran pastor in the

¹¹⁸Ibid.

western region. When he moved to Edenwald, he continued to exercise the same sense of responsibility from a more central location, although it did require more time of him if he wanted to reach places like Langenburg and the communities of south Manitoba.

By the spring of 1890 Schmieder had definitely come to the conclusion that he needed help, and he needed it desperately. German settlers were coming in greater numbers and were moving further west and also further north. He simply could not keep up with the demands that were being placed on him. In a dramatic move, attesting to his deep commitment to his calling, he told the Canada Synod office that he would be willing to take a cut in his annual salary from \$700 to \$300 if the money could be used to place a second man in the field, preferably at Winnipeg.¹¹⁹

In June 1890 he received the news that the mission responsibilities of the Canadian west had been transferred from the Canada Synod to the German Home Missions Committee of the General Council. Presumably, the transfer would lead to better support for his mission work in western Canada. In July 1890 the Committee announced in Siloah that they had every intention of sending a second man to the field at Winnipeg.¹²⁰ In fact, the person already had been called. Plans were also underway to call a third man.¹²¹ The

¹¹⁹Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Ein Besuch," Papers, Public Archives of Canada, 10.

¹²⁰I. Steinhäuser, "Unsere Mission in Manitoba," Siloah 9, no. 7 (July 1890): 52.

¹²¹*Ibid.*

ministry of the General Council in western Canada was about to enter another phase.

Ludwig Streich

The person who had received the call to Winnipeg was Pastor Ludwig Streich, an experienced pastor who had been serving the General Council's "Kreutz" congregation at Farnham, Erie County, New York, for over five years. He appeared to be ready for the challenge and he also had a decided advantage. He had originally come from southern Russia, the birthplace of many of the settlers now coming to the region. He had also been a teacher and "Hilfsprediger" there.¹²² Therefore, he would have a natural affinity with these people. Furthermore, he had studied with Pastor Schmieder at the seminary in Kropp. Both of them had come to America from Kropp in 1885.

Streich received the call from the German Home Mission Committee on June 10, 1890. In early August, he and his family set out by train to Winnipeg via Chicago. Later he reported that a near tragedy occurred on the trip. Before they reached Chicago, his five year-old son fell off the train, but fortunately they had been able to stop the train and find him. It was a miracle that the boy had not been injured!¹²³

On August 10 they arrived in Winnipeg, and Pastor Streich immediately began his ministry to Trinity congregation. Soon he also began to serve the

¹²²Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 21. See also "Unsere Missionare und deren Arbeitsfelder," Siloah 10, no. 6 (June 1891): 42.

¹²³Ludwig Streich, "Aus Winnipeg, Manitoba," Siloah 9, no. 11 (November 1890): 86.

colonies to the northwest (Langenburg and Beresina) and also the settlements in southern Manitoba. By June of the following year he was serving three congregations—the one at Winnipeg, the one at Langenburg, and the one at Beresina—and eight preaching stations, most of which were to be found in south Manitoba.¹²⁴

Ferdinand Pempeit

The third person to enter the mission field in western Canada was a young pastor named Ferdinand Pempeit. He had been born in the Baltic provinces of Russia, and had been recently trained for the ministry at the Mission House in Berlin.¹²⁵ The Committee observed, "Pastor Pempeit has energy, he is accustomed to privation and strenuous work, and is therefore perfectly suitable for mission work among the colonies in Assiniboia."¹²⁶

On September 10, 1890, Pempeit was examined and ordained by officials of the Canada Synod in Elmira, Ontario. Four days later he arrived in Winnipeg with instructions to travel onward to his new assignment.

Pempeit had been called to serve the newly-organized congregation in Josephsburg near Dunmore (near the present-day Medicine Hat, Alberta). The Canadian Pacific went through Dunmore. Pastor Schmieder had visited the settlers in the area in August and December of the previous year, and

¹²⁴"Unsere Missionare," 41.

¹²⁵F. Nicum., "Unsere neuen Missionare," *Siloah* 9, no. 11 (November 1890): 82.

¹²⁶*Ibid.* Text: "P. Pempeit besitzt Energie, ist an Entbehrung und anstrengende Arbeit gewöhnt und eignet sich darum trefflich zum Missionsdienst unter den Kolonien in Assiniboia."

again in February of that year. A fourth visit had taken place on July 10, 1890.¹²⁷ During that visit a number of settlers in the Josephsburg area organized themselves under Schmieder's leadership into a congregation called "St. Matthaeus-Gemeinde." Also during that visit he held services in Dunmore itself, as well as in a settlement that called itself "Seven Persons."¹²⁸

Earlier Schmieder had often expressed the thought that the people in that area needed their own pastor, particularly in view of the fact that they were always in danger of falling under the influence of English "sects" or of the Baptists.¹²⁹ He also had been aware that the people had experienced a number of difficulties and disappointments and for that reason alone could benefit from the services of their own pastor.

When he had first visited them in August of 1889, he had noticed that they were poverty-stricken. They had been sleeping together for months—thirty families in one railroad shed—until their lands could be cleared and their houses built.¹³⁰ Furthermore, at the time they were experiencing a drought. Schmieder knew these people. Many of them were German-

¹²⁷For the August 1889 trip, see Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Aus der Nordwest-Mission," Papers, 18. For the November 1889 trip, see Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Aus Winnipeg, Manitoba," Papers, 10. For the February trip, see Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Aus dem canadischen Nordwest-Territorium," Papers, 63. For the July 1890 trip, see Heinrich C. Schmieder, "Unsere Nordwest-Mission," *Siloah* 9, no. 9 (September 1890): 70.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Schmieder, "Aus der Nordwest-Mission," 18. Text: "Dreissig Familien mussten in einem kleinen Eisenbahn-schuppen schlafen und die Uebrigen in Zelten. Es wuerde zu weit fuehren, wollte ich alle Einzelheiten mitteilen, was die braven Leute noch Schweres Durchgemacht, bis sie ihre Haeuser fertig gestellt und das wilde Land mit ihren Ochsen gebrochen hatten."

Austrians and Galicians who had been members of his congregation in Winnipeg before they had left to settle near Dunmore.

By the time Pempeit had received the call to serve them, they were part of a colony that had easily become one of the largest German colonies in the northwest. It now had settlers from south Russia, the Baltic provinces, Galicia, and other territories.¹³¹ Most of them were either Lutheran or "very stubborn" members of the Reformed church. A number of them were also Mennonite. From all appearances, Pempeit would have plenty of work to do when he arrived.

Only one problem remained, and it was a serious one. During their first year in the area they had tried to gain from the soil a meaningful harvest, but to no avail. During the summer of 1889 they had experienced a drought. During the summer of 1890, they experienced another one. "Crop failure followed crop failure," says Rehwinkel in his description of their life in those early years, "and the small means they had brought with them were soon consumed."¹³² They began to think about moving elsewhere.

When Pempeit arrived, he found that the people were in the midst of a decision to leave. It was a matter of deciding whether they should move back east, as far as Grenfell, or to venture further north to Edmonton. About the time Pempeit arrived, they were sending delegations to both areas to explore the possibilities. He began to serve them, therefore, at a time of indecision which subsequently became a time of indecision for him as well.

¹³¹Nicum, 82.

¹³²Rehwinkel, "The Beginnings," 111.

If the congregation should break up, where should he go? Apparently a number of people had already decided that it would be better for them to move back east to Grenfell than to either stay in Dunmore or move north to an unfamiliar area. In fact, they were so eager to leave Dunmore that they had decided to try to make it back to Grenfell before winter had set in.¹³³ Others were seriously thinking about moving to Edmonton in the spring. Still others were not ready to leave at all.

In January 1891 Pempeit reported that those who wanted to move to Edmonton were planning to leave as early as March. He asked permission to go with that particular group, and to that he received a favorable reply.¹³⁴

In February he began to encounter difficulties, however, with the Reformed who were attending his communion services at nearby Lethbridge. They wanted to receive communion while standing, according to the Reformed tradition, and therefore would not come forward for the sacrament unless they received it in their way. Pempeit was not sure what he ought to do and asked the Committee for advice. He had come from a part of eastern Europe where it was not uncommon for pastors of differing traditions to offer the sacrament according to the expectations of the recipient.

The German Home Mission Committee responded by telling him to be as friendly as possible to them. Nevertheless, he would have to explain to

¹³³Nicum, 82. They had actually been thinking of moving to another Josephsberg (slightly different spelling) in Assiniboia fifteen miles north of Grenfell. Grenfell was the train stop.

¹³⁴"Unser Missions-Werk," Siloah 10, no. 1 (January 1891): 2.

them that a Lutheran pastor cannot distribute communion in the Reformed manner.¹³⁵

In March he reported that the group would probably depart for Edmonton between April 15 and 20 (they were waiting to receive their train tickets). Pempeit, however, would probably have to wait longer because his foot had become wounded because of heavy exertion.¹³⁶ Consequently, he told the group that he would join them later.

In April a caravan of 526 farmers—many of whom were Mennonite—began the trip to Edmonton.¹³⁷ Pempeit, as expected, had remained back. The Committee then asked Pastor Streich in Winnipeg to serve the remaining Lutherans in the Dunmore area after Pempeit was to leave them. Streich, it was said, was directly located on the Canadian Pacific Railroad line and was therefore in a better position to serve Dunmore than anyone else was.

Before heading north, Pempeit first went to Winnipeg, possibly to discuss the new arrangement with Streich. On the way back, he visited Schmieder in Edenwald. He then stopped at Seven Persons and Dunmore, where only thirteen Lutheran families still remained. He then stopped at Calgary and held a worship service there before travelling north by train to

¹³⁵"Aus unsern Missionsfeldern," Siloah 10, no. 2 (February 1891): 13.

¹³⁶"Aus unsern Arbeitsfeldern," Siloah 10, no. 5 (May 1891): 38.

¹³⁷"Unsere Missionare und deren Arbeitsfelder," Siloah 10, no. 6 (June 1891): 42.

Red Deer, where he would hold another service before continuing his journey to Edmonton.¹³⁸

In the meantime the Edmonton contingent had taken the train as far as Red Deer—it went no further. From there they travelled the remaining ninety miles or so by covered wagon. A member of the group later remembered the trip as difficult, but not without signs of divine help and guidance:

The journey took about two weeks. One difficulty was to find drinking water along the road. There was some water in the sloughs, but not suitable for drinking. Then also our journey was endangered by forest fires which burned along the trail for considerable distances. But the Lord protected us, and no harm came to us. In one wagon even a child was born without interrupting in any way the progress of the journey.¹³⁹

They arrived in Edmonton in May 1891 and decided to settle in the district west of the city called Stony Plain.¹⁴⁰

They called their new settlement "Hoffnungsaus," meaning "Land of Hope" or "Hopeful Meadows."¹⁴¹ It turned out to be an appropriate name for

¹³⁸Ferdinand Pempeit, "Von Missionar F. Pempeit," *Siloah* 10, no. 7 (July 1891): 53. See also P. Schulz, "Aus Calgary, Alberta," *Siloah* 10, no. 7 (July 1891): 53-54, and reference on 55.

¹³⁹Rehwinkel, 112.

¹⁴⁰Ibid. Rehwinkel says that there were three groups within the caravan that arrived from Dumore: some German-Russians who settled in Leduc, south of Edmonton; a Reformed element that went to Beaver Hill; and the Lutheran Austrians who preferred Stony Plain.

¹⁴¹Albert H. Schwermann, "The Life and Times of Emil E. Eberhardt, Pioneer Missionary of Alberta and British Columbia, 20 April 1870 to 28 March 1957," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (January 1962): 97-98. There is some confusion in the minutes of the General Council concerning the appropriate names for Stony Plain, Hoffnungsau, and Edmonton. The minutes of 1891 talk about an "Edmanton" and a "Stony Plain." See Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 25. In 1893 there is a reference to "Edmaetar" and another to "Stony Plain, or Hoffmingson," in Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church

the new colony, for their first efforts at cultivating the land led to a fruitful harvest:

Several days after their arrival, in the early part of May 1891 they had a very heavy snowfall of six to eight inches. Some of the settlers had already started to build their homes, but they were still living in tents. Plots of land were soon cleared, hastily plowed and seeded in crop and gardens planted. The yield of first sowing were [was] enormous despite the fact that the sowing had been late and that the land had been poorly cultivated.¹⁴²

Ferdinand Pempeit finally caught up with the group a few weeks after they arrived in Stony Plain. He was impressed by the lushness of the land, the ease with which one could find water, and the fullness of the forests. When he arrived, he found them building their houses. They were also planning to build a home for him large enough that half of it could be used for a church and school.¹⁴³ In the meantime, he began conducting worship services in someone else's home.¹⁴⁴ He also opened a school.

Not long afterwards, a problem occurred with those in the group who had a Reformed church background. They suddenly decided to withdraw from his ministry, and their departure was not friendly. In fact, Pempeit

in North America, 1893 (Lancaster, Ohio: Ohio Eagle Job Printing House, 1893), 29. The Siloah reports all the names accurately, although Pempeit does not begin to use the name "Hoffnungsaus" until his report of January 2, 1892. Cf. Pempeit, Ferdinand, "Drei tausend Meilen nordwestlich von Philadelphia," Siloah 11, no. 2 (February 1892): 10-11.

¹⁴²John Herzer, Homesteading for God (Edmonton: Commercial Printers, 1946), 9.

¹⁴³Ferdinand Pempeit, "Aus Edmonton, Alberta, Siloah 11, no. 9 (August 1891): 62.

¹⁴⁴The assumption is a home. According to Schwermann, 98, Pempeit's church/parsonage was not finally completed until 1892.

reported that they had left "in an un-Christian manner," even though he had taught their children for a year.¹⁴⁵

During the following months, Pastor Pempeit began to devote his energies to the congregation at Hoffnungsau. In his spare time he also did what he could to serve other Lutherans in the greater Edmonton area. His congregation was now known as St. Matthew's in Hoffnungsau. A few months later he organized a new congregation further west at Rosenthal. During all this time Pempeit was the only resident Lutheran pastor in Alberta serving German-speaking people, and he would remain so until 1894.

Three men were now at work for the General Council in the Canadian west. They might have continued to be the only Lutheran pastors in the region had it not been for an event that occurred in the previous fall. It happened back in October while Schmieder was settled in Edenwald, Streich in Winnipeg, and Pempeit at Dunmore. A Missouri Synod pastor named Herman Brauer arrived in the territory.

¹⁴⁵Pempeit, "Aus Edmonton," 62.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE MISSOURI SYNOD RETURNS
INCIDENT AT LANGENBURG
OCTOBER 1890

Herman Brauer was a man on a mission. He had come to the Canadian west in the fall of 1890 with a destination in mind. He had not been travelling "planlos."¹⁴⁶

Brauer had been sent by the Mission Board of the Minnesota and Dakota District to investigate newspaper reports about the emergence of some very large German colonies to the northwest of Winnipeg along the Manitoba and Northwestern Railroad. According to the Milwaukee Herald and the Winnipeg Nordwesten most of the people who had been recently settling along the railroad as it cut through Assiniboia near Langenburg and Beresina were Lutheran, while the majority of those who were settling near Landshut were Roman Catholic.¹⁴⁷ However, it was not clear from these reports if any

¹⁴⁶In a report dated December 5, 1890, President Sievers said of Brauer's journey, "Er reiste aber nicht planlos und auf's Geradewohl in der Welt umher, sondern hatte sich eine Anzahl von Anhaltspunkten im Voraus notiert, wozu wir ihm mit unsern Sammlungen aus frueherer und spaetererr Zeit behueftlich gewesen waren." Published in Fr. Sievers, "Du sollst falscher Anklage nicht glauben, Und die Richter sollen wohl forschen, "Lutherisches Volksblatt 21, no. 1 (January 1, 1891): 7.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

of the newcomers claiming to be Lutheran were being served by a pastor.¹⁴⁸

Brauer, a young pastor from Pembina, Dakota (near the U.S. border) was being sent to evaluate the situation.

It had been three years since anyone from the Missouri Synod had appeared in the territory. During the intervening years the District had been concentrating its efforts on other areas of the great northwest. By 1889 it had thirty-four missionaries serving 240 preaching stations in Minnesota, Dakota, and Montana. The District was also exploring the possibility of sending a travelling preacher into the Washington territory. Glowing reports were being published about the valiant efforts of all missionaries to bring Word and Sacrament to as many people as possible in the rugged northwest.¹⁴⁹ In fact,

¹⁴⁸At the time that these reports were being published Streich had still not arrived in Winnipeg, and Schmieder had already moved to Edenwald. Meyer states: "Whether these settlers were receiving spiritual administration could not be ascertained." Meyer, 118. Sievers had also made the same point: "Darueber, ob diese Leute kirchlich versorgt oder nicht versorgt seien, fanden wir in der Zeitungsnachricht, welche wir noch dazu erst aus zweiter Hand naemlich im Milwaukee 'Herold' aus dem Winnipeg 'Nordwesten' abgedruckt fanden, (als uns das Blatt gelegentlich einmal vor Augen kam), gar nichts." Sievers, 7.

¹⁴⁹"Innere Mission," Sechster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1889), 110. One missionary in Dakota, for example, served five counties and thirteen preaching stations. He did, however, complain that his strength was giving out: "For 5 to 6 days, sometimes without food and drink, riding around on the prairie is more than a weak person can endure." (The quote is by a Pastor A. F. Mundt who was then based in Dickey County, Dakota.) *Ibid.*, 111. Another served three congregations and four preaching stations—450 people in all—on the east side of the Missouri River in southern Dakota. He reported that many of the settlers had suffered in the previous year from illness (typhus) and prairie fires; and yet, most of them continued to express a strong "desire for God and His Word." (The quote is by a Pastor A. H. Kuntz of Aurora County, Dakota.) *Ibid.*, 111. Another pastor (E. Th. Claus) was serving four congregations and six preaching stations in both Dakota and

in words reminiscent of Wyneken's appeal, the District's travelling missionaries had urged the delegates at its 1888 annual meeting to provide more fervent support for their ministry to people in the frontier:

At this year's Synodical meeting more of the travelling preachers reported orally about their work on the territory of the inner Mission in Minnesota and Dakota. Many of the brothers have more work than they can handle. Concerning this they also would leave loudly the request: "Give us helpers, so that we can supply the people in the Mission districts more richly with God's Word, as well as serve their children more with Christian School instruction than can take place under the current circumstances. Yes, send us help, so that we can hold the fields, which we occupy, and can begin work in new areas, where help is so necessary."¹⁵⁰

Indeed, they were convinced that they could use at least ten more pastors in the field, and the need was urgent.

Not the least of their concerns were those that they had for their Glaubensgenossen in western Canada who had not been reached by any of their pastors during the past few years. During that time period they knew that a number of Missouri Synod Lutheran families had been moving to the region from other parts of North America. Indeed, three months before Brauer had embarked on his exploratory journey, an announcement appeared in the Lutherisches Volksblatt—the official publication of the Missouri Synod's

Minnesota. Many of the German settlers in his area had already immigrated from Russia. *Ibid.*, 112-113.

¹⁵⁰Original Text: "Viele der Brueder haben mehr Arbeit, als sie bewaeltigen koennen. Daher sie auch die Bitte laut werden liessen: 'Gebt uns Gehuelphen, damit wir die Leute in den Missionsdistricten reichlicher mit Gottes Wort versorgen, auch ihren Kindern mehr mit christlichem Schulunterricht dienen koennen, als solches unter den jetzigen Verhaeltnissen geschehen kann. Ja, schicht uns Huelfe, damit wir die Arbeitsfelder, die wir inne haben, halten und auf neuen Gebieten, da Huelfe so dringend noethig ist, die Arbeit beginnen koennen.'" Fuenfter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts, 60.

Ontario-based Canada District—asking its readers to send the names and addresses of Missouri Synod families that were known to have recently moved from Ontario to Manitoba.¹⁵¹ They were to send the information to a pastor in Ottawa. In the same announcement the Volksblatt informed its readers that the Missouri Synod was about to enter the mission field again in Manitoba.¹⁵²

In October the Volksblatt announced in a follow-up article that "initial steps" were already being taken by the Synod to resume its work in Manitoba.¹⁵³ Although Brauer is not mentioned by name, those "initial steps" certainly would have included him. Officials of the Synod also seemed to be quite aware of the fact that the General Council was already busy at work in the Canadian west; for in the same article, the editors of the Volksblatt announced that a third missionary of the General Council was about to be sent to the western Canadian region.¹⁵⁴

When Brauer crossed the border in October of 1890, he had in his possession his own copies of newspaper reports describing the existence of new German settlements along the Manitoba and Northwestern Railroad; these reports had been sent to him by his District office. He may also have had in his possession a list of names and addresses of Missouri Synod families

¹⁵¹"Nachrichten und Bermerkungen," Lutherisches Volksblatt 20, no. 13 (July 1, 1890): 102.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³"Kirchliche Nachrichten," Lutherisches Volksblatt 20, no. 20 (October 15, 1890): 158-159.

¹⁵⁴Ibid. The mention of a third man serves as a reference, of course, to Pempeit.

who had recently moved to the region from elsewhere.¹⁵⁵ He travelled from Pembina to Winnipeg by rail, and from there to Langenburg. When he reached Langenburg, he discovered a number of Lutherans who were energetic, but poor.¹⁵⁶ He also discovered that many of them were feeling abandoned. Their need for spiritual care was very apparent. In fact, he would have held worship services for them on the spot, but he refrained from doing so when he discovered that Schmieder of the Canada Synod had already taken the necessary steps to organize two congregations in the area—one at Langenburg and another at Beresina.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, even though he remained in the area from Saturday night until Monday morning, he performed no public pastoral acts. Instead, he found out as much as he could about the spiritual needs of the settlers. It is also likely that he told some of them in the course of private conversations that his Mission Board would be willing to cover the initial costs of sending a pastor to the area if they felt that they needed one.¹⁵⁸

On the way back to Pembina he apparently visited other places where Lutheran families had settled, even places where the missionaries of the General Council had never been; for when he returned home, he filed a favorable report stating that he had found many Lutherans in the Canadian

¹⁵⁵It is quite clear that he had a list, and it is probable that the list contained names and addresses drawn from the files of the Canada District and of his own District. Sievers later noted that Brauer had "eine Anzahl von Anhaltspunkten im Voraus notiert" when he entered the territory. Sievers, 7.

¹⁵⁶See Berthold's later descriptions of the settlement, quoted in this paper, below on pp. 91-92.

¹⁵⁷See Sievers, 7.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

west who were not being served by a pastor.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, he strongly urged "that a full-time missionary be sent to develop the field."¹⁶¹

But what about the work of the General Council in the territory? Had Brauer overlooked the fact that their very presence in the region might serve as a deterrent to any effective ministry that he or others might want to undertake there in the future? Threinen suggests not, and he does so for the following reasons:

The fact that missionaries of the General Council were already at work on the territory could not have escaped Brauer. Yet the number and size of the existing rural German communities and the anticipated flood of additional Lutheran immigrants must have convinced him that there was sufficient work for both bodies. Indeed, the presence of another Lutheran body at work in a promising territory where the Missouri Synod had staked a claim a decade earlier may have added to the urgency of placing a missionary on the field.¹⁶¹

Under the circumstances, there can be little doubt that Brauer had grasped the importance of placing a missionary in the field. Particularly in an area as vast as the Canadian west and at a time when a number of Missouri Synod and other settlers were moving to the region, it would have been difficult for him not to sense the enormous potential for ministry that now existed there.

Moreover, it would not have been hard for Brauer to imagine that two Lutheran church bodies could be at work in the same territory. After all, the General Council and the Missouri Synod had both established congregations in eastern Canada, in his own Dakota, and in other parts of the United States—and often in districts where the other was at work—and still the

¹⁵⁹Threinen, *A Sower*, 14.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 15.

harvest continued to seem plentiful and the laborers few. Therefore, it probably would not have occurred to Brauer that any particular problems could arise if the Missouri Synod were to resume its work in western Canada then. The earth was the Lord's and the fullness thereof, and any mission field could certainly be viewed as "open territory." In fact, there was nothing in the doctrine and practice of the Missouri Synod that could be found to contradict that view of mission and ministry.

The General Council, on the other hand, had developed by then a very different view of the way mission and ministry should be carried out in the Canadian frontier. For nearly two years they had the entire western Canadian region to themselves. They had grown comfortable with the idea that the territory was "theirs." With every good intention Schmieder had mapped out a strategy of mission development that simply assumed that the Council had a responsibility to reach all the "Glaubensgenossen" who might be settling in the west. In recent months Streich and Pempeit had arrived to assist him in his efforts to carry out that plan—proof of the fact that the plan, as far as they were concerned, was still viable and working out to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Thus, a gap had arisen in the way the two synods were thinking about their potential for mission and ministry in the west, and they had certainly not been talking to one another about it. The minute that Herman Brauer crossed the border in the fall of 1890, he may not have realized it at the time, but his mere presence in the territory would be creating a problem for the General Council. As far as Brauer was concerned, he was only conducting a rather

routine and exploratory journey—no more, no less. From the Council's point of view, however, he was invading a territory which by now almost certainly appeared to belong to them.

Such a clash in perspectives, born of differing views of mission and ministry, was bound to lead to problems as the Missouri Synod tried to re-establish its ministry to people in that region. The stage had already been set for a conflict that was in many respects inescapable. In its initial stages, the battle would be waged for the most part in print.

The Battle in Print – Phase One

In fact, the battle in print was already beginning to be fought before the General Council had become aware of the fact that the Missouri Synod had actually returned to the Canadian west.

It all began when officials of the Council happened to see the mid-October issue of the Volksblatt, which only announced that Missouri was taking "einleitende Schritte" (initial steps) to come to Manitoba again.¹⁶² In other words, they were only thinking about coming back and beginning their plans to return. Such a course of action, complained J. Nicum, the secretary of the Council's German Home Mission Committee in an article he then wrote for the Herold und Zeitschrift, would be "wider Gottes Wort" (against God's Word) in 1 Peter 4:15 and "wider die Liebe, nach dem Worte Christi, Matth.

¹⁶²For a full report of the Council's reaction and Missouri's response see "Die Kurze Nachricht," Lutherisches Volksblatt 20, no. 22 (November 15, 1890): 175.

7:12" (against love, according to Christ's Word in Matthew 7:12).¹⁶³ Moreover, it would be "unbillig" (costly), he said.¹⁶⁴ In any case, did not the Missouri Synod have enough trouble trying to fill the requests of their own congregations, many of which were vacant and in need of a pastor, argued Nicum, without having to worry about ministering in an area that was already being served?¹⁶⁵

Nicum had been using Scripture to suggest that Missouri was contemplating a course of action that was uncharitable and wrong. For example, the First Peter passage in its context is about Christian suffering. There Peter encourages Christ's followers to endure, even to rejoice in their sufferings, as long as they were not suffering as murderers, thieves, criminals, or even as meddlers. Matthew 7:12 records the admonition of Jesus commonly known as the "Golden Rule" ("Do unto others as you would have them do unto you"). Nicum's point was rather obvious. Clearly he was wanting to suggest that any involvement of the Missouri Synod in the west could only be viewed as either a criminal act or at the very least as a matter of "meddling" in places where they did not belong. According to Nicum, it would not even be the "loving thing" for them to do. Such admonitions from Nicum, of course, could only be persuasive to those who had already bought the assumption that the Canadian west belonged to him and to the members of his church.

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

Missouri Responds

When the editors of the Volksblatt read Nicum's attack, they immediately published a rebuttal which, in their opinion, struck at the heart of the argument that he had used. Their November 15 response mainly faulted him for operating with the premise that "das ganze ungeheure Gebiet des Nord-Westen" (the entire enormous territory of the Northwest) belonged to the Canada Synod.¹⁶⁶ Such a point of view, they said, they could never accept. Indeed, if they did, they would have to accept the view that they had no right to serve their own members who had moved to the west. But such a view to them would be unthinkable, and could only be held by someone who at the height of arrogance was trying to prevent the Missouri Synod from exercising a ministry that was rightfully theirs to perform.

Lurking in the background of Nicum's argument, they said, was an old assumption that had troubled eastern Missouri Synod Lutherans for years: namely, the assumption that "Lutheran Christianity in Canada belonged only to the Canada Synod." According to the Volksblatt, it was precisely that kind of assumption that had been used to fuel the oft-repeated complaint that Missourians had been wrongly officiating and vainly setting up "opposition altars" wherever they went.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Ibid. Original text: [They continue to argue that] "die lutherische Christenheit in Canada allein der Canada-Synod zugehoert, und dass insonderheit die Missourier nur mit Unricht hier amtiren und eitel 'Gegenaltaere' errichten."

The editors of the Volksblatt were obviously of the point of view that such arguments were wrong because they were inspired by assumptions about the world and about ministry that in themselves were incorrect. Moreover, they claimed that they at least had the decency in mid-October to announce that the Canada Synod had begun to do mission work in Manitoba without uttering a single complaint or questioning the right of the Canada Synod to be there.¹⁶⁸

The Battle Escalates

The next round of the battle occurred when the news about Brauer's journey actually reached the offices of the General Council's Canada Synod. Up to then, the quarrel in print had only been dealing with the theoretical possibility of a Missouri Synod return to the west. In December the Canada Synod's Kirkenblatt contained an article announcing that someone from Missouri had actually arrived in the west.

According to the article, a "Missouri man" named Brauer had tried to "force himself" upon the Council's congregation in Langenburg.¹⁶⁹ In fact, President Veit of the Canada Synod had just received a letter to that effect

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

¹⁶⁹See Sievers, 6. Das Canadisches Kirchenblatt was the official organ of the General Council's Canada Synod. It had existed since 1869—two years before Das Lutherisches Volksblatt first appeared. Since the former delighted in criticizing the Missouri Synod, the Volksblatt, according to Threinen, "became an important means by which the Missouri Synod in Canada could answer charges and counter-attack." See Norman J. Threinen, Like a Mustard Seed (Kitchener: Ontario District, 1989), 19. An example of the thrust and counter-thrust was becoming very evident in all reports having to do with Brauer's visit that were being published now.

from the secretary of the congregation in Langenburg indicating that Brauer had offered to send them a pastor at little or no cost.¹⁷⁰ As a result of these developments, Veit said that he would be looking into the situation as soon as possible and would later be reporting back.

In the following month a more detailed account of the incident appeared in Siloah. According to the report Brauer had actually approached individual members of the congregation in Langenburg.¹⁷¹ Directing all their attention on that fact, the editors of Siloah complained that the intruder had not been given a call to serve that congregation. According to Siloah, Brauer had even insinuated that the pastors and congregations of the General Council were "unfortunately not proper Lutherans," and that only "Missourians in contrast had the pure doctrine!"¹⁷² In view of the situation, the fact that the congregation at Langenburg had turned down his offer of assistance should have been proof enough, said the editors of Siloah, that Brauer had no business being there.

Before concluding the article, they complained that Brauer's visit was actually only the first phase of an overall plan of Missouri to "intrude" on a territory where they did not belong.¹⁷³ Consequently, Pastors Schmieder and

¹⁷⁰Sievers, 6.

¹⁷¹"Unsere Nord-West-Mission—Missourischer Eingriff," Siloah 10, no. 1 (January 1891): 1.

¹⁷²Ibid., 2.

¹⁷³Ibid. Throughout the article the word "Eingriff"—with its negative connotations of interference, infringement and encroachment—is used to describe the Missouri Synod and its intentions to offer a ministry to people in a territory that is described as the Council's "Missionsgebiet."

Streich, said the article, had decided to lodge a formal complaint with the synodical authorities in St. Louis denouncing any and all attempts Brauer may have made to minister to people there.¹⁷⁴

Missouri Provides a More Official Response

While the editors of Siloah were preparing this most recent complaint about Missouri, the editors of the Volksblatt had decided to invite Minnesota and Dakota District President F. Sievers to provide a more official response to all the recent charges that were being made by the General Council about the activities of the Missouri Synod in western Canada. Accordingly, the January 1 issue of the Volksblatt carried the full text of his response, and it was obvious from Sievers' account of the matter that he had seen Brauer's report and was prepared to share his side of the story.

Sievers began his response by reminding Canada Synod President Veit that he might have had the common decency to contact Brauer personally before circulating unsubstantiated rumors about the man. In fact, even if President Veit's version of the incident had been true, he could at least have given the Missouri Synod an opportunity to censure one of its own members—if a reprimand had been warranted—before going to press.¹⁷⁵

Furthermore, after looking into the matter, Sievers could say that he had found no reason to censure Brauer at all. "Ganz arglos" (entirely innocently) had the District Office sent newspaper reports about new

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Sievers, 6.

Lutheran settlements in the region to Brauer.¹⁷⁶ Sievers could personally attest to that fact. And "ebenso arglos" (just as innocently) had Brauer acted on those reports.¹⁷⁷ When he entered the territory, said Sievers, he really did not know what to expect. Although it was clear that he did eventually come across members of Pastor Schmieder's congregations in Langenburg and Beresina, he really did not try to force himself on those congregations at all, reported Sievers. If he had, he would have tried to minister to them on the spot. As a matter of fact, said Sievers, when Brauer discovered that Schmieder had already taken the necessary steps to organize congregations in the area, he decided not to conduct any public pastoral acts there at all.¹⁷⁸

Consequently, from Sievers' point of view, Brauer could not be faulted in any way for the manner in which he had conducted his missionary journey in the western Canadian territory. On the contrary, he accused Veit of being uncharitable in his treatment of Brauer and unfair in his interpretation of the events that had happened there. Furthermore, taking up the challenge that had already been made in the November issue of the Volksblatt, Sievers could not see how the Missouri Synod could be accused of acting improperly or against love if it happened to be working in the same territory where another synod was at work—particularly if that synod were not united with Missouri in doctrine and practice.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 7.

¹⁷⁷Ibid.

¹⁷⁸Ibid. Sievers reported of Brauer's movements: "Er fuerchtete sich der Suende, und die Warnung des Apostles vor Eingriff in ein fremdes Amt baendigte seinen so loeblichen Missionseifer, und hielt denselben auch in diesem 'ecleranten Fall' in den richtigen, gottwohlgefaelligen Schranken."

Should Missouri deal so faithlessly with her own members, he argued, as to place them in the arms of the Canada Synod if those same members really wanted to remain under their own Synod's care? "Never," he cried.¹⁷⁹ And if the Canada Synod should try to argue that they had been in Manitoba first and therefore should be able to have jurisdiction over the entire territory, it was a documented fact, he said, that Missouri had actually been in the territory first.¹⁸⁰ But having said that, he did not believe that it mattered much who had entered the territory first. As far as he was concerned, all such arguments were irrelevant because they assumed that both church bodies had come to an agreement on the terms under which mission and ministry should be allowed to occur in any given place, and such an agreement had never taken place.¹⁸¹

Had Brauer tried to convince any of the members of the congregations at Langenburg and Beresina to request the services of the Missouri Synod? It was difficult to say. Although he could not find a word about it in Brauer's report, Sievers was willing to concede that Brauer might have informed a few persons in private conversation that the Missouri Synod did not normally require a mission congregation to pay their pastor a salary until they had the

¹⁷⁹Sievers, 7.

¹⁸⁰Ibid. Text: "Wir Missouriier haben bereits vor 11 Jahren angefangen in Manitoba Mission zu treiben, haben zeit Fruehjahr 1879 dort missionirt, indem wir von einer Zeit zur andern Reiseprediger dorthin entsandten."

¹⁸¹Ibid.

ability to do so. But that, in itself, would not have constituted a breach in proper pastoral practice on his part.¹⁸²

Had Brauer in the course of his conversations tried to suggest that the General Council was not as confessionally sound as Missouri was? Sievers does not say. It would not have been surprising, however, if Brauer had left that impression; for the two church bodies at the time were obviously not in fellowship with each other and had often on other occasions gone out of their way to indicate where they believed the other was doctrinally at fault. The current conflict, in fact, was certainly providing a case in point.

Later reports in Siloah would indicate that Brauer had in the course of his visit shown to a land agent certain sections of a Missouri Synod publication that had been critical of the teachings of the General Council and of other churches.¹⁸³ Had Brauer actually used that publication in his discussions with that land agent and with other people in the area? Sievers does not say; but again, given the specificity of later complaints about it, it is certainly possible, and even likely, that he had.

¹⁸²Ibid., 7. Text: "Ob nun Hr. P. Brauer vielleicht im Privatgespräch etwas davon hat verlauten lassen, dass die Missouri-Synode von einem Haeuflein blutarmer Glaubensgenossen nicht verlange, sie sollten einen Jahresgehalt von 400 Dollars aufbringen, ehe ihnen ein Pastor zugesagt werden koenne, das weiss ich nicht. --Moeglich waere das ja, und unrecht waere das an sich selbst auch nicht. Doch sein Bericht sagt nichts davon."

¹⁸³"Nachrichten aus unsern Missionsfeldern," Siloah 10, no. 3 (March 1891): 22-23. Brauer had probably had in his possession a copy of the 1889 edition of Johannes T. Grosse's Unterscheidungslehren der hauptsaechlichsten sich lutherisch nennenden Synoden sowie der namhaftesten Sectenkirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1889). The land agent's name was Riedle.

Finally, had Brauer actually tried to lure the congregations in question away from the Canada Synod by making a gratuitous offer on behalf of the Missouri Synod to serve them? Later objections from the General Council would continue to fasten on that point, although even then they would have to concede the fact that at the moment when Brauer had been talking to the people in Langenburg and Beresina, neither of those "congregations" had actually reached the point of formally deciding "to connect themselves with the Canada Synod."¹⁸⁴ Nor had they formally asked the Canada Synod to supply them a pastor of their own. Nevertheless, the Council's German Home Mission Committee would continue to make the claim that Brauer had "endeavored to induce" these "congregations" away from the ministry of the Canada Synod by extending a "gratuitous" offer to them.¹⁸⁵

On the other hand, such an inducement (assuming that it had taken place) would hardly have been an unusual offer for any congregation that did not have the ability to pay a pastor. As a matter of fact, it was common practice for both church bodies to serve in the mission field "gratuitously" until congregations were able to become self-supporting. Indeed, all three of the General Council men who were then serving in the territory were being supported for the most part by their own Mission Board. Only Streich was being paid a supplemental income by his congregation in Winnipeg because of the large family that he had to support and also due to the fact that Trinity

¹⁸⁴Minutes of the Twenty-third Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1891 (Lancaster, Ohio: Republican Printing Co., Printers, 1891), 23.

¹⁸⁵Ibid.

congregation actually had the resources to help him out.¹⁸⁶ Therefore, on the issue of the so-called "gratuitous" offer, any implication of "foul" play on Brauer's part would not appear to have been warranted.

The Battle Winds Down

From all appearances, Sievers' response in the January 1 issue of the Volksblatt had dealt with almost every complaint about Brauer's visit that had been raised to date. Of course, he probably would have been surprised if he thought he was going to have the last word.

Further articles would appear from both sides in the religious press before the controversy would be allowed to die down. For example, the February issue of Siloah would claim that President Sievers could not have sent Brauer into Manitoba and Assiniboia unaware of the fact that the General Council had already been at work among the people who were settled there.¹⁸⁷ In its mid-February issue the Volksblatt responded by repeating what Sievers had already said.¹⁸⁸ In January he had indicated that he had not known before Brauer went on his journey the full extent to which the General Council had been at work among immigrants who had recently arrived in the area in question. After all, the Canadian frontier was a vast domain, and populations always seemed to be in a state of flux. Furthermore, the editors of the Volksblatt were also quick to point out that the General Council, by its own

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 22

¹⁸⁷"Jener missourische Eingriff," Siloah 10, no. 2 (February 1891): 14.

¹⁸⁸"Auf Den Artikel des Herrn Praeses Sievers," Lutherisches Volksblatt 21, no. 3 (February 15, 1891): 31.

admission, had not yet even secured a commitment from those congregations and those members whom they had begun to serve. Indeed, it took a later visit from Streich to convince the congregations that they ought to join the General Council, become formally linked with its Canada Synod, and call a pastor. Until then, said the Volksblatt, both congregations would have been free to ask Brauer to send them a Missouri Synod pastor if they had been so inclined.¹⁸⁹

Finally, in its March issue Siloah carried a follow-up article about conversations that had occurred between Brauer and a land agent about fine points of doctrine.¹⁹⁰ The article concluded with the usual flurry of denunciations, and with that the long series of exchanges in print concerning the visit of Brauer came to an abrupt end.

By April the controversy had been allowed to take its course. At the heart of the conflict, as we have seen, had been two views of mission and ministry that really could not be reconciled to one another. One view assumed that the Canadian west should be considered "open" territory, free to be explored for its mission possibilities by any who had the desire to serve there. The other view assumed that the Canadian west would be better served, as far as any Lutheran ministry was concerned, by a single group.

Such a view would not have been entirely inconsistent with some of the consistorial or territorial views of mission and ministry that were being held in areas of eastern Europe from which many of the immigrants had come. For

¹⁸⁹Ibid.

¹⁹⁰"Nachrichten aus unsern Missionsfeldern," 22.

example, German Lutherans in Russia had been made to function under a consistorial system for many years. Those from the eastern parts of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire had a similar experience in church organization.

The Missouri Synod, on the other hand, had adopted the more "open" view. It did not seem to matter to them that they had actually been the first or the last to conduct a ministry in the Canadian west. Indeed, one of the ironies of the situation that had developed since they had left Ossowa and then returned in the person of Herman Brauer is that they never seemed to be thinking that it mattered when they had come or gone, or even that they had been there first. Sievers had been adamant on that point.

Nor did it seem to matter to them if others should happen to be at work in a territory where they were also at work. They simply believed that God was calling them to minister to people anywhere and everywhere they could. The Great Commission was urging them to preach the Gospel in all the world. From their perspective, the only limits or boundaries that could be placed on that calling were those that had been clearly laid down in God's Word. Indeed, that had been their view of mission and ministry from the very beginning. Nothing had happened recently to change their thinking on that point. Given the circumstances in which the Saxon fathers of the Missouri Synod had left Germany earlier in the century—opposed as they were to the territorial uniting of churches who were not really united in doctrine and practice—it is certainly not surprising that they might have maintained that point of view.

The General Council, on the other hand, had developed, as we have seen, a more territorial view of ministry, at least when it came to their thinking about the kind of ministry that should be conducted in the Canadian west. It did not seem to occur to them that they had actually held an entirely different point of view while conducting an exploratory missionary journey in an area where the Missouri Synod had already been, though somewhat feebly, at work (the Dakota territory).¹⁹¹ There they had adopted a more open view. In the Canadian west, however, Pastor Schmieder and his fellow Council members were clearly of the opinion, as has been noted, that the Gospel would be better served if others would stay out.

The Sequel

Months later, at the Council's next convention in Buffalo, New York, all comment about Brauer's visit was reduced to a few lines. Commenting on the fact that the congregations at Langenburg and Beresina were now safely in the fold, the German Home Mission Committee of the Council stated,

Last Fall both congregations resolved to connect themselves with the Canada Synod and united in requesting your committee to send them a pastor. This action they took after a certain Missouri pastor had visited the settlements and endeavored to induce the people to call a minister belonging to his Synod, offering as an inducement that he would serve them gratuitously. They declined with thanks.¹⁹²

The next missionary to be assigned to the field by the General Council would therefore be placed in Langenburg. In fact, he had been scheduled to arrive in the summer of 1891. His name was Emil Berthold.

¹⁹¹See above, pages 34 to 38.

¹⁹²Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 23.

CHAPTER SIX
NEW DEVELOPMENTS, NEW CHALLENGES
1891 - 1892

Berthold at Langenburg

Berthold arrived in July of 1891. His call to Langenburg would have been his first. He, like Pempeit, had been a native of Germany and had also recently studied at the Mission House in Berlin.¹⁹³

As he settled in the area, he discovered that his life was not going to be an easy one. For example, three months after he had arrived, his Mission Board had still not been able to provide him with the kind of transportation that he needed to carry out his work. In their report to the October convention they admitted that they had not been able to look after the new missionary in an appropriate manner:

Your committee has so far not been able to provide the missionary with horse and wagon. The consequence is he has to travel over large distances, and was several times disabled by sore feet.¹⁹⁴

Moreover, they were also aware of the fact that he had a large territory to cover, and the people he was serving were so poor that he could hardly rely on them for financial support:

It will be seen that this is a very large field for one missionary to take care of. The people mostly live in sod houses. They are all heavily in debt. They hoped to realize a handsome return from the harvest this year, but

¹⁹³Ibid.

¹⁹⁴Ibid.

the frosts in August have ruined wheat, corn, and other products. Our missionary lives in a small room with one of the farmers and pays \$4.50 per week for board. The people are not able to do anything towards his support. Mr. Berthold receives \$300 per annum.¹⁹⁵

Berthold received, in fact, the lowest stipend in the west. Salaries ranged from \$300 to \$800 among pastors of the Council, the highest being paid at Winnipeg.¹⁹⁶

To his credit, he was willing to labor—like his people—under difficult circumstances. In his first report to the Mission Board, however, he admitted that life on the prairie could be a real struggle for all of them:

The prairie itself is treeless, swampless, and wavy. The people have to count on the profits from their harvest, which they find they hardly seem to have enough of, to build their homes—which resemble old huts. Everything is primitive. With great want everyone has to struggle.¹⁹⁷

As the summer wore on, he continued to serve his congregations at Langenburg and Beresina, while also trying to minister to the people at the nearby colonies of Ebenezer and of Seaborn, and as often as he could.

The Ministry of the Council Elsewhere

In the meantime, the other pastors of the General Council were still very much involved in their efforts to serve all the other people in the western Canadian region.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., 24. ¹⁹⁶Ibid.

¹⁹⁷E[mil] G. Berthold, "Aus Langenburg und Beresina, Assa.," Siloah 10, no. 9 (September 1891): 67. Text: "Die Praerie selbst ist baum- und sumpflös und wellenfoermig. Die Leute haben viel auf ihre Ernteertraege gerechnet, damit die wenigstens imstande sind, ihre Wohnungen, welche alten Schuppen gleichen, auszubessern. Alles ist im Entstehen begriffen. Mit viel Not haben alle zu kaempfen."

For example, Streich continued to expand his ministry to southern Manitoba from his base in Winnipeg. In June he reported that he had preaching stations in Gretna, Morden, Plum Coolee, Rosenhof, and Gruenthal. Moreover, he was still ministering to a few families twenty miles north of Winnipeg at Selkirk.¹⁹⁸ In July, he reported that the mother congregation in Winnipeg had just purchased a lot to build a new church.¹⁹⁹ On August 9 the cornerstone for the new church building was being laid.²⁰⁰

During the same time period Pempeit had begun to consolidate his ministry in Alberta. In May he reported that he still had a wounded foot. In June he wrote that he had visited Josephsburg, Dunmore, Lethbridge, and Seven Persons. By then he had also arrived in Hoffnungsau (Stony Plain). In August he issued his first report from his new parish in Hoffnungsau indicating that he and his people were very pleased with the area where they had settled:

This district already seems very excellent to all. As a matter of fact, there exists here an entirely other world from the one that is found in Josephsburg, Assiniboia. One does not experience here those great continuous winds; nor has there been experienced here any lack of rain up to now, for since I have arrived, it has already rained several times. The land is also very fruitful; the grass is quite high, and the early planted

¹⁹⁸"Unsere Missionare und deren Arbeitsfelder," 41.

¹⁹⁹"Aus Winnipeg, Man.," *Siloah* 10, no. 7 (July 1891): 53.

²⁰⁰Ludwig Streich, "Ecksteinlegung in Winnipeg," *Siloah* 10, no. 9 (September 1891): 69-71. At the cornerstone laying ceremony, Rev. P. J. Bjarnason, president of the Icelandic Synod and pastor of a congregation in Winnipeg, spoke in his native tongue. Rev. P. Bergmann, of Gardar, North Dakota, made an English address, and Rev. E. Berthold of Langenburg followed in German.

wheat is very good. Also one finds water everywhere, and there is also wood in abundance.²⁰¹

In the meantime, while the others were expanding their ministries in other parts of the prairies, Schmieder was consolidating his ministry in south-central Saskatchewan. He now had congregations in Edenwald, Josephsburg, and Strassburg. He also had preaching stations at Regina, Longlaketon, and in a German Russian colony near Balgonie. In June he was pleased to lay a cornerstone for a new church building in Edenwald.

In August, as he wrote a report about a visit he had just made to Strassburg, Schmieder took the opportunity to reflect on his work in all the colonies of the Canadian west. While he was pleased with the progress they had all been making since his arrival in 1889, he was of the firm opinion—given the continuing rise in immigration in the west—that they needed more workers:

To none of these German colonies had a Lutheran Pastor ever come in a visiting manner since my entrance into this field of labor. The Canadian Northwest had, like hardly any other region, been left in the saddest way spiritually and congregationally destitute. Except when a German Baptist missionary came to Strassburg from time to time to preach false doctrine, one can name no spiritual and congregational provisions at all. Furthermore, the Church of England could not bring to the poor people what they required for their hearts and houses, and for their souls. Consequently, if I have found it to be not an entirely easy field of labor since I was sent here 2 1/2 years ago, the friendly reader will believe me. Since our Church has gotten a firm foothold here through over two years of zealous activity in all

²⁰¹Pempeit, "Aus Edmonton, Alberta," 62. Text: "Jetzt gefaellt aber schon allen diese Gegend ganz ausgezeichnet. Es ist hier auch in der That eine ganz andere Welt als in Josephsburg, Assiniboia. Nichts erfahrt man hier von dem grossen anhaltenden Winde; kein Mangel an Regen ist bis jetzt zu spueren gewesen, denn seit ich hier bin, hat es schon mehrere Male geregnet. Das Land ist auch sehr fruchtbar; das Gras ist recht hoch und der fruehgesaete Weizen sehr gut. Auch findet man Wasser ueberall und Wald gibt es auch in Fuelle."

the colonies formed up to now, the work has become in certain respects easier, but it is at the same time with the enormous rise in immigration also growing, so that the old lament is always new and never ceasing: The harvest is plentiful, but the labourers are few!²⁰²

As the summer of 1891 drew to a close, the General Council now had four missionaries serving in the west from Winnipeg to Stony Plain. Among them eight congregations and twenty-five preaching stations had been established, with a total of 1,900 souls under their care.²⁰³ As far as they knew, they were the only missionaries with a ministry to German-speaking Lutherans in the west. This was the situation on the frontier when Herman Buegel arrived in Winnipeg in September of 1891.

Herman Buegel, Missionary to the West

Herman Buegel was about to become the first resident missionary of the Missouri Synod ever to serve in the Canadian west. He was twenty-two years

²⁰²H[einrich] C. Schmieder, "Strassburg in Assiniboia," Siloah, 10, no. 8 (August 1891), 58. Text: "Zu keiner dieser deutschen Ansiedelungen war vor meinem Eintritt in dieses Arbeitsfeld unsrer Kirche jemals auch nur besuchsweise ein lutherischer Pastor gekommen. Der canadische Nordwesten war eben, wie kaum eine andere Gegend, in traurigster Weise geistlich verlassen und kirchlich unversorgt! Denn dass nach Strasburg einmal and oefters ein deutscher Baptistenmissionar kam und falsche Lehren predigte, kann man ja doch keine geistliche oder kirchliche Versorgung nennen! Auch konnte die Church of England den armen Leuten nicht das bringen, was sie fuer ihre Herzen und Haeuser, fuer ihre Seelen bedurften. Dass ich infolgedessen, als ich vor 2 1/2 Jahren hier hergesandt wurde, kein ganz leichtes Arbeitsfeld fand, wird mir der freundlich Leser glauben. Nachdem jetzt unsre Kirche durch ueber 2 jaehrige eifrige Thaetigkeit hier in allen seither entstandenen Anfiedlungen festen Fuss gefasst hat, ist die Arbeit in gewisser Hinsicht wohl leichter geworden, aber sie ist gleichzeitig mit der enorm steigenden Einwanderung auch gewachsen, so dass die alte Klage immer neu wird und nicht aufhoeret: Die Ernte ist gross, aber der Arbeiter sind wenige!"

²⁰³Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 21.

old when he arrived in Winnipeg, and he was being called by his District to serve as "Missionary to Manitoba and bordering Territories."²⁰⁴

Buegel had been sent to western Canada as a result of Brauer's recommendations in the previous fall. After the Mission Board of the Minnesota and Dakota District had read Brauer's report, they were convinced that they needed someone young and energetic to resume their work in the field. Consequently, they decided to ask Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, for a candidate. Buegel was their choice.

As he stepped off the train on the morning of September 2, 1891, Buegel was appropriately accompanied by Brauer, who had come to introduce the candidate to his new field. They then proceeded to the home of W. Riedle, a real estate agent who had become alienated from the ministry of the General Council and who had made contact with Brauer a year earlier during his exploratory trip.²⁰⁵ There Buegel was officially installed by Brauer to carry out the ministry to which he had been called.

Following the installation they held a meeting with Andreas Helm, a local Lutheran who was interested in supporting a new Missouri Synod

²⁰⁴Herman Meyer, 118.

²⁰⁵Riedle was the man who had been persuaded by Brauer and by arguments from Grosse's book that the General Council was wrong about its views on church government. (See above pp. 86 and 89.) He had apparently urged the immigrants in Langenburg not to associate their congregation with the General Council. Streich, in turn, had accused him of wrongdoing in his dealings with immigrants. Given Riedle's growing sympathies with the Missouri Synod, Streich had begun a public campaign to discredit him. See "Nachrichten aus unsern Missionsfeldern," 22-23.

mission.²⁰⁶ It was decided at that meeting that Buegel should reside in Winnipeg and develop a ministry to the western territories with that city serving as his base.²⁰⁷

In the evening Buegel held his first worship service in Riedle's home. A large group of German Russians invited by Helm were there.²⁰⁸ From all appearances, Buegel's ministry had a good start, and a significant number of people were already indicating that he had their support.

The next day, however, he had a surprise encounter with Ludwig Streich. Streich told Buegel in no uncertain terms that he had no business trying to begin a ministry in Winnipeg or anywhere else in the west. Indeed, Streich even had the temerity to tell Buegel to leave.²⁰⁹ Buegel, however, was not to be deterred by such an attack. The following Sunday afternoon he held a publicly-announced worship service in a local German Baptist church. Two days later he began his first missionary journey into the territory to the west.

During this first journey Buegel took the train west to Poplar Point, Douglas, and Brandon. It was near Poplar Point that the old Ossowa

²⁰⁶Threinen, A Sower, 15.

²⁰⁷Buegel from the beginning had realized the strategic value of being based in Winnipeg, for a Winnipeg base provided him an opportunity to have easy access to other places in the west. It was also the first point of contact for all immigrants, many of whom Buegel would have an opportunity to meet before they moved on to settle elsewhere. See Herman Buegel, "Bericht ueber unsere Mission in Manitoba und Assiniboia," Lutherisches Volksblatt 23, no. 7 (March 23, 1893): 50. Text: "Winnipeg, als die Hauptstadt des Nord-westens, ist der Ort, welchem jeder neue Ansiedler erst zusteuert; hier kann man alle Einwanderer zuerst antreffen, von hier aus kann man auch leicht alle Staedte und Ortschaften in Manitoba und den Territorien erreichen."

²⁰⁸Ibid.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 16.

settlement had been established. As he talked to people along the way, he learned that a group of Lutherans from Ontario had settled about 200 miles northwest of Winnipeg at Binscarth. He also learned of a group of twenty families from South Dakota about 110 miles further to the northwest at Sheho Lake. Thereupon, Buegel took a second missionary journey in early October, establishing congregations at Binscarth and at Sheho Lake. It was about that time that he also organized preaching stations at four locations in southwest Manitoba: Virden, Boissevain, Kemnay, and Melita.²¹⁰

An interesting pattern seemed to be emerging in these early missionary journeys. Buegel appeared to be going to places where the General Council had not been particularly active. Indeed, none of the places that Buegel visited in those early months had received more than minimal contact, if any, from Streich, Berthold, or Schmieder. Only Brandon and Poplar Point had been routinely visited by them, and even then, not more than six or seven families had been served by them at either location.²¹¹

Buegel later reported that it had been his intention from the beginning to minister to people who were not being served by anyone.²¹² His ministry in Winnipeg had been to Lutherans "who belonged to no church and congregation, and who also wanted to have nothing to do with the existing congre-

²¹⁰Ibid., 15. See Herman Meyer, 119.

²¹¹Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 21-24. See also Berthold, 67 and "Unsere Missionare und Deren Arbeitsfelder," 41-43.

²¹²Herman Buegel, "Bericht ueber unsere Mission in Manitoba und Assiniboia," 50-51.

gation of the Canada Synod that was already at the time in Winnipeg."²¹³ He also later explained that when it became obvious to him that many of the people whom he was serving in Winnipeg had only a temporary commitment to remain in the city, he decided to visit places like "Poplar Point, Douglas, Kemnay, and Melita," mainly because he had heard that people in those areas were more likely to remain permanently settled there.²¹⁴ Wherever he went, he was often asked to hold services on a regular basis,²¹⁵ and he would do his best to accommodate such requests.²¹⁶

Clearly, it had not been his intention to interfere with the ministry of others. It soon became apparent, however, that his efforts were not being appreciated by the missionaries of the General Council. Not long after he arrived in Winnipeg, Streich began to attack Buegel from the pulpit.²¹⁷ Moreover, when the General Council met in convention in October 1891, the opportunity presented itself to register a complaint about the latest attempt of

²¹³Ibid. Original text: "Zu Anfang predigte ich mehrmals—auch in Winnipeg—auf Anfordern verschiedener hiesiger Lutheraner, die zu keiner Kirche und Gemeinde gehoerten, die auch gerade von der damals schon hier in Winnipeg bestehenden Gemeinde der Canada Synode nichts wissen wollten."

²¹⁴Ibid.

²¹⁵Ibid. Buegel indicates that he was receiving the same kind of requests from people in Winnipeg and elsewhere: "Um diese Zeit wurde ich von verschiedenen, zu keiner Synode und Gemeinde gehoerigen Lutheranern gebeten, doch auch hier in Winnipeg, wo moeglich, regelmaessig Gottesdienst zu halten."

²¹⁶Ibid.

²¹⁷Threinen, *A Sower*, 16.

the Missouri Synod to minister in the territory. It was an opportunity that would not be missed.

The Council Complains

The complaint surfaced when the report of the German Home Mission Committee was being delivered during the third session of the convention on October 16. The Committee had begun its report by comparing itself and its work to the Church in Philadelphia described in the Book of Revelation before whom the Lord had set an open door:

In the letter addressed to the Church in Philadelphia the Lord, among other things, stated first, "I have set before thee an open door," and secondly, "Thou hast a little strength" (Rev. iii:8). This can also be said of your committee and its work during the last two years. It had "an open door." Indeed the door was wide open, and the call to enter most urgent, but the committee, alas, had "little strength." Still it had "strength," and its work has grown wonderfully.²¹⁸

With understandable enthusiasm the Committee had gone on to describe the progress they had made in all the areas where they had been at work in the previous two years—from the southern United States to the great Canadian northwest.

It was only when they began to review their work in the Canadian northwest that they found reason to complain about the activities of the Missouri Synod there. It was at that point in their report where they had been talking about the unsuccessful efforts of a certain Missouri pastor (Brauer) to disrupt their ministry at Beresina and at Langenburg in the

²¹⁸Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 13-14.

previous year. Suddenly they began to level a broadside against Missouri for interfering with their ministry in the Canadian west:

It is a remarkable stubborn and cold fact that this Synod [Missouri] from year to year laments its inability to provide for its own churches clamoring for preachers, because the number of its candidates does not reach, whilst there is no lack of men when opportunity offers to occupy the field in which others are laboring. But this is not all, nor is it the worst feature of the case. Missouri pretends to believe with the teachings of the Word of God of Symbolical Books that a person shall exercise the office of the ministry only where he is rightly called. Now, in the "Lutheran" [Der Lutheraner] it was lately stated that more than thirty congregations which had sent calls for pastors could not be supplied. Yet pastors of the Missouri Synod, without call, visit churches and settlements in the Northwest to which our missionaries have been rightly called and which are regularly served by them, offering their services. We are happy to state, so far the services of these men have invariably been refused.²¹⁹

The Committee had made essentially three points in their complaint:

(1) With a touch of sarcasm they wondered why the Missouri Synod, so often concerned about its own shortages of available pastors, should have had plenty to spare in areas where others were already at work. (2) More seriously, they maintained that Missouri had been guilty of inconsistency and wrongdoing when ministering to a field where they had not been "rightfully called." (3) Finally, in spite of all their efforts to gain a foothold in the region, Missouri's ministry to the area had to their knowledge borne no fruit.

Most of these comments had of course been heard before. The first had already been made a year earlier by Nicum when he first discovered that the

²¹⁹Ibid., 23. The Board had obviously seen an article in the August 18 issue of Der Lutheraner entitled "Noch immer grosse Noth." The article had spoken about a shortage of pastors and teachers in the Synod and claimed that after all candidates had received their calls that year, precisely thirty-three pastors and eighteen teachers were still needed. See "Noch immer grosse Noth," Der Lutheraner 47, no. 17 (August 18, 1891): 133-134.

Missouri Synod was taking "initial steps" to return to the Canadian west.²²⁰

The second point had also been heard often enough. In fact, representatives of the General Council had been arguing for more than a year that Missouri was meddling in a field that was not theirs. Had Missouri's efforts borne no fruit? Actually they had, but the representatives of the Council had not been in a position yet to know about Buegel's most recent missionary undertakings in the west.²²¹

At the heart of their complaint was their contention that the Missouri Synod had not actually been "rightfully called" to serve the congregations and settlements in the west. They, on the other hand, claimed that they had been properly called from the outset, beginning with Schmieder's call to Trinity congregation at Winnipeg and continuing with all the other calls that had been subsequently extended to Pempeit, Streich, and Berthold as a result of the mission work that Schmieder had begun.

Missouri, on the other hand, believed—and it had been at the heart of their disagreement with the General Council—that they had the same authority through their own congregations and districts in the greater northwest to minister to people anywhere in that part of the world that they were being led to serve, including the Canadian frontier. The only difference between Missouri and the General Council was that the latter had been unwilling to agree that there was room enough for both of them on the frontier.

²²⁰See above, pp. 78-79.

²²¹See below, pp. 103-104.

In fact, they were obviously of the opinion that Missouri had problems enough trying to serve their own congregations without having to worry about providing a ministry to people in the Canadian west. Of course, that argument could be turned around, and eventually it was, against the General Council by some of their own members who would later wonder out loud if the Gospel would be better served if they would simply abandon the Canadian west in order to concentrate their efforts on other parts of North America that were vacant and seemingly more in need of their help.²²²

It is interesting to note that this broadside nowhere mentions any Missouri pastor by name, but all the evidence would suggest that Brauer and Buegel are clearly the objects of the complaint. Certainly the report had Brauer in mind, given the fact that it had just mentioned a visit of a "certain Missouri pastor" to Langenburg and Beresina in the previous fall. And as far as Buegel is concerned, although he is never mentioned by name, those who drafted the report must have also been thinking of him; for there is no evidence to suggest that any other Missouri pastors had been on the Canadian frontier in recent years besides Brauer and him.

Certainly the Committee was aware of the fact that Buegel was there. Shortly before the October convention was convened, the editors of Siloah released an article notifying their readers that a certain "Missouri man" (Buegel) had just arrived in Winnipeg. Furthermore, they were of the opinion that he had been unable to gain a following since he arrived. They claimed, for example, that a group of former Missourians from Ontario had already

²²²See below, pp. 205-206.

rejected his efforts to serve them.²²³ In fact, according to Siloah, this group had told Buegel that they were "from their hearts tired of churchly disputes like the ones they had experienced in Ontario," and for that reason alone they were more than willing to remain under the jurisdiction of the General Council.²²⁴

Armed with that kind of information, the Mission Committee obviously believed that neither Brauer nor Buegel had been able to gain a foothold in the territory. Thus, they could report that "the services of these men have invariably been refused."²²⁵ No doubt they were not completely informed about Buegel's September journey to Poplar Point, Douglas, and Brandon. Certainly they would not have had any opportunity to hear about his successful October trip to Binscarth and Sheho Lake.

In the meantime, Herman Buegel in his own quiet way continued to minister to as many people as possible, and in areas that were, for the most

²²³It is possible that they were only reporting one side of the story if the reference was to Binscarth—although it is difficult to tell which group of Missourians they had in mind. It is a known fact that Buegel did visit some Missourians at Binscarth in early October, and in spite of any objections to the contrary, was received warmly enough that he ended up organizing a congregation there.

²²⁴"Vogelschau auf unserem Missionsgebiet," Siloah 10, no. 11 (October 1891): 74. The comment was made in the context of a brief report about latest developments in the mission work of the Council in the "Canadian north-west." The full text is as follows: "Allerdings hat die Missouri-Synode nun einen Prediger nach Winnipeg geschickt. Aber eine zumeist aus fruheren Missouriern bestehende aus Ontario eingewanderte Kolonie hat demselben bereits geschrieben, dass sie seinen Besuch nicht wuenscht. Sie hat vielmehr unsern Missionar in Winnipeg berufen. Die Leute sind der kirchlichen Streitereien, wie sie dieselben in Ontario sattsam mit angesehen, herzlich muede und sehnen sich nach Frieden."

²²⁵Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 23.

part, not being served by anyone. Nevertheless, Streich and his fellow pastors would continue to feel they had good reason to complain about his work. Subsequent investigations and discussions about Buegel's conduct, however, would completely clear him of any allegation of wrongdoing. He would even be willing to submit to a review by a joint committee of both church bodies if it would help to clear up any misunderstandings about him. But the offer was eventually turned down, and the matter was dropped.²²⁶

Years later Buegel would publish in the Volksblatt a complete account of his activities from the beginning of his ministry until then.²²⁷ In the article he would claim that he had conducted his ministry from the outset with integrity. From every indication his observations were true.

Pfotenhauer Again Reflects Missouri's Missionary Zeal

When the delegates of the Minnesota and Dakota District of the Missouri Synod gathered in convention in Courtland, Minnesota, during the following June, Buegel had not yet served an entire year on the Canadian frontier. Nevertheless, they were being given every opportunity to react at that point to the complaints about Missouri pastors that had been raised by the General Council during the previous fall. Interestingly enough, however, nothing was said. It was as if Missouri were marching by the beat of some other drummer.

²²⁶For a later review of these events see "If Repetition Lends Weight," The Lutheran Witness 14, no. 15 (January 7, 1896): 117.

²²⁷Buegel, "Bericht ueber unsere Mission," 50-51.

District President Pfothenhauer urged the delegates rather to recognize with gratitude the efforts of all those who were ministering to people throughout the great northwestern region. He said they were causing congregations to arise "like gardens of God":

Our dear travelling preachers, who also have given their souls for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and under great privation on our often inhospitable prairies and in the wild mountains of Montana silently, without making much of a fuss, do the hardest work, telling us how the Lord has opened doors everywhere for them, and how congregations arise like gardens of God.²²⁸

With great enthusiasm Pfothenhauer exhorted everyone present at the convention to carry the Word of God "ever farther and to work ever more vigorously" from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same. Indeed, he said they should rejoice in every congregation that had arisen in the Synod "from Winnipeg to New Orleans":

Therefore rejoice greatly for all the brothers! Therefore stir us up with holy resolutions, to carry the Word of God ever farther and to work ever more vigorously! Well is our main task, to preach the Word to our scattered settled believing brothers, and that we have already done now since the memory of men. From Winnipeg to New Orleans is strung one congregation after another, and our messengers, who work from the east to the setting of the sun, are already lending a hand on the Rocky Mountains to our brothers who are labouring from the west to here.²²⁹

²²⁸F[riedrich] Pfothenhauer, "Synodalrede," Achter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892), 9. Text: "Unsere lieben Reiseprediger, welche auch ihre Seelen dargegeben haben fuer den Namen unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, und unter grossen Entbehrungen auf unsern oft unwirthlichen Prairien und in den wilden bergen Montanas in der Stille, ohne viel Wesens zu machen, die schwerste Arbeit thun, erzaehlen uns, wie der Herr ihnen ueberall Thueren aufgethan hat, und Gemeinden gleich Gaerten Gottes entstanden sind."

²²⁹Ibid. Text: "Dadurch machen sie grosse Freude allen Bruedern. Dadurch reizen sie uns zu heiligen Entschliessungen, das Wort Gottes immer weiter zu tragen und immer ruestiger zu arbeiten. . . . Wohl ist unsere

In the course of his address, Pfothenhuaer reminded the delegates of Walther's vision of a synod eager to share God's Word and united together as members of the living body of Christ so that others might be won for Christ and finally receive eternal life:

Walther says: Each synod should enter into the great multitude of the workers of Christ in his harvest; for the grain is already ripe; it's only a question of getting the grain harvested. Therefore in all preparations for the inner and outer Missions, each should work together for the spreading of the holy Word—just as at the beginning and maintaining of such preparations, in which the preachers are prepared. In short, a synod should be a living member of the body of Christ and with all other living members of this holiest of bodies work together on the whole earth as it is able, so that the kingdom of Christ will be spread out and where possible all for whom Christ has paid dearly with his blood, are won for Christ, into his sheep stall are led and finally will be delivered over into eternal life.²³⁰

Hauptaufgabe, unsern zerstreut wohnenden Glaubensbruedern das Wort zu predigen, aber das haben wir ja nun bereits seit ueber eines Menschen Gedenken gethan. Von Winnipeg bis nach New Orleans reiht sich eine Gemeinde an die andere, und unsere Boten, die von Osten gegen der Sonnen Niedergang vordringen, reichen bereits auf dem Felsengebirge den von Westen her arbeitenden Bruedern die Hand."

²³⁰Ibid., 10. Text: "Sagt Walther: Jede Synode 'soll eintreten in die grosse Schaar der Arbeiter Christi in seiner Ernte; denn die Saat ist laengst reif; es handelt sich nur darum, dass die Saat eingeerntet werde. Also an allen Anstalten fuer innere und aeussere (Heiden-) Mission, zur Ausbreitung der heiligen Schrift soll sie mitarbeiten. Ebenso an der Gruendung und Erhaltung solcher Anstalten, in welchen die Prediger vorbereitet werden. Kurz, eine Synode soll ein lebendiges Glied am Leibe Christi sein und mit allen andern lebendigen Gliedern dieses allerheiligsten Leibes auf der ganzen Erde zusammenarbeiten, was sie vermag, damit Christi Reich ausgebreitet werde und womoeglich alle, welche Christus mit seinem Blute theuer erkauf hat, fuer Christum gewonnen, in seinen Schafstall gefuehrt und endlich hinuebergerettet werden in's ewige Leben.'" Pfothenhauer was quoting from Walther's address to the first convention of the Iowa District, Erster Synodal-Bericht des Iowa Distrikts, 116.

With no less enthusiasm than many a Missouri Synod leader before him, Pfothenhauer reminded the members of his District that the hour was late, and the fields were ripe for the harvest:

O dear brothers, what kind of seriousness lies in the truth that we are living in the last hours of the world! How short is then only still the harvest time for us! Here it matters truly not to delay, for the field is white for the harvest, and there is still so much to harvest and so little time is left!²³¹

Thus, Pfothenhauer reaffirmed the commitment of his Synod and of his District to a vision of mission and ministry that remained consistent with the past—a vision that was confessionally based and marked with a sense of urgency for the salvation of souls. Under his leadership his District was being urged to reach out to others everywhere—and that certainly included Winnipeg and beyond.

Buegel's Convention Report

During the course of the convention the delegates also had an opportunity to hear a written report from Herman Buegel. In his report he indicated that he had been working very hard to share the Gospel in western Canada, and with the same kind of urgency for which his Synod had been noted in its ministry elsewhere.

He made it very clear, however, that he had to learn to be satisfied with small beginnings. For example, he indicated that he had at each of his six

²³¹Ibid., 11. Text: ". . . O geliebte Brueder, was fuer ein Ernst liegt in der Wahrheit, dass wir in der lezten Stunde der Welt leben! Wie kurz ist dann nur noch die Erntezeit for uns! Hier gilt's fuerwahr nicht sauemen, da das Feld weiss ist zur Ernte, noch so viel zu ernten und nur noch so wenig Zeit uebrig ist!"

preaching stations in Manitoba "three, four, or six families" who for the most part had earlier been members of Missouri Synod congregations in Dakota and Ontario.²³² On the other hand, he could also talk about the firm beginning he had made at Winnipeg where he was now preaching twice every Sunday. Of the city and its value to the ministry he said,

Winnipeg is a very important city, being the capital of Manitoba, and also terminal station for all Germans. During this year, already 6,000 families have arrived from Germany, Austria, and Russia. The people are very, very poor, most of them having been exiled from their country because of their faith. As regards their religion, they can be classed for the most part as Lutherans and Reformed. Accordingly, I cherish a well-grounded hope that there will be an increase for our Lutheran Church.²³³

He furthermore reported that he was pleased with his ministry in those areas that lay several miles to the northwest in the Assiniboia territory. He was particularly excited about his ministry to Binscarth and Sheho Lake:

One colony [Binscarth], served by myself, consists of 30 faithful, energetic Christian families, whose members drive ox-carts seven to eight miles every Sunday to attend service, and carefully test every sermon by means of the Scriptures. I serve another colony [Sheho Lake] of Germans who

²³²Quoted in F[riedrich] P[fo]tenhauer, "The Opening of the Great Northwest," in Ebenezer: Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century, ed. W.H.T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922), 344.

²³³Ibid., 344-345. For the original text, see Herman F. Buegel, "Bericht ueber Innere Mission," Achter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892), 65. Text: "Winnipeg, die Hauptstadt von Manitoba, ist naemlich ein sehr wichtiger Platz, weil es die Aussteigestation aller Deutschen ist. Dieses Jahr sind dort schon gegen 6000 deutsche Familien angekommen, die aus Deutschland, Oesterreich und Russland ausgewandert oder vertrieben waren, meist um ihres Glaubens willen, und die fast alle blutarm sind. Nach ihrer Religion theilen sie sich ein in Lutheraner und Reformirte; somit ist in Manitoba also noch gute, gegruendete Hoffnung auf Zuwachs fuer unsere lutherische Kirche."

have emigrated from Dakota. This colony is 325 miles northwest of Winnipeg and 65 miles from the nearest railroad station.²³⁴

He concluded that he had been working very hard for several months to provide a significant ministry to people in the Canadian west:

In one month I have travelled 900 miles by rail, 130 miles by wagon and on foot; in eight months I have covered about 7,000 miles in all directions. Last month I was home but three days.²³⁵

It had been clear from his report that he had found a major base of support in Winnipeg. In February, in fact, he had begun to conduct worship services in the city at a most unlikely location: "the Masonic Hall on Main Street."²³⁶ By October he would be able to obtain an empty store to mark the formal beginning of Immanuel Lutheran congregation in Winnipeg.

At this point in his ministry, however, he was still pursuing every possibility for ministry that had come to his attention. Among the many places that he visited, he seemed to have a special attachment to the people at Sheho Lake. This was not surprising, since it consisted of a number of persons whom he had served in Winnipeg when he first arrived. They had

²³⁴Pfotenhauer, "The Opening of the Great Northwest," 345. The original text is in Buegel, 65: "Die eine Colonie, die ich bediene, besteht aus 30 Familien; diese sind eifrige Christen, die 7 bis 8 Meilen weit mit Ochsenfuhrwek zum Gottesdienst kommen, und jede Predigt genau nach Gottes Wort beurtheilen. Eine andere von mir bediente Colonie liegt 325 Meilen nordwestlich von Winnipeg, 65 Meilen von der Eisenbahn und besteht aus von Dakota ausgewanderten Deutschen."

²³⁵Pfotenhauer, "The Opening of the Great Northwest," 345. The original text is in Buegel, 65: "In einem Monat habe ich 900 Meilen mit der Eisenbahn und 130 Meilen theils mit Fuhrwerk, theils zu Fuss zurueckgelegt; in 8 Monaten nach allen Richtungen hin 7000 Meilen. Im letzten Monate war ich 3 Tage daheim."

²³⁶Threinen, *A Sower*, 18.

personally asked him if he would be willing to provide a Word and Sacrament ministry to them as often as possible.²³⁷

Buegel was being warmly received wherever he went, and he was also managing to avoid any major conflicts either directly or indirectly with others who were ministering in the field. Two exceptions, however, of an unusual nature had occurred in the spring of 1892, both of them having to do with letters that had been directed to Buegel from persons who were wanting his help. One had been sent to him from Neudorf, the other from Landestreu and Hoffenthal.

Letter from Neudorf

In March 1892 a letter arrived for Buegel in Winnipeg from Neudorf in eastern Assiniboia. A group of farmers in the Neudorf-Josephsburg area—about 300 miles west of Winnipeg—had been trying to make contact with him, claiming that a problem had developed there that required his help.

As it turned out, Buegel never received the letter. Apparently the people who wrote it, not knowing Buegel's address, sent it to someone in Winnipeg with instructions to give it to him. But the letter was accidentally delivered to Streich! He received it on March 12, 1892, and responded immediately by going to Neudorf to settle the problem himself. While he was there, he renewed his attacks on Buegel, assuring the people that he would be willing to move to Neudorf if they wanted him to serve as their pastor. They

²³⁷Herman Buegel, "Bericht ueber unsere Mission," 51.

accepted. Buegel later commented on this strange turn of events: "I received a call and Pastor S. accepted it. Yes, those were the days."²³⁸

Even though it is clear that Streich had somehow found a way to deal with the problem at Neudorf, it is not altogether clear what the problem may have been. Threinen suggests that a conflict may have arisen in the Neudorf congregation "over the location of the cemetery where the church and school would later be built."²³⁹ It is also possible, says Threinen, that the problem may have had a theological dimension, given the fact that Streich at one point told some or all of the settlers that "their teachings were false and of the devil."²⁴⁰

As a matter of fact, the General Council's records do indicate that a conflict had arisen at Neudorf over the location of a cemetery during May of the previous year. Schmieder, who was then serving as missionary to the area, had tried to arbitrate the dispute; but he had refused to take sides, stating that they would have to resolve the problem themselves, given the fact that he had only been called "to preach the gospel and to distribute the holy sacraments"—not to settle land disputes.²⁴¹ As it turned out, the congregation

²³⁸Quoted in Threinen, Sower, 17.

²³⁹Ibid., 25. ²⁴⁰Ibid., 17.

²⁴¹Schmieder explained that he had so little time as a travelling missionary to provide pastoral care to people when he was on the road that he simply could not afford to become involved in issues which to him were not central to his calling as a pastor. Even when he was at home, he confessed that it was often best for him to maintain a position of neutrality on issues where the Gospel was not at stake. For example, when decisions had had to be made about the choice of church sites in Winnipeg and in Edenwald, Schmieder had been able to let the congregations come to a final decision on both occasions without his having to become directly involved in the debate.

actually may have taken Schmieder's advice, for in the following October it was reported that they had just received a free forty-acre parcel of land from the Canadian government for the purpose of building a church.²⁴² Although it is not altogether clear if the land transfer had come before or after an agreement on the cemetery location, such a transfer certainly would have helped them to resolve the issue once and for all. For where the church went, the cemetery and school would surely have to follow. All of this took place about five months before the letter intended for Buegel was intercepted by Streich.

Thus, it is more likely than not that some problem other than a land dispute must have laid at the root of Streich's eagerness to get to Neudorf before Buegel did. As a matter of fact, a later report indicates that Streich had

For a more complete discussion of the cemetery problem at Neudorf and Schmieder's response, see H[einrich] C. Schmieder, "Am Qu'Appelle Flusse," Siloah 10, no. 9 (September 1891): 66-67. The following is a sample of his comments on the subject: "Das es fuer einen Reiseprediger und Seelsorger, wenn er so selten die seiner Pflege befohlenen Seelen besuchen kann, ueberall immer gar viel zu hoeren, zu lehren, zu troesten und zu mahnen gibt, kann sich der liebe Leser wohl denken. Auch ist mit jedem Einwandter auch der alte Adam mit aus der alten Heimat herueber gekommen, so dass ein Pastor oft seine liebe Not hat, den Geist Christi zur Herrschaft zu bringen. So merkte ich hier, dass die neuen Ansiedler in grosser Aufregung, Hader und Streit waren wegen eines Platzes fuer Friedhof und spaeter fuer Kirche und Schule. Beide Parteien hatten nun auf mich gewartet, um mir die Sache vorzustellen und meine Entscheidung (eine jede natuerlich fuer ihren erwaelhten Platz) zu hoeren. Betreffs der Entscheidung hatten sie sich natuerlich sehr geirrt, da ich ihnen erklarte, dass sie eine solche Frage selbst und unter sich erledigen muessten, da der Friedhof und die Kirche ja nicht fuer mich, sondern fuer sie angelegt und gebaut werden sollten. Ich kaeme nur, um ihnen das Evangelium zu predigen und die hl. Sakramente zu verwalten. . . . Ein endgueltiger Beschluss wurde noch nicht gefasst, waere auch wohl etwas verfrueht gewesen."

²⁴²Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention, 24.

actually received word on February 16 from the German Home Mission Committee that they had already decided at that time to move him to Neudorf so that he could serve as pastor of all the congregations of the Grenfell district.²⁴³ Until then Schmieder had been serving Neudorf and Josephsburg from far away Edenwald, but he had only managed to visit the area twice in the previous six months.²⁴⁴ Thus, when Streich intercepted the letter intended for Buegel, and did so only a month after he had been informed that he was being assigned to Neudorf, he may have had very personal and urgent reasons for wanting to get to Neudorf before Buegel had a chance to get there. He was probably afraid that Buegel might get there first.

As a matter of fact, in April Siloah reported that Streich had received and accepted a call to Neudorf and Josephsburg. In the same article it was also revealed that the German Home Mission Committee was in the process of calling someone to replace Streich as pastor of the mother congregation in Winnipeg.²⁴⁵ Thus, it is very likely that the misdirected letter intended for Buegel had indeed impressed upon Streich the importance of visiting his "new" congregations before Buegel had an opportunity to reach them.

It is even possible that those who had been trying to contact Buegel may have already heard that Streich was going to be their new pastor, and they may not have been entirely pleased with that decision. In fact, that may

²⁴³"Das Arbeitsfeld" Siloah 11, no. 11 (November 1892): 82.

²⁴⁴H[einrich] Schmieder, "Bericht von Herrn Pastor Schmieder," Siloah 11, no. 5 (May 1892): 33.

²⁴⁵"Wo unsere Missionare sind," Siloah 11, no. 4 (April 1892): 28.

help to explain why those who had written to Buegel had advised him to come to the settlement secretly ("hoeflichts").²⁴⁶ Threinen offers the suggestion that those who wrote the letter may have been a minority group of recent arrivals who had earlier become acquainted with Buegel at Winnipeg before they moved there.²⁴⁷ Thus, it is plausible that Streich may have been dealing with nothing more than a minority movement in Neudorf that was trying to prevent him from coming there to serve as their pastor.

In any case, a veil of uncertainty still lies over the events that had originally led some farmers in Neudorf to try to contact Buegel in the spring of 1892. It is an established fact, however, that Streich intercepted the letter on March 12, and on March 13 he was on his way to Neudorf. As soon as he arrived there, he told them about the Mission Committee's decision to send him there, and he assured them that he was willing to be their pastor. As a sign of good faith, the congregations in the district then promised to build him a house. Thereupon, he promised to purchase the land.

Although the Neudorf congregation's land lay in the middle of their own colony, Streich, as a practical measure, was talking about acquiring forty acres of homestead land three miles to the south at a location which served as the middle point between the district's three main colonies: Neudorf, Josephsburg, and Wolseley.²⁴⁸ There they could build him a home that would

²⁴⁶Threinen, Sower, 17.

²⁴⁷Ibid.

²⁴⁸He remained in the area from March 13 to 17, just long enough to conduct a few worship services and to decide where his house should be built. It is easy to imagine that the entire land dispute may have had to do with nothing other than a disagreement between those who wanted the church to be built in the middle of Neudorf and those who wanted it to be in

strategically help him to serve all three colonies in the most efficient manner. They also thought it would be best if Streich would remain in Winnipeg until his home was completed.

Once these plans were adopted, Streich journeyed further to Regina to pay the customary fee for his new homestead. From there he stopped at Edenwald to discuss his plans with Schmieder. "Strengthened in body and spirit," he then returned to Winnipeg as quickly as possible.²⁴⁹

Letter from Landestreu and Hoffenthal

In the following month a second letter was sent to Buegel from another part of the mission field.²⁵⁰ And this time the letter actually ended up in Buegel's hands.

Troubles had begun to erupt in the district where Berthold was at work. Some of the people who were living in Landestreu and Hoffenthal were becoming unhappy with Berthold's ministry to them.²⁵¹ Apparently he had been saying lately that it would be possible in the celebration of the Lord's

a location more accessible to all three colonies. Indeed, that may have been the issue when they had been arguing earlier about the cemetery location. It is therefore possible to speculate that his willingness to leave the church's land where it was, as well as his willingness to purchase a homestead for himself at the more central location, provided the kind of compromise that would allow both sides to think that they might eventually be the winners in the struggle for the ultimate church location. See Ludwig Streich, "Bericht von Herrn Pastor Streich," Siloah 11, no. 5 (May 1892): 39.

²⁴⁹Ibid.

²⁵⁰The letter and the circumstances surrounding its reception are described in Buegel, "Bericht ueber unsere Mission," 50-51.

²⁵¹Threinen, A Sower, 17.

Supper to use dried apple slices instead of unleavened bread.²⁵² They were offended by his comments. Furthermore, they had become convinced from their recent reading of a book by a Missouri Synod pastor that the teachings of the Missouri Synod might actually be closer to their own beliefs than his were.²⁵³ Under the circumstances, they had begun to wonder if the attacks against Missouri that they had been reading in their own church's publications had been unwarranted and wrong.

They asked Buegel if he would be willing to come to Landestreu and Hoffenthal on Easter to preach a trial sermon, and furthermore confirmed that they had begun to take "much offense at the Canada Synod."²⁵⁴ They ended with a statement of their beliefs, indicating that they only wanted to remain true to their evangelical Lutheran religion in keeping with the confessional heritage of the faith.²⁵⁵ The letter was signed by seventeen settlers.

²⁵²Ibid., 17-18, 25-26.

²⁵³The book in question was T. Johannes Grosse's Unterscheidung-
lehren der hauptsaechlichsten sich lutherisch nennenden Synoden sowie der
namhaftesten Sectenkirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika
(St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1889). A copy of the same book
had been given a year earlier to Riedle by Brauer. See above, p. 85.

²⁵⁴Buegel, "Bericht," 50-51.

²⁵⁵Ibid. The following is the full text of the letter provided by Buegel and including his own parenthetical remarks:

"Hochwuerdiger Herr Pastor, Missionar der deutschen evang. Luth. Missouri Synode, derzeit in Winnipeg, Man.!

Mit einer herzlich (sic) Bitte kommen wir Ihnen entgegen betreffs Einladung zur Probepredigt auf die heil. Osterfeiertage in die zwei noch nicht organisterten juengsten Gemeinden Landestreu und Hoffenthal. (N.B. Dass ich nicht auf eine Probepredigt eingegangen waere, ist wohl kaum noethig zu bemerken.) Die zwei Gemeinden sind eingewanderte deutsche evangelische luth. Oestreicher aus dem Kronland Galizien (Europa). Gleichzeitig muessen wir Ihnen gestehen, dass wir viel Anstoessiges in der Canada Synode

Buegel responded by going to the settlement at his earliest convenience. He arrived about two weeks later and soon discovered that Berthold had indeed been saying everything they claimed he had been saying about the use of dried apple slices in Holy Communion.²⁵⁶ Consequently, he had an exchange of words with Berthold, who then withdrew.

He then had a meeting with the group, but made it very clear from the outset that he had not come to conduct a trial sermon for them. He was, however, willing to conduct a normal worship service for them if they so desired. They did. Afterwards he said he would be willing to come to the area to serve them as often as he could. They were more than pleased with the arrangement. Consequently, he helped them to form two congregations on that day: one at Landestreu and another at Hoffenthal, with a combined membership of 148 people. Both congregations extended him a call.

Clearly Buegel had been drawn into a conflict that had been taking place between a pastor of the General Council and his own members. This time, however, a doctrinal issue seemed to be at stake. Did the Words of Institution actually suggest that apple slices would do as well as unleavened bread? Whether Berthold had actually been serious when he had made such

entnehmen' (finden) 'welches unserer evang. luth. Religion nicht massgebend ist' (entspricht). 'Und das belehrte uns die Unterscheidungslehre von Missouri, Herrn Pastor Grosse, und noch umsomehr das Buechlein, das uns eben zugesandt wurde: Abwehr missourischer Angriffe von Past. J. Nicum. Dieses notgedrungene Wort, mit dem das Buechlein betitelt ist, wurde von uns geprueft, aber nicht abgewehrt (?) von unseren Religion, die wir mitgebracht haben, evang. lutherische, auch Augsburger Religion. Die wollen wir behalten, denn wir bleiben unserer Religion treu und halten was wir haben, auf das uns niemand unsere Krone raube.'"

²⁵⁶Ibid., 51.

comments, or whether he had only meant them in jest, he had certainly been creating a stir. Buegel could testify to that fact. In the process Berthold had managed to offend the piety of enough people to cause them to seek the services of another pastor. Buegel was willing to help out.

Later it might be claimed that Buegel had been interfering in a matter that was not really his concern. On the other hand, he had not come uninvited, and he been given the kind of request that he could not by the very nature of his calling refuse.²⁵⁷ In the spring of 1892 Buegel suddenly had two more congregations under his care. He continued to serve them faithfully until September 1892 when relief arrived in the person of Theodore Hahn, a candidate from St. Louis who had accepted the call to be their pastor.

Troubles with Streich

In the meantime, Streich was beginning to have problems in Winnipeg with the land agent Riedle whom he now accused of improper dealings in support of the ministry of Buegel.²⁵⁸ He was claiming that Riedle had recently been steering immigrants to locations where Buegel had been serving. At the same time he maintained that these areas were not advantageous to the settlers. In fact, he insisted that they were ending up with land that could only be described as worthless. Of course, Streich's accusations at this point were beginning to sound a bit irrational for it did not seem plausible that

²⁵⁷Buegel said of the situation he faced, "Ich konnte nicht anders als hier es fuer meine Pflicht erkennen, den Leuten das reine Wort des Evangeliums zu predigen." Ibid.

²⁵⁸Ludwig Streich, "Bericht ueber Winnipeg," Siloah 11, no. 6 (June 1892): 46.

Riedle would have been trying to pass off bad land to those he was trying to help.

As these problems were occurring, Pastor Martin Ruccius, who had been trained in Germany and ordained by Veit of the Canada Synod, arrived in Winnipeg. Ruccius had been called mainly to assist Berthold in the Langenburg district.²⁵⁹ In late October, however, the German Home Mission Committee suddenly asked him to serve instead as pastor of Trinity congregation in Winnipeg and to do so even before Streich had made his final preparations to move to Neudorf.²⁶⁰ By then it was becoming apparent that relationships between Streich and the German Home Mission Committee had become so strained in recent months that they wanted him to leave. In fact, it was beginning to surface that one of the real reasons why they had wanted to move him to the more remote Neudorf in the previous spring was that it would provide them the added advantage of getting him out of Winnipeg; for Streich in the previous year had angered the Committee more than once because he would not listen to them when they warned him of rising costs during the construction of Trinity's new church building there. Furthermore, he had been continually getting involved in public disputes not only with

²⁵⁹Martin Ruccius, "Reiseeindruecke," Siloah 11, no. 10 (October 1892): 76. See also "Unsere Mission," Siloah 11, no. 11 (November 1892): 82.

²⁶⁰"Versammlung der Missions-Behoerde," Siloah 11, no. 12 (December 1892): 92.

Riedle, but also with a number of other land agents who had nothing to do with inter-synodical disputes.²⁶¹

The problem was becoming so acute that it finally became the subject of serious discussion when all five missionaries of the General Council met in Winnipeg for their annual conference on November 26 and 28, 1892. During the conference Streich's fellow pastors admonished him to quit his meddling in immigration affairs. They also advised him to end his abusive attacks on others. Although they had no sympathy for the Missouri Synod and still harbored resentment for the way that Synod had invited itself into their mission field, they complained that Streich's behavior was only hindering their effectiveness and working to Missouri's advantage.²⁶²

This, and the general direction in which events were moving, was enough to convince Streich that he not only ought to leave Winnipeg but also leave the General Council. He was determined, however, to hold onto Neudorf.

In early December he tendered his resignation to the Council's German Home Mission Committee and moved to Neudorf. Although the committee

²⁶¹For an account of these matters, see "Protokoll der ersten Versammlung," Siloah 11, no. 1 (January 1893): 5-6.

²⁶²Ibid. The following resolutions were reported in the minutes of their conference: "Beschlossen, 1) dass wir die Art und Weise, wie P. Streich sich in die Immigration-sache gemischt, entschieden missbilligen, da dadurch unser Missionswerk schwer geschädigt, und dem missourischen Eingriff Vorschub geleistet wurde. 2) Dass wir dem 'Deutschen Einheimischen Missions-Komitee des General-Konzils' folgendes mitteilen, worueber dasselbe seine Meinungen und Beschlüsse abgeben moege, dass unsere amtliche Wirksamkeit durch das private und oeffentliche Auftreten unseres Mitmissionars, P. Streich, schwer zu leiden hat, und dass wir der Meinung sind, dass in irgend einer Weise Hilfe geschafft werden muss."

was relieved to receive his resignation—they accepted it unanimously—they were not altogether happy about the fact that he was obviously intent on serving Neudorf, with or without their blessing.²⁶³

At the next convention of the General Council the Committee conveyed more than a hint of displeasure over the way Streich had "occupied" Neudorf:

Rev. Mr. Streich, formerly pastor at Winnipeg, on account of some difficulty with the other missionaries, withdrew from connection with the Board, and of his own accord took charge of this district [Neudorf] in December last, which was part of the parish of Rev. Mr. Schmieder. We consider it wise not to oppose Mr. Streich, and the practical result is that these churches have become self-supporting; as Mr. Streich did not receive any aid from us during the year last past.²⁶⁴

Pempeit Alone and Under Pressure in Alberta

While these events were unfolding at Neudorf, Ferdinand Pempeit was still alone in Alberta—a region which his own Mission Board was calling the "paradise of the Canadian North West."²⁶⁵

Ever since his arrival at Stony Plain, he had tried his best to meet the needs of as many Lutherans as possible in the territory, but he was occasionally having problems trying to minister to all of them. By February of 1892, besides his own congregation he listed the following preaching stations as places that he had been serving: Battle River, Red Deer, Calgary, Dunmore, and Seven Persons.²⁶⁶ In March of 1892 he added to the list a new colony that

²⁶³Ibid., 6.

²⁶⁴Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Convention, 28.

²⁶⁵Ibid., 29.

²⁶⁶"Bericht ueber Herrn P. Pempeits Distrikt," Siloah 11, no. 2 (February 1892): 13.

had just been settled at Rabbit Hill, fifteen miles to the south of Edmonton.²⁶⁷ He was also visiting Beaver Hills and a number of other places that were almost too small to mention.

In June he reported that he had been planning to visit a number of these preaching stations, especially those at Battle River, Beaver Hills, and Rabbit Hill, but he was being greatly hindered in his work because he still did not have a "Fuhrwerk" (carriage).²⁶⁸

In the middle of June, Pempeit had a visit from Schmieder who had decided to see how he was doing. Schmieder indicated that he had recently heard rumors to the effect that the settlers at Battle River and at Beaver Hills had grown "bitter" because they were never receiving any visits from him.²⁶⁹ Pempeit responded by stating that he had been doing the best he could; moreover, he was waiting for a free railroad travel pass to be sent to him from Winnipeg, and it had still not arrived.²⁷⁰ After his visit Schmieder reported that he was pleased with Pempeit's sincerity, and he was confident that the latter would be visiting his preaching stations as soon as possible.

In August Pempeit did manage to visit three of the preaching stations that he had wanted to visit earlier that summer—Battle River, Beaver Hills,

²⁶⁷F[erdinand] Pempeit, "Aus Hoffnungsau, Edmonton P.O., Alberta," Siloah 11, no. 6 (June 1892): 46.

²⁶⁸Ibid., 47.

²⁶⁹H[einrich] C. Schmieder, "Quartal-Bericht aus Edenwald," Siloah 11, no. 8 (August 1892): 62.

²⁷⁰F[erdinand] Pempeit, "Bericht aus Edmonton, Alberta," Siloah 11, no. 8 (August 1892): 62.

and Rabbit Hill. On August 24, he opened a new preaching station at Leduc. By then he reported that he was serving 529 settlers in eight different locations in Alberta.²⁷¹

During the following months, as winter began to set in, Pempeit began to concentrate his energies more and more in Stony Plain. This was to be expected, given the fact that winter travelling conditions had a limiting effect on anyone who tried to provide a ministry to people on the prairie. In November, however, he did manage to attend the pastoral conference in Winnipeg in which Streich had become the major object of concern among the pastors of the General Council.²⁷²

Concluding Thoughts

As the year 1892 came to a close, two of the pastors of the General Council—Berthold and Streich—had begun to experience serious problems, mostly of their own making. Pempeit's ministry seemed to be thriving in spite of the fact that he was having understandable problems trying to minister to all the people in his territory on a regular basis. Schmeider and Ruccius appeared to be unusually equal to the challenges that lay before them.

Buegel, on the other hand, had also gained a reputation for unusual strength under challenging circumstances. Hahn was new to the field, and it was hoped that he would become a strong support to Buegel so that together they might be able to provide a solid Missouri Synod presence in western

²⁷¹F[erdinand] Pempeit, "Bericht des Herrn Pastor Pempeit," Siloah 11, no. 11 (November 1892): 87.

²⁷²See above p. 123.

Canada. Little did either of them know that they both would be gone by the end of the following year—which would turn out to be a year of tension and uncertainty for both the General Council and the Missouri Synod in western Canada.

CHAPTER SEVEN
A YEAR OF UNCERTAINTY
1893

As the year 1893 began, two pastors of the Missouri Synod and five of the General Council were now serving in western Canada. Of all of them, Streich's position seemed to be the most precarious. Although he was no longer under the direct supervision of the General Council's German Home Mission Committee, Streich was still serving one of their congregations and still unofficially listed as their pastor. On the other hand, he had been disciplined by his peers in November, and he was not the kind of person to take it lightly. In fact, Streich was now thinking about joining the General Synod, claiming that he was no longer suited to the strict Lutheranism of the General Council.²⁷³

The Council, on the other hand, believed that they had exercised an unusual amount of patience with Streich's "blinden Eisers" (blind zeal), his "Heftigkeit" (vehemence), his "Unbesonnenheit" (rashness), and his

²⁷³"Meint es treulich mit unsrer Mission," Siloah 12, no. 5 (May 1893): 37. Streich's unhappiness with the Council's strictness may have been related to the fact that he seemed to be more willing than they to accommodate the Reformed when it came to the distribution of the Lord's Supper; for he was later blamed for introducing a "gemischte Praxis" at Trinity congregation in Winnipeg. See "Ueber Winnipeg," Siloah 13, no. 5 (May 1894): 33.

"Taktlosigkeit" (tactlessness).²⁷⁴ Still, they were hoping he would have a change of heart and, in spite of all the difficulties he had caused, they continued to pray for God's blessings upon his work.²⁷⁵

While Streich continued to ponder his situation, the other pastors of the General Council worked together to meet the varying challenges that they faced in their fields of responsibility. As the year began, Berthold was reporting that he and his people were having a particularly cold winter in Langenburg.²⁷⁶ Pempeit was holding his own in Alberta.²⁷⁷ Schmieder was preparing for a trip to the eastern United States to try to raise capital funds for the building of churches in western Canada.²⁷⁸ Ruccius was happily at work in Winnipeg. He now had, by far, the largest territory to cover. Between his congregation in Winnipeg and his ten preaching stations in southern Manitoba, Ruccius was now serving more than 975 people.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁴Ibid.

²⁷⁵Ibid. Eventually, when it became clear that he was not going to receive any financial support from the General Synod, he was allowed to become a formal member of the Canada Synod again, but not under the supervision of their Mission committee. See Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention, 38. Ultimately he would leave the Lutheran ministry altogether.

²⁷⁶P. [Emil] Berthold, "Aus Langenburg, Assa.," Siloah 12, no. 2 (February 1893): 10.

²⁷⁷F[erdinand] Pempeit, "Aus Edmonton, Alberta," Siloah 12, no. 3 (March 1893): 18.

²⁷⁸"Herr P. [Heinrich] Schmieder," Siloah 12, no. 3 (March 1893): 20-21. Schmieder was hoping to raise at least \$1,000 for the congregations in Winnipeg and Edenwald, both of which had recently had churches under construction.

²⁷⁹M[artin] Ruccius, "Aus der Missions-Arbeit in Winnipeg," Siloah 12, no. 4 (April 1893): 27-29. Ruccius actually had responsibility for the largest number of people in the Canadian west. Altogether, he was serving 977 souls

During the same period, the pastors of the Missouri Synod were consolidating their efforts in areas of the west where the General Council was not at work. Buegel was feeling particularly relieved that he now had Hahn at his side. In March, he published in the Volksblatt an account of his ministry from the first day he had arrived in western Canada until then, and he was feeling that his work had been really blessed.²⁸⁰

Buegel's Reflections

In his Volksblatt report Buegel seemed to be particularly interested in clearing up any false impressions anyone may have had about his work. In fact, as he reflected on his ministry, Buegel said that he had never come to Manitoba, as the religious press of the General Council had so often maintained, at the instigation of "unscrupulous swindlers" who had only one goal in mind—to seize the field out of the hands of the General Council.²⁸¹ He had only wanted to be a "travelling missionary"—no more, no less.²⁸² He admitted, however, that his work had been very difficult from the outset—indeed, it still seemed very difficult to him at times.

In the article Buegel provided a rather detailed account of any of his activities that may have been considered questionable. For example, he explained why he had begun to serve Sheho Lake when Berthold could have reached that colony so much easier from his vantage point in Langenburg. The explanation was really quite simple. He had actually taken the time to

in Winnipeg and in the region to the south.

²⁸⁰Buegel, "Bericht ueber unsere Mission," 50-51.

²⁸¹Ibid., 50. ²⁸²Ibid.

offer them his assistance, while Berthold had not. Furthermore, he had known many of the people at Sheho Lake before they had even arrived there. Some of them had been members of his congregation in Winnipeg before they moved to their new location, and they had been urging him to conduct worship services for them as often as possible.²⁸³ He found it ironic that it was only after he had undertaken four 335-mile trips to Sheho Lake that Berthold, who lived only 100 miles away from there finally decided to write a letter to the settlers offering them his assistance for the first time.

In his report Buegel also provided a full account of his ministry to Landestreu and Hoffenthal from the time he had been contacted by some of the settlers in the area until the moment he handed over the responsibilities to Theodore Hahn.²⁸⁴

Buegel had kind words in his report for Hahn. He said that his colleague had been a "faithful pastor" from the outset and had carried on his work with much success.²⁸⁵ He had been pleased with the fact that Hahn, since his arrival at Landestreu and Hoffenthal in September 1892, had also begun to take care of two preaching stations: one at the New Dakota settlement, and the other at Beresina. Buegel had, however, become concerned about Hahn's "mangelnden Gesundheit" (failing health), which had been greatly hindering him in his work lately.²⁸⁶ Apparently he was having chronic headaches and other ailments that would bother him for several days

²⁸³Ibid.

²⁸⁴See above, pp. 116-119.

²⁸⁵Buegel, "Bericht ueber unsere Mission," 51.

²⁸⁶Ibid.

at a time. Buegel had been praying that God would soon restore him to full health.

Overall, Buegel seemed to have reason to be optimistic about the future of the Missouri Synod's work in western Canada. He had Hahn there to help him and plenty to do himself; and he was not even imagining that both of them would be gone by the end of the year.

Hahn Suddenly Withdraws and Buegel Leaves

By June, however, the situation would become almost unbearable to Hahn. After serving his congregations for only ten months, he suddenly accepted a call to a congregation in Michigan. No doubt his failing health had become a major factor in his decision. Threinen also attributes his departure to a reduction in the size of the settlements he was serving—crop failure had caused many of his people to move away: "Discouraged at what seemed to be a mission without a future and complaining that this was a place suitable only for wolves and bears," he left.²⁸⁷

Once again Berthold had the Langenburg district to himself. Nevertheless, he also complained about the weather and the movement of people from the area. The Council's own records for the year draw attention to the

²⁸⁷Threinen, Sower, 19. See also Paul E. Wiegner, The Origin and Development of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (Manitoba and Saskatchewan District, 1957), 33. Berthold later reported that he had heard that Hahn had been trying to persuade the people of his congregation to move to a new and warmer district because he himself was uncomfortable with his life on the "lonely prairie." According to Berthold's version of his departure, when Hahn thought he had them all convinced to leave, he reported to his district board that they were going and he himself took a call. But, as it turned out, many ended up staying. See "Zum Bericht ueber Langenburg," Siloah 12, no. 10 (October 1893): 78.

"killing frosts" and blame them for the losses in membership that Berthold had been enduring lately:

Two years ago he [Berthold] had by far the greatest number of persons, of any of our missionaries, under his care. Now he has less than any of our pastors in the North West. The cause we have pointed out in our last report, to-wit: the killing frosts. Hence most people who were able to do so, moved away. Others are too poor to get away. About 200 persons yet belong to the churches at Langenburg and Beresina and the stations Riversdale and Ebenezer, of these 125 are confirmed. The Missourians have given up their work of intrusion here. The only place where they yet try to secure a footing is Winnipeg, but with poor results.²⁸⁸

Strangely enough, only a veiled reference to "Missourians" can be found in the above report, but no details are given about the events that had occurred since Buegel had made his first contact at Landestreu and Hoffenthal. Nevertheless, it is clear from the above that the "Missourians" have left the area and are scarcely even able to maintain a foothold in Winnipeg.

The mention of Winnipeg was ominous. In November Herman Buegel accepted a call to North Dakota. Consequently, no resident pastor of the Missouri Synod was at work in the Canadian west as the year drew to a close.

Pempeit Develops Problems at Hoffnungsau (Stony Plain)

During all this time the Missouri Synod had never ventured further west than Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan. Pempeit of the General Council was still alone in Alberta.

During 1893, however, he was beginning to experience troubles in his ministry to the region. For example, on January 29 he was scheduled to hold a service at Rabbit Hill, where eighteen families were being served by him. Pempeit made it there, but only one other person showed up because of the

²⁸⁸Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Convention, 28.

bitter cold. In fact, he and his horse found that they had to make their way home with great difficulty because the temperature had sunk to a record low of -50 degrees.²⁸⁹

In March problems of a more serious nature began to develop at his home base in Stony Plain. Pempeit observed at the time that the Devil was not sleeping but was making himself noticeable here and there, particularly in congregational meetings where his members were becoming more quarrelsome than usual.²⁹⁰ He also reported that a former member of the Missouri Synod was trying to create problems for him in the settlements. The man had been a house servant in St. Louis and had been earlier expelled from the congregation because of persistent attempts to gain a foothold for the Missouri Synod in the area.²⁹¹ Recently the man was still making every effort to stir up trouble for Pempeit.

A few weeks before Easter it was becoming apparent that peace had been restored within the congregation. It gave Pempeit the occasion to observe that his congregation had not always had the "rechte christliche Pflege" (the proper Christian care), and for that reason they could therefore wander at times.²⁹²

²⁸⁹F[erdinand] Pempeit, "Einweihung in Hoffnungsau, Alberta," Siloah 12, no. 4 (April 1893): 30.

²⁹⁰F[erdinand] Pempeit, "Aus Edmonton, Alberta," Siloah 12, no. 3 (March 1893): 18.

²⁹¹F[erdinand] Pempeit, "Aus einem Schreiben des Herrn P. Pempeit," Siloah 12, no. 3 (March 1893): 22.

²⁹²Ferdinand Pempeit, "Aus Alberta," Siloah 12, no. 7 (July 1893): 5.

During the summer, however, a problem of a very critical nature arose that eventually caused the whole congregation to split. It apparently began innocently enough, although it is not altogether clear how the conflict first began to surface.²⁹³ Rehwinkel seemed to think that it had something to do with gossip about the pastor. In his account of the matter he said,

In the summer of 1893 strife arose within the new congregation about some gossip concerning the pastor. The matter was not serious, but the gossip grew worse by repetition and took on a more serious character.²⁹⁴

Another historian, Herzer, did not seem to know what the source of the trouble might have been, although he was certainly aware of the outcome.²⁹⁵

From the accounts of Raedeke, Schwermann, and others, however, it is apparent that the conflict in its most serious stages had to do with the purchase of some land which had been designated for church purposes.²⁹⁶

According to their accounts, the congregation had grown so large at Stony Plain that the pastor had decided that the place where they were worshipping (his homestead) was neither large enough nor centrally located enough for all the people who were now settling in the area.

Therefore, upon Pempeit's suggestion a committee was appointed to find a suitable location for a new church building. According to Raedeke, the

²⁹³It actually may have had some connection with the problem that arose before Easter that year. See previous footnote.

²⁹⁴Rehwinkel, "The Beginnings," 113.

²⁹⁵See John Herzer, 9.

²⁹⁶Cf. Raedeke, 5; Schwermann, 99; and A. Gehring, Diamond Jubilee: 75 Years of Grace (Stony Plain: St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, 1969), 6-7.

committee found an appropriate piece of land. Thereafter, a "contract was drawn up with assistance of Pastor Pempeit and signed by twenty men."²⁹⁷

On the following Sunday, however, Pempeit changed his mind and insisted that they drop the purchase of the land. The twenty responded that it was too late to go back on the agreement they had signed. They did, however, agree that the pastor should choose another church location, if he so desired. But they wished to retain the quarter section they had purchased for some other possible future church use. This, however, the pastor was not willing to permit.

Unlike Schmieder, who at Neudorf and elsewhere had maintained a neutral position during land disputes, Pempeit seemed quite willing to get personally involved in the land acquisition issue at Stony Plain, even to the point of putting his pastoral office on the line. During the following weeks an impasse developed between him and the twenty men, he claiming that they were sinning by refusing to agree with his instructions to drop the purchase of the land, and they claiming that they had no right to go back on a contract they had signed. "Repeatedly they asked to be shown why their actions were sinful," said Schwermann, "but their request fell on deaf ears."²⁹⁸

After a period of tension and avoidance Pempeit suddenly announced one Sunday morning that a meeting was to be held on the following Tuesday night, adding that attendance would be mandatory. Anyone missing the meeting, he said, would be excommunicated. All twenty signers came to the meeting that had been called. As the meeting began, Pempeit accused the

²⁹⁷Raedeke, 5.

²⁹⁸Schwermann, 99.

twenty of committing a sin "because they had purchased the farm against his will."²⁹⁹ He asked the oldest member of the group if he would confess that he had sinned. He answered, "No, I don't think so."³⁰⁰ According to Schwermann, the pastor then responded, "Well, this will likely be the reply of all; I therefore cross out the names of all in the name of God, and henceforth I will have nothing to do with you."³⁰¹ With that, the twenty men and their families were suddenly excommunicated.³⁰²

During the following months the group, feeling wronged, sent letters to the Canada Synod office and were promised that either Schmieder or Ruccius would look into the problem. But neither of them appeared, nor was the president of their Synod willing to become involved in the conflict.³⁰³

Soon the group of twenty became completely disillusioned with Pempeit and with the process that had occurred. They also confessed that they had earlier had certain misgivings over Pempeit's stance on a number of

²⁹⁹Ibid.

³⁰⁰Ibid.

³⁰¹Ibid.

³⁰²An essential conflict exists between the accounts of Rehwinkel and Schwermann on this matter. Were they being excommunicated on grounds of "malicious slander," in keeping with Rehwinkel's view that the trouble had been gossip? (See Rehwinkel, "The Beginnings," 110.) Or was it because they had purchased land against the will of the pastor? (Schwermann, 99.) If the pastor was now denying that he ever told them to purchase the land in the first place, and they were insisting that he had, the charge of slander could also have been made and the accounts harmonized. It is easy to imagine that "gossip" and chatter were occurring. All the congregational histories (with Schwermann) emphasize, however, the problem of the land.

³⁰³Schwermann, 99-100. Ruccius did eventually travel to Stony Plain in the fall of 1893, but apparently he did little to resolve the situation. Martin Ruccius, "Bericht des Herrn P. Ruccius ueber seine Reise nach Edmonton, Alberta," Siloah 12, no. 10 (October 1893): 79.

points of doctrine.³⁰⁴ Now they were convinced that they could not return to his church. Instead they began to conduct reading services on Sundays in their homes. Not knowing who to turn to, they felt alone.

Two More Missionaries Arrive for the Council

In the meantime, help was arriving in the west for the ministry of the General Council in the persons of Emmanuel Duehrlop and Wilhelm Willing. Both of them arrived in June.

Duehrlop had come from Oldesloe, Germany (near Hamburg) and was thirty-three years old. Willing had come from Rendsdorf and was twenty-seven. Both of them were "Holsteiner," and both had been trained at the Missionhouse in Brecklum, Germany.³⁰⁵

They arrived in Philadelphia in early June and informed the officials of the General Council that they wanted to be sent to India. They were told, however, that there were no openings there. Consequently, they said they would be willing to serve in western Canada. At that, the German Home Mission Committee, not wanting to pass up such an opportunity, decided to ask Duehrlop to assist Pempeit in Alberta. They asked Willing to help Ruccius in south Manitoba.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴They were of the opinion that he taught fanatical views of conversion and was being influenced by Moravian doctrines, says Schwermann, 100.

³⁰⁵"Zwei neue Arbeiter," Siloah 12, no. 7 (July 1893): 52.

³⁰⁶Ibid.

As it turned out, of the two of them Willing seemed to be more equal to the task. From the very beginning, his reports were encouraging.³⁰⁷ He seemed to be the kind of person who would do all that was expected of him, and more.

Duehrlop, on the other hand, did not last a month. Not long after he arrived in Alberta, he wrote a long letter which he at least had the honesty to describe as "ein grosses Klageleid" (a great dirge).³⁰⁸ Lamenting his situation since he had arrived in Wetaskiwin, he complained about the fact that he had no more money, no accommodations suitable for him, and no salary ample enough to take care of himself and his future bride who was scheduled to arrive from Germany in the fall. Under the circumstances, he had no real desire to remain in such insufferable conditions.³⁰⁹

In the next convention of the General Council, the Mission Committee briefly reported of Duehrlop: "He had hardly reached his place of destination, when he changed his mind and quit the field."³¹⁰

Thus, Pempeit, who already had problems on his hands, had certainly not been helped by the arrival of Duehrlop. Once again he was alone.

³⁰⁷His report, for example, is written with an air of excitement! Although he found more than enough to do while trying to visit all the people who were scattered throughout south Manitoba, he prays that God would give him even more "Freudigkeit und Kraft, an Seinem Reich mit bauen zu helfen" (joy and power to help with the building of His Kingdom). Wilhelm Willing, "Die Predigtplaetze in Manitoba," Siloah 12, no. 10 (October 1893): 73-74.

³⁰⁸Immanuel Duehrlop, "Aus Alberta," Siloah 12, no. 8 (August 1893): 63-64.

³⁰⁹Ibid.

³¹⁰Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Convention, 27.

The Situation in the West – December of '93

As the year 1893 drew to a close, the ministry to German-speaking Lutherans in the Canadian west seemed to be going through a period of instability and uncertainty. All the congregations and preaching stations of the Missouri Synod were vacant. Berthold was complaining of crop failures at Langenburg. Streich had separated himself from the other pastors of the General Council. Pempeit had allowed himself to get too personally involved in a land dispute for his own good. Duehrlap had come to stay only long enough to pack his things again and leave.

Of those who had been serving in the Canadian west for more than a year, only Schmieder and Ruccius appeared to be calmly engaged in their ministry free of trouble. Nevertheless, Wilhelm Willing was also beginning to demonstrate that he had the potential to become a solid partner in the ministry of the General Council.

As the year came to a close, the General Council had thirty-three congregations and preaching stations in the Canadian west, with a baptized membership of 3,215 souls.³¹¹ Over the past two years their total membership had nearly tripled, but their number of pastors had not even doubled.

Often the request had gone out for more missionaries, but the Mission Committee lacked the kind of financial resources that were needed to remedy the problem. In an effort to help to alleviate the situation, Schmieder had

³¹¹See the statistical report in "Der Nordwesten," Siloah 13, no. 1 (January 1894): 6. In the last quarter, in fact, the total number had risen another 12 percent. In October 1893 the total number of souls reported was 2,883. See "Statistischer Bericht ueber unsere Missionsplaetze," Siloah 12, no. 10 (October 1893): 77.

taken a fund-raising trip to the eastern United States in March of 1893.³¹² But clearly one trip would not be enough to gain all the support that was needed.

The Missouri Synod, of course, was having even greater difficulties trying to maintain a ministry in the field. After Hahn and Buegel had left, Hahn's congregations at Landestreu and Hoffenthal began to correspond with the officials of the Minnesota and Dakota District. The District, in turn, kept reassuring them that they would be receiving a pastor soon. For a brief period of time, however, especially after Buegel had also gone and no one arrived, they turned to Berthold for assistance—but they were unwilling to receive his ministry on any permanent basis.³¹³

In the meantime, Immanuel congregation in Winnipeg was being served on an occasional basis during the vacancy by Prof. Buenger of Concordia College, St. Paul, Minnesota, and Pastor E. Abel, of Pine City, Minnesota.³¹⁴ Riedle, the land agent who had been so instrumental in

³¹²For a full report on Schneider's trip to the United States, see "Herrn Pastor Schmieders Besuch," Siloah 12, no. 4 (April 1893): 28, and also the follow-up report, "Herrn Pastor Schmieders Bericht," Siloah 12, no. 5 (May 1893): 38-39.

³¹³Herman Meyer, 120, says: "The General Council had no scruples about an attempted invasion of our field, unfortunately not without results, especially in Assiniboia." See also Rotermund, 8. Berthold maintained, however, that the two congregations had been all too willing to return to the General Council, which was showing itself to be the "true shepherd" that had not left. For his version of the situation, see Berthold, quoted in "Zum Bericht Ueber Langenburg," 78.

³¹⁴See Rotermund, 8, and Neunter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894), 3-5.

providing lay leadership for the Missouri cause in those early years, had left the territory to accept a position in the State of Washington.³¹⁵

³¹⁵"Aus Winnipeg," Siloah 12, no. 6 (June 1893): 44.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEW BEGINNINGS 1894 - 1895

The General Council – January to June

As the year 1894 began, the pastors of the General Council had the Canadian west to themselves. Immanuel congregation at Winnipeg was still, of course, vacant, as were the Missouri congregations to the northwest that had been served by Hahn. Conditions elsewhere in the west remained essentially as they had been before.

Schmieder was reporting a slight increase in membership for the two congregations and four preaching stations that he served. He now ministered to 557 souls in the Edenwald district. Pempeit was serving 598 in the Edmonton district; Berthold, 280 in the Langenburg district; and Willing, 778 in south Manitoba. The congregations being served by Streich now had 500 members.

Given the fact that the German population in Winnipeg was, as always, in a state of flux, Ruccius found it impossible to give an exact count of his own congregation's membership, although he was of the opinion that he must have been now ministering to approximately 600 souls:

The information gathered about the number of souls which stay with our congregation is probably too low, rather than too high. It is utterly impossible to say for sure, since the German Lutheran population in this city is one that is rather unstable. One goes, another comes. Soon this

one lives in the south end, then on the north end of the city; soon that one goes for some months on the land, to work on a farm or in order to fell timber in the forest. Hardly a day goes by, on which I do not make a walk in this very spaciouly built city to look up this person or that one. The most distant corners of the city are just as well known to me as my own house. Yet there are however still always a great number whom I do not know personally; and every Sunday an entirely unfamiliar face to me appears at worship.³¹⁶

While he was happy to see a large number of people attending Sunday morning worship services, Ruccius was especially pleased to have an increasing number of children attending Sunday School; he now had eighty children enrolled. In fact, he was convinced that he would have had even more children attending in the winter months if they had "warmer winter clothes."³¹⁷

The Continuing Challenges of Ministry on the Frontier

During the following months, most of the missionaries of the General Council continued to carry on their work under conditions that were at times very difficult, to say the least. For the most part, however, they were dealing with the usual challenges of frontier life.

³¹⁶Martin Ruccius, "Aus Winnipeg," Siloah 13, no. 1 (January 1894): 3. Text: "Die Angabe ueber die Seelenzahl, welche sich zu unserer Gemeinde halten, ist eher zu niedrig, als zu hoch gegriffen. Etwas ganz Bestimmtes darueber anzugeben, ist schlechterdings unmoeglich, da die deutsche lutherische Bevoelkerung in hiesiger Stadt eine zu wenig stetige ist. Der eine geht, der andere kommt. Bald wohnt dieser am Suedende, bald am Nordende der Stadt, bald geht jener fuer einige Monate aufs Land, in Arbeit auf der Farm oder in dem Wald, um Holz zu faellen. Es vergeht kaum ein Tag, an welchem ich nicht einen Gang in die sehr weitlaeufig gebaute Stadt machte, um diesen oder jenen aufzusuchen. Die entlegensten Winkel der Stadt sind mir ebenso bekannt, wie mein eigen Haus. Gleichwohl gibt es doch immer noch eine grosse Zahl, die ich nicht persoendlich kenne und sonntaeglich taucht beim Gottesdienst ein mir gaenzlich unbekanntes Gesicht auf."

³¹⁷Ibid.

For example, the weather, as always, continued to be a problem to them. Willing had reported in the fall how he had been caught on the prairie in a terrible thunderstorm under driving rains for six hours and on roads that one would not even call a "daisy path" in Germany.³¹⁸ Not surprisingly, his horse and carriage were often stuck in the water. When he finally reached his destination, he was extremely tired and hungry for he had not eaten for at least fourteen hours.³¹⁹

Even more difficult could be travelling conditions during the winter months. Schmieder had earlier reported how difficult it could be to endure the cold when the temperature got as low as -40 below.³²⁰ In temperatures that low, most people stayed home; they were glad if they had built their houses—as many of them had—halfway underground. There they would remain until the cold snap was over.³²¹

Many a travelling missionary, however, did not feel he could stay home when the cold winds blew. In fact, recently Schmeider had taken a journey

³¹⁸Willing, "Die Predigtplaetze in Manitoba," 73.

³¹⁹For Willing's description of his rainy ordeal, see *Ibid.*, 73-74. Text: "Ja, es gibt hier Wege, die man in Deutschland nicht einmal eine Gaensepfad nennen wuerde. So fuhr ich einmal 6 Stunden im stroemenden Regen, bei Donner und Blitz, ueber die Prairie und kam mit Fuhrwerk mehreremale fast bis zum Sitz ins Wasser; vom Pferde war nur noch Hals und Kopf zu sehen. Durchnaesst und muede kam ich im Quartier an, hatte seit 14 Stunden nichts gegessen. Das ist ein Beispiel von den Beschwerlichkeiten eines Missionars im Nordwesten."

³²⁰It once actually got as low as -42 degrees. See H[einrich] C. Schmieder, "Bei vierzig Grad unter Null," *Siloah* 11, no. 3 (March 1891): 23-24.

³²¹*Ibid.*

that turned out to be a harrowing experience even for him. He later described it as the "most difficult winter missionary journey" of his life.³²²

On December 30 he decided to travel to nearby Davin through driving snow. In fact, there was such a tremendous amount of snow on the ground that he could hardly see his way. After a while his "brave" horse found it impossible to continue with Schmieder on his back. Consequently, Schmieder had to go most of the way on foot.³²³ A nineteen-mile trip that would have taken him only three hours in summer seemed like a very long, long journey to him now. After conducting a New Year's Eve service with Holy Communion, "while the air outside was full of snow as southeasterly winds blew," Schmieder decided to stay the night.³²⁴

The next morning a farmer had one of his sons accompany Schmieder to help him find his way home. The young man remained with him until they could see the grain elevator at Balgonie. From there Schmieder was able to travel the rest of the way alone until he finally reached Edenwald about an hour before dark.³²⁵

Experiences such as these could have a daunting effect on mission and ministry in the west. Weather and long distances often seemed to be getting in the way. Under the best of conditions, most missionaries were finding it impossible to visit some of their congregations and preaching stations more than a few times a year.

³²²H[einrich] C. Schmieder, "Aus Edenwald," Siloah 13, no. 4 (April 1894): 31.

³²³Ibid.

³²⁴Ibid.

³²⁵Ibid.

For that reason, some of the Council's missionaries in western Canada decided to be more vocal about these problems in the spring of 1894. For example, Schmieder said that he was beginning to find his journeys "anstrengend" (trying), and the service that he could render his people "mangelhaft" (unsatisfactory).³²⁶ Berthold complained that his trips to his preaching stations were never very "leicht" (easy); indeed, they could be very "zeittrauben" (time-consuming) given the fact that the German settlers in his district were spread out over ten townships. The distances between them could seem at times quite formidable.³²⁷

Likewise, Pempeit was still finding it difficult to visit all the congregations and preaching stations under his care. Many of his parishioners who lived in the more remote areas of his territory like Beaver Hills had earlier "lamented bitterly" because they never seemed to be getting frequent visits from him.³²⁸ He was convinced that his congregation at Wetaskiwin and some of the other preaching stations in that area should have a pastor of their own. Indeed, the people at Westaskiwin certainly supported him in that view.³²⁹

³²⁶H[einrich] C. Schmieder, "Aus Edenwald, Assa.," Siloah 13, no. 7 (July 1894): 50.

³²⁷E[mil] Berthold, "Aus Langenburg, Assa.," Siloah 13, no. 7 (July 1894): 50.

³²⁸See Schmieder "Quartal-Bericht aus Edenwald," 62.

³²⁹See Ferdinand Pempeit, "Edmonton-Distrikt" Siloah, 13, no. 1 (January 1894), 2. Later in the spring, Pempeit again observed of the people in Wetaskiwin: "Diese Leute wuenschen sehr, einen eigenen Sellsorger zu bekommen" in "Aus Stony Plain Alberta," Siloah, 13, no. 4 (April 1894), 26.

In fact, Pempeit thought that he could easily use at least one other pastor in his district. Schmieder said that he could certainly use one at Balgonie.³³⁰ Berthold maintained that he could also use an additional person in his district.³³¹ Wilhelm Willing, who seemed to complain the least, was serving the greatest number of people at his eleven preaching stations in south Manitoba. Indeed, he had precisely a third of all the congregations and preaching stations being served by the General Council in the Canadian west, and he was ministering to them all by himself.³³² Clearly he could use some help.

In the meantime, German-speaking immigrants were now coming to the Canadian frontier in even greater numbers than before—thus adding to the pressure that these missionaries felt.³³³ Ruccius observed that an especially large number of Germans from Russia were now coming to Winnipeg because of the religious and cultural persecution they were experiencing under the czars.³³⁴ Pempeit had also noticed a more than usual

³³⁰Schmieder, "Aus Edenwald, Assa.," 13, no. 7, 50.

³³¹Berthold, "Aus Langenburg, Assa.," 13, no. 7, 50.

³³²"Der Nordwesten," 6. According to this report, Willing was serving 778; Ruccius, 600; Pempeit, 598; and Schmieder, 557. Berthold was serving the lowest number: 280.

³³³The actual combined total for 1893 was 2,870. See Sessional Papers, 1894, vol. 10, #13, Part I, 12, and Sessional Papers, 1895, vol. 9, #13, Part 1, 14.

³³⁴Ruccius, "Aus Winnipeg," 3. According to Ruccius, their schools were being taken over by Russian teachers who would no longer allow instruction in German or even religious instruction in their own faith—in spite of the fact that the schools were being supported by their congregations, and not by the State. Particularly upsetting would have been the combined loss of

number of Germans from Russia arriving recently in Edmonton and Stony Plain. From them he learned that many more families from their ancestral villages would be joining them in the spring.³³⁵

Although these "Glaubensgenossen" were normally warmly welcomed by the pastors of the west, their presence at times could also pose problems for the congregations that they joined. For example, many of these people were accustomed to a more flexible approach to the distribution of Holy Communion than was usually the case in the Canadian west. In eastern Europe it was often assumed that reciprocal arrangements for Holy Communion could be made for Lutherans and Reformed Christians.³³⁶ Such assumptions, however, could not be maintained in the Canadian west, for

language and religious instruction, for, as Rehwinkel once observed of a group of Volga Lutherans whom he once served: their language was "an inseparable part of their religion and as sacred as the religion itself," Rehwinkel, 13. According to an 1895 report in the Missouri Synod's Lehre und Wehre, they and their pastors no longer had even a share in the administration of their schools in Russia. See "Aus Russland," Lehre und Wehre 41, no. 5 (May 1895): 160. For further signs of oppression, see "Aus Russland," Lehre und Wehre 42, no. 6 (June 1895): 191-192. This agrees with other descriptions of the plight of German Russians under the later czars found in Adam Giesinger, From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans (Battleford, Saskatchewan: Marian Press, 1974); Fred C. Koch, The Volga Germans (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977); and Joseph Schnurr, Die Kirchen Und Das Religiöse Leben Der Russland-deutschen (Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1972). Other factors influencing emigration were the large number of crop failures that had been recently occurring in Russia due to drought, coupled with increasing pressures due to land shortages. See Giesinger, "Famine on the Volga in 1891-1892," Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, no. 7 (Winter 1984): 1-2.

³³⁵"Bemerkungen zum Bericht des Herrn P. F. Pempeit," Siloah 12, no. 11 (November 1893): 87.

³³⁶See Giesinger, From Catherine, 155-181.

neither the General Council nor the Missouri Synod were inclined to condone a "mixed" distribution.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Ruccius began to experience problems when he refused to distribute the Lord's Supper in a Reformed manner to some of his new members from south Russia who expected to receive it in that way.³³⁷ They actually considered the Lutheran method of distribution wrong. Furthermore, they wanted their children to be taught with the Heidelberg Catechism. To these demands, Ruccius would not comply.³³⁸ Consequently, some of them made contact with the Wartburg Synod, a small German branch of the General Synod, in the hope that they might be able to find a Lutheran group willing to minister to them on their terms.³³⁹

Thus, in the early months of 1894 the General Council tried to maintain its confessional stance on Holy Communion distribution amid continuing pressures to accommodate the expectations of immigrants who wanted it changed. The same could be said of all other aspects of the Council's views

³³⁷Lutherans were accustomed to having a wafer placed in their mouths and the chalice to their lips. The Reformed, on the other hand, expected to have white bread broken into pieces, which they would take into their hands from a paten; the chalice they would also guide with their hands to their lips. For a description of the two methods of distribution, see "Ueber Winnipeg," 33, and also Martin Ruccius, "Aus Winnipeg," in Siloah 13, no. 5 (May 1894): 38-39.

³³⁸Ibid. Ruccius had earlier reported that strife had arisen in his congregation between a minority and the majority group, but it is not certain if that situation of conflict had anything to do with the current conflict between Lutheran and Reformed members. See Ruccius, "Aus Winnipeg," Siloah 13, no. 1 (January 1894): 3.

³³⁹Ruccius, "Aus Winnipeg," Siloah 13, no. 5 (May 1894): 38. This is the same synod that Streich had been trying to join.

on mission and ministry in the Canadian west. Schmeider and his colleagues were still trying to provide a unified approach to ministry, and they were still maintaining the view that the Canadian west ought to be served by only one Lutheran synod—theirs. Of course, they were not keeping up with the growing number of German immigrants who were flooding the west. In fact, they were not even able to keep up with the people who were settling in their own districts.

Their constant cries for help could not be acted upon with any degree of consistency. It was not a matter of being short on manpower. The German Home Mission Committee simply lacked the financial resources to supply the pastors that were needed.³⁴⁰

In spite of such problems, during the first half of 1894 the missionaries of the General Council were happy to have the Canadian west to themselves and generally optimistic about their future. Thus, Schmieder could say by the end of June that in spite of all their troubles the Lord was blessing their work with mercy and making them strong in the midst of suffering.³⁴¹ Similarly, Wilhelm Willing was being moved to express the hope that when springtime came, Jesus Christ would dawn in their hearts anew so that they could "bring forth fruit with patience."³⁴² Even Berthold ended his quarterly report on an

³⁴⁰For example, in May 1894 they were saying that they had "kein Geld in der Kasse," in "Pastor Streichs Angelegenheit," Siloah 13, no. 5 (May 1894): 40. See also "Versammlung der Missionsbehoerde," Siloah 14, no. 4 (April 1895): 28.

³⁴¹Schmieder, "Aus Edenwald, Assa.," 50.

³⁴²Wilhelm Willing, "Aus Sued-Manitoba: Quartalsbericht vom 1. Dez. 1893 bis 28 Febr. 1894," Siloah 13, no. 5 (May 1894): 34.

optimistic note: "The Lord our Refuge gives His Spirit's power to all my work and furthers the 'work of our hands, yes the work of our hands he furthers quite well."³⁴³

The Missouri Synod – January to June

In startling contrast to the above, the ministry of the Missouri Synod in the west continued to flounder. In fact, in the early months of 1894 it seemed like a candle about to go out. Little could be done to maintain their ministry except to reassure the faithful that relief would be coming in the spring. Under the circumstances, Immanuel congregation in Winnipeg remained steady. Landestreu and Hoffenthal continued to falter. From the perspective of the District's Mission Board, the situation in the Canadian west was looking "very sad."³⁴⁴

It was about this time that the twenty excommunicated families at Stony Plain began to look for a solution to their problem. They had lost all faith in the ministry of the General Council. They had also lost all confidence in any dealings they might have with the Missouri Synod.

Their distrust of Missouri had been caused by an incident that had occurred shortly after they had been excommunicated by Pempeit. They were trying to hold prayer services in their homes at the time, but they had no pastor. It was then that a man who was already settled in the area offered them his services and encouraged them to ask the Missouri Synod to send

³⁴³[Emil] Berthold, "Aus Langenburg, Assa.," Siloah 13, no. 7 (July 1894): 50.

³⁴⁴Sievers, "Bericht ueber Innere Mission," Neunter Synodal-Bericht, 66.

them a pastor.³⁴⁵ The man's name was Jacob Strassburger. Apparently he had once been a janitor or a gardener at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.³⁴⁶ According to Rehwinkel, the man "represented himself as having been a sort of assistant to Dr. Pieper, president of the great Lutheran seminary . . . and offered his services as a pastor."³⁴⁷ He began reading some of Walther's sermons to them on Sunday mornings, but due to his ineptness they soon detected that he was an imposter. In fact, the experience was so disappointing to them that "they determined never again would they consider a pastor of the Missouri Synod."³⁴⁸

Then one of the young women in the group began working as a maid in nearby Edmonton where she became acquainted with a young man from Ontario. When she told him of their plight, he wrote to his home pastor, a Rev. J. Frosch, who happened to be the pastor of the Missouri Synod congregation in Elmira, Ontario. The letter was passed on from one pastor to

³⁴⁵According to Threinen, Strassburger was the same Missouri Synod man who had been earlier causing problems for Pempeit. See above p. 132; Threinen, Like a Leaven, 7; and Pempeit, "Aus einem Schreiben," 22. It is not altogether certain, however, if Pempeit and Threinen are talking about the same man, for Pempeit does not refer to the man by name and there were other Missouri families who were settling in the area at the time. Nevertheless, there is some plausibility to the idea that the same man who had earlier been excommunicated by Pempeit might have ended up trying to help others who had experienced the same fate.

³⁴⁶Rehwinkel, 114.

³⁴⁷Ibid. Schwermann says that the man had given the "impression that he had studied at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis." See Schwermann, Life and Times, 100.

³⁴⁸Rehwinkel, 114.

another until it finally reached Rev. F. H. Eggers, who was then serving as a missionary for the Minnesota and Dakota District at Great Falls, Montana.³⁴⁹

On May 16, 1894, Eggers came to Stony Plain to see if he could be of any assistance to the excommunicated families. Upon his arrival he made contact with some of the members of the group who, in turn, seemed quite willing to speak with him about their plight. In fact, they ended up talking together all through the evening and until six o'clock in the morning, he wanting to know what had actually happened between Pempeit and them, and they wanting to know what his church taught about "Bekehrung" (conversion).³⁵⁰

The following day Eggers went to see Pastor Pempeit to get his view of the matter. On the next day, May 18, he met with the entire group and announced that he had become convinced that, contrary to Matthew 18, they had been improperly excommunicated. He then explained to them more fully the "doctrine and practice of the Missouri Synod."³⁵¹ When he was finished, they confessed that they were in total agreement with those teachings and asked to be served by that Synod. The vote was unanimous. Upon their request Eggers then conducted a service of Holy Communion.³⁵² When he

³⁴⁹Schwermann, Life and Times, 100. The letter was sent to Elmira, Ontario. From there it went to the Michigan District, then to the Minnesota and Dakota District, and finally to Eggers. This was not, however, the first time that the Minnesota and Dakota District had received inquiries from Alberta. In June 1894 the District's Mission Board reported that they had earlier received other letters directly from as many as five colonies in Alberta seeking their assistance. See Sievers, Bericht, 67.

³⁵⁰Raedeke, 6.

³⁵¹Ibid.

³⁵²Schwermann, 101-102.

returned to Great Falls, he filed a favorable report with his District, urging them to send the group a pastor as soon as possible.

In the same month that Eggers filed his report, Rev. Ernst J. W. Starck, a candidate from the St. Louis seminary, arrived in Winnipeg to serve the territory that had once been covered by Buegel. When the District received Eggers' report, they become convinced that they also ought to send a candidate to Stony Plain, Alberta.³⁵³ They chose Emil Eberhardt, one of the ablest members of the seminary's spring graduating class.

Eberhardt would eventually outlast every other pastor in the west who had a ministry in the region when his ministry in Stony Plain began. With the exception of one brief interlude of a few years of ministry in Washington State, Eberhardt would spend his entire ministry at Stony Plain from 1894 until 1942—a period of forty-eight years.³⁵⁴

The Missouri Synod Reaffirms Its Mission and Ministry in the West

When the Minnesota and Dakota District of the Missouri Synod met in convention from June 27 to July 3, 1894, they had a perfect opportunity to reaffirm their commitment to mission and ministry in western Canada, and it was an opportunity they were not going to miss.

In his opening address, District President Pfothenhauer urged pastors and teachers to remember that they had been called to be "Haushalter" (householders) of the mysteries of God.³⁵⁵ He impressed upon them the fact that

³⁵³Sievers, "Bericht," 67.

³⁵⁴Ibid., 121.

³⁵⁵Friedrich Pfothenhauer, "Synodalrede," Neunter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode

God required of them that they be faithful—"no more, and no less."³⁵⁶ He encouraged them to remember that they were responsible for all the souls who were entrusted to their care. Would that they might be able to say to God when their ministry was ended, "Here are those whom you have given me; I have not lost one of them!"³⁵⁷ Would that they might also be able to say with Paul that they were willing to suffer all things for the sake of the Gospel.³⁵⁸

Quoting Walther's advice to seminarians contemplating their first calls, Pfothenhauer urged each pastor to look upon his assignment, whatever the location, as a "kleines Paradies," (a little paradise), worthy of being considered one of the most important places on the face of the earth:

[Walther had said], "When a Lutheran ministerial candidate is finally given an assignment where he is to conduct his office as a Lutheran preacher, that place should be to him the most precious and beautiful on earth. He should not want to exchange it for any kingdom; it should be to him a little paradise, whether it be urban or rural, whether open prairie or virgin forest, whether a well-established community or sparsely settled."³⁵⁹

von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894), 7.

³⁵⁶Ibid.

³⁵⁷Ibid. Text: "Hier sind sie, die du mir gegeben hast; ich habe deren keines verloren."

³⁵⁸Ibid.

³⁵⁹Ibid. The Walther quote is taken from his twentieth evening lecture, delivered on February 17, 1885, in his series on Law and Gospel. The translation here is by Bouman from C. F. W. Walther, Law and Gospel, trans. Herbert J. A. Bouman, Selected Writings of C. F. W. Walther 1, ed. Aug. R. Suelflow (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), 108. Text used by Pfothenhauer: "Walther sagte daher seinen Studenten: 'Wird, meine Freunde, einem theologischen Candidaten endlich ein Platz angewiesen, wo er nun das Amt eines evangelisch-lutherischen Predigers verwalten soll, so sollte ihm nun

Pfotenhauer reminded the delegates that of the 360 congregations and preaching stations being served by them, hardly more than twenty-five of them were in city locations. Obviously God was providing them with a number of opportunities to reach people in the more isolated and rural areas of His Kingdom. Pfotenhauer closed his message with the prayer that God would always give their District faithful pastors and teachers who, in turn, would want to share His Word with their congregations in order that they might also remain faithful.

Given the events that had recently transpired in western Canada, Pfotenhauer's words were both timely and relevant. In fact, his Mission Board was able to continue the same theme by maintaining that "the Lord has never abandoned his people; he upholds their confidence, blessing, salvation, and peace."³⁶⁰ In fact, God had been demonstrating his faithfulness through the recent decision to send two new missionaries to western Canada.

The Board lamented the fact that the congregations of their Synod had to go through such a period of testing after Buegel and Hahn had left. From their perspective, however, God had employed what appeared to be a bad situation for their good:

dieser Platz der wichtigste, theuerste und liebste Ort auf dem ganzen Erdkreis sein; kein Koenigreich sollte er dafuer eintauschen moegen; wie ein kleines Paradies sollte ihm der Platz erscheinen, mag es nun eine grosse oder kleine Stadt, eine bluehende Ansiedlung oder eine noch unwirthbare Gegend, eine kahle Prairie oder noch wenig gelichtetes Waldland sein."

³⁶⁰Fr[eidrich] Sievers, "Bericht ueber Innere Mission," Neunter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894), 66.

God gave His grace, so that the dear congregations, in spite of their dependence and isolation, still remained true to the pure doctrine, as they had found it from our Synod, and so that their desire to be served henceforth by us, might appear ever clearer to us, and increasingly more urgent to us.³⁶¹

The Board had to confess, however, that they had not been impressed by the actions of the General Council during the interim. Reflecting on Berthold's attempts to win back his old congregations at Landestreu and Hoffenthal, they thought it ironic that a church body so want to accuse Missouri of meddling in other people's affairs should end up interfering with a ministry that had been so firmly established by Missouri, and not by them.³⁶² In that connection they again took the opportunity to object to the General Council's view that the Canadian west belonged only to them:

. . . we believe, to be sure, to such doors, that God opens to us, also one may and should enter; and we have also reason enough to believe that the Lord neither wishes nor accepts from the General Council "that they alone possess the land."³⁶³

They were pleased to report that Starck's ministry was going well now in Winnipeg and in the surrounding areas. In fact, they had been especially glad to hear that in the congregations of Beresina, Hoffenthal, and Landestreu, Starck was being given "the most joyful receptions."³⁶⁴ In fact, they were convinced that his work was already receiving God's blessing.³⁶⁵

They were also excited about the plans they had for a ministry in Alberta. Although it was taking a little longer than expected for their second missionary to arrive there, they were confident that he would, God-willing, be

³⁶¹Ibid.

³⁶²See above pp. 118-119.

³⁶³Ibid.

³⁶⁴Ibid.

³⁶⁵Ibid.

able to "begin his office in a few weeks."³⁶⁶ In fact, they said that he was planning to "have his home near the congregation at Hoffnungsau so that he can supply it well."³⁶⁷

The Mission Board was equally pleased with the progress they were making in their ministry to other parts of the Great Northwest. For example, they were now serving fifty-four congregations and thirty-six preaching stations in South Dakota, a ministry that could be described not only as "schwere" (difficult) but also as "herrliche" (glorious).³⁶⁸ In North Dakota they were doing well in spite of the fact that they had to contend at times with "fanatical" preachers.³⁶⁹ In Montana it could be said in the words of Psalm 142:2 that the Lord was "building Jerusalem" and "bringing together the scattered into Israel."³⁷⁰ In general, they were grateful for all who were doing their part to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the Great Northwest "so that His House would be full!"³⁷¹

Therefore, by the summer of 1894 the District was showing itself as committed as ever to a ministry to people wherever they could be found. At that particular time in history they were finding it especially important to emphasize the fact that God had not abandoned His people in western Canada; neither had they!

³⁶⁶Ibid.

³⁶⁷Ibid.

³⁶⁸Ibid., 66.

³⁶⁹Ibid.

³⁷⁰Ibid.

³⁷¹Ibid.

The Ministry of Emil Eberhardt

It was not, however, until Monday, September 10, 1894, that Emil Eberhardt finally arrived in Stony Plain. He had come to Edmonton on the night train from St. Paul, Minnesota. From there he had travelled by livery rig to Stony Plain where he received directions to the home of one of his members.

Eberhardt seemed to be especially suited for his new ministry in the west. He had been born and raised in St. Paul, Minnesota. In fact, he had been a member of the same congregation that had been served for many years by Ernst Rolf, the first Missouri pastor to visit the Canadian west at Ossowa. Rolf had confirmed Eberhardt.³⁷²

When the latter arrived at Stony Plain, he was provided temporary accommodations in the two-room home of Jacob Ulmer, Sr., the leader of the congregation. The Ulmer family had moved to the smaller of their two rooms so that Eberhardt could use the larger room for his quarters and also for a school room. Eberhardt almost immediately developed a deep appreciation for Jacob Ulmer and his family. He reported later of those first days in his new surroundings, "Those were happy days of contentment and peace. Many an evening during the first winter we sat far into the night discussing religion which was a delight of my host."³⁷³

When Eberhardt arrived, his congregation had 112 members. Initially, he conducted worship services in the home of one of his members. On October 28, however, he arranged for the congregation to buy the property

³⁷²Threinen, Like a Leaven, 8.

³⁷³Herzer, 10.

that had been the source of contention between themselves and Pempeit. In the following summer he thought they could use part of that property for the construction of a new building which could serve as a parsonage and a church. The rest of the land could then be farmed by the members, with the proceeds being donated to the congregational treasury.³⁷⁴ The congregation was in total agreement with the plan.

On November 5 the congregation approved its first constitution and was formally organized as St. Matthew's Lutheran Church. On November 12 Eberhardt began conducting school in his quarters on the Jacob Ulmer farm. Schwermann notes that this was a major step forward, "since the children were not receiving instruction of any kind," and no public school had as yet been organized in the area.³⁷⁵

Not long after Eberhardt arrived, he began exploring other opportunities to minister to people in the surrounding area. In the fall he organized a preaching station at nearby Spruce Grove. He also began to establish preaching stations at Mill Creek (three miles southeast of Edmonton), Beaver Hills (thirty miles east of Edmonton), and Bear Hills (near Wetaskiwin).³⁷⁶ On February 17, 1895, he also began holding worship services every third Sunday in a fire hall in Edmonton.

Although he began his ministry at Stony Plain as a single man, he was planning to be married in the following summer. In fact, it was on June 10, 1895, that Eberhardt was joined in marriage to Mary Beiderwieden in St.

³⁷⁴Schwermann, 103-104.

³⁷⁵Ibid., 103. ³⁷⁶Ibid., 105-106.

Louis, where he and his wife had first met. Although she was from St. Louis, she appeared quite willing to move with her new husband to the Canadian frontier. They arrived in Stony Plain on the morning of July 30 after riding in a horse and buggy all night through a terrible thunderstorm that had overtaken them when they had reached Edmonton. Mrs. Eberhardt later referred to it in her diary as "a night of terrors"; she was very grateful that God had brought them safely to their destination.³⁷⁷

The General Council Reacts

Eberhardt was now actively engaged in his ministry to Stony Plain and to the surrounding region. In the meantime, in Manitoba and Assiniboia Starck had picked up where Buegel and Hahn had left off, and at the same staggering pace—he was now ministering to people at eleven locations, including Winnipeg, Landestreu, Hoffenthal, and the communities near Grenfell.

Not surprisingly, the missionaries of the General Council were now beginning to express their anger over the return and resurgence of the Missouri Synod in the Canadian west. If they had had any illusions about the possibility of a permanent Missouri withdrawal, those illusions were being shattered as Starck and Eberhardt began to settle in.

In late October, Schmieder, Ruccius, Willing, and Berthold met for a pastoral conference in Winnipeg to discuss recent developments in the west.

³⁷⁷Ibid., 108-110. See also Albert H. Schwermann, "Transcript of Mrs. Eberhardt's Diary" (1961) in Stony Plain Congregational Files, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family life, Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton.

Pempeit had also been invited to the conference, but he had to send his regrets. During the course of the conference, they discussed the recent "Uebergriffe" (encroachment) of the Missouri Synod in their field.³⁷⁸ They offered the observation: "One can not help but get the impression from the method and manner of Missouri work that they care for the wool and not for the sheep. Such activity conforms to John 10."³⁷⁹

In December Pempeit said in his quarterly report that he had been recently experiencing troubles with Missouri. For the first time he admitted that he had problems in his congregation during the previous year, leading to a split.³⁸⁰ While avoiding all mention of the actual reasons for the rift, he simply indicated that several families had been trying to issue orders to him and to the rest of his congregation.³⁸¹ For that reason alone, said Pempeit, they had to be expelled. Not wanting to be without a pastor, they tried at first to get help from the General Synod, explained Pempeit. When that plan failed, they obtained the services of a Missouri pastor.³⁸²

Of course, the Missouri pastor, who is nowhere named in Pempeit's report, was Emil Eberhardt. In his report Pempeit complained that he could scarcely go anywhere now without finding evidence of the "Missourian's" presence. On one Sunday he wanted to hold a worship service in Beaver

³⁷⁸"Pastoral-Konferenz in Winnipeg," Siloah 13, no. 12 (December 1894): 91.

³⁷⁹Ibid.

³⁸⁰Ferdinand Pempeit, "Aus Stony Plain, Alberta," Siloah 14, no. 1 (January 1895): 6.

³⁸¹Ibid.

³⁸²Ibid.

Hills, but the Missourian was also there.³⁸³ From Pempeit's perspective, the Missourian was trying to gain a foothold anywhere he could:

The Missourian is however not satisfied only to work at one place. He takes the greatest pains to go everywhere since he also has bought a horse, saddle, wagon, as well as sled. But how much success has he shown until now? None. . . . A short time ago he was even in Heimthal, 15 miles south of Edmonton, but the people wrote to me as soon as possible and explained that they wanted to have nothing to do with such an erring spirit.³⁸⁴

According to Pempeit, these developments were but a sign of things to come, for Scripture had warned in 2 Timothy 4:3 that a time would come when people would not endure sound teaching, but have itching ears for teachers who would tell them what they wanted to hear. Nevertheless, said Pempeit, "the Lord however builds His Kingdom according to His good will."³⁸⁵

At the conclusion of his report, the editors of Siloah were quick to point out that Pempeit was now ministering to 744 people in his district—many more people than he had ever served before. All of this was happening in spite of the efforts of the Missouri Synod to gain a following in the area. In fact, Siloah could also point out that between Pempeit and Willing alone 1,724 souls were being served in western Canada. Obviously, they wanted to leave the impression that any damage being inflicted by the Missouri Synod on their mission had been very minimal, to say the least—if anything, it was working to the advantage of the General Council, and not the reverse.³⁸⁶

In February the propaganda war against Missouri continued with an announcement in Siloah stating that Starck, the pastor of the Missouri Synod congregation in Winnipeg, had been seen lately in the immigration office of

³⁸³Ibid.

³⁸⁴Ibid.

³⁸⁵Ibid.

³⁸⁶Ibid.

the Canadian Pacific Railroad desperately looking for new congregational members. According to Siloah, all the better elements of the Missouri congregation had already left; the only members who remained were a "disreputable bunch without any church sense."³⁸⁷ In fact, according to local sources, the little congregation had been so shriveled up, that it was not even in a position to pay the rent. Consequently, the Missouri pastor for the most part was having to pay for everything out of his own pocket. Indeed, according to Siloah, unless something totally unforeseen should happen, "the little congregation will have to collapse, which could only be for the best for the Kingdom of God."³⁸⁸

In June, complaints about Missouri continued when the editors of Siloah published an article to announce the arrival of a new missionary in Alberta. The new missionary was Friedrich Bredlow. He had originally come to America from Hamburg and studied at the Wisconsin Synod seminary in Milwaukee. In fact, he had served in several mission stations in Wisconsin before accepting the call to serve as a pastor for the General Council.³⁸⁹ He had agreed to assist Pempeit at Wetaskiwin.

As the editors of Siloah announced Bredlow's arrival, they left the impression that he had not arrived a minute too soon. According to Siloah, the Missouri missionary in the area (Eberhardt) for the past six months had been trying to estrange the people at Wetaskiwin from the ministry of the

³⁸⁷"Nachrichten," Siloah 14, no. 2 (February 1895): 13.

³⁸⁸Ibid.

³⁸⁹"Unser neuer Missionar," Siloah 14, no. 6 (June 1895): 44.

General Council. They said that he had been using a little book by Missouri Synod Pastor T. J. Grosse to try to prove that the pastors and missionaries of the General Council were really "false teachers."³⁹⁰ According to Siloah, it had obviously been his goal to create as much embarrassment as possible for them so that he could "fish in troubled waters."³⁹¹ Consequently, the Council, while rejoicing with Missouri for its achievements, could only express dismay over the means that were being taken to attain them:

While on the one hand we rejoice from the heart at the success and the strong spreading of Missouri, we must on the other hand even so very much more regret that the same (church body) takes ahold of such and other reprehensible means in order to obtain as great an expansion as possible. This is not according to Romans 15:20 where the Holy Spirit lays out this rule of mission activities: "I have made it my ambition to preach the gospel, not where Christ has already been named, lest I build on another man's foundation." Such circumstances were in the time of early Christendom clearly unthinkable. Where had it occurred there to an apostle or evangelist to push into the field of another, to slander him among the congregations or to try to push away his fellow brother?³⁹²

Bredlow's own assessment of the situation appeared to be less critical of Eberhardt, while at the same time remaining suitably cautious. In August he admitted that he had actually not experienced any interference from Eberhardt

³⁹⁰Ibid.

³⁹¹Ibid.

³⁹²Ibid. Text: "Waehrend wir uns einerseits des Erfolges und der starken Ausbreitung Missouris von Herzen freuen, muessen wir andererseits ebenso sehr bedauern, dass dasselbe zu solchen und anderen verwerflichen Mitteln greift, um eine moeglichst grosse Ausbreitung zu erlangen. Dies ist nicht nach Roem. 15, 20 wo der hl. Geist diese Regel des Missionierens niederlegt: 'Ich habe mich sonderlich beflissen, das Evangelium zu predigen, wo Christi Name nicht bekannt war, auf dass ich nicht auf einen fremden Grund bauete.' Solche Zustaende waren in der Zeit der ersten Christenheit rein undenkbar. Wo waere es da einem Apostel oder Evangelisten eingefallen, sich in das Arbeitsfeld eines andern hinein zu draengen, ihn bei den Gemeinden anzuschwaerzen oder zu suchen, seinen Mitbruder zu verdraengen?"

since his arrival at Wetaskiwin. Although the latter had performed two marriages in the area shortly before he had come, Bredlow was hoping that he would not return to erect any "opposition altar" there:

The Missourian had married two couples here shortly before my arrival. Nevertheless the same ones continue as also do their parents now with me—likely only because they prefer to have the pastor nearby. Several of my people doubt very much that they will remain with us. Nevertheless, since none of them are among those who were originally Missourian, I do hope that an opposition altar will not be erected here.³⁹³

Bredlow was actually experiencing more difficulties at the time from a Baptist preacher in Leduc than he was experiencing from Eberhardt.³⁹⁴

Missouri Plans to Expand

As the Minnesota and Dakota District met in convention June 13-19, 1895, President Pfothauer urged the delegates on the basis of Psalm 84:6 to remember that although they may be travelling through a vale of tears in this life, God is helping them to make it a place where they can find wells of water to refresh them. And the wells are spiritual wells, the kind of wells that Isaiah describes in chapter 12 of his prophetic book: wells of salvation that bring joy because they are the ones from which the waters of eternal life can be drawn.³⁹⁵

³⁹³Friedrich Bredlow, "Aus Wetaskiwin, Alberta," Siloah 14, no. 8 (August 1895): 61.

³⁹⁴Ibid.

³⁹⁵Friedrich Pfothauer, "Synodalrede," Zehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-District der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895), 7.

Pfotenhauer urged the delegates to think of their "Gemeindeschulen," (congregational schools) as "Kinderbrunnen" (children's wells) from which children needed to be nourished in their Christian faith.³⁹⁶ In fact, the congregations themselves could be looked upon as "Brunnen" (wells) that bring the water of life, God's Word, the means of grace, to people who would die of spiritual thirst without them. With the use of such metaphors, Pfotenhauer could then talk about the previous year as a year of growth in which new wells had been dug for the Kingdom from the Black Hills of South Dakota to the provinces of Canada.³⁹⁷ He furthermore could appeal to them to think of the mission task as a matter of directing their hearts and minds on the goal of digging new wells in places where none could be found yet.

Since the last convention, the District had continued to grow at a rapid rate. According to the report of the Mission Board, they now had a total membership of 51,498 souls among 263 congregations and 106 preaching stations throughout the Great Northwest.³⁹⁸

While they could rejoice in the fact that they now had two missionaries on the Canadian frontier, one in Manitoba and another in Alberta, the Mission Board was of the opinion that they could use at least three more men in the field as soon as possible: one in Assiniboia where Hahn had served, another in Manitoba where it was "absolutely necessary" to have a second worker, and

³⁹⁶Ibid., 9. ³⁹⁷Ibid., 10.

³⁹⁸Friedrich Sievers, "Bericht ueber Innere Mission," Zehnter Synodal-Bericht, 69.

another one in Alberta who could assist Eberhardt in a field that was ever expanding.³⁹⁹

The Mission Board of the District was true to their word. 1895 became a year of expansion in the Canadian west, especially for the Missouri Synod. In July, Carl Geith became the Missouri Synod pastor at Landestreu and Hoffenthal. In August, Herman Siegert arrived at Neudorf to serve a new Missouri Synod congregation at a different location from that served by Streich (but in the same general area). In October, Eberhardt received assistance at Stony Plain in the person of Gotthilf Francke. The goal of sending another worker to Manitoba would have to wait for a few more years.

The General Council now had, with the addition of Bredlow, a total of seven pastors on the frontier. The Missouri Synod had five. All of these men were being called upon to carry out a ministry under difficult and unusual circumstances. All but two had come to the frontier as candidates. Ministry in the region could be very tiring at times, and during some periods of the year even dangerous. The severe cold spells of winter were ever a challenge to these men. Mud slides and mosquitoes could be irritants in summer. The mode of transportation had to be primitive. Some areas could only be reached on foot.

For the most part, the missionaries of the two synods could carry on their work for months without actually seeing each other. The territory was vast. There were still areas that were not even being visited by anyone—areas like south Alberta and northern Saskatchewan. Nevertheless, the potential for

³⁹⁹Ibid., 75.

conflict continued to exist as both synods remained as committed as ever to their own distinctive views on mission and ministry.

Missouri Synod missionaries continued to view the Canadian west as a field ripe for the harvest; they remained convinced that God was calling them there. The General Council, on the other hand, continued to be unhappy with every sign of growth that was occurring in the ministry of the Missouri Synod to the region. Of course, they still looked upon the territory as theirs.

The General Council Drafts a "Solemn Protest"

When the General Council met in convention at Easton, Pennsylvania, in October 1895 an angry complaint was registered against Missouri Synod pastors who were serving in western Canada. Again it was said that Missouri missionaries were using a book by Missouri pastor T. J. Grosse to lure people away from the ministry of the Council. The following is the relevant text of the complaint:

We cannot close our report without touching upon a matter which is lamentable in the extreme. It is this: Since the publication of Pastor Grosse's "Unterscheidungslehren," in which the General Council and certain men in our body are charged with teaching false doctrine and with maintaining principles in Church government that smack of Rome, the men whom the authorities of the Missouri Synod have sent into our mission territory to found opposition churches have gone about among the people with this book in hand, showing them that the General Council is a body of heretics and that its missionaries are teachers of false doctrine. It is for the Council to say whether it will take any notice of such conduct.⁴⁰⁰

⁴⁰⁰Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention, 40. The complaint was delivered to the convention by J. Nicum, Chairman of the German Home Mission Committee. The text in the English version of the convention minutes varies slightly from Nicum's German text, which talks about "die Leute" (the people) who were being sent by the Missouri Synod to western Canada. The English version simply refers to the "men" whom the "authorities" of the Missouri Synod had sent. Given the fact that Grosse's

The convention responded to this complaint by then drafting a "solemn protest" against the Missouri Synod. The text of the protest began with a review of the Council's work since their missionaries first entered the western region. The preamble is significant insofar as it provides a view of the Council's perceptions of their own ministry to the region over a period of about seven years:

[The Board of German Home Missions] about seven years ago, received an urgent call from the scattered Germans in Manitoba and the Northwest Territory of Canada, to provide for their spiritual wants, as they were as sheep without a shepherd. A prompt response was made to this call and a goodly number of devoted and self-denying missionaries were sent into the vast and difficult field. The blessing of God rested on their labors, congregations were organized, and the Gospel was preached and the Sacraments were administered to them in strict accord with the teachings and spirit of our Lutheran Church.⁴⁰¹

book had apparently been circulating through the efforts of laity like Riedle as well as of clergy, the German designation "die Leute" would seem more accurate. Furthermore, while the English version is more explicit about the charges made in Grosse's book, the German text dwells on the identity of those who were being allegedly misled—the new and inexperienced "Ansiedlern aus Russland und Galizien" (settlers from Russia and Galicia). The German text appears in General-Konzil 25 Convention zu Easton, Pa. (Mt. Vernon, New York: Druckerei des artburg Waissenhauses, 1895), 12. It also appears in J. Nicum, "Versammlung der deutschen Missionsbehoerde," Siloah 14, no. 11 (November 1895): 86. The German text: "Ehe wir schliessen, muessen wir noch auf sehr beklagenswerte Vorkommnisse hinweisen. Seitdem das Buechlein des P. Grosse ueber die Unterscheidungslehren der verschiedenen lutherischen Synoden herausgekommen ist, machen es sich die Leute, welche von der Missouri Synode nach dem Westen Canadas gesandt werden, um Gegenaltaere aufzurichten, zur aufgabe, mit diesem Buechlein in der Hand bei den neuen, unerfahrenen Ansiedlern aus Russland und Galizien umherzugehen und ihnen an der Hand dieses Buechleins zu beweisen, dass das Konzil ein falschgläubiger Koerper und dessen Missionare Irrlehrer seien. So suchen sie den Missionaren die Herzen ihrer Gemeindeglieder zu stehlen, die Gemeinden zu verwirren und sich Anhang zu verschaffen! Wir stellen es dem Konzil anheim, ob es von solchem, unehrlichen Treiben Notiz nehmen will."

⁴⁰¹Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention, 74-75.

Then followed the substance of the protest:

But at this juncture, an effort to disturb and distract this good work was commenced and has been carried on systematically and unscrupulously. It is painful to be compelled to say that this interference comes from men bearing our name, members of the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church. They have gone into our mission congregations and tried to tear them away from their connection with us by false representations and accusations. They have accused this Council and its missionaries of false and heretical doctrine, when they know the fact that we receive and have confessed before God and men all the Confessional standards of our Church, without any mental reservations. They have thus been guilty of bearing false witness against a great host of Christian people and of rending the body of Christ, clearly prompted by a spirit essentially sectarian and partisan.

We therefore enter our solemn protest against this unchristian and injurious action of the Missouri Synod in this case, as dishonorable to those concerned in it, destructive to the peace and prosperity of the Church of Christ, and offensive to God.⁴⁰²

An Evaluation of the Protest

At the heart of the protest lay the contention that the book by Grosse was being used in an effort to undermine the credibility of the General Council in the eyes of their own people. Complaints to that effect had been periodically raised since Herman Brauer arrived in western Canada in the fall of 1890. According to Siloah, for example, Brauer had shown the land agent Riedle a copy of the book in an effort to win him away from the Council.⁴⁰³ About a year later the book surfaced again when members of the congregations at Landestreu and Hoffenthal began to complain to Buegel about the ministry of Berthold; they indicated that they had recently come across a copy of Grosse's book and found it enlightening.⁴⁰⁴ More recently the editors of

⁴⁰²Ibid., 75.

⁴⁰³See above, chapter five, footnote 183.

⁴⁰⁴See above, chapter six, footnote 253.

Siloah were claiming that Eberhardt was using the book wherever he went to try to persuade Pempeit's followers to leave him.⁴⁰⁵

Two questions, however, still need to be answered: What was the book about? And was it actually being used in the manner suggested?

The book in question was written by Pastor T. J. Grosse, of Addison, Illinois, in 1889 to provide a presentation of differences that were known to have existed at the time between the Missouri Synod and fifteen other churches. It must have been a popular book, given the fact that it subsequently went through several printings.⁴⁰⁶ Although it was polemical in nature, it was generally accurate. In the section on the General Council, for example, it particularly faults the Council for tolerating the following: chiliastic opinions, a more open approach to pulpit and altar fellowship, membership in secret societies, and a higher view of synodical authority than the Missouri Synod had adopted. Names are occasionally mentioned, particularly that of J. Seiss, who actually had chiliastic tendencies and who was also president of the General Council in the year when Grosse would have been writing the first edition of his book.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵See above p. 143.

⁴⁰⁶In Grosse's introduction to his fourth edition of the book, printed in 1909, he indicated that he had to expand the book due to popular demand; it now included a whole section on the Roman Catholic church, and entirely new sections on the Adventists, Irvingians, the Salvation Army, Spiritists, and the Christian Scientists. See T. Johannes Grosse, Unterscheidungslehren der hauptsächlichen sich lutherisch nennenden Synoden sowie der namhaftesten Sectenkirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 4th ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1909), v.

⁴⁰⁷See Joseph A. Seiss, The Last Times and the Great Consummation (Philadelphia: Smith, English, and Co., 1863), 98, 341-349, and 362-363. Seiss

A few specific references can be questioned as to their accuracy,⁴⁰⁸ but the book does point to areas of doctrinal disagreement that did exist at the time, as contemporary documents on either side would attest.⁴⁰⁹ Still, the Council could not have been expected to appreciate either the tone or the method of presentation employed by Grosse.⁴¹⁰

Had the book actually been used in the manner suggested? While all the evidence from the General Council's publications would point to the affirmative, the Missouri Synod's reports make no mention of it. Furthermore, the reports of the missionaries themselves do not contain any references to

at the time that he wrote this book believed that the end of the world was to come by 1870 and that Napoleon III was the Anti-Christ. He continued to have millennial leanings during the course of his ministry.

⁴⁰⁸Grosse suspects Seiss of having a Reformed view of the sacrament (see Grosse, 1889 edition, 47). However, when the quote from Seiss is studied in its context, one cannot find a clear denial of the Real Presence. On the contrary, it is affirmed. See Joseph A. Seiss, Lectures on the Gospels (Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore, 1888), 480-481. Seiss clearly says, "With the Apostles, therefore, and the early Church, and resting on the plain words of our blessed Lord himself, we do believe, hold, and confess, that the very body and blood of Christ are verily present in the Lord's Supper, under the form of bread and wine, and are there communicated and received," 480. On the next page, Seiss also refers to the sacrament as the "very manna and bread of heaven," which Grosse quotes, trying to leave the impression that Seiss was not sure of the Real Presence. On this point, Grosse is not being accurate.

⁴⁰⁹The main points of disagreement Grosse found between the General Council and the Missouri Synod were also affirmed from the General Council side in a court case, the abstract of which is found in "What is the Difference in Doctrine Between the General Bodies Known as the General Council and The Synodical Conference?" The Lutheran Witness 14, no. 13 (December 7, 1895): 97.

⁴¹⁰See Grosse, 1889 edition, 46-58. His procedure was first to list "falsch" views of the Council point by point, each followed by the appropriate Word of God on the subject and then the Missouri Synod view as that of a "rechtgläubige" Synod. The implications were obvious.

Grosse's book.⁴¹¹ Nevertheless, on the strength of the Council's protest, there is no doubt that some of the Missouri Synod missionaries must have been using Grosse on some occasions, and particularly among immigrants who were literate enough to gain some benefit from it.

The General Council's "solemn protest," therefore, may have had some basis in fact. On closer examination, however, it also contained certain elements to suggest that some of the same old complaints were surfacing again. For example, the Missouri Synod was again being accused of "systematically and unscrupulously" disturbing the work of the General Council in a field to which the Council had already been called. Nicum had made the same point when Herman Brauer first entered Canada. Moreover, the term "interference" was again being used to describe the general activity of Missouri among the congregations and settlements in the region.

While the Council seemed particularly incensed at the thought that anyone would want to accuse them of false doctrine, it should not have been surprising for them to find Missouri Synod missionaries saying—with or without the use of Grosse's book—that differences existed between their Synod and the General Council. Missionaries of the General Council had

⁴¹¹None of the extant records of the early missionaries nor the mission reports in the proceedings of the Minnesota and Dakota District make any mention of Grosse. See Sechster Synodal-Bericht, 110-114; Siebenter Synodal-Bericht, 84-85; Achter Synodal-Bericht, 62-68; Neunter Synodal-Bericht, 64-70; and Zehnter Synodal-Bericht, 69-82. See also Eberhardt's handwritten account of his early work in Alberta: Emil Eberhardt, "Mitteilungen ueber meine Missionsarbeit in Alberta" (1902) in Stony Plain Congregational Files, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family file, Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton.

certainly been far from reluctant to warn their own people of similar dangers in being involved with Missouri.

It is interesting to note that the General Council's protest does not allow for the possibility that a number of people in the Canadian west might have wanted to freely associate themselves with the ministry of the Missouri Synod apart from any pressure on Missouri's part. Some had actually preferred a Missouri Synod ministry either because they had belonged to the Missouri Synod before settling in the west or had for one reason or another been disappointed with the ministry of the General Council. There were even those who had actually received no ministry from anyone until a Missouri pastor had come to see them. They were grateful for the contact. The Missouri Synod's position obviously allowed for all such possibilities. The General Council's territorial view, on the other hand, seemed to leave no room for other options.

The Aftermath of the Protest

According to the minutes of the General Council, the President of the Council, together with the German Corresponding Secretary, after consultation with the German Home Mission Committee, were to make the proper representations of the Council's concerns to the authorities of the Missouri Synod. That was accomplished.⁴¹² Consequently, the Missouri Synod sent a polite letter to the General Council, but with little acknowledgement of any

⁴¹²See Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1897 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1897), 10.

wrongdoing.⁴¹³ Both Der Lutheraner and The Lutheran Witness carried stories asking for proof of what they considered "ungrounded accusations."⁴¹⁴

What more can be said about the protest? The Council protest of 1895 could not have been worded more strongly. Members of the General Council felt that a grave injustice had been done to them and their ministry in western Canada. They certainly had entered the field with a sincere desire to serve people—from the earliest days when Schmieder was all alone, until then. Many miles had been travelled. With astonishing dedication they had labored day and night, and often under great difficulty, for the sake of the Gospel. One has to be blind to the history not to appreciate what they had accomplished.

The same, however, could be said of the pastors of the Missouri Synod. They had likewise entered the field with a desire to serve people. They seemed just as willing, by the grace of God, to endure conditions of frontier life—too much or too little rain, the mosquitoes, and the freezing cold—so that the faith of people could be nourished through their ministry. In some ways they had a more difficult task. They had begun and left, and begun and

⁴¹³Ibid.

⁴¹⁴The Lutheran Witness 14, no. 15 (January 7, 1896): 117. The article wonders out loud if the other church's board was perhaps trying to "screen itself behind such charges for misdirected or miscarried mission operations." Ibid. See Der Lutheraner 15, no. 24 (November 19, 1895): 196: "So zeigt es sich immer wieder, dass Unlauterkeit im Bekenntniss auch Unlauterkeit und Lieblosigkeit im Wandel zur Folge hat" (This is but another proof for the truth that unsoundness in faith [or confession] entails unsoundness and want of charity in practice).

left again. Their recent return and expansion appeared to be a clearer indication that they were now there to stay.

Efforts were being made on both sides to stay clear of each other. Actually, it is surprising that more problems did not occur, given the fact that the two groups had genuine doctrinal disagreements with each other, differing perceptions of jurisdiction, and differing assumptions about mission and ministry that were in ultimate conflict with each other. Furthermore, they had no structure for resolving grievances against each other.

The protest of '95 was the last major protest against Missouri to come from the General Council during their early years of ministry in western Canada. Complaints about the Missouri Synod could still occasionally be heard from time to time, but in general they had been reduced to a murmur. Both groups were concerned about the fact that people needed ministry. Sinners needed consolation.

Until a pastor would arrive, many Lutherans did what they could to maintain their faith, as the older Neuman had done years before at Ossowa. They read their Bibles to their children, sang whatever hymns they could remember, but yearned for the means of grace and benefits that pastoral care could offer. During the following decades the missionaries of both groups would become increasingly successful in their attempts to reach these scattered Lutherans.

CHAPTER NINE
YEARS OF GROWTH
1896 - 1900

During the next ten years Lutheranism in western Canada experienced a period of unprecedented consolidation and growth. The Missouri Synod began the period with five missionaries and 738 members. By 1905 she had eleven missionaries and 5,158 souls—an increase of nearly 700 percent in membership.⁴¹⁵ The General Council, on the other hand, began the period with seven missionaries and 3,500 members. By 1905 the Council had eighteen missionaries and approximately 9,000 souls—an increase of about 250 percent in membership.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵The actual numbers are based on a tabulation of statistics reported in the following: Statistisches Jahrbuch der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synod von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten fuer das Jahr 1896 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1897), 50; and Statistisches Jahrbuch der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten fuer das Jahr 1905 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906), 66-68.

⁴¹⁶See Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention, 38-39; and Minutes of the Thirtieth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1905 (Philadelphia: General Council Board, 1905), 282.

The Missouri Synod in the West, 1896-1900

The Ministry to Alberta

The Missouri Synod saw some of its largest increases in Alberta by 1905, although one might not have been able to predict it from the way this phase of their ministry had begun.

In 1895 the region was being served by Eberhardt and Francke. But on October 12, 1896—almost a year to the day after he had arrived in Alberta—Francke left to accept a call to Flensburg, North Dakota.⁴¹⁷ Again Eberhardt was alone.

In August of the same year Eberhardt received a visit from Pastor Arnold H. Kuntz, a member of his District's Mission Committee. Eberhardt took him on a tour of the Stony Plain settlement and also of his preaching stations at Rosenthal, Spruce Grove, Edmonton, Mill Creek, and Beaver Hills.⁴¹⁸

At Beaver Hills they had an opportunity to review the doctrine of the Lord's Supper with those who were gathered there. Apparently a number of Reformed families who had attached themselves to the congregation, had been raising questions lately about the Real Presence. During the course of the discussion Eberhardt explained the Lutheran method of distribution and also outlined his Synod's position on the Real Presence. One of the members,

⁴¹⁷Schwermann, 107.

⁴¹⁸F[riedrich] Pf[otenhauer], "Nachrichten aus dem Missionsgebiete des Minnesota- und Dakota-District," Der Lutheraner 53 (January 12, 1897): 3-4.

who apparently liked what she heard, exclaimed, "If my Lord Jesus said this is My body, well then He meant what He said."⁴¹⁹

The following year (1897) Eberhardt, who was left without any other pastor to assist him, consolidated his efforts at Stony Plain, Beaver Hills, and Mill Creek. During that year the Edmonton mission came to a temporary halt, as did the mission at Bear Hills. The mission at Rosenthal and Spruce Grove also experienced the same fate, with some of the members transferring to Eberhardt's congregation in Stony Plain, and others to the congregation of the General Council being served by Pempeit.⁴²⁰

Southern Alberta at the time was not being regularly served by any Lutheran pastor. Schmieder had visited Dunmore in April of 1896. He was hoping to return again in June of the same year, and also to visit at that time Pincher Creek, Fort McLeod, and Lethbridge; but that trip never materialized.⁴²¹ In the fall of 1896 Willing, at Schmieder's request, visited Pincher Creek while he was on a trip to Alberta with his brother-in-law. In Pincher Creek he found six Lutheran families who said they had not heard a German sermon for ten years.⁴²² During that trip, Willing also stopped at Calgary but

⁴¹⁹Ibid., 108.

⁴²⁰Threinen, Like a Leaven, 15.

⁴²¹H[einrich] Schmieder, "Aus Assiniboia," Siloah 15, no. 5 (May 1896): 40. See also Schmieder, "Bericht von Pastor Schmieder," Siloah 15, no. 7 (July 1896): 53.

⁴²²W[ilhelm] Willing, "Aus Sued-Manitoba," Siloah 15, no. 10 (October 1896): 75. A letter of thanks directed to Schmieder from the settlers at Pincher Creek appeared in "Nachrichten und Bemerkungen," Siloah 15, no. 12 (December 1896): 96.

did not have time to hold any worship service there because he was in a hurry to get home. Once again southern Alberta was not being served by anyone. Neither Willing nor Schmieder ever returned to the area again.

In October of 1897, Eberhardt decided to conduct a missionary journey to southeastern Alberta. Many of the Lutherans in the area who were of Latvian descent had received a visit three months earlier from Hans Rebane, who had recently been called to be the Missouri Synod's itinerant preacher for Latvians. Rebane ended up organizing a Latvian congregation of thirty-one members while he was there. He also was able to organize a German Lutheran congregation of forty-five members, which he then referred to the Minnesota and Dakota District.⁴²³

When he was informed about these Germans, Eberhardt decided to make contact with them to determine how the Synod might best serve them. He left for Josephsburg near Dunmore on October 7, assessed the situation, and returned to Stony Plain five days later.⁴²⁴ In the spring of the following year, Ewald Herrmann said he would be willing to serve the congregation from his home in Wolseley, Assiniboia. Herrmann had just left the General Council to become a missionary for the Missouri Synod and he was more available than Eberhardt to serve them.⁴²⁵ He was not, however, involved at

⁴²³Threinen, Like a Leaven, 16.

⁴²⁴Schwermann, 106. Schwermann calls the area that Eberhardt visited "Dunmore." Eberhardt refers to it as "Josephsburg" in his "Mitteilungen," 2. Josephsburg is the more accurate designation. Both Josephsburg and Dunmore were part of the general area in southeastern Alberta from which Pempeit's congregation had migrated in 1891.

⁴²⁵For more information on Herrmann, see below pp. 186-187.

the time with any ministry to German settlers in south central or southwestern Alberta.

In the following year Eberhardt decided to conduct an exploratory missionary journey to that region as a result of a conversation he had had with a woman from Calgary who was visiting relatives in Stony Plain at the time. The woman told him that there had been a recent increase in German Lutheran settlers in Calgary, and they were not being served by anyone. As a result of these discussions, he began planning for an extended trip to the southern region.

Eberhardt's 1899 Missionary Journey

On September 15, 1899, Eberhardt began what turned out to be a sixty-one day missionary journey that took him through southern Alberta and then westward through southern British Columbia all the way to the Pacific coast at Vancouver.⁴²⁶

His first stop was Calgary where he held a worship service attended by ninety-three people, including nineteen families. Many of them were

⁴²⁶Schwermann, "The Life and Times of Emil Eberhardt," 106-107. The dates coincide with those that are found in Mrs. Eberhardt's diary. See Mary Eberhardt, *Diary*, Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton, 234-236. Emil Eberhardt's own notes, which appear to be in error, indicate that he began the trip in July. See Eberhardt, "Mitteilungen," 3. When he wrote those notes he was relying on his memory and actually entered "Juli" above the line as a later textual addition. Almost certainly, Mrs. Eberhardt's dates for the trip are correct since she was keeping a daily log as the days passed by. According to her records, Emil conducted worship services at Mill Creek and in Stony Plain on alternate Sundays throughout July, August, and early September. He also visited the sick, did some harvesting, and shot some ducks when duck hunting season opened in late August. According to Mrs. Eberhardt's records, he left on his trip for British Columbia on September 15, and returned on November 14.

Germans from Russia, and they received him gladly.⁴²⁷ From Calgary he travelled to Pincher Creek where he visited a group of seventy-one Lutherans who had been visited by Willing in 1896. Most of them had originally come from Ontario; some had come from Nebraska. Two of the settlers (Gustav Neumann and Karl Schoening) had been part of the group that had left Ossowa in the 1880s.⁴²⁸ They had not heard from any Lutheran pastor in three years and had written to Eberhardt asking him if he would be willing to minister to them on an occasional basis. He was able to serve them not only then, but also twice after 1899 until a permanent pastor could be assigned to the area.

From Pincher Creek he travelled by railroad to Vancouver, where he conducted a service for fourteen people in the Norwegian church on Jackson and Prior Streets.⁴²⁹ He also visited Victoria.⁴³⁰ During his return trip to Stony Plain, he again visited Pincher Creek, explored Lethbridge, and conducted another service in Calgary.

On the way back, however, his train had a wreck before reaching Calgary. While it was going over a river, there was a sudden stop; his coach car fell off the tracks and down the bank, stopping three feet from the water.

⁴²⁷Ibid., 106.

⁴²⁸Herzer, 18.

⁴²⁹Schwermann, "The Life and Times of Emil Eberhardt," 106. See also Fr[iedrich] Sievers, "Innere Mission," Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1900), 51-52.

⁴³⁰See Ibid., 52. Mrs. Eberhardt mentions in her diary in an entry dated October 14 that she had received a letter from Emil on that day from Victoria. See Diary, 235.

Somehow Eberhardt landed on his feet, although the car was upside down. He had difficulty, however, trying to get out of the coach, but a brakeman with a lantern suddenly appeared to help him out. He and a number of the other passengers were then put in a box car, as the train with its remaining cars still intact sped on to the next station.⁴³¹ Mrs. Eberhardt wrote in her diary on November 14: "Today my dear Emil came home safe and sound, thank God! How easily he could have been hurt or killed in the railway accident."⁴³²

Mission Expansion in the South

Upon his return, Eberhardt filed a positive report about the entire trip, suggesting that his District Mission Board should try to find a way to serve the areas where he had journeyed. Consequently Rev. G. Mertz of Missoula, Montana, made three trips to southern Alberta in 1900 on behalf of the Minnesota and Dakota District.⁴³³ Rev. Herman Bohl of the Missouri Synod's newly-formed Oregon and Washington District was asked to visit Vancouver from his base in Seattle.

During Mertz's first trip to southern Alberta he discovered that Calgary and Pincher Creek together had approximately 340 people who were willing to call a pastor. In April he issued a glowing report indicating that a pastor

⁴³¹Mrs. Eberhardt refers to the accident in her Diary, 236. See also Albert Schwermann, "Notes on Dr. Eberhardt," in Stony Plain Congregational Files, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family life, Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton, 1.

⁴³²Mary Eberhardt, Diary, 236.

⁴³³Herzer, 19.

should be strategically placed in Calgary where he could keep track of the many immigrants who were now passing through the city:

Great droves of immigrants came through Calgary during the last month. Thus on March 7th a wagon-train of four came from Iowa and on March 11th a second one consisting of 21 wagons. There will undoubtedly be much mission material for the pastor, who ought to live in Calgary (5,000 inhabitants), since this is the larger congregation and because from this point of vantage he can keep his eye on the trek towards the north.⁴³⁴

In 1901 Rev. E. A. L. Treu arrived in Calgary to serve that rapidly growing city on a permanent basis, as well as Pincher Creek and other parts of southern Alberta. Thus, the Missouri Synod's ministry to that part of the southern region had been firmly established.

A slower start, however, took place in British Columbia. Rev. Bohl did manage to visit Vancouver in 1900, but he did not have time to visit any other parts of the region. In 1901 the Mission Board of the Minnesota and Dakota District said that they had received detailed reports from Pastor Bohl indicating that the Germans of Vancouver, on the whole, were not very interested in the church and its ministry, but he promised that he would continue to look after Vancouver thereafter from his base in Seattle.⁴³⁵ During

⁴³⁴Ibid. The translation is Herzer's. The original text indicates that the Iowans were not Lutheran. See Th. Buenger, "Bericht des Dir. Buenger," Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901), 66. Text: "Ganze Schaaren von Einwanderern kamen im letzten Monat durch Calgary. So kam am 7 Marz aus Iowa ein Emigrantenzug, bestehend aus vier Wagen, durch Calgary, und am 11 Marz ein zeiter Zug mit 21 Wagen. Dieser bestand aus Deutschen von Iowa, welche nicht lutherisch waren. Da gibt es denn viel Missionsarbeit fuer den neuen Pastor. Derselbe sollte in Calgary (5,000 Einwohner) wohnen, da hier die groesste Gemeinde ist, und weil er dann alle Einwanderer fuer Nord-Alberta im Auge behalten kann."

⁴³⁵Ibid.

the next two decades the ministry to Vancouver would remain the responsibility of the Oregon and Washington District, but they would be unable to serve the area on any regular basis.⁴³⁶

The Ministry to Manitoba and Assiniboia

In the meantime, while Eberhardt and his colleagues continued to look after the ministry of the Synod in Alberta, Starck and his colleagues were taking care of the ministry to Manitoba and Assiniboia. Starck began the period between 1895 and 1900 serving the Missouri Synod congregation in Winnipeg. He was also serving Landestreu and Hoffenthal in Assiniboia.

On July 14, 1895, he was relieved by Carl Geith who had agreed to serve Starck's congregations in the Langenburg district while the latter remained in Winnipeg. Geith never forgot his first impression of his new assignment, for he happened to arrive at a time of the year when the mosquitoes were swarming in southeast Assiniboia. He later said, "Millions of mosquitoes filled the land. How many I swallowed before I could get my pipe lit, I cannot say."⁴³⁷

⁴³⁶Ibid. On March 24, 1908, Eberhardt wrote a letter from Snohomish, Washington—where he had been serving as pastor during a brief interlude that had taken him to Washington. In his letter he complained that they had waited too long to establish a firm foothold in Vancouver, for the Iowa Synod had by then firmly established a ministry in the city. According to Eberhardt, the prospects for a Missouri Synod mission there were no longer good. See Emil Eberhardt, "To the Worthy Mission Board," in *Stony Plain Congregational Files*, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family file, Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton.

⁴³⁷Quoted in Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 20.

Geith immediately began to serve the congregations at Landestreu and Hoffenthal, living at first in Landestreu, and then in Hoffenthal. He also had preaching stations at Beresina and at three other locations, travelling approximately 6,000 miles during his first two years in the region. By 1901 he reported that he was serving about 512 souls in his district.

In August 1895 Herman Siegert began his ministry for the Missouri Synod in the Neudorf settlement. During the following year he helped the congregation to become organized and to build a new church. Although Siegert's ministry seemed promising at first, he began to have difficulties when the land on which the church was being built turned out to be the wrong corner of the property on which it was supposed to have been located. The owner of the land, not willing to accept a change in property lines, decided instead to take possession of the church. Nothing could be legally done to stop him. Part of his obstinance was due to the fact that he had been in conflict with Siegert because the latter would not administer the sacrament to the man's Reformed wife or to any of her Reformed friends in the Reformed manner. These problems turned out to be too much for Siegert, and he decided to leave Neudorf in the summer of 1899.⁴³⁸

A year before he left, Ewald Herrmann, who had been serving as pastor of the General Council congregations in the Neudorf area, suddenly decided to join the Missouri Synod. Herrmann, who had come to Neudorf from the Westphalia area of Germany in the fall of 1896, became the only General Council pastor unwilling to join the Manitoba Synod when it was formed in

⁴³⁸Ibid, 21-22.

October 1897.⁴³⁹ He joined the Missouri Synod instead in March 1898. His congregations, however, were unwilling to leave the General Council with him.

During the next few years Herrmann seemed to be moving around the frontier without having any permanent location to call his own. In 1898 he went to the Dunmore area of southern Alberta and established a school while serving the congregation at Josephsburg. In late 1898 he was found leading a worship service in southeastern Saskatchewan at Dalesboro. In July 1900 he formed a Missouri Synod congregation at Arat, west of Edenwald. He also then made contact with Lutherans at Kronau, Regina, and Rosthern. In 1901, however, he resigned from his parish in Arat as a result of a conflict with a few of his members over some farm implements that he had sold to them. In 1904 he moved to Wisconsin where he became a pastor of the Wisconsin Synod.⁴⁴⁰

In 1898 Starck accepted a call to Grafton, North Dakota. He was replaced by Reinhold Zwintscher who became pastor of Immanuel congregation in Winnipeg, as well as travelling missionary for Manitoba and Assiniboia. Zwintscher arrived in Winnipeg in the fall of 1899 and would continue to serve in western Canada for another ten years. He initially had

⁴³⁹According to a later report Herrmann had requested an increase in salary and a loan to underwrite his farm before joining the Missouri Synod. See E. L. Moldehnke, "Von unsern Missionsfeldern im canadischen Nordwesten," *Siloah* 16, no. 3 (March 1898): 21.

⁴⁴⁰Threinen, *A Sower Went Out*, 22-23.

twelve preaching stations outside of Winnipeg, including those at Winkler, Tupper, Poplar Point, Niverville, Plum Coulee, and Portage la Prairie.

Mission and Ministry Still a High Priority for Missouri

When the Minnesota and Dakota District gathered in convention on June 15-22, 1898, in Good Thunder, Minnesota, President Pfothenauer reminded the delegates that a high priority was still being placed on mission work in his District. He urged them to rejoice in the fact that the Gospel was being shared with many who might otherwise be dying without it:

O may all our hearts experience from the Missions reports on these Synodical days something of the joy, that moved Jesus when his seventy disciples returned. . . . Jesus' Spirit was joyfully stirred up because the preaching of the gospel had not been futile, but had brought fruit to all places onto eternal life. So should we also rejoice that through the mission other men will be as exceedingly happy as we already are.⁴⁴¹

It was in that context that Pfothenauer issued an appeal for more support for the mission work of the District bearing in mind that it was making a real difference in the lives of people:

Truly, when we think constantly about the fact that through our service immortal, dearly bought souls were falling into hell and were delivered over into eternal life, then should we all be inspired for the work of the mission and think about the high goal of our work, grow in love for it and also in joy for the same. Our missionaries, even when they have to work

⁴⁴¹Friedrich Pfothenauer, "Synodalrede," Zwoelfter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1898), 9. Text: "O, moechten bei den Missionsberichten in diesen Synodaltagen unser aller Herzen etwas empfinden von der Freude, die Jesum bewegte, als seine siebenzig Juenger wiederkehrten! . . . Jesu Geist war freudig erregt, dass die Predigt des Evangeliums nicht vergeblich gewesen war, sondern aller Orten Frucht gebracht hatte zum ewigen Leben. So sollen auch wir uns freuen, dass durch die Mission andere Menschen so ueberaus gluecklich werden, wie wir bereits sind."

under the greatest self-denial, should consider themselves as happy as all kings and the powerful ones of this earth; and the same should apply to us, who can not go out, but can for their sent messengers diligently hold out praying hands and contribute joyfully of their earthly means.⁴⁴²

The report of the Mission Board emphasized the fact that their mission work in western Canada was still being conducted under very difficult circumstances. Nevertheless, "earthly poverty and temporal misfortune" in such a "desolate region" had not prevented God from keeping his promises: "He sends His command on earth, His Word runs swiftly."⁴⁴³ According to the report, Starck's work in Manitoba had greatly expanded. As for Geith, his congregations were rejoicing in their full growth and prosperity, for they were increasingly more able to contribute to the bodily needs of their pastor. The report goes on to mention the fact that the other missionary in Assiniboia (Siegert) had been experiencing difficulties with his congregation, but they had found a third missionary (Herrmann) who was beginning to minister to people "in all directions."⁴⁴⁴

⁴⁴²Ibid., 9-10. Text: "Wahrlich, wenn wir stets bedenken, dass durch unsern Dienst unsterbliche, theuer erkaufte Seelen der Hoelle entrissen und hinueber gerettet werden in das ewige Leben, dann sollten wir alle begeistert werden fuer das Werk der Mission und, eingedenk des hohen Zieles unserer Arbeit, wachsen in der Liebe zum Werk und in der Freude an demselben. Unsere Missionare sollten, und wenn sie unter der groessten Selbstverleugnung arbeiten muessten, sich doch gluecklicher preisen als alle Koenige und Gewaltigen dieser Erde, und diejenigen unter uns, welche nicht hinausgehen koennen, sollten fuer ihre ausgesandten Boten fleissig betende Haende emporheben und freudig von ihren irdischen Mitteln beisteuern."

⁴⁴³Fr[iedrich] Sievers, "Bericht ueber Innere Mission," Zwoelfter Synodal- Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1898), 65.

⁴⁴⁴Ibid.

As far as Eberhardt was concerned, the report praises his efforts to expand his work in the western region: "Our congregations in Alberta are becoming stronger inwardly and outwardly; they are carrying also already half of the pastor's salary and are creating the point of departure for a constant and still continuous widening of the mission work there."⁴⁴⁵ This report was written, of course, before Eberhardt had taken his missionary journey to the Pacific coast. It recommended that further efforts should be taken to minister to people in the western region.

Throughout this report the Mission Board again and again emphasizes the importance of reaching people with the Gospel wherever they may be and under all circumstances in which they may find themselves. They urged the delegates to guard themselves against the thinking that suggests that a small congregation will always remain small and therefore should have no need of a pastor. On the contrary, it was not only for the larger parishes with heavy workloads that God wanted to send His great hosts of evangelists with His Word, but also to the "smaller parishes and small single congregations" so that they might also have "adequate spiritual care."⁴⁴⁶ Therefore, "as much as possible, and as soon as possible should actually each congregation have their own pastor," said the Mission Board; it should be the goal of all mission work in the western region.⁴⁴⁷

Thus, it was evident from the 1898 convention proceedings that the energies of the District in western Canada and elsewhere were still being directed towards people as individuals in need of a Word and Sacrament

⁴⁴⁵Ibid., 66.

⁴⁴⁶Ibid., 75.

⁴⁴⁷Ibid.

ministry for the assurance of their salvation. Of course, what was true for the individual was also true for the family. What was true for the parent was also true for their children. Eventually it was the goal of all missionary preachers to gather all individuals and their families into congregations (Gemeinden) where they could together receive Word and Sacrament on a regular basis and from their own called pastors. This view of mission and ministry retained an inner consistency that could be traced all the way back to Wyneken and the early founders of the Synod. At the center of their approach was a concern for the salvation of those who would be lost were it not for the efforts of those who were trying to reach them.

In fact, the same view of mission and ministry, not surprisingly, was again reaffirmed when the District met in convention in 1900. By then news of Eberhardt's trip to the coast had reached the District Office. Pfothenhauer urged the delegates to remember that they had been called to be "salt and light" in the great northwestern region of the continent, as they were being challenged to look upon themselves as "co-workers with God."⁴⁴⁸

The district now had 191 pastors and thirty-six school teachers in the field serving more than 500 congregations and preaching stations in the great northwest. In the previous year alone, they had begun eighty-eight new congregations and preaching stations. In western Canada they now had four pastors at work—Eberhardt, Geith, Herrmann, and Zwintscher—serving a

⁴⁴⁸F[riedrich] Pfothenhauer, "Synodalrede," Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1900), 9-10.

total of seven congregations and thirty-two preaching stations. They were convinced that they could easily use at least three or four more missionaries in the Canadian western region.⁴⁴⁹

They were also convinced that they had no reason to change any of their views on mission and ministry, in spite of the fact that there had been many forces at work lately in Christendom to suggest that old methods and definitions were no longer relevant. The Mission Board reported that attempts were now being made in Germany to reduce mission work to a form of "socialen Politik."⁴⁵⁰ The Board also reported that recent world conferences and assemblies involving representatives of many different Christian denominations were suggesting that new methods and principles should be adopted to conform with the desires of the masses. The Mission Board reminded the delegates that they had no need of such so-called "improvements":

No, we have and will always hold onto the old, longstanding and proven method, which also has worked excellently from time immemorial in the harvest fields of our mission and proves itself always splendid, namely the simple proclamation of the pure Gospel, not in rational words of human wisdom, but in a demonstration of the Spirit and of power, as St. Paul describes it.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹Fr[iedrich] Sievers, "Innere Mission," Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1900), 50.

⁴⁵⁰Ibid., 42.

⁴⁵¹Ibid., 43. Text: "Nein, wir haben und behalten immer noch die alte laengst bewaehrte Methode, die auch auf Erntefeldern der Mission von jeher ausgezeichnet gearbeitet hat und sich immer noch glaenzend bewaehrt, naemlich die einfaeltige Verkuendung des lautern Evangeliums, nicht in vernuenftigen Reden menschlicher Weisheit, sondern in Beweisung des

As far as their work in western Canada was concerned, they were finding that in spite of the difficulty and costs that were involved, the Lord was providing more work for them to do there than they had ever had before:

In general we find that in Canada there is very difficult, but lasting work, needing true and wise pastors. Furthermore, the mission there is also very expensive in most places. But the people there are for the most part very poor people, people who need and desire our help, people to whom the Lord calls us. Without really wanting to be (we have been more reserved than persistent in our approach), we suddenly find that we have more to do in Canada than we have ever had to do.⁴⁵²

The Missouri Synod was now poised for another expansion of their ministry to western Canada.

The General Council in the West, 1896-1897

Introduction

When the year 1895 began, the General Council had seven missionaries in the field and approximately 3,500 members in several key districts across western Canada. By April of the following year they had 4,313 members, not counting Streich's congregations at Neudorf and Josephsburg.⁴⁵³

Geistes und der Kraft, wie St. Pauli Vorbild es besagt."

⁴⁵²Ibid., 52. Text: "Im Allgemeinen finden wir, dass in Canada recht schwere, anhaltende Arbeit, treue, weise Seelsorge noethig, und dass die Mission dort auch eine recht kostspielige an den meisten Orten ist. Aber Leute, groesstentheils recht arme Leute, sind da, Leute, die unserer Huelfe beduerfen und begehren, Leute, zu denen der Herr uns ruft. Ohne dass wir es eigentlich wollen (wir haben uns mehr ablehnend als aufdringlich verhalten), finden wir auf einmal mehr in Canada zu thun, als je."

⁴⁵³J. Nicum, "Aus den Berichten," Siloah 15, no. 4 (April 1896): 28. According to Nicum's report, Willing had 1077 members in south Manitoba, and about 100 in Langdon and Osnabrook North Dakota. Ruccius was serving 500 at Winnipeg, Tupper and Gladstone. Berthold had 240 members at Langenburg, Beresina, and Langenau. Schmieder was serving 589 at

Commenting on the statistics, the Council's German Mission Committee could only be pleased at the way the Lord had been blessing their work. On the other hand, they found it lamentable that the church-at-large was able to provide so little support for what they were doing. In fact, they thought it might be helpful if they had someone on staff who was able to visit the congregations and pastors in the mission—someone who could also convince others to provide better support for their work:

Unfortunately the support and interest of the church is in general so small, that the committee often must with heavy hearts think about their responsibility, which they have assumed for the poor missionaries and their families. We have no agent or superintendent who is using his entire time and skill to visit the congregations and pastors, and to intercede for them in order to win and realize financial support for their special work.⁴⁵⁴

This is one of the first times the Mission Committee had decided to lodge a complaint about the support they were receiving from the church-at-large. Up to now general appeals for support had been made as enthusiastically as possible, but had been producing mixed results at best. The hint at an "administrative" solution appears at the moment to be just a suggestion.

Schmieder's fund-raising trip undertaken during the spring of 1893 had, of course, provided a surge of support, but it had not translated into the kind

Edenwald, Stassburg, Longlaketon, Kronau, Davin, Regina, and Rosthern. Bredlow served 501 at Wetaskiwin, Heimthal, Leduc, and Lacombe. Pempeit had 460 members at Stony Plain, Rosenthal, and Indian Reserve.

⁴⁵⁴"Summa unserer Statistik," *Siloah* 14, no. 4 (April 1896): 28. Text: "Leider ist die Unterstuetzung und das Interesse der Kirche im allgemeinen so gering, dass das Komitee oft mit schwerem Herzen an die Verantwortung denken muss, welche es den armen Missionaren und ihren Familien gegenueber uebernommen hat. Wir haben keinen Agenten oder Superintendenten der seine ganz Zeit und Kraft darauf verwendet, die Gemeinden und Pastoren zu besuchen, dieselben fuer das besondere Werk, das er vertritt, zu gewinnen und Gelder fluessig zu machen."

of help that could be continually relied upon. Berthold had more recently also gone on a fund-raising trip to a number of key cities in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.⁴⁵⁵ He had travelled to the eastern states in February and March of 1896. Again he was warmly welcomed, but his trip had only yielded limited results.

In May, Schmieder reported that a number of his members at Edenwald were leaving for North Dakota and other states because they had run out of money and could not pay their debts.⁴⁵⁶ In April, as mentioned earlier, he had visited Josephsburg and Dunmore in southern Alberta where they had not seen a Lutheran pastor for over a year.⁴⁵⁷ He had also received a request to visit Pincher Creek, but he unfortunately had to ask them if they would be willing to pay for his travel expenses if he found that he was able to come. He was still waiting for an answer from them when he filed his report. It was impossible, however, for him to go there without having travelling expenses covered by someone. He couldn't do it himself.⁴⁵⁸

In the meantime, besides financial problems, there were other problems that were beginning to become a concern to the pastors and missionaries of the General Council on the prairies. For example, Pempeit recently reported that some of the families from his Rosenthal congregation had joined the

⁴⁵⁵"Herrn Pastor Berholds Besuch," Siloah 15, no. 3 (March 1896): 24.

⁴⁵⁶Heinrich Schmieder, "Bericht von Pastor Schmieder," Siloah 15, no. 7 (July 1896): 53.

⁴⁵⁷See above p. 179.

⁴⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 53-54.

nearby Missouri congregation. They indicated that they did this because they no longer wanted to have anything to do with some of the ill-mannered people at Rosenthal.⁴⁵⁹ On the other hand, in the following year Pempeit would complain about the bad behaviour of the Missourians whose drinking and dancing were beginning to be a source of temptation to his own members.⁴⁶⁰

Of course, the mixing and the shifting of members might occur in both directions. In the previous April, Ruccius had reported that he had recently gained a few members from the Missouri Synod congregation in Winnipeg, which now had only four members.⁴⁶¹ He also admitted that he had lost a number of his own members, not to Missouri but to the shifting patterns that were occurring as many of them moved to more permanent locations they could call their own.

In fact, in March 1896 Ruccius visited some German settlements at Langdon and Osnabrock, North Dakota, to which some of his former members had moved. There the Missouri Synod had a small congregation but it was not doing very well; for as many as fifty families in the area, all of whom had been former members of the General Council, made it very clear that they would have nothing to do with the Missouri Synod.⁴⁶² Ruccius

⁴⁵⁹Ferdinand Pempeit, "Aus Stony Plain, Alberta," Siloah 15, no. 8 (August 1896): 62.

⁴⁶⁰Ferdinand Pempeit, "Missionsarbeit und Schwierigkeiten," Siloah 16, no. 7 (July 1897): 55.

⁴⁶¹Martin Ruccius, "Aus Winnipeg," Siloah 15, no. 4 (April 1896): 29.

⁴⁶²*Ibid.*, 30.

visited them a few times, as did Berthold. Eventually Willing would be asked to serve them from his post in south Manitoba.

Schmieder Decides to Leave

In late May and early June, Schmieder conducted a visit of his congregations at Longlaketon and Strassburg.⁴⁶³ Normally, he would only have to travel twenty miles along the river valley to reach Strassburg, but this time he had to take the long way around through Regina, because the heavy spring rains had caused the river to overflow. The valley was completely flooded.

Even the route he took was very difficult. At one point he had to be careful as he went around an Indian village containing forty wigwams that he did not want to disturb. Soon afterwards he began to encounter more water and flooding. At one point he had to get his horse and buggy through water, mud, and bogs that were at some points over a foot deep. The journey was certainly becoming hard on his horse, but harder for him were the "Legionen blutduerftiger Moskitos" (legions of blood-thirsty mosquitoes) that suddenly began to swarm around him—it seemed to him that there were "millions" of them.⁴⁶⁴

Ironically enough, when he reached Longlaketon, he thought of the lesson from Acts 27 that was to be read on that morning. It contained a description of Paul's shipwreck near the island of Malta, and it reminded

⁴⁶³Heinrich Schmieder, "Aus Edenwald, Assiniboia," Siloah 15, no. 9 (September 1896): 70.

⁴⁶⁴Ibid.

Schmieder in a small way of the trials and troubles he had been enduring on his own journey to reach them. He said he was grateful that God had allowed him to suffer for the Gospel's sake, and he also urged all friends of the mission field to strengthen their support for the Lord's work with their prayers and their offerings.⁴⁶⁵

In the following month, Schmieder was in an unusually reflective mood. He began his report by quoting the parable of the mustard seed from Mark 4:30-32, reminding his readers that although it may be the smallest of seeds, when it grows it eventually becomes the largest of garden plants with such large branches that even the birds of the air can perch in them. "This image always comes to mind, when I review the spiritual history of our Northwest mission,"⁴⁶⁶ he said as he began to talk about the tremendous growth that had occurred in the ministry of the General Council since the first day he had arrived at Winnipeg:

In February 1889 I came in response to the request of 40 families to be the first Lutheran pastor at Winnipeg, and today there are already seven missionaries in the vast mission field of the Northwest who currently have 39 congregations with 4,574 souls under their spiritual care. Is that not a wonderful growth! Only last year alone were there by these 7 Northwest-missionaries baptized 413 children; 100 were confirmed and 2,421 persons received holy communion. Such numbers we admit would not have been possible without the blessing of God, who has here grown the mustard seed and caused it to become a great bush.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶Heinrich Schmieder, "Aus Assiniboia," *Siloah* 15, no. 10 (October 1896): 80. Text: "An dies Gleichnis muss ich immer denken, wenn ich im Geiste die Geschichte unserer Nordwest-Mission ueberblicke."

⁴⁶⁷Ibid. Text: "Im Februar 1889 kam ich auf die dringende Bitte von 40 Familienvaetern als erster lutherischer Pastor nach Winnipeg und heute stehen schon sieben Missionare in dem weiten Missionsfelde des

The reader is unable to detect at this point that Schmieder was actually writing his last report, but he had, in fact, decided to leave. He was summing things up. In the next section of his report he reviewed the events that had occurred since he held his first worship service in Edenwald during a missionary journey in October 1889. Then he had six persons in attendance; now he was serving 600 to 700 members in Edenwald and in the surrounding area.

Schmieder confessed that a difficult turn of events had occurred in the last two years when, as a consequence of drought and crop failure and therefore low product prices, many families who had settled in the area with great debts had become despondent and moved away. In fact, many allowed themselves to be lured by emigration agents and newspaper announcements into districts that were even more unfavorable for poor people than the ones they had once occupied, said Schmieder. "Therefore a few have already again returned here," he said, "and others will follow them, as well."⁴⁶⁸ New wanderers are always coming again, he said, and there was no reason to expect that another upswing in population would not occur.

Next Schmieder admitted that when he came to the Canadian west seven and one-half years before, he thought then that he would return east

Nordwestens und haben zusammen 39 Gemeinden mit 4574 Seelen unter ihrer geistlichen Pflege. Ist das nicht ein wunderbares Wachstum! Und wenn man bedenkt, dass allein im letztvergangenen Jahre von diesen 7 Nordwest-Missionaren 413 Kindlein getauft worden sind, 100 confirmiert und 2421 Personen das heilige Abendmahl empfangen haben, wer moechte da angesichts solcher Zahlen nicht mit uns den Herrn loben und preisen, dass Er auch hier das Senfkorn hat wachsen und zu einem Baume werden lassen."

⁴⁶⁸Ibid.

after three or four years. "So man thinks, but God directs," said Schmieder.⁴⁶⁹ But after four years had passed by, he had so "firmly rooted" himself with life and soul in his ministry there that he thought he would remain on the frontier for the rest of his life. Other thoughts, however, had been crossing his mind recently, and with such strength that he had become convinced that he ought to leave the work to others. Among other things, God had given him children, and they needed proper schooling. Furthermore, there were other concerns that weighed heavily on him:

Many times I very properly feel wanting because I here must stand so isolated and alone and so far from all collegial communication. In addition to that, other thoughts have occurred to me—in part even more important reasons—which have convinced me that it may well be God's will for me to go now from what has been so loved a work for me to another place where I may be permitted to work in his vineyard.⁴⁷⁰

It was at that point and on a note of finality that Schmieder ended his report with the announcement: "So I think therefore that I will leave my beloved Edenwald around November 1 so that he [God] may then very soon show me a new mission field, where I may be allowed to further serve him and proclaim his glory."⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁹Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰Ibid. Text: "Auch fehlt es mir manchmal doch recht sehr, dass ich hier so einsam und allein und so fern von allem amtsbruederlichen Verkehr stehen muss. Dazu kommen noch andere, zum Teil noch gewichtigere Gruende, die mich zu der Ueberzeugung gebracht haben, dass es wohl Gottes Wille sein mag, mich jetzt aus der mir so leibgewordenen Arbeit wieder wo anders hinzufuehren, wo ich auch in seinem Weinberge arbeiten darf." In a follow-up report, the German Home Mission Committee expressed the view that Schmieder was mainly leaving his position for the sake of his children. See J. Nicum, "Zum neuen Jahr," *Siloah* 16, no. 1 (January 1897): 4.

⁴⁷¹Heinrich Schmieder, "Aus Assiniboia," *Siloah* 15, no. 10 (October 1896): 80.

Consequently, on October 25, 1896, Schmieder held his final worship service in Edenwald. His sermon was based on the Epistle for the day, Philippians 1:3-11, which appropriately gave him the opportunity to express his gratitude for the chance he was given to share the Gospel with his people from the "first day" he had been with them until then. One eyewitness later said, "Preacher and congregation were very moved; for Pastor Schmieder in his seven years of activity had entirely won the hearts of his congregation, and the departure was therefore obviously very difficult for many who were present."⁴⁷²

Pastor W. Willing, who had been doing such an exceptional job as a missionary to south Manitoba and who had already accepted the call to replace Schmieder at Edenwald, was actually installed as the new pastor in the same service. Under other circumstances, the arrangement may have seemed unusual, even awkward. But in this case everything seemed to be happening as it should be, as everyone rejoiced that the mission work that had begun so well under one man would continue without interruption under the other.⁴⁷³ Willing would continue to serve in the field of western Canada for another ten years with at least half of them being served from that point on at Edenwald.

In May of the following year it was reported in Siloah that Schmieder had begun to serve a congregation in San Diego, California.⁴⁷⁴ Certainly his

⁴⁷²"Aus Edenwald, Assa.," Siloah 16, no. 12 (December 1896): 91.

⁴⁷³Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴"Nachrichten," Siloah 16, no. 5 (May 1897): 37.

presence would be missed among the pastors and congregations of the prairies, for he had provided the initial leadership, the vision, and the support that had been needed to develop a thriving ministry to the entire region. His absence would no doubt give the Mission Committee another reason, if they needed it, to re-examine the need for a better organization for the proper care of congregations and pastors in the west.

The Mission Committee Speaks Out – A New Synod is Born

A few months later the German Home Mission Committee indeed took the opportunity in their year-end report to reflect on the general situation in the Canadian west. On the one hand, they could proudly point to the fact that they now had at the end of 1896 a total of fifty-three congregations and 6,000 souls throughout the western region—all of this in spite of the fact that during the year a number of changes had occurred. For example, in June Streich had finally resigned his position at Neudorf; consequently, Ewald Herrmann (from Muenster, Germany) had been called to replace him there—Herrmann arrived in early October. By late October, Willing had replaced Schmieder at Edenwald, Berthold had replaced Willing in southern Manitoba, and Langenburg was suddenly finding itself without a pastor. By year's end the Mission Committee had expenses of about \$4,000 that they needed to pay, but they were having problems raising the money to cover all the costs.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁵Nicum, "Zum neuen Jahr," 4-5.

Still, they could rejoice greatly over the development of their mission territory, but it was "actually a joy mixed with trembling."⁴⁷⁶ The trembling part had to do with their inability, for the first time, to pay their missionaries the small salary that they owed them. Their joy had to do with the progress they were making. Anyone in a position to help was being asked by Siloah to send their gifts to the treasurer in Reading, Pennsylvania.⁴⁷⁷

It was in that context that the Mission Committee decided to speak out with the hope that something could be done about the problems they were facing in the field. For example, they were embarrassed about the fact that their missionaries were having to wait so long for their salaries, when it was clear that none of them were able to cover their own costs.

Furthermore, the Council continued to be bothered about the fact that the Missouri Synod was still at work in western Canada. Although the Committee could cite nothing new to justify their complaint on this point, they had found an opportunity to level a criticism about something, and Missouri, as always, appeared to them to be an easy target. It almost seemed, however, from the tone of the complaint that the Committee was becoming bitter:

We have already often complained that almost everywhere where the General Council sends a missionary, a Missouri messenger tries to sneak in, slander our missionary as a false teacher, and entice a few discontented and eccentric people to follow him; and since he supports the hard heads and tries to rob the pastor of the hearts of fine congregational members (because he is a false teacher), he makes the management of evangelical church discipline impossible. No sectarian preachers, whose names are also known to us, are as fanatical, loveless, slanderous, and condemning as these Missourians. This synod bears a heavy responsibility on them-

⁴⁷⁶Ibid., 5.

⁴⁷⁷Ibid.

selves, and the revenge of the holy and righteous God, who is hostile to all false and hypocritical conduct, will not escape them.⁴⁷⁸

The above outburst was itself bordering on the "fanatical" and the "slanderous." Perhaps Nicum was tiring of all the old battles. It is difficult to find any other reason why his complaint had taken such a violent tone, for over the past few years the missionaries of the General Council themselves had very little to say in their reports about problems they were having lately with the pastors and congregations of the Missouri Synod. In fact, one of the few criticisms they had made had been coming from Pempeit who had been suggesting that drinking and dancing were becoming a favorite pastime of the Missourians, but even then he was not complaining about the way Eberhardt was conducting his ministry, but only about the way his members were behaving. The same could be said of the kind of comments that were being recorded by Bredlow at Wetaskiwin, by Ruccius at Winnipeg, or by others elsewhere. Compared to earlier years of ministry in the west, problems between the Lutheran missionaries of the two synods actually appeared to be calming down, rather than escalating.

⁴⁷⁸Ibid. Text: "Wir haben es ja schon oft beklagt, dass fast ueberall, wohin das General Konzil einen Missionar schickt, sich ein missourischer Sendling einzuschleichen sucht, der unsre Missionare als Irrlehrer verleumdet, ein paar Unzufriedene und Ueberspannte an sich zu locken sucht und indem er die harten Koepfe bestaerkt und dem Pastor die Herzen feiner Gemeindeglieder zu stehlen sucht, weil er ein Irrlehrer sei u., die Handhabung evangelischer Kirchenzucht unmoeglich macht. Keine Sektenprediger, welches Namens sie auch sein moegen, sind so fanatische, lieblos, verleumderisch und verdammungssuechtig wie diese Missourier. Diese Synode ladet dadurch eine schwere Verantwortung auf sich, und der Rache des heiligen und gerechten Gottes, der allem falschen und heuchlerischen Wesen feind ist, wird sie nicht entgehen."

The further one reads into the report, however, the more apparent it becomes that the real source of frustration for the Committee at this point was not Missouri, but the General Council itself. The Committee reserves some of its most poignant criticisms in this report for those members of the General Council who had apparently been questioning the value of their mission work in western Canada. Such "hostility" from members of the Council was coming from a direction that they had not expected:

We ask entirely freely and openly: What do certain people have against our mission, that the same ones try to trample it with their feet and deprive it of our share of the German mission work? When must the mission in the Northwest one day be without hope? When the congregations become self-supporting, when almost all the people leave, when the harvests almost always fail; or is it when they say to the people, as they do recently: "The mission is unimportant."⁴⁷⁹

In the face of such criticisms, the Committee seemed more than ready to defend the progress it had made over the years, particularly in view of the fact that they had had so little to work with when they were given the responsibility for German home mission work in 1888:

And yet we have more missionaries than the earlier missions administration had, and under our care stand more than two to three times more souls than the other missionaries had in their care. Remember what kind of inheritance they left for us in the year 1888: One dear missionary in Nebraska and an entirely miserable position in North Dakota. That was all!⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁹Ibid. "Wir fragen ganz frei und offen: Was haben gewisse Leute gegen unsre Mission, dass sie dieselbe mit Fuessen zu treten und ihr die Beitrage der Freunde der deutschen Missionsache zu entziehen suchen? Da muss einmal die Mission in Nordwesten hoffnungslos sein; wer weiss, wann die Gemeinden selbstaendig werden; die Leute ziehen fast alle fort; die Ernten missraten fast immer; oder sagt man den Leuten, wie neulich: 'die Mission ist gering.'"

⁴⁸⁰Ibid. Text: "Und doch haben wir mehr Missionare als die fruehere Missionsverwaltung je gehabt hat, und unter ihrer Pflege stehen mehr als

Finally, the Committee seemed indignant over the fact that word was getting back to the mission field that the missionaries were not, in the opinion of some, doing a good job:

Our missionaries are entirely angry over these biased misrepresentations. Could it be [as they seem to suggest] that our administration, by chance, has become autocratic, protecting its own ego and wanting to glorify itself? Is our direction one that is unloyal in the opinion of the Council? Are our missionaries faithless shepherds, who are not worthy of trust? These are the complaints, which they are hearing. . . . If they are honest men they ought to have sound reasons why they attack for years a cause often and in secret.⁴⁸¹

Generally speaking, the Committee was more than ready to improve its way of relating to the mission field, but it wanted good advice from people who were supportive. Above all, they still felt that the Lord was blessing their work, and they were also willing to consider ways to improve the structure of support for those who were working in the field.

In the long run, there appeared to be some merit to the idea of establishing a better sense of organization for those who were engaged in mission work. Therefore, on June 30, 1897, the Mission Committee met and decided that a superintendent or visitor should be appointed to provide better

zwei- und dreimal so viel Seelen, als jene Mission-are je Pflege hatten. Welches Erbe hat man uns im Jahre 1888 zurueckgelassen? Einen lieben Missionar in Nebraska und ganz erbaermliche Zustaende in Nord-Dakota. Das war alles!"

⁴⁸¹Ibid. Text: "Unsere Missionare sind ganz aufgebracht ueber diese tendenzioesen Entstellungen. Wozu denn das? Ist etwa die Verwaltung eine eigenmaechtige, die das eigene Ich sucht und sich selbst verherrlichen will? Oder ist ihre Leitung eine unloyale dem Konzil gegenueber? Oder sind die Missionare treulose Hirten, die des Vertrauens nicht wert sind? Das waeren Gruende, die sich hoeren liessen. . . . denn ein jeder ehrbare Mann muss doch stichhaltige Gruende haben, warum er seit Jahren eine Sache oeffentlich und im geheimen befehdet."

supervision for the congregations and pastors in the field. They chose Ruccius of Winnipeg to serve as the first person in that position. The whole idea had the full support of the president of the Canada Synod who furthermore suggested that they ought to form their own synod as soon as possible.⁴⁸²

Consequently on July 22, 1897, the Council's missionaries met for a pastoral conference in Winnipeg and formed the "Deutsche ev. luth. Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien."⁴⁸³ The first officers of the new synod were Martin Ruccius, President; Wilhelm Willing, Secretary; and Emil Berthold, Treasurer.⁴⁸⁴

From all appearances, the formation of a new synod would seem like a step forward for the pastors and congregations of the Canadian west. The decision was made, however, rather suddenly—with much of the impetus coming from church officials in the east. The new synod was very small, and was still very financially dependent on the rest of the church body for support. It was somewhat symbolic of its own strength that only four of a possible six pastors from the region were in attendance at the founding convention.⁴⁸⁵ Nevertheless, ready or not, the Manitoba Synod would now

⁴⁸²"Versammlung unsres Missionskomitees," Siloah 15, no. 8 (August 1897): 60.

⁴⁸³W[ilhelm] Willing, "Konferenz in Winnipeg, vom 21. bis 23. July 1897," Siloah 16, no. 10 (October 1897): 77.

⁴⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁵Ruccius, Willing, Berthold, and Pempeit were the pastors who made the decision to form the synod. Bredlow sent his regrets but later became a member of the charter group. Herrmann, however, eventually decided not to join.

have more responsibility for its own ministry and more accountability for its own actions than it would have had if it had remained a loosely-knit conference of missionaries looking for direction from the east.

The General Council Calls for Unity

When the General Council gathered in convention in Erie, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1897, the delegates were urged to rejoice in the formation of the new synod. They were also encouraged to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Council by remembering in the words of Psalm 119:30 that they had been choosing "the way of truth."⁴⁸⁶ The "truth" was being defined as that middle ground between two extremes that the Council had been trying to find and maintain since their very beginning—and they were firmly convinced that it was to be their destiny to stay on that course:

The future belongs to our General Council, because it occupies the golden mean between eccentric doctrinal tendencies to the right and to the left of it, acknowledging the truth wherever found, and, while unflinchingly opposed to error, bearing its adversaries no ill will. True conservatism is the character of its position. Some have considered its development too slow, and, despairing too quickly, have severed their connection with it, while others for the same reason have not united with it.⁴⁸⁷

Although the Council was in a mood for a celebration, the delegates at the convention had to be reminded that they still had serious problems that they needed to be concerned with. For example, the mission work of the Council had been suffering lately because the Board of English Home Missions and the Board of Foreign Missions were both being hampered by debts. Only

⁴⁸⁶Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention, 8.

⁴⁸⁷Ibid.

the Board of German Home Missions was able to claim that they were free of debt, and as a sign of their progress they could point to the formation of the new synod in the Canadian west.⁴⁸⁸

The Council lamented the fact that any complaints they had made to the Missouri Synod over their work in the Canadian northwest had only led to a polite, but unsatisfactory response. They also regretted the fact that no free conference between the General Council and the Missouri Synod had been held in 1896: "Such conferences, many experiences to the contrary notwithstanding, might bring us gradually nearer to the desired unity."⁴⁸⁹

Although the Council was also having problems trying to resolve their differences with the General Synod, and even in resolving differences between two of their own synods—the Evangelical Lutheran District Synod of Ohio and the Pittsburgh Synod—they remained firm in their conviction that unity among Lutherans was a worthwhile goal that should be attained if at all possible.⁴⁹⁰ Thus, nothing had changed in the Council's view of itself, nor had there been any significant alteration in its approach to mission and ministry in the world. A united approach was to be preferred, and other synods not belonging to the General Council were being asked to adopt the Council's point of view.

The Manitoba Synod's Ministry, 1898-1900

As the year 1898 began, the Manitoba Synod had six pastors serving fifty-two congregations and preaching stations consisting of over 5,250

⁴⁸⁸Ibid., 9.

⁴⁸⁹Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰Ibid.

members. Berthold was serving the congregations of south Manitoba. Ruccius was still serving at Winnipeg, Herrmann at Neudorf, Willing at Edenwald, Bredlow at Wetaskiwin, and Pempeit at Stony Plain and Lutherhorst.

In March they were convinced that they could use at least four new workers in the field due to the fact that Ewald Herrmann had finally decided to leave the General Council and also because there were other areas in need of support.⁴⁹¹ In May, Ruccius accepted the call to replace Herrmann at Neudorf. At the same time, F. Beer, a theological professor from Kropp, accepted the call to replace Ruccius in Winnipeg. In July, Pempeit moved his family from Stony Plain to Lutherhorst, leaving Stony Plain vacant. Consequently, Gustav Poensgen, a graduate of the Philadelphia seminary, was called to replace Pempeit at Stony Plain.⁴⁹² Also in July, Pastor A. Lilje and a congregation he was serving at Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta, applied and were accepted into membership in the Manitoba Synod. In the fall of 1898 Victor Henning began to serve the congregation at Tupper, Manitoba, providing relief for Beer who was not only serving Trinity congregation in Winnipeg at the time, but also the congregation at Tupper and five other preaching stations in the territory surrounding Winnipeg.

When the Manitoba Synod met in convention in Winnipeg in July 1898, six pastors were now serving in the field—Beer, Berthold, Bredlow, Pempeit,

⁴⁹¹Moldehnke, "Von unsern Missionsfeldern," 21.

⁴⁹²Ferdinand Pempeit, "Von unseren Missionsfeldern," Siloah 17, no. 7 (July 1898): 54.

Ruccius, and Willing—and all were in attendance. Lilje attended the convention as a guest. Henning and Poensgen had not yet arrived at their positions. Herrmann had left.

During the convention Beer delivered an essay entitled "The Justification of the World through Christ." In his essay he argued (1) that Christ had died and rose again not only for believers, but for the whole world, and (2) since that is true, then the central point of the Lutheran teaching about justification is that Christ's righteousness covers our sins and is imputed to us as righteousness.⁴⁹³

During the course of the convention the delegates, upon the recommendation of President Ruccius, accepted Lilje and his congregation into membership, appointed a committee to review the Synod's constitution, selected for catechetical instruction the General Council's publication of Luther's Small Catechism with Bible helps, thanked the General Council for its continued generous support, and called for four gatherings of offerings in each congregation per year (two for synodical purposes and two for foreign missions and mission work at home). Although Ruccius had suggested in his report that he should resign from the presidency, the delegates with united voice prevailed upon him to remain in office at least another term, and he agreed.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³"Verhandlungen der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien," Siloah 17, no. 9 (September 1898): 69.

⁴⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 69.

At one point in the proceedings, Pastor Beer introduced a resolution urging all pastors of their Synod to minister only to those congregations to which they had been called. They may, of course, "go to the heathen and the godless without a call," argued Beer, but to those, however, who claimed to be "Christians or Christian congregations, especially Lutheran Christians or Lutheran Christian congregations," they should only go if called according to common procedures which have been agreed upon by all.

Beer's resolution provoked a lively discussion among the delegates, especially among those who were still eager to complain about the efforts of the Missouri Synod to "intrude" upon the congregations of the General Council without a call to serve them. No specific charges, however, were made. Nevertheless, the resolution was passed, and President Ruccius was encouraged to try to get the Missouri Synod to meet with them as soon as possible in a free conference to discuss their differences.⁴⁹⁵

The Manitoba Synod in its 1898 convention had thus begun to carry the mantle of responsibility, not only for the organization of its own mission and ministry in western Canada, but also for its own theological development. At two points in the convention Beer had helped his fellow delegates to focus on matters of theological importance.⁴⁹⁶ His essay on justification was favorably received, and his comments on pastoral practice, while opening up old wounds, led the new Synod to reaffirm the same position on mission and

⁴⁹⁵Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶Beer would become the next president of the Manitoba Synod. Already he was showing signs of leadership that would earn him the respect of the entire Synod.

ministry that had been taken by the leadership of the General Council for years.

In fact, in February of the following year J. Nicum, while reviewing the history of the Council's work in the west, again claimed that the Missouri Synod had no "ordinary call" to serve in western Canada.⁴⁹⁷ The old warrior was no longer editor of Siloah, but he had obviously been invited to provide a perspective on events that had transpired since the General Council had entered the field in 1888. Moreover, his complaint about Missouri had been provoked by recent comments from pastors of the General Council who had been critical of the work of the German Home Mission Committee, particularly of the costs that were involved. They were suggesting that the Committee should just turn over the "Manitoba Synod with its 8 pastors and 52 congregations to Missouri or another church body."⁴⁹⁸ He responded by issuing a call for more support, reminding his readers that the missionaries in the west were still financially dependent on offerings being gathered by the Committee.

During the spring and summer of 1899 financial concerns continued to weigh heavily on the hearts of those who were members of the German Home Mission Committee. In October the Committee placed before the delegates of the General Council, gathered in convention in Chicago, a report indicating that they were in a real bind. On the one hand, they were being asked to

⁴⁹⁷J. Nicum, "Unsere Nordwest-Mission," Siloah 18, No. 2 (February 1899): 11.

⁴⁹⁸Ibid.

assume responsibility for some new mission stations in the State of Oregon that had formerly been aided by the Synod of Michigan. On the other hand, the Board of Publications had been unable to transfer to the Committee's treasury any funds for two years, a situation that had a severe effect on the Committee's work and had left them over \$1,000 in debt. The Committee was recommending that the congregations in western Canada do what they could to assume more financial responsibility for their own support:

In view of the fact that the full salaries of our missionaries have been paid by the Board for so long a time, and because the harvests in the Northwest last year were generally excellent, we have requested the congregations to assume the payment of a portion of the salaries of their pastors, in order to enable the Board to develop the field at other points.⁴⁹⁹

The comment about good harvests in the northwest turned out to be only partly true. On the one hand, from every early indication the farmers in the west were indeed expecting a good harvest that year. For example, in August Pempeit reported that they had been having plenty of rain in northern Alberta. Although it was hindering his work, it was helping the farmers—they were expecting an excellent harvest.⁵⁰⁰ In July, Poensgen at Stony Plain reported that the weather in spring had been exceptionally favorable, and for that reason alone the farmers there were also looking forward to a rich harvest.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁹Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1899 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1899), 83.

⁵⁰⁰Ferdinand Pempeit, "Aus Lutherhorst," Siloah 18, no. 8 (August 1899): 61.

⁵⁰¹Gustav Poensgen, "Stony Plain, Alberta, Can.," Siloah 18, no. 7 (July 1899): 52.

When the actual time for the harvest arrived, however, the congregations on the prairies were experiencing mixed results. On the one hand, Berthold was reporting in October that he had just visited Langenburg from his base in south Manitoba and had found out that they were having a very promising harvest.⁵⁰² The same was true of many other areas on the frontier. In north central Alberta, however, Pempeit was reporting that the crops in the Lutherhorst area had suffered great injury due to heavy rainfall.⁵⁰³ In October Siloah conveyed the news that the farmers in Bredlow's area had been hit by one of those freak hailstorms that have a way of damaging everything in their path: "In Wetaskiwin, where our missionary Pastor Bredlow is stationed, a severe hailstorm has destroyed the harvest. Sad!"⁵⁰⁴ Only Poengsen at Stony Plain was able to report that the farmers in his area had been able to avoid the worst effects of the weather. Although their wheat had suffered some damage, their oats had resisted the assaults of both rain and frost. Overall, they ended up having a moderately successful harvest, said Poengsen, and they were certainly grateful that God had protected them from utter disaster.⁵⁰⁵

Of all the missionaries in the west, Bredlow seemed to be experiencing a particularly challenging year from beginning to end. For example, in

⁵⁰²"Nachrichten," Siloah 18, no. 10 (October 1899): 78.

⁵⁰³Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Convention, 81.

⁵⁰⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁵[Gustav] Poengsen, "Stony Plain, Alberta, Can.," Siloah 18, No. 12 (December 1899): 94.

January he reported that he had recently become very sick from the cold during his travels. Furthermore, his bills for food, clothing, and supplies had been getting higher due to rising costs; and his congregation, which had experienced crop failure in the previous year, did not have the resources to be of much help.⁵⁰⁶

More serious were his concerns about the spiritual condition of his flock. He said he was having problems trying to deal with the "Uneinigkeit und Lieblosigkeit" (disunity and lovelessness) of his people.⁵⁰⁷ Particularly troublesome to him were his pietistic Russians who seemed to have a mind of their own. "Here can one so rightly discover that pietism and true godliness are two entirely different things," he wrote.⁵⁰⁸ Since he could only count about a half-dozen people who seemed to have the right attitude on theological matters, he was hoping that a new influx of people would come to the area and help to turn the situation around.

In July, he was still reporting that he was having problems at Wetaskiwin. This time he indicated that they were having troubles finding a place where the children could be instructed, and they were still holding worship services in their homes.⁵⁰⁹ Although they had a freak snowstorm in

⁵⁰⁶Friedrich Bredlow, "Aus Wetaskiwin," Siloah 18, no. 1 (January 1899): 4.

⁵⁰⁷Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸Ibid. Text: "Hier kann man so recht ausfinden, dass Pietismus und wahre Froemmigkeit zwei ganz verschiedene Dinge sind."

⁵⁰⁹Bredlow seemed to have a particular concern for the instruction of the children. For example, he was even willing to let six children from four different families live with him and his family for a time so that they could be

May, they were hoping that a delayed spring would lead to a good harvest, which would in turn help Bredlow in more ways than one. His "greatest hope" was that a number of people would soon immigrate to the area from the United States, which, in turn, would help him to achieve a better balance in his congregation.⁵¹⁰ "Should we have a good harvest," he said, "[the word will get around and] we will possibly experience [congregational] growth already this year."⁵¹¹

In September he complained, however, about the effect of the shifting weather patterns on the harvests in his area. All this occurred before the hailstorm had struck. Moreover, he also admitted at that time that he had not been able to see any breakthrough in the problems he was experiencing with the "Bekennnisslose pietistische Geist" (unconfessional pietistic spirit) that was now threatening to split his congregation. There were really only two people, he said, who were at the root of all his problems—one who wanted to completely overthrow the pastoral office and another (a "Stundist") who did not like being reprimanded for his encroachments on the rights and respon-

prepared for confirmation. The families of these children lived as far as fifty miles away from his home and could not otherwise be accommodated. Although the arrangement was inconvenient for him and his family, Bredlow was pleased that there were at least still some Lutherans who desired "a thorough instruction of their children." See Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Convention, 81.

⁵¹⁰Friedrich Bredlow, "Aus Wetaskiwin," Siloah 18, no. 8 (August 1899): 60.

⁵¹¹Ibid. Text: "Sollten wir eine gute Ernte haben, so werden wir wahrscheinlich noch dieses Jahr Zuwachs erhalten."

sibilities that were normally reserved only to the pastor.⁵¹² The first, said Bredlow, did not have a following, but the other had a number of members who were supportive of his activities.⁵¹³

Of course, there were some members in his congregation who did not like what was happening at all, but they seemed to be too timid to do anything about it. In fact, they were afraid that the entire congregation might collapse if they tried to do anything to stop the others. The rest of the congregation, said Bredlow, seemed to enjoy being tossed back and forth by every wind that came their way. Nevertheless, he was confident that God would be able to assist the congregation to get through these problems in the same way that He had so often helped them in the past. Bredlow closed his September report with the words: "Gott helfe uns. Amen."⁵¹⁴

He was not, however, the only pastor in the west bothered by such problems. Pempeit also had recently complained "of a sickly pietism, and of spiritual pride on the part of a few members of his flock."⁵¹⁵ And, as has already been noted, the farmers in his area had also experienced crop failure.

Elsewhere in the Canadian west the congregations of the Manitoba Synod were getting mixed reviews. For example, Henning did not appear to be doing very well in Tupper, Manitoba. "Certain damaging reports" had been sent to Ruccius, President of the Synod, who in turn had suspended

⁵¹² Friedrich Bredlow, "Aus Wetaskiwin," Siloah 19, no. 1 (January 1900): 4.

⁵¹³Ibid.

⁵¹⁴Ibid.

⁵¹⁵Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Convention, 81.

Henning, advising his congregation at Tupper to dismiss him.⁵¹⁶ The congregation, however, was unwilling to accept the advice he had given them; they still wanted Henning to be their pastor.

In the meantime, Berthold in south Manitoba seemed to be having an entirely different kind of problem. He was serving an immense field of seventeen congregations and preaching stations and was therefore desperately in need of help. Consequently, it was being proposed that they split the district, moving Berthold to Rosenfeld, while issuing a call to someone to serve as pastor at Gretna and in the surrounding areas.⁵¹⁷

Beer, on the other hand, seemed to be faring very well in Winnipeg, and his congregation appeared to be in a "prosperous condition."⁵¹⁸ Similarly, Otto Mordhurst, who had arrived in Langenburg on July 25, 1899, had been received by his congregation with "much joy." He reported that he was also doing well in his ministry to Beresina and Langenau.⁵¹⁹ Mordhurst said of his congregation, "Although our people are scattered far and wide, yet nearly all are present at Divine service on Sunday."⁵²⁰ He had even begun to conduct services in English on Sunday evenings for those in the settlement who only spoke English. As for Ruccius and Willing, they also seemed to be doing well in their congregations in south central Assiniboia.

⁵¹⁶Ibid. The real source of the problem creating these "damaging" reports is not clarified in the text and remains uncertain.

⁵¹⁷Ibid.

⁵¹⁸Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Convention, 80.

⁵¹⁹Ibid.

⁵²⁰Ibid.

Finally, Lilje at Fort Saskatchewan, Alberta, seemed to have his hands full. Besides serving his own congregation near Edmonton, he was travelling 200 miles south to Calgary six times a year where he would preach on two successive Sundays during each visit while calling on people during the week.⁵²¹ The German Home Mission Committee characterized his efforts as a ministry involving "much self-denial."⁵²²

In spite of the problems that some of the pastors and congregations of the Manitoba Synod were facing, the general morale in most places was good as the year began to draw to an end. When the General Council gathered in convention in October, 1899, the Mission Committee felt generally pleased about its support for the whole ministry to the Canadian west since its very beginning until then:

Ten years have now elapsed since a feeble beginning was made in the attempt to supply with the means of grace the children of our Church, scattered in the great Northwest of Canada, and it is well to note what has been accomplished. At that time we placed a single missionary into the field, who was to do the best he could and follow the indications of Providence.

We now have in that region one Synod, 10 ministers, serving 58 congregations and preaching stations, with 6,500 souls and 3,250 communicants. Surely, this is a showing of which the General Council need not be ashamed.⁵²³

As for the future, the Committee was firmly convinced that they needed "more men firm in the faith, loyal to God and His Word, in order to enter fields not yet occupied, but ripe for the harvest." Moreover, they needed "the means to support them for a few years until the congregations which they gathered can become self-supporting."⁵²⁴

⁵²¹Ibid., 82.

⁵²²Ibid.

⁵²³Ibid., 83.

⁵²⁴Ibid.

The German Home Mission Committee clearly felt a continuing sense of responsibility for the work of the Manitoba Synod. This pattern was not to be altered in the foreseeable future. An indigenous synod would still require the financial support of the German Home Mission Committee if it was going to have the resources to expand its ministry in the entire region.

CHAPTER TEN

A NEW CENTURY, A NEW OPPORTUNITY TO SERVE 1900 - 1905

As the year 1900 began, both synods were working under difficult conditions to strengthen their ministries to people in the Canadian west. During the next five years, changes in personnel would begin to take place particularly among the congregations of the Manitoba Synod, and at times at a rapid pace. Bad health would become a factor for some. Others would simply have difficulties adjusting to life on the Canadian frontier. In the Missouri Synod, similar problems would be occurring, although not always in the same manner or at the same pace.

In the meantime, the Canadian Pacific continued to bring trainloads of people who were looking for a new life in the west. As each wave of immigration occurred, new congregations and preaching stations were beginning to open up for both groups. More missionaries were being sent. Both the Missouri Synod and the Manitoba Synod would be trying their best to minister to all who were in need of pastoral care.

The Manitoba Synod in the West, 1900 - 1905

As the new century began, many of the economic problems that had recently been hindering the efforts of the General Council to supply pastors to the west would show no signs of abating. For example, in January 1900,

Martin Ruccius, who normally seemed to be a pillar of strength for the Manitoba Synod, began to evidence difficulties in his resolve to continue his ministry at Neudorf. In a letter to the Mission Committee he complained that he had not yet received his salary for the previous quarter: "It is already difficult with such an altogether small salary to get by, as you can well imagine; for under such circumstances worries over house and family, and over life's necessities and sustenance, leaves oneself in a difficult bind."⁵²⁵ Was he going to get his salary or not? He wanted an answer from the Committee as soon as possible, for he had come to the point where he needed to ask his congregation if they could supply his salary if the Committee would not. And if they could not support him, he would have to leave.

He also explained that he hated to see his children poorly clad and his poor wife worrying so—for it was affecting her health. He furthermore informed them that he had recently received a more lucrative call (he was being called to Stony Plain), but his preference was to remain, if possible, in Neudorf.⁵²⁶

Ruccius ended up staying at Neudorf for the next year and a half. During that time period the Mission Committee continued to cover most of his salary, and the congregation also became more capable of meeting its

⁵²⁵Martin Ruccius, "Aus Neudorf, Assa.," *Siloah* 19, no. 1 (January 1900): 6. Ruccius must have been greatly bothered about the situation, for he normally did not complain so openly about his working conditions. Obviously, being president of the Synod did not provide him with any special privileges that would help him to forego such concerns about himself and his family.

⁵²⁶*Ibid.*

expenses. Nevertheless, he continued to have a heavy workload and his duties as president of the Synod only added to his already busy schedule. It caused him to be on the road even more often than he had been before. For example, in April 1900, in his role as president he went to see Christ congregation of Rosthern, Saskatchewan—a congregation that no longer wanted to be served by the Missouri Synod. After talking with them about their situation and feeling good about their intentions, he encouraged them to request a pastor, and on April 8 he presided at the dedication of their new church building.⁵²⁷ On April 15 (Easter) he presided at the dedication of Berthold's new church at Rosenfeld, Manitoba.⁵²⁸ On May 27 he presided at the dedication of Bredlow's new church at Wetaskiwin, Alberta.⁵²⁹

From July 12-15, 1900, he presided at the next convention of the Manitoba Synod which was taking place at Edenwald, the geographical centre of the synod. Ruccius again told the delegates that he wanted to retire from the presidency. In the previous convention he had already given indications that someone else might better serve the Synod in the presidential office. Now he was more adamant about it, and this time the Synod did not try to persuade him to stay on. Instead, F. Beer of Winnipeg was elected to take his place.

⁵²⁷See "Nachrichten," Siloah 19, no. 6 (June 1900): 47-48.

⁵²⁸"Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlungen der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien," Siloah 19, no. 8 (August 1900): 71.

⁵²⁹Ibid.

As the delegates gathered in convention at Edenwald in July 1900, Ruccius reported that he had not been successful in his attempts to arrange a free conference with the Missouri Synod.⁵³⁰ He was generally pleased, however, about the progress that his Synod had been making during the past biennium in all other areas that were of importance to them. New parishes were being formed, more churches and schools were being built, and even a number of old congregations were continuing to show signs of growth.⁵³¹ The convention thanked him for his years of service to the Synod, and looked to Beer to provide the leadership they needed in the years to come.

In the following months Ruccius continued to do everything he could to serve the congregations and preaching stations that were under his care, but the burden of it all was beginning to take its toll. In June 1901 he issued a report from Neudorf indicating that he had been experiencing severe eye problems, brought on by the reflection of the sun on snow during his winter trips.⁵³² In spite of his bad health, he was still trying to serve his three congregations at Neudorf, Pheasant Forks, and Wolseley, as well as his three preaching stations at Josephsburg, Grenfell, and Indian Head. He had more than 900 members at the time entrusted to his care.⁵³³ In August he also became willing to serve as vice-president of the Manitoba Synod when he was

⁵³⁰Ibid., 71. ⁵³¹Ibid., 70.

⁵³²Martin Ruccius, "Aus unsern Missionsfeldern," Siloah 20, no. 8 (August 1901): 60.

⁵³³Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1901 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1901), 132.

elected to that position at the Synod's August convention.⁵³⁴ Both he and Pastor Willing, however, convinced the Synod that they needed to call someone to assist them as travelling missionary to south central Assiniboia.

As the summer progressed, Ruccius was still trying to get his eyes to heal. By October, he found that he no longer could carry out his tasks. Reluctantly, he turned in his resignation and urged his congregation to call someone else. In the next convention report of the German Home Mission Committee it was said of him: "Owing to frequent exposures to cold and rain Brother Ruccius had such eye troubles that he, to our great sorrow, was obliged to resign his charge."⁵³⁵

Ruccius was not the only pastor of the Manitoba Synod who had had to resign his position in the Canadian west due to reasons of health or fatigue in the early 1900's. On May 12, 1900, Gustav Poensgen had to resign his position at Stony Plain due to failing health—his weak lungs bothered him enough that he finally had to quit.⁵³⁶ Furthermore, on June 20, 1900, Emil Berthold, who been a missionary in the Canadian west for several years, finally decided that he could no longer continue his ministry in south Manitoba. For more than a year he had been asking for at least one other pastor to assist him in the field, but nothing had been done to help him out.

⁵³⁴"Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien," Siloah 21, no. 2 (February 1902): 15.

⁵³⁵Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention, 132.

⁵³⁶Gustav Poensgen, "Spruce Grove, Alberta, Canada," Siloah 19, no. 6 (June 1900): 45. See also "Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung," 70.

At the time of his resignation he was serving by far the largest number of people that were being served by any pastor in the west—ten congregations and preaching stations consisting altogether of 1,220 souls.⁵³⁷ The convention report said of Berthold's departure: "The Rev. E. Berthold who served this large parish (Gretna) faithfully for four years, went back to Germany in the summer of 1900, because he could no longer bear the hardships of his work."⁵³⁸

His successor, Eduard Aksim, a graduate of Kropp, also tried to serve the region without any help, but within a year to the day after he had arrived he became so convinced that he could not possibly continue on his own that he made an urgent plea for help. This time the plea was heard, and two more graduates of Kropp, Johannes Burgdorf and Henry Becker, were called to help Aksim carry out his Synod's ministry to southern Manitoba.⁵³⁹ They arrived in August 1901.

In the meantime, one other pastor in the west was experiencing enough difficulties in his ministry that he was ready to leave. By August of 1901, Ferdinand Pempeit, the pastor with the longest tenure in the Canadian west, finally came to the conclusion that he no longer wanted to stay at Lutherhorst. He had earlier complained about a "sickly pietism" that had penetrated his

⁵³⁷Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention, 131.

⁵³⁸Ibid.

⁵³⁹Ibid., 131-132. The district was divided in three parts. Becker was asked to serve the congregations at Friedensthal, Overstone, and Rosenau. Burgdorf served the congregation at Dresden, North Dakota. Aksim continued to serve Gretna, Rosenfeld, New Deutschland, Morris, Bathgate, and Altona.

congregation there. Apparently that and other problems had escalated to the point that he decided to resign "on account of trouble in his parish."⁵⁴⁰ The matter was brought before the July 31-August 3 convention of the Manitoba Synod. It was there that Pempeit actually submitted his resignation after a special committee had been unable to recommend any definite steps that he could take to resolve the "Streitfall" (controversy) between him and his congregation.⁵⁴¹

Although details about the conflict are not mentioned in the proceedings of the convention, it is probable that Pempeit's earlier problems with "pietism" in the congregation lay at the heart of his difficulties. Furthermore, it became clear from President Beer's comments about the situation that all the trouble was being brought on by one man who could not provide any reasonable objections to Pempeit's "faith, teaching, and behavior."⁵⁴²

Certainly, as far as Pempeit was concerned, he had not been in the wrong, and he still considered himself a pastor in good standing with the Manitoba Synod. The Synod itself was of the same opinion. For in the same convention in which he resigned his position at Lutherhorst, the Synod's president was supportive of him and the delegates later approved a recom-

⁵⁴⁰Ibid., 133.

⁵⁴¹"Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung," 15.

⁵⁴²"Verhandlung der dritten Versammlung," Siloah 21, no. 1 (January 1902): 6.

mendation that he be considered for a call as a travelling missionary in the Edmonton district.⁵⁴³

On September 8, Pempeit held his final service at Lutherhorst. Given the circumstances of his departure, there were fewer people than usual at the service to bid him farewell.⁵⁴⁴ In fact, he later reported that only seventeen members received communion that morning—he normally could have as many as ninety-three communicants on a good day.⁵⁴⁵

On the following Sunday he held services at two other locations in the area, but he did not seem to be favorably inclined to the idea of staying in the Edmonton district as a travelling missionary. In fact, he was more inclined to leave the area for good. Within three weeks, he appeared in British Columbia where he found a small group of Lutherans in Vernon. On September 29 he held a worship service for them, and they extended him a call. Thereupon, Pempeit issued a report to the German Home Mission Committee indicating that he desired enough financial support to make it possible for him to remain in Vernon. Moreover, he told them that he was firmly convinced that he could be instrumental in opening up a new mission field for them in an area

⁵⁴³"Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung," Siloah 21, no. 2 (February 1902): 16.

⁵⁴⁴Ferdinand Pempeit, "Aus einem Schreiben von Pastor F. Pempeit," Siloah 20, no. 12 (December 1901): 92-93.

⁵⁴⁵*Ibid.* For a report on better communion attendance, see Ferdinand Pempeit, "Lutherhorst, Ellerslie, P. O. Alta., Can.," Siloah 20, no. 1 (January 1901): 3.

of the west where they had never been before.⁵⁴⁶ The Committee accepted his offer, and Pempeit remained there.

The early 1900's were clearly becoming a time of great change for the pastors and congregations of the Manitoba Synod. By the fall of 1901, four pastors had resigned their positions or gone elsewhere. Five pastors who were serving in the west before the turn of the century remained where they were: Beer, Bredlow, Lilje, Mordhorst, and Willing. V. Henning, who had been suspended by the Synod in 1900, was restored to full membership in August 1901 "after a thorough investigation of the charges brought against him" cleared him of any actual wrongdoing.⁵⁴⁷ New to the south Manitoba region were Aksim, Burgdorf, and Becker. Also new to the Manitoba Synod were G. Runge, who had accepted the call to Stony Plain after Poensgen resigned, and H. Walbaum, who had accepted the call to Rosthern, Saskatchewan, after the congregation there had joined the Manitoba Synod.

Runge had come to Stony Plain from Paterson, New Jersey, during the summer of 1900. He was initially very impressed with his congregation at Stony Plain, which he described as "ruhig" and eager to hear God's Word.⁵⁴⁸ He also appreciated their generosity in providing him with a "beautiful home," a new horse and buggy, forty acres of land, chickens, ducks, a cow, and a pantry full of food.⁵⁴⁹ His congregation there was obviously well off, and they

⁵⁴⁶Ibid.

⁵⁴⁷Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention, 132.

⁵⁴⁸G. Runge, "Aus Alberta," Siloah 19, no. 12 (December 1900): 96.

⁵⁴⁹Ibid.

certainly did not require any subsidy from the Mission Committee. His other congregation at Rosenthal had recently built a new church.

Walbaum was facing an entirely different situation, however, at Rosthern. "Zerrissen" (Torn) and "zersplittert" (splintered) was his congregation when he arrived in Rosthern in the fall of 1900.⁵⁵⁰ Only five or six members showed up for his first congregational meeting there, while as many as ten families were still claiming to be loyal to Missouri pastor Brockmann. To make matters worse, before he arrived, a Methodist preacher, who had been trying to lure as many Lutherans as possible to join the Methodist congregation, had actually been reviling the Lutheran church and especially Lutherans from Ontario while using their Lutheran church building for services.⁵⁵¹ As far as Walbaum's living conditions were concerned, he was still waiting for a home. He also was having to buy all his own food supplies like "meal, eggs, butter, meat, potatoes, oats," which he found to be "terribly costly"—double the cost that one would have to pay in Ontario.⁵⁵²

By January 1901 Walbaum was nevertheless finding that his situation was improving. He was pleased to report that all the Missouri families had been present at the Christmas service that he had just held in Rosthern. Moreover, much to his surprise, the congregational meeting on January 1 had been well attended.⁵⁵³ Furthermore, he had a congregation at Stony Hill that was faithful in worship. Most of his members there were from Ontario.

⁵⁵⁰H. Walbaum, "Aus Rosthern, Sask.," *Siloah* 20, no. 2 (February 1901): 15.

⁵⁵¹*Ibid.*

⁵⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵⁵³*Ibid.*

Although they were all having to endure poor living conditions, they were supportive of him. And at Fulda he was serving a preaching station in the middle of excellent farmland. They had many available homesteads there, and he was hoping to get a homestead for himself in the spring where the people would be able to build him a home.

Walbaum, of course, had been dealing with a congregation that had been originally organized by a Missouri Synod travelling missionary named Fred Brockmann. Brockmann had not been able to visit the area very often, and his Synod had not been able to provide them a pastor or a vicar soon enough to keep them from losing patience with the process.⁵⁵⁴ Walbaum's involvement with the congregation provides an example of how congregations at the time might be persuaded to shift their loyalty to another synod, provided that they could be assured that someone would minister to them on a regular basis. It was clear that the settlers wanted some sense of stability in their church life; it meant more to some of them than any differences they could perceive between the teachings of the two church bodies.

In fact, a similar pattern was occurring in other congregations of the Canadian west at this time. For example, in May 1900 the congregation at Russell, Assiniboia, said they would be willing to leave the Missouri Synod if the Manitoba Synod's Mordhorst at Langenburg would be willing to serve

⁵⁵⁴See Friedrich Sievers, "Innere Mission," Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht, 51, and also his "Innere Mission," Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901), 64.

them on a more regular basis.⁵⁵⁵ The same was true of the congregation at Friedfeld which had "loosened" its ties with Missouri in December 1900 to receive the ministry of Mordhurst.⁵⁵⁶ On the other hand, the same forces could be at work to pull a congregation in the other direction. In May 1901 Mordhurst reported that he was no longer serving his congregation at Yorkton because they had become "unfaithful," given the fact that many of them had joined Missouri and most of the others were moving away.⁵⁵⁷

Occasionally other factors would lead to a sense of competition between the two church bodies for the loyalties of the people. For example, in January 1901 Aksim reported from Gretna that many of his members had recently moved to faraway Alameda which was already being served by a Missouri Synod pastor. "Couldn't the venerable governing body appoint a travelling preacher there?" he asked.⁵⁵⁸ He could not see how it could be right if they simply "relinquished the members of their Synod to the Missourians."⁵⁵⁹ "We have a duty already to care for them and to serve them," he argued, "and if they refuse our services, our duty ends."⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁵Otto Mordhorst, "Aus Langenburg," Siloah 19, no. 12 (December 1900): 94.

⁵⁵⁶Otto Mordhorst, "Langenburg, Assa.," Siloah 20, no. 1 (January 1901): 3.

⁵⁵⁷Otto Mordhurst, "Aus Assiniboia, Canada," Siloah 20, no. 7 (July 1901): 52.

⁵⁵⁸Eduard Aksim, "Aus Gretna, Manitoba," Siloah 20, no. 2 (February 1901): 10.

⁵⁵⁹Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰Ibid.

Ironically, Aksim was using the same kind of argument that Sievers had been using back in 1891 to justify the ministry of the Missouri Synod in western Canada in places where their Missouri members had settled.

Another kind of situation developed in Kronau which was being served by Pastor Willing from Edenwald. There a quarrel had occurred in the fall of 1900 between two of his members. When one of them had become willing to be reconciled to the other, Pastor Willing encouraged him to talk to the other person. But the other person adamantly refused to talk to the person with whom he had been quarrelling. Thereupon Pastor Willing refused to give the man Holy Communion. Consequently, he became enraged and contacted Pastor Herrmann of the Missouri Synod who, according to Willing, "came in, held a worship service, and visited all the congregational members, asking them for their signatures."⁵⁶¹ Fortunately, from Willing's point of view, Herrmann was only able to get two signatures.

Under the circumstances, Willing could not resist a comment about the integrity of Herrmann's district president who had been insisting that his pastors were not to be involved in such activities. Given what had happened in Edenwald, he argued, "How can a district president of the Missouri Synod still write that they have forbidden their pastors from going into another congregation or to act according to their godly vocation there?"⁵⁶²

Without knowing it, Willing's comment about the district president of the other synod seemed to anticipate another incident that was about to occur.

⁵⁶¹W[ilhelm] Willing, "Edenwald," *Siloah* 20, no. 4 (April 1901): 29-30.

⁵⁶²Ibid.

A few months later his own synodical president reported that he had just had a clash with Pfothenauer, the President of the Missouri Synod's Minnesota District. Pfothenauer had strongly objected to an article in the October issue of Siloah that had been critical of the Missouri Synod. Many of the old objections had been raised. Nothing of any substance had been discussed.

In Beer's opinion, however, Pfothenauer had not controlled his temper very well while they met to discuss their differences. Furthermore, in his view the latter had really been unable to provide any substantial arguments to support his case. The following is an account of the incident provided in a report by Beer that was published in the July 1901 issue of Siloah:

At this point I want to write about a feud that I, as President of our Synod, had been having with President Pfothenauer of Missouri's Minnesota District. He was feeling irritated about last year's October issue of "Siloah." He challenged me with arrogant words to a battle. The direction of his fight was partly unhistorical, partly childish, and partly solicitous. When I challenged him, he quickly went over all his obstinate positions and turned to take flight—this however with loud cries and insults, so that it went on like a Burlesque. The report on the matter should be of interest, so I am gladly sending the complete transcript for your information.⁵⁶³

In the next convention of the Manitoba Synod, which convened at the end of July, the delegates commended Beer for the way he apparently conducted himself in his discussions with Pfothenauer. Without actually providing any details about the conflict, he simply told the convention that he could not agree with Pfothenauer's version of the facts. His general

⁵⁶³F. Beer, "Aus Winnipeg, Manitoba," Siloah 20, no. 7 (July 1901): 53.

impression of Missouri was that "they do our synod damage, where they can, though they think they are 'doing God a service.'"⁵⁶⁴

Beer's comments were enough to suggest that tensions between the two synods, though not always talked about, remained a definite part of life among Lutherans everywhere in North America, and especially in the Canadian west. To add to that impression, another reminder surfaced in the October 1901 issue of Siloah. In that issue the editor, E. F. Moldehnke, decided to comment on a recent court decision in Iowa concerning a church property case. The court had evidently ruled that the Missouri Synod was not a Lutheran church body because "its special teaching on predestination was not contained in the Lutheran confessions."⁵⁶⁵ Upon hearing of this decision, Moldehnke took the opportunity to fault the Missouri Synod for claiming to be the only Lutheran church to be right, while accusing all other Lutherans of being wrong. Moldenhke, however, was quick to point out that Walther in his opinion had introduced "new teachings" in his statements about the invisible church, the preaching office, and especially in his statements about predestination that had become the subject of so much debate during the predestination controversy that had embroiled Lutheranism in North America in the early 1880's.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁴"Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung," Siloah 20, no. 12 (December 1901): 94.

⁵⁶⁵E. F. Mohldenke, "Zur Aufklaerung fuer unsere Missionsgemeinden im Nordwesten," Siloah 10, no. 10 (October 1901): 71.

⁵⁶⁶Ibid.

For reasons that are not altogether clear, Moldehnke had chosen to open old wounds. Given the title of his article, "For the Enlightenment of Our Mission Congregations in the Northwest," he apparently wanted to issue an alert.⁵⁶⁷ If any of their congregations were thinking about joining the Missouri Synod, they ought to think twice. Moldehnke wanted them to know that the General Council, in his opinion, had not introduced new teachings but had remained true to the traditional teachings of Lutheranism. And so apparently should all who would listen to his plea!

When the Manitoba Synod met in convention in the summer of 1901, the delegates certainly agreed with that point of view; they became very supportive of their president's conduct during his conflict with Pfothhauer. Beer also earned their respect in other ways. It was apparent to them that he had been trying to deal fairly with the resignation of Pempeit, and he had also tried to provide good leadership during his previous year of service. Like his predecessor, Ruccius, he thought it was important to maintain as much contact as possible with the congregations of the Synod. According to the report of the General Council's German Home Mission Committee, "he was making frequent journeys in order to visit the scattered congregations."⁵⁶⁸

Such a dedication to duty, of course, had its risks. In February 1901 Beer had travelled to the Edmonton district in the middle of winter to spend a week visiting Runge, Pempeit, Lilje, and Bredlow. It had been a difficult trip, and he managed to get a bronchial cold so severe that it lingered on for

⁵⁶⁷Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention, 130.

months after his return, leaving him susceptible to further illness. In fact, in June he ended up getting a bad case of the flu that bothered him for weeks. He was even wondering if it would prevent him from attending his own Synod's convention at the end of July; but, of course, he was there.⁵⁶⁹

The Manitoba Synod, though struggling in some areas, was now beginning to gain in confidence. They were learning that some problems could be resolved. Others could not. But, overall, they were able to deal more effectively with the situations they faced.

For example, in August Bredlow, who had often complained about problems in his congregation at Wetaskiwin, could finally admit that most of those problems were now behind him. In fact, for the first time he revealed more clearly the nature of the problem that he had been dealing with all those years. He had earlier mentioned that there were two factions in his congregation when he arrived—some who, in his opinion, respected the pastoral office, and others who did not.⁵⁷⁰ By far the majority appeared to be against him at the time and only wanted a pastor when necessary, primarily to bring them Holy Communion once or twice a year. They were, of course, reflecting the experiences they had with pastors in eastern Europe where, due to severe shortages in manpower, most places could not be visited by a pastor more than twice a year.

Bredlow initially was certainly having problems coping with their attitude. He now admitted that when he arrived there a member of the

⁵⁶⁹F. Beer, "Aus Winnipeg," *Siloah* 20, no. 9 (September 1901): 67.

⁵⁷⁰See above pp. 216-218.

congregation named "Father Schulz," who had led them in prayer services for years at a time when no pastor had been available very often to serve them, would not yield to Bredlow's leadership. On Sunday mornings, at the same time when Bredlow was trying to conduct a worship service for the whole congregation, Father Schulz was continuing to conduct "prayer services" just two miles away. To make matters worse, most of his members were attending Father Schulz's services at the time.⁵⁷¹

It may have taken him six years to accomplish it, but Bredlow could now say that the situation had entirely reversed:

Father Schulz now only holds reading services if the pastor is away on a journey; and the pastor has to admonish the people not to miss these reading services. Moreover, the same people, who wanted a pastor only once a year, are today saying that they are unhappy that the pastor has to be away so often.⁵⁷²

Looking back on what had transpired over the past six years, Bredlow was very happy: "I am now able to look back at this period of my ministry with a joyous heart and with gratitude to our Father in heaven."⁵⁷³

In October 1901 the German Home Mission Committee was able to reflect a similar spirit when reporting about the state of mission work in all of western Canada to the delegates who had gathered for the next General Council convention. During the last biennium, they were convinced that much had occurred in the way of improvement:

⁵⁷¹Friedrich Bredlow, "Wetaskiwin," Siloah 20, no. 8 (August 1901): 58.

⁵⁷²Ibid.

⁵⁷³Ibid.

In the Northwest Territories of Canada, our Mission work was carried on actively and prosperously. The number of our Missionaries arose from 9 to 13.⁵⁷⁴

Three congregations were now self-supporting, and those who were still receiving a salary supplement from the Mission Committee were having to depend on them for support at an average rate of only \$160 per person.

Glowing reports were shared about the kind of progress that had occurred in some of the districts. On the other hand, problem areas were also noted. The Committee, however, did not feel that their report could be complete without providing a list of oft-repeated complaints about the challenges they were facing, and in that respect nothing had changed. The weather, the Missouri Synod, the great distances between people, and especially the opposition they were experiencing from within the Council itself had become a real burden to them:

Early night-frosts, untimely wet weather, frequent hail-storms are hurting the harvests in many parts of the Northwest Territories. The great distances, the severe cold, snowdrifts and inundations are working unspeakable hardships to our Missionaries. But worse than these troubles are the continuous frictions and disturbances brought about by the Missourians and other sects who try by all means to win adherents amongst the inexperienced and trusting immigrants. To our great sorrow even the Lutherische Kirchenblatt, published by some German ministers belonging to the General Council . . . has for years attacked and denounced our Mission work as a blunder and not worthy of support, protesting that we should labor in the East and leave the Northwest to other Synods.⁵⁷⁵

Predictably the Committee responded to complaints from within the Council with the kind of defense that had been heard many times before:

⁵⁷⁴Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention, 130.

⁵⁷⁵Ibid., 134.

Shall we then, indeed, transfer our Missions to the Missourians who entered the field after us trying to supplant us, and attacking us most bitterly? We have repeatedly explained that we had to take hold of the work in Manitoba about 13 years ago, urged by the Canada Synod. Shall we relinquish it after so much labor and so much success? . . . We grieve very much that German brethren belonging to the General Council are adding to our manifold difficulties and troubles instead of lending us a helping hand.⁵⁷⁶

Having once more relieved themselves of their "concerns," the Committee could nevertheless look to the future with optimism. In spite of all obstacles, they believed that the Lord was blessing their work. They now had 5,833 souls under their care. Furthermore, a large number of immigrants had just arrived in the previous year. Therefore, they could still cling to the hope they had in God and look to Him to bless the labors of their hands in the years to come.

During the next few years, from 1902 to 1905, the same pattern continued in the work of the Manitoba Synod in western Canada. In 1903, ironically enough, Victor Henning, who had once been suspended from the Synod for his communion practices but was later cleared of the charges against him, became the third person to be elected President of the Manitoba Synod. F. Beer had resigned the presidency and his pastorate in October 1902 in order to accept a call to be Director of the Michigan Synod's seminary at Saginaw, Michigan. W. Willing, Secretary of the Synod, had accepted the duties of interim president when Vice-President Martin Ruccius felt he was unable to serve because he did not have a congregation at the time.

⁵⁷⁶Ibid., 135.

From 1901 to 1903 a number of changes occurred in the ministry of the Manitoba Synod. Aksim left Gretna, Bredlow accepted a call to eastern Canada, Henning moved from Tupper to Winnipeg, Willing moved from Edenwald to Neudorf, Runge moved from Spruce Grove to Wetaskiwin, Burgdorf moved from Dresden, North Dakota, to Gretna, and Poensgen returned to the Canadian west from New York, ready and willing to serve the congregations at Strathcona and Edmonton. In the meantime, Becker, Walbaum, Mordhorst, Lilge, and Pempeit remained where they were. New to the Synod were the following: J. Goos, who had come from Elmwood, Ontario, to replace Runge at Spruce Grove; I. Hensen, who had replaced Pempeit at Lutherhorst; F. Roehle, who had replaced Willing at Edenwald; Theodore Hempel, who had replaced Burgdorf at Dresden, North Dakota; and B. Mueller, who had replaced Henning at Plumas (formerly called Tupper).⁵⁷⁷

By 1905 further developments occurred, more than can be mentioned here. Special mention, however, should be made of the fact that Martin Ruccius sufficiently recovered his health to return to the ministry of the Manitoba Synod in the summer of 1904. He accepted a call to serve the congregations at Strathcona and Edmonton. However, Gustav Poensgen, who had been serving these congregations, met an untimely death in May of that year when his friend and co-worker in the ministry Hensen slipped and fell with his gun in his hand. They were walking side by side while hunting wild ducks at a pond near Hensen's home. The gun accidentally went off, and

⁵⁷⁷Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1903 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1903), 102-105.

Poensgen was in the line of fire. Hensen placed him in a wagon and frantically took off for the city, but Poensgen died before he could get him to a doctor.⁵⁷⁸

In 1905 the Manitoba Synod had eighteen missionaries serving approximately 9,000 souls in western Canada. Since 1895 they had increased the number of their missionaries from seven to eighteen—an increase of approximately 160 percent, while their membership had increased from 3,500 to 9,000 souls—an increase of approximately 250 percent.

The Ministry of the Missouri Synod in the West, 1900-1905

From 1900 to 1905 the ministry of the Missouri Synod continued to expand in areas of strategic importance, and very often in places where the Manitoba Synod did not already have a pastor at work. Winnipeg, of course, was an exception. Immanuel congregation, which was being served then by Reinhold Zwintscher, was still a small congregation of sixty-nine members in 1900. The Manitoba Synod's Trinity congregation, in comparison, had 500 members at the time.

By 1905, however, Immanuel congregation had become self-supporting and had a membership of 557. During the interim Zwintscher had provided solid pastoral leadership for Immanuel. Under his direction a new church was built in 1903, and Immanuel's school continued to grow until it had a population of over 125 children in 1904.⁵⁷⁹ At that time a full-time teacher was

⁵⁷⁸"Gustav Poensgen," Siloah 23, no. 6 (June 1904): 44.

⁵⁷⁹H[erman] Meyer, "Bericht des P. F. Meyer," Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-

called, and a second one was called in the following year. Also in 1904, Zwintscher organized another congregation in Winnipeg in the eastern section. Known as Holy Cross, it also had a school and was being served in 1904 by Karl Plunz, who was called to be their first pastor as well as travelling missionary for Manitoba.⁵⁸⁰

Outside of Winnipeg, Zwintscher continued to serve preaching stations at Morden, Niverville, Poplar Point, and Krueger until Plunz arrived in 1904 to assume responsibility for Holy Cross and for these preaching stations. Zwintscher also organized the congregation at Winkler in 1901 and served Tupper until 1903, when Herman Reinitz accepted the call to serve the congregation there as well as three preaching stations at Glenella, Newdale, and Gladstone.⁵⁸¹

In Assiniboia, Fred Brockmann arrived in August 1900 to fill the vacancy that had been left by Siegert at Neudorf during the previous year. Brockmann had also been called to be travelling missionary for Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. During his first year at Neudorf his congregation remained small, for he was unable to gain the support of the man on whose land the church had been built nor the backing of the man's friends who wanted a

lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1904), 57.

⁵⁸⁰J. Meyer, "Bericht des P. J. Meyer," Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906), 41-43. See also Threnen, A Sower Went Out, 29-30.

⁵⁸¹H[erman] Meyer, "Bericht des P. H. Meyer," Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht, 58.

more open approach to the communion of the Reformed. Consequently, he decided to move his home to Dalesboro in July 1901 where he could minister to a more promising congregation.⁵⁸² He continued, however, to conduct services at the church in Neudorf until the man who owned the land decided to close the church down in the summer of 1902.⁵⁸³ Thereafter, he conducted services for his members at Neudorf in their homes.

From 1901 to 1905, Brockmann became an all-purpose travelling missionary to the entire region from his base in Dalesboro. During his initial months at Neudorf he had managed to get to Rosthern at least once before it was taken over by the Manitoba Synod. By 1903 he was serving six preaching stations, including Neudorf, Douglas, and Brandon. In 1904 he was still serving his congregation at Dalesboro (now called Curt Hill), as well as New Norge every three weeks, Douglaston once a month, and Willocks every five weeks. On a more occasional basis he was also serving Brandon, Grenfell, Broadview, Maria Hilf, and Antler. He was also taking care of the congregation at Balgonie which had become vacant in the previous fall, as well as Neudorf and Regina. The Mission Board of the district also wanted him to visit Davidson, Saskatoon, and Strassburg while serving Balgonie. Furthermore, he was also planning to visit Carievale, Estevan, Macann, and Moose Mount where there were Lutherans who were not being served by anyone. Altogether he was trying to serve nineteen congregations and preaching

⁵⁸²Buenger, "Bericht des Dir. Buenger," Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 64-65.

⁵⁸³Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 33.

stations in a year.⁵⁸⁴ Even if the weather could be counted on to co-operate more often than it usually did, Brockmann was facing a formidable task.

In February 1905, however, he got some relief at Neudorf and Grenfell when Herman Schimmelpfennig arrived to serve the Missouri Synod members in that area. Schimmelpfennig had earlier served Wallace and Arat. Soon after he arrived in Neudorf, however, rather than to try to negotiate the use of the old church that had been closed down, he obtained land for a new church in what had become known in 1903 as the village of "Neudorf" when the rail line passed through. But while the church was being built, Schimmelpfennig began to have troubles with the carpenter and with several members of the congregation who were becoming concerned about costs. He was also having problems with the Missouri Synod, who became unwilling to approve a new loan since the loan for the old church had not yet been paid off. Thereupon, most of his members would no longer accept his ministry. Instead, they joined hands with the Manitoba Synod congregation just outside Neudorf, and together they were able to cover the cost of a loan.⁵⁸⁵

Once again history was repeating itself—the people of Neudorf were becoming notorious for the conflicts they were able to generate over the building of a church or over the use of church land. As for Schimmelpfennig, he moved to Grenfell, but he also continued to serve the few members who

⁵⁸⁴For a listing of all nineteen congregations Brockmann was serving, see H[erman] Meyer, "Bericht des P. H. Meyer," Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht, 58-59.

⁵⁸⁵J. Meyer, "Bericht des P. J. Meyer," Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 41. See also Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 33-34.

remained faithful to him at Neudorf. By 1907 he was also serving Killay, Stonybrook, and Neelby.⁵⁸⁶ In 1908 he accepted a call to Quebec.⁵⁸⁷

One of the Missouri Synod's oldest parishes in Assiniboia consisted of Landestreu, Hoffenthal, and Beresina. Geith faithfully served all three congregations for seven years—in fact, so faithfully that when he accepted a call in 1902 to a congregation in Minnesota, the Mission Board of the district commended him for his part in helping his congregations to become self-sufficient and strong.⁵⁸⁸

In 1903, Albert Dommann accepted the call to this parish. In 1904, one of his congregations, Beresina, completed a church building for \$1,200, debt-free. By then Dommann was also serving a new congregation at Saltcoats, a new preaching station of 220 members begun by Zwintscher at Wallace, "Town 25" (a place to which many new settlers had come), and Langenau (a congregation that had been shifting back and forth between the Manitoba Synod and the Missouri Synod).⁵⁸⁹ He was also being urged to serve Yorkton, which remained a promising area, and Sheho with its many Germans from the Dakotas. But the Mission Board recognized that he was being expected to

⁵⁸⁶C. F. Walther, "Kanada," Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907), 45.

⁵⁸⁷Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 34.

⁵⁸⁸Th. Buenger, "Bericht ueber Montana und Canada," Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903), 44.

⁵⁸⁹H[erman] Meyer, "Bericht des P. H. Meyer," Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht, 59.

do too much already and should probably be sent a travelling missionary to help him serve the preaching stations in the Yorkton area.⁵⁹⁰ Thereupon, Schimmelpfennig was sent to Wallace, but only remained there a year before moving to Neudorf.

In 1905, however, Dommann began to experience problems in his parish. He was being criticized for the way he was conducting his ministry; and when he was admonished about it in a "brotherly fashion" by Zwintscher and by former pastor Geith, both of whom had been asked to look into the matter, he decided to leave the Missouri Synod.⁵⁹¹ Consequently, he took with him the congregation at Hoffenthal and moved to nearby Langenburg where he began serving the local Manitoba Synod congregation, which happened to be vacant at the time. Later, however, he would return to the Missouri Synod, bringing with him all the congregations of the Manitoba Synod that he was serving, thereby creating a net gain for the Missouri Synod in the Langenburg district.⁵⁹² In the meantime, E. T. Otto, a seminary candidate, began serving Landestreu and Beresina in August 1905 and remained there until he accepted a call to the United States in 1908. Otto was also serving Yorkton, Salt Coats, Wallace, and Mulack.

Between 1901 and 1905 the Missouri Synod added four more men to the mission field in Alberta, but by then, in the words of District President

⁵⁹⁰Ibid.

⁵⁹¹J. Meyer, "Bericht des P. J. Meyer," Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 41. See also Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 31-32.

⁵⁹²Ibid.

Pfotenhauer, "The immigration coming into Canada was simply immense."⁵⁹³
 Alberta alone received 138,000 settlers in 1904.⁵⁹⁴

In northern Alberta, Eberhardt continued to labor at Stony Plain during this time period. In 1900 his congregation became self-supporting. In 1903 he was still serving those parts of the Edmonton district that were called Mill Creek and Strathcona. According to the Mission Board, Eberhardt was working very hard—everything they heard of him inspired their "praise and thanks."⁵⁹⁵ By 1904 he had convinced the Board that he needed a seminary candidate to assist him in the Edmonton district. Consequently, Walter Lussky was ordained by Eberhardt on August 30, 1904, and immediately began serving the Edmonton area.

In October 1904 Eberhardt and his family moved into a new parsonage. He was now serving a congregation of 645 members but, surprisingly, he did not remain at Stony Plain much longer. In the following year he accepted a call to Zion congregation in Snohomish, Washington. It was the second time Zion had extended to him the call, and Eberhardt apparently had grown tired of trying to get help in his efforts to serve all of Alberta. He left Stony Plain on March 9, 1905, content at least that a few more pastors were now at work in central and southern Alberta, but also believing that so much more could

⁵⁹³Herzer, 23.

⁵⁹⁴Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵Buenger, "Bericht ueber Montana und Canada," Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 45.

have been done had his requests for assistance been heeded in a more timely fashion.⁵⁹⁶

It did not take long, however, for St. Matthew's to receive a new pastor. Herman Reinitz of Tupper, Manitoba, accepted a call on June 25 to serve Stony Plain. He would remain there for the next four years, strengthening the church and school at Stony Plain while also serving preaching stations at Beaver Hills and Mewassin.

In south Alberta, Emil Treu arrived in 1901 to minister to the congregation in Calgary. He recognized the strategic importance of the city and kept the Mission Board informed of patterns in immigration that were occurring. He also served the congregation at Pincher Creek, which was continuing to show signs of growth. When he left in August 1903 to accept a call to Wisconsin, his Calgary congregation had managed to build a new church, even though they had experienced problems agreeing with one another on the location, the financing, and almost every other detail associated with the building project.⁵⁹⁷ The Mission Board's assessment of Treu, however, was that he had been "treu" (faithful) to his work in Calgary.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁶According to Schwermann, Eberhardt "deeply deplored the fact that no missionaries—or later very few—were available to assist him in reaping the rich harvest of souls throughout Alberta." See Schwermann, "The Life and Times of Emil E. Eberhardt," 112-113. According to Herzer, Eberhardt's decision to go to Snohomish turned out to be "a severe blow to the district which needed his guidance." See Herzer, 29.

⁵⁹⁷See Threinen, Like a Leaven, 20.

⁵⁹⁸Buenger, "Bericht ueber Montana und Canada," Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 45.

Recognizing the importance of his ministry to the city, the Mission Board did not take long to find a replacement for Treu. On September 21, 1903, about a month after Treu's departure, Peter Schlemmer arrived from Assiniboia. By spring his congregation had 346 members. Their school was offering instruction to the children four days a week.⁵⁹⁹

From January to July 1904, Pincher Creek was being served by a seminary student, Ernest A. Brauer, while Schlemmer concentrated his energies on Calgary. During the summer of 1904, Schlemmer was replaced at Calgary by a seminary graduate, Johann F. Moebius. By then his congregation had 410 members.⁶⁰⁰ By September another seminary graduate, Hermann Wehmeyer, became the first pastor to serve Pincher Creek on a full-time basis.

Wehmeyer's congregation at Pincher Creek by then had seventy members and had decided to construct a three-part building containing a church, a school, and a parsonage. Wehmeyer was also called to serve two small preaching stations near Pincher Creek—one at "Leavings" (later called Granum) and the other at Claresholm. By the summer of 1906 the Mission Board considered the whole area a "promising mission field," and was of the opinion that it offered too much work for only one man.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁹H[erman] Meyer, "Bericht des P. H. Meyer," Sechzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 59.

⁶⁰⁰Herzer, 21.

⁶⁰¹J. Meyer, "Bericht des P. J. Meyer," Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 42.

In southeastern Alberta the German and Latvian settlements in the Dunmore-Josephsburg-Medicine Hat district were still without a permanent pastor as the year 1901 began. Various attempts had been made over the years by pastors of the General Council and of the Missouri Synod to keep in touch with the area, but it was not until Gustav Mertz arrived for a visit from Missoula, Montana, in 1900 that it was becoming evident that more decisive efforts should be taken to serve the German and Latvian population of the area. The Missouri Synod just happened to have at the time a German-speaking Latvian named Johann Sillak studying at their Springfield seminary. In February 1901 he was issued the call to serve the area from Josephsburg.

An extremely competent and dedicated pastor, Sillak was able to communicate in German, Lettish, Estonian, English, and Russian with unabated zeal, covering at one point in his ministry more than eighteen places by train, ox team, and on foot. By 1903 his territory consisted of several congregations and preaching stations requiring his linguistic abilities from Josephsburg, Alberta, to Sifton, Manitoba—he was even visiting places in the Dakotas.⁶⁰² Recognizing his ability, the Missouri Synod thereupon called him away from Josephsburg to serve as a full-time missionary to Latvians and Estonians throughout the Synod.

When he left Josephsburg, he was serving 500 members in the area.⁶⁰³ He settled for a while in nearby Medicine Hat, but spent much of his time

⁶⁰²Herzer, 20.

⁶⁰³H[erman] Meyer, "Bericht des P. H. Meyer," Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht, 59.

thereafter on the road. In September 1905 Louis Walper, a seminary graduate, replaced Sillak at Josephsburg.

Until 1902 the entire central region between northern and southern Alberta was not being served by any Missouri Synod pastor. When Victor Gruber arrived in 1902 to serve as travelling missionary to the region, he began carrying out a plan which had really been Eberhardt's idea. By using the railroad extending north and south between Edmonton and Calgary—and also venturing west and east—he was able to establish ten preaching stations by May 1903 while serving a congregation near the midpoint just west of Ponoka at Bismarck. According to Gruber, by then he was serving from Bismarck the following preaching stations: Fort Saskatchewan, Stony Creek, Dried Meat Creek, and Wetaskiwin to the north; and Morningside, Lacombe, Brookfield, Innisfail, Olds, and Harmattan to the south.⁶⁰⁴ Furthermore, he had opened a school in Bismarck and schools at two other locations. He was also holding confirmation instructions at three other preaching stations. It was altogether too much work for one man: "I must therefore have help," wrote Gruber to his Mission Board, "there is no other way."⁶⁰⁵

Gruber was generally very satisfied, however, about the opportunities for ministry that were taking place by then. He wrote in the same report to his Mission Board:

Everywhere the services are well attended. The people often sacrifice two and three days to hear a Lutheran sermon again. When I came to one

⁶⁰⁴Buenger, "Bericht ueber Montana und Canada," Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 46.

⁶⁰⁵Ibid.

place I learned of a family which had not heard a sermon in eight years. I visited it; and when the woman heard that I was a Lutheran pastor, she knelt down and with tears streaming down her cheeks thanked God that she finally had a chance to hear a sermon again. I serve 99 families, I have 10 places and good prospects of adding 4 to 6 more. . . . In 9 months I travelled 3,578 miles by rail and team. I have only one wish—that the good Lord might send many workers so that His work may progress up here in "Sunny Alberta."⁶⁰⁶

Gruber worked tirelessly in central Alberta for almost three years, but it was clear that he needed help. By the summer of 1904 the Board devised a plan to split his mission field, with him serving the areas to the north and a new seminary graduate serving the areas to the south. Gruber, however, accepted a call to Wisconsin in the spring of 1905 before a new candidate could arrive. On August 20, seminary graduate George J. Meyer began where Gruber had left off, serving for a time the entire region. Some of the locations for preaching stations had changed, but the number remained the same. Besides Wetaskiwin and Ponoka, Meyer was now serving Camrose, Vermillion Valley, Heather Brae, Morningside, Penhold, Poplar Creek, Olds, Duhamel, Asker, and Mayton.

⁶⁰⁶Ibid. Text: "Ueberall werden die Gottesdienste gut besucht. Die Leute opfern zwei bis drei Tage, um eine lutherische Predigt zu hoeren. Als ich einmal an einen Platz hinkam, erfuhr ich, dass dort eine Familie wohne, welche in acht Jahren keine Predigt gehoert habe. Ich suchte sie auf, und als die Frau hoerte, dass ich ein lutherischer Pastor sei, fiel sie auf die Kniee und sagte weinend, dass die Gott dafuer danke, nun endlich wieder eine Predigt hoeren zu koennen. . . . Im Ganzen bediene ich jetzt 99 Familien. Nach den Aussichten zu urtheilen, werde ich bald noch vier bis sechs Predigtplaetze dazu bekommen. . . . Ich habe in diesen neun Monaten 3578 Meilen per Eisenbahn und Achse zurueckgelegt Mein einziger Wunsch ist der, dass der liebe Gott uns viele Arbeiter geben moege in seinem Weinberg, damit unser Missionswerk auch dort oben im 'sonnigen' Alberta vorangehe." The translation is Herzer's from his Homesteading for God, 20.

According to a later report, a number of people whom Meyer served were very poor—they were initially having difficulties making a living off the land. Furthermore, Meyer himself was also facing problems of his own, for he was having to rent living accommodations that were expensive and that could only be described as a "miserable" place to live.⁶⁰⁷ Moreover, his food and clothing supplies were also expensive, and he had to pay for his own drinking water as well. To make matters worse, the price of coal was so high that he had to ration its use for cooking to make sure that he had no more than two meals per day.⁶⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Meyer remained faithful to his calling and continued serving the whole region by himself until he received help in 1906 with the arrival of Walter Albrecht, a seminary graduate who assumed responsibility for the preaching stations to the south.

When the delegates of the Minnesota and Dakota District met in convention in the summer of 1901, President Pfothenauer once again urged all pastors and teachers to remember the importance of the work that God had placed before them: "True power in the Kingdom of God," he said, "is not that one strives for high things and feels called to greatness, but that one is faithful in this that God has called us to show faithfulness in our callings, wherever He has placed us."⁶⁰⁹ In the next convention of his district he urged

⁶⁰⁷C. F. Walther, "Kanada," Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht, 45.

⁶⁰⁸Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹Friedrich Pfothenauer, "Synodalrede," Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901), 9.

all members of the district to use God's spiritual gifts for building up one another and for helping each other.⁶¹⁰ In 1904 he reminded them that God is the "Masterbuilder" of His holy Christian church, and He uses His Word to strengthen the faith of His holy people.⁶¹¹

Finally, in 1906 Pfothenhauer, upon the celebration of their twenty-fifth anniversary as a district, urged the delegates gathered in convention to give thanks for the tremendous growth that had occurred in their ministry during their first twenty-five years:

Today when we survey the huge territory of our district and recognize thereby that it has become like a rich harvestfield, in which to lower the sickle, so we want to say: "Not to us, Lord, not to us but to your name belongs the glory for your blessing and truth!" "For [in the words of Mark 4:26-29] the kingdom of God is, as if a man should scatter seed upon the ground, and should sleep and rise night and day, and the seed should sprout and grow, he knows not how. The earth produces of itself first the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear. But when it brings forth fruit, at once he puts in the sickle, because the harvest has come!"⁶¹²

Earlier in the same year Der Lutheraner carried a two-page article by Herman Meyer reviewing the history of the Synod's work in western Canada and

⁶¹⁰Friedrich Pfothenhauer, "Synodalrede," Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903), 8-9.

⁶¹¹Friedrich Pfothenhauer, "Synodalrede," Sechzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1904), 9.

⁶¹²Friedrich Pfothenhauer, "Synodalrede," Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906), 8.

urging the members of Synod to give thanks for the doors that had opened up for their mission for more than twenty-five years.⁶¹³

Back in 1895 the Missouri Synod only had five missionaries and 738 members in the Canadian west. The Synod in 1905 now had eleven missionaries and 5,158 members from Manitoba to Alberta—an increase in membership of nearly 700 percent. All pastors of the Synod considered themselves missionaries. They all had their own congregations, as well as a number of preaching stations that eventually could become developed as congregations.

With few exceptions, the pastors of the Missouri Synod and the Manitoba Synod seemed to be ministering in areas where no one else was at work. They had managed to avoid conflict in most places, although long vacancies or long delays in a plan to establish a new congregation might lead to a change in synodical loyalties almost overnight. The majority, however, remained faithful to their synodical roots. During the last decade before the First World War, opportunities for expansion would persist as immigrants continued to pour into the whole western region.

⁶¹³See H[erman] Meyer, "Aus unserer Inneren Mission in westlichen Kanada," Der Lutheraner 62, no. 4 (February 13, 1906): 51-53.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE OHIO SYNOD ENTERS THE FIELD LUTHERAN MINISTRY CONTINUES TO EXPAND, 1906-1914

From 1895 to 1905 a rising number of people had been attracted to the Canadian west. Between the two Lutheran church bodies serving in the west, over 14,000 German-speaking Lutherans now were being served in 1905 from Winnipeg to Vernon, and yet the potential for further ministry remained strong. Both synods, for the most part, tended to avoid conflicts wherever possible. There was simply too much work to be done. As they prepared to minister to people during the remaining years before the First World War, they were keenly aware of the fact that there were still a number of people that had not yet been reached by either group.

On September 1, 1905, both Alberta and Saskatchewan became officially recognized as provinces by the Canadian national government. The old territories of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan for the most part were absorbed at that time by the new province of Saskatchewan—small sections in the west and east, of course, were absorbed by Alberta and Manitoba respectively. The decision to divide Alberta and Saskatchewan at the fourth meridian was

supported by Prime Minister Laurier in an effort to create two provinces of nearly equal size.⁶¹⁴

Official recognition brought with it a greater sense of identity for both provinces, as well as more potential federal funding to build roads, license businesses, and generally to provide more services. Of the two provinces, Saskatchewan grew more quickly and was soon the most populous province in the prairie region; from 1903 to 1913 its population grew from 140,000 to 675,000.⁶¹⁵ Much of its economy was based on farming. Over the same time period from 1903 to 1913 the available acreage under cultivation in Saskatchewan rose from about one million to nearly ten million, and the crop yield from twenty-five million bushels to almost 245 million.⁶¹⁶ Alberta, on the other hand, grew more slowly, but steadily, as it developed a broader economic base that included besides farming, more ranching, irrigation, and mining. Like Manitoba, Alberta tended to have wider gaps between the rich and the poor than were found in Saskatchewan.⁶¹⁷

The railroads were continuing to branch out in all directions from their major lines that criss-crossed the prairie provinces. By 1906 the Canadian Northern reached Edmonton, Alberta, from northern Saskatchewan. The Grand Trunk had established a north-south link between Regina and Prince Alberta, Saskatchewan. As always, the pastors and missionaries of both

⁶¹⁴Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies, A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 239.

⁶¹⁵Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 42.

⁶¹⁶Ibid.

⁶¹⁷Ibid.

synods were able to use the railroads to advantage as immigrants continued to establish settlements wherever the railroads would take them.

This pattern might have continued unchanged without any dramatic interruptions had it not been for the fact that a new synod began to enter the field in November 1905. The presence of another Lutheran body in the west would inevitably create problems of adjustment for everyone concerned. Moreover, it would have an effect on the development of Lutheranism in the region for many years to come, and certainly on the development of the synods which were already in the field.

The Joint Synod of Ohio Arrives – Troubles Occur

When the Joint Synod of Ohio arrived in Winnipeg in 1905, it was not initially in order to minister to people who had never been reached by either group before. They became involved with a faction of the Manitoba Synod's "mother" church of the west which had been organized in 1888—Trinity congregation in Winnipeg.

Problems had been developing in the congregation in 1905 in the wake of a fire which had on December 26, 1904, burned to the ground the church building that Streich had dedicated in 1891. The city at the time was divided by the Canadian Pacific Railroad into north and south Winnipeg. Before the fire the congregation was drawing its sizeable membership from both parts of the city. The church had stood, however, in south Winnipeg. Those living on the north side wanted a new church to be located where they lived, and they apparently had a meeting among themselves where they passed a motion to that effect, drew up a new constitution retaining the church's old name, and

had it signed by everyone there. That action resulted in a schism in the congregation from which it never did entirely recover.⁶¹⁸ Those in the south, who had not even had a vote in the matter, organized a new congregation separate from the other group, and thereafter they appealed to Dr. H. Ernst, President of the Minnesota District of the Ohio Synod, to supply them a pastor.⁶¹⁹ He complied with their request, and Georg Gehrke was sent to serve the small, struggling group on the south side. And with that, the Joint Synod of Ohio began its work in western Canada.

According to the General Council's account of the matter, an effort was made on their part to prevent the Ohio Synod from intervening in the situation that had developed in Winnipeg:

Here it was the Joint Synod of Ohio which, though requested by us not to interfere until we had exhausted all means of adjusting the differences that had arisen between the North Side and the South Side members on the building question, championed the cause of the South Side members, who were in the minority, and has now organized a congregation, not heeding our protest.⁶²⁰

According to a later account, more favorable to the Ohio Synod, it was the Manitoba Synod which ignored the pleas of Ernst before he finally decided it was his duty to help the south side members: "After a thorough examination

⁶¹⁸For a comment about the intensity of the conflict, see Verhandlungen der siebenten Jahresversammlung der evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und den Nord-West-Territorien, gehalten in der provisorischen Kirche Deutsche. ev. luth. Dreienigkeitsgemeinde zu Winnipeg, Manitoba, vom 20-22 Juli 1905, Minutes of the Manitoba Synod, Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, 74.

⁶¹⁹Valdimar J. Eylands, Lutherans in Canada (Winnipeg: The Columbia Press limited, 1945), 268.

⁶²⁰Minutes of the Thirtieth Convention, 151.

of the situation and several futile attempts to get the Manitoba Synod to supply them with a man, Dr. Ernst felt justified in having the Ohio Synod supply the congregation with a pastor."⁶²¹

Whatever the circumstances, a bitter dispute arose in Winnipeg when Ohio began to serve the South Side members. Ultimately, the new Ohio Synod congregation had to surrender all claim to the Trinity property after losing a court battle for its possession. In fact, after losing the case on a technicality, the congregation also had to pay all the court fees which amounted to \$2,000—at the time a very high fee.⁶²² It then assumed the name "Kreuz" (Cross) congregation. But the financial loss that had been incurred was insignificant in comparison to the gains that were ultimately made by Ohio elsewhere.

Not only did the Ohio Synod supply one pastor to the west after beginning a ministry in Winnipeg, but during the next few years they were able to send a number of their men, especially candidates from their practical seminary at St. Paul, to several locations in the western region. As a result,

⁶²¹Eylands, 268. G. Gehrke, the first president of the Canada District of the Ohio Synod, stated during the first convention of his new district in 1909, that it was in November 1905 that the work of his Synod was able to begin in a very orderly manner, although it was "under especially difficult circumstances." See G. Gehrke, "Praesidialbericht," Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des Canada Districts der Allgemein Evang. Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1909), 4. For another account of the matter, which does not agree that the Ohio Synod began its work in Winnipeg in an orderly manner, see "Die General Konzil-Mission in Manitoba und die Ohio-Synode," Siloah 24, no. 4 (April 1906): 28-29.

⁶²²Eylands, 269.

the Ohio Synod became initially the fastest growing Lutheran church body in the frontier.

By the summer of 1909, they had about 100 congregations and preaching stations in the Canadian west reaching from Winnipeg to Fruitvale, British Columbia. At the same time they had eighteen pastors at work in the four western provinces and a total membership of 6,710 baptized members.⁶²³ Moreover, their pastors and congregations had already been organized by then into the Canada District of the Joint Synod of Ohio. George Gehrke, their first pastor to serve in the region, turned out to be a man of considerable leadership ability; he was elected as their first District President.

The Mission and Ministry of the Joint Synod of Ohio

The Joint Synod of Ohio was one of the oldest synods in North America. Pre-dating as a church body both the Missouri Synod and the General Council, the Joint Synod was able to trace its roots to the formation of a body called the Ohio Synod in 1820. It later subdivided into two districts, but then came together again as the "Joint Synod of Ohio" in 1831. By 1833, among all Lutheran church bodies in North America, it was only second in size to the much older Pennsylvania Ministerium. More theologically conservative than most, it refused to join the General Synod in 1821 on theological grounds. Nevertheless, its initial constitution did not require confessional subscription; for that and for other reasons some of its members like Sihler, Ernst, and Burger, who were also Loehe men, joined hands with

⁶²³Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des Canada Districts, 3 and 48.

the Saxon fathers to form the Missouri Synod in 1845. During the controversy over the "Definite Platform," in which some Lutheran synods in the 1850's supported the use of an altered Augsburg Confession that changed its original intent in several places, the Joint Synod of Ohio sided with the Missouri Synod. In 1854 it amended its constitution to require confessional subscription, and in 1872 became a co-founder with the Missouri Synod of the Synodical Conference.

In the early 1880's relations between the two synods deteriorated rapidly in the course of the predestination controversy. Consequently, the Joint Synod of Ohio withdrew from the Synodical Conference because of its differences with the Missouri Synod on the doctrine of predestination in September 1881. In spite of these unfortunate differences, a similarity in approach to mission and ministry had existed between the two synods, at least to the point that they were in fellowship with each other for the nine-year period leading up to their withdrawal from the Synodical Conference in 1881. Like Missouri, the Joint Synod also had a missionary zeal that was marked by a sense of urgency for the salvation of souls, and they had a similar concern for German-speaking immigrants who were coming to North America and were not being served by any Lutheran pastor.

Therefore, it was not surprising that George Gehrke, the first president of their Canada District, urged the delegates at their first convention in Winnipeg in 1909 to remember that it was their mission to build the kingdom of Christ among those who were settling in a new land, and that it was to remain their mission as they formed a true "Mission" District:

For as long as it takes until the Lord comes to fulfill all things His command will apply to us: Feed my sheep . . . Build yourself as a spiritual House . . . Only let us remain continually conscious of this aim and let us ever try to fulfill it faithfully.⁶²⁴

Thus, with a single-mindedness of purpose President Gehrke and his Ohio Synod colleagues moved into the Canadian west after November 1905 with a strong sense of mission. Like the Missouri Synod during the previous fifteen years, they obviously did not believe that they should be barred from the Canadian frontier at the border because other Lutherans were already at work in the region. On the other hand, they seemed to move around in the region at times with an almost reckless abandon. In some situations, they did not even try to avoid conflict with the other synods but almost seemed to invite it.

Because of the aggressiveness of their mission outreach, the Ohio Synod began to be known by the other two synods as the "robber synod," mainly due to the fact that part of their expansion occurred at the expense of others who had been at work on the frontier longer than Ohio had been. They even managed to win to their side in the process a few pastors. For example, between 1905 and 1908 three pastors of the Manitoba Synod—including veteran pioneer pastors E. Berthold and W. Willing—joined the Ohio Synod. Berthold, who had returned to the Canadian west to serve the new St. Paul's congregation in the Louis Bridge area of Winnipeg, left the Manitoba Synod to join the Ohio Synod, taking his congregation with him. This happened only weeks after Gehrke had arrived in Winnipeg in November 1905. Before the year came to an end, Gehrke had formed another

⁶²⁴Gehrke, "Praesidialbericht," Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, 6.

congregation, Christ congregation, in north Winnipeg. It was about that time that B. Mueller, who was serving the Manitoba Synod congregation at Plumas, also left to join the Ohio Synod. Later Berthold and Mueller were both soundly condemned by their former synod for secretly estranging their congregations, and "betraying the General Council to the Ohio Synod."⁶²⁵

Wilhelm Willing, who had moved west to Fruitvale, British Columbia, ended up leaving the Manitoba Synod to join the Ohio Synod in 1908, taking his congregation at Fruitvale with him. His departure was a particularly sad loss for the Manitoba Synod, for he had always been a willing and able pastor eager to serve numerous congregations and preaching stations without hardly a complaint since his arrival on the frontier in 1893. He had also served many terms as secretary of the Synod and for a brief period as acting president after Beer resigned.

Another sign of Ohio's missionary aggressiveness occurred in several situations where congregational vacancies existed that could not be quickly filled. In some of these instances pastors of the Ohio Synod would come in and offer help during the interim, thereby gaining the loyalty of the people, and eventually getting them to leave their synod. This happened to the Manitoba Synod congregation at Strassburg, Saskatchewan. It also happened in Plumas after Mueller left, and it happened as well in Vernon, British Columbia. At Neudorf, when a vacancy occurred in its Manitoba Synod

⁶²⁵J. Nicum, "Versammlung der Ev.-Luth. Synode von Manitoba etc.," *Siloah* 27, no. 10 (October 1907): 74.

congregation in 1912, the Ohio Synod managed to persuade the congregation to join their Synod.

At Rosthern, Saskatchewan, the Ohio Synod did not try to fill a vacancy, but simply placed a pastor to develop a congregation in an area where an already existing congregation of the Manitoba Synod was being served. The same was true of their efforts at Gretna, Manitoba, but at Gretna their ministry did not take hold; and they withdrew, concentrating their efforts at nearby Plum Coulee.

The Missouri Synod also suffered a few reversals with the coming of the Ohio Synod to western Canada—although none of her pastors left her ranks to join the other synod. Particularly in Winnipeg problems began when Ohio placed a congregation only twelve blocks from Missouri's Immanuel church. While the Missouri pastor Zwintscher had felt it imperative to use the synodical hymnal in his services, the Ohio pastor Gehrke was more prepared to allow German Russians the use of their Volga hymnal and was also willing to accept some of their unique worship customs. Consequently, Immanuel congregation lost about a third of its membership and about 45 percent of its day school children to the congregation of the Ohio Synod.⁶²⁶

By 1909, the Missouri Synod also lost to the Ohio Synod their congregations at Stettler and Irvine, Alberta, as well as their congregation at Happy Land, Saskatchewan.⁶²⁷ They were also at that time fighting off Ohio Synod

⁶²⁶Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 30.

⁶²⁷C. F. Walther, "Kanada," Neunzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing

efforts to set up a congregation in the Brunnendahl area of Saskatchewan, but there they were successful.⁶²⁸ Furthermore, by 1911 the Ohio Synod began congregations in areas where the Missouri Synod was also already serving congregations of their own. It happened, for example, both at Josephsburg and Medicine Hat, Alberta. In Neudorf, Saskatchewan, the Ohio Synod got itself involved in a conflict with both the Missouri Synod and Manitoba Synod in 1912 when it managed to take over the Manitoba Synod's congregation during a vacancy and then become embroiled in a court battle with the local Missouri Synod congregation whose church building they tried to claim as theirs.⁶²⁹

By 1912, the Missouri Synod's Mission Commission began its report on Alberta with the words, "In Alberta we are having a hot battle with Ohio."⁶³⁰ The major areas of dispute at the time were in Wetaskiwin, Leduc, and Calgary. In Wetaskiwin, Ohio managed to "estrangle" some of the members of Pastor O. H. Schmidt's congregation and build a church for them before placing a pastor there.⁶³¹ In Leduc, however, an even more unusual sequence of events occurred. The Missouri Synod established a preaching station of six members there in 1910. Soon afterwards the Ohio Synod came, placed a pastor in the location, and had him purchase a church. A Manitoba Synod

House, 1909, 36.

⁶²⁸Ibid., 34. ⁶²⁹See below, p. 278.

⁶³⁰C. F. Walther, "Canada," Einundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota Districts der Deutschen Ev.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912), 77.

⁶³¹Ibid., 78.

pastor also established a preaching station in the same settlement. Thereafter, all three pastors were trying to serve the same six members in Leduc. By 1912, however, Pastor Gerken of the Missouri Synod had persevered to the point that the other two had left. He even ended up preaching in the church that had been purchased by the Ohio Synod.⁶³²

In Calgary a bitter dispute arose, first within Immanuel congregation, and then with the further interference of the Ohio Synod. It began when F. Walter Janzow, Immanuel's new pastor, tried to deal with two members who seemed to have a drinking problem. Thereupon a number of their friends rose up to defend them, claiming that half the congregation had the same problem if, indeed, they had a problem.⁶³³ Further difficulties arose when Janzow opposed any further use of the Volga hymnal in congregational worship. Up to then the Volga hymnal—so dear to the hearts of many German Russians⁶³⁴—was being tolerated; at least an effort was being made to sing hymns in worship that could be found in both the Missouri Synod hymnal and the Volga hymnal. Consequently, the congregation split over the

⁶³²Ibid.

⁶³³Threinen, Like a Leaven, 37.

⁶³⁴Alfred M. Rehwinkel in his "Laying the Foundation of a New Church in Western Canada," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 38, no. 1 (April 1965): 12, said of the use of this hymnal by German Russians: "The Volga Russians had brought their own hymnbook with them to Canada. This was a good hymnbook and had more hymns than ours, but it was not published in America and therefore had to be imported, which always caused considerable difficulty. But they would have no other. It was almost as sacred to them as their Bible. But others who were not from the Volga refused to accept it, and would not be dictated to by these Russians. And so the '30 years' war' was on and fought with a bitterness often altogether unbecoming to a Christian congregation."

hymnal issue, with the majority of the congregation remaining with Janzow and the minority forming a congregation that called itself St. Paul's, both congregations remaining part of the Missouri Synod.

Into the situation leapt the Ohio Synod, offering a substantial loan to the members of St. Paul's to enable them to build a new church by using Ohio's money along with a sum of \$9,000 that Immanuel had given St. Paul's in good faith to help them to construct their own building. The members of St. Paul's then joined the Ohio Synod, provoking a further split, for those who wanted to remain loyal to the Missouri Synod then formed a new congregation, Trinity, calling John Herzer to be their new pastor. Ensuing court battles over construction losses and unrecovered costs resulted in problems for everyone involved. Eventually it led to a decline in membership at Immanuel, and a corresponding increase at Trinity, with St. Paul's remaining at a level somewhere in between. For example, in 1917, Immanuel had 190 members; Trinity, 650; and the Ohio Synod's St. Paul's had 375.

Three Synods at Work in the West, 1905-1914

As dramatic as all these conflicts and defections might have seemed at the time, it is important to note that in the greater context of Lutheran ministry in the west during this time period such "battles" were more the exception than the rule. The Canadian west was a vast region and new areas were beginning to open up, particularly in central and northern Saskatchewan and in parts of every province beyond the reach of the main railroad lines. If one were to chart the locations of all congregations and preaching stations for all three synods at this time, it is rather amazing to discover how

many were being served exclusively by one synod without interference from either of the others. For example, in 1909 the Missouri Synod had ninety congregations and preaching stations in western Canada. The Ohio Synod had forty-nine. Of these, only six—about 4 percent—were being described as serious tension points between the two church bodies. A similar pattern was occurring between the Ohio Synod and the Manitoba Synod. For the most part, synods were tending to stay out of each other's way, going to places where others were not at work.

From 1905 to 1910 the Ohio Synod seemed to be devoting its energies to the development of congregations in a corridor of central Saskatchewan along the north-south Grand Trunk railroad reaching from Regina to Rosthern, as well as a corridor along the east-west Grand Trunk line reaching from Yorkton to North Battleford. They also began developing congregations west of Regina along the Canadian Pacific railroad at places like Moose Jaw, Morse, and Chaplin. With few exceptions, these were areas where others had not yet been working, and at a time when Saskatchewan was demonstrating some of its greatest growth. In other words, the Ohio Synod seemed to be filling the void that others were not filling as the latter remained busy at work in other places. In fact, Ohio's strongest efforts were occurring in Saskatchewan. By 1909 they were serving only three congregations in Alberta, only thirteen in Manitoba (five of them in the Winnipeg area), and thirty-three in Saskatchewan.

The Missouri Synod, on the other hand, during the same time period maintained the same ministry they had been having to their congregations in

southeastern Saskatchewan—an area where the Ohio Synod for the most part was not at work.⁶³⁵ They also were opening up new congregations and preaching stations in some of the same corridors of central and north Saskatchewan where Ohio was at work, but in different settlements, thus creating little occasion for conflict. Missouri was also developing a number of new missions in central and eastern Manitoba; they even went as far east as Ontario at Kenora, Vermillion Bay, and Dryden. In central and southern Alberta, however, the Missouri Synod was by far the dominant force. In 1909, for example, twenty-six of their thirty-six congregations and preaching stations were in the central and southern regions at key places like Calgary, Claresholm, Pincher Creek, Medicine Hat, Lethbridge, Didsbury, and Ponoka. Furthermore, they continued to expand their ministry to northern Alberta. In fact, in all of Alberta during the same time period the Missouri Synod had thirty-six congregations and preaching stations compared to the Manitoba Synod's twenty-one and the Ohio Synod's three. In the entire western region Missouri was achieving a more balanced approach, serving thirty-six locations in Alberta, thirty-four in Saskatchewan, and twenty in Manitoba.

The Manitoba Synod, on the other hand, seemed to be mainly holding their own, serving in their traditional areas of Manitoba, southeastern Saskatchewan, and northern Alberta. Nevertheless, they had also managed to expand their efforts in selected places of central Saskatchewan like Lanigan, Rosemount, and Hirzel, and in northern Alberta at places like Hillsdale, Heimthal, New Norway, and New Sarepta.

⁶³⁵Melville was the exception.

Moving on to the period between 1910 and 1914, the Ohio Synod continued to concentrate their efforts in Saskatchewan, while expanding further into Alberta. By 1911, for example, Ohio had added twenty-one more congregations in Saskatchewan and twenty-three more in Alberta. During the same time period their ministry in Manitoba saw no appreciable increase. The Missouri Synod and the Manitoba Synod, on the other hand, continued to consolidate their ministries in their areas of strength throughout western Canada.

At the same time, the Missouri Synod took the lead in expanding further west into British Columbia. During this time period no other synod was at work in this westernmost province. By 1912, for example, pioneer missionary John Herzer had developed the mission field at Vernon that had been earlier served and abandoned at different times by the Manitoba and Ohio synods. Herzer accepted a call there, and from Vernon he also served preaching stations at Enderly, Armstrong, Mabel, Cherry Creek, Nelson, Brause, and Builon. In the same year, the Minnesota and Dakota District (now being called the Minnesota District) of the Missouri Synod also accepted the responsibility from the Oregon and Washington districts for developing congregations at Vancouver and Westminster. They called E. H. Brandt to serve there. From Vancouver, Herzer by then was also planning to do mission work by boat in Alaska.⁶³⁶ In fact, in the following year he took an exploratory missionary journey along the coast, stopping at Prince Rupert on the way and ending up in Alaska. Although his trip in his opinion had been

⁶³⁶C. F. Walther, "Canada," Einundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht, 79.

met with "little success," he still thought it would be worth the effort to try it again.⁶³⁷ In one year, Herzer had travelled 28,000 miles in an effort to minister to German-speaking people in the westernmost regions.⁶³⁸

Men and Developments, 1905-1914

As the three Lutheran synods continued to adjust to the presence of one another while trying to serve as many German-speaking Lutherans as possible in the Canadian west, the region itself began to experience unparalleled growth. In fact, a greater number of people than ever before were moving to the western provinces of Canada during this time period. For example, the total immigration to Canada rose from about 21,000 people per year in 1897 to over 400,000 by 1913.⁶³⁹ John Herzer, who had begun his ministry for the Missouri Synod during this time period, described the situation in the following way:

Beginning with 1903, the stream grew and grew as though turned on by an unseen power, so that by the fall of 1914, 2,482,000 had been admitted into Canada. They came from the United States, from Eastern Canada and from Europe, in ever-increasing volume and a very large proportion to Alberta: 138,000 came in 1904, 375,000 in 1912, 400,000 in 1913.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁷C. F. Walther, "Canada," Zweiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota-Districts der Deutschen Ev.-Lutheranischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1913), 77.

⁶³⁸Ibid.

⁶³⁹Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1913 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1913), 166-167.

⁶⁴⁰Herzer, 23.

The missionaries of all three synods found themselves for the most part grateful for so many opportunities to minister to people.

Men and Ministry in the Missouri Synod

The Missouri Synod received good news when Emil Eberhardt returned to Stony Plain, Alberta, in 1909 after serving his congregation in Snohomish, Washington, for slightly more than four years. By then, Eberhardt was eager to return to the congregation he had first begun when he arrived in Stony Plain in 1894, and he had returned for good. In fact, Eberhardt stayed there for the remainder of his ministry until his retirement in 1942, serving as an example of strength and maturity to his brothers in the ministry in the western region.⁶⁴¹

Incidentally, while Eberhardt was in the ministry of the Oregon and Washington District, he had taken a trip to Vancouver from Snohomish in early 1908 at the request of their Mission Board to see if the time seemed right to call a pastor there. He returned disappointed about the fact that the Iowa Synod had begun a congregation there, but even more disappointed about the fact that a large number of German Lutherans were there who not only wanted to "know nothing about Iowa," but were so thoroughly secular in their attitude that they were not at the moment in Eberhardt's opinion ready to receive any appropriate ministry from anyone.⁶⁴²

⁶⁴¹Ibid., 31.

⁶⁴²Emil Eberhardt, "To the Worthy Mission Board," 1.

They were all members of a German society which had been established to foster the "German language, German customs and sociability," said Eberhardt, and they only seemed to want to get together to sing merry songs and drink beer as they once did when they lived on the left bank of the Rhein. They told him that only a pastor who was willing to take the society under his wings could hope to start a congregation for them.⁶⁴³ In his opinion, they were "not looking for a preacher who preaches the Gospel of the grace of God in Christ Jesus, who shows one the way to heaven, but they want a man who tickles their flesh, who preaches so that one's ears itch."⁶⁴⁴ Obviously, Eberhardt was not their man but he took courage in the fact that in all of Vancouver he had found one family, a Mr. Ed Bartig and his wife, who had been members of the Missouri Synod and could eventually help to form the nucleus of a congregation when the time was right for the Lord to show them "an open door" there.⁶⁴⁵ Four years later Brandt arrived in Vancouver, and by 1913 he had established a congregation of thirty-nine members that was looking for land to build a church.⁶⁴⁶

From 1905 to 1914 a number of other able men were also at work for the Missouri Synod in western Canada. For example, Rev. Alfred Rehwinkel came to Pincher Creek, Alberta, in 1910, a year of very high immigration in the west. From there he was also initially serving Bellview and Fernie, British Columbia, and later also in the same province Burton City, Cranbrook,

⁶⁴³Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴Ibid.

⁶⁴⁵Ibid., 2.

⁶⁴⁶Walther, "Canada," Zweiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht, 77.

Creston, Deer Park, Needles, Summit, and Revelstoke.⁶⁴⁷ In 1914 he was called as pastor to St. Peter's congregation in Edmonton, where he stayed until he eventually was called to serve on the faculty of Concordia College when it was founded in 1921. He remained at Concordia until he accepted a call in 1928 to serve as president of St. John's College in Winfield, Kansas. From there he went to Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, where he served on its faculty from 1936 to 1965.

John Herzer, who has already been mentioned for his early work in Vernon, British Columbia, eventually also became a professor at Concordia College and historian for the Alberta-British Columbia District, serving a total of forty-five years in the pastoral and teaching ministry of the Canadian west from 1911 to 1956. Traugett Herzer, brother of John, served as a pastor at various places from 1910 to 1914, and thereafter became a very influential layman in the Synod for the remainder of his life.⁶⁴⁸

Another man of major significance to the development of the Missouri Synod ministry of western Canada at this time was Albert Schwermann. He began his ministry at Mellowdale, Alberta, in 1913, where he also served preaching stations at Millet, Brightview, and Peace Hills until he accepted a call in 1916 to serve Wetaskiwin. In 1921 Schwermann became the first president of Concordia College, a position which he held with high distinction for thirty-three years until 1954 when he decided to retire as president, while

⁶⁴⁷Fred T. Gabert, "Pages from the Early History of our Church in British Columbia," The Canadian Lutheran (July 15, 1957): 9.

⁶⁴⁸For further comments about Traugett Herzer's activities, see Threinen, Like a Leaven, 36-40.

still teaching at the College on modified service. In 1958 he became the first president of Lutheran Church-Canada. In 1963 he retired from the full-time ministry of the church after fifty years of service in western Canada.

Another man of importance was A. J. Mueller, who began his ministry in Calgary in 1914, serving the downtown mission until 1916 when he accepted the call to Immanuel in Calgary. In 1927 he left Immanuel to serve St. Peter's in Edmonton, where he remained for many years until his retirement in 1960. Mueller was elected the first president of the Alberta-British Columbia District in 1921, and continued serving as president until 1930. Schwermann served with Mueller as first vice-president of the District when the District began in 1921. Mueller spent his entire time in the ministry at Calgary and Edmonton from 1914 to 1960—a period of forty-six years. Another man who began his ministry in the District before the first World War and who spent his entire ministry in western Canada was Carl Janzow; he served for forty-eight years in six different congregations in Alberta and British Columbia until he retired at Victoria in 1960.

In Saskatchewan and Manitoba the Missouri Synod also had a number of other men of importance who began their ministries in the region before 1915. They were blessed, for example, with the ministry of men like Christian T. Wetzstein who arrived at Neudorf in 1909 and remained a pastor in the region throughout the course of his ministry. Wetzstein served Neudorf when it went through another turbulent period involving court battles over the use of the local church—which both the Missouri Synod and Ohio Synod congregations claimed to be theirs. Ultimately, the Missouri Synod won the

battle, but in the meantime Wetzstein began to concentrate his efforts also in many other parts of Saskatchewan. Described by his Mission Board as "capable and industrious," he was asked to be travelling missionary throughout Saskatchewan, a role that Brockmann had once assumed.⁶⁴⁹

According to Threinen, when Wetzstein came upon the scene in 1909 at the age of twenty-two, he was "an energetic missionary and a person of considerable ability and courage."⁶⁵⁰ By 1913 he was serving ten congregations and preaching stations throughout south Saskatchewan, including Neudorf, Wolseley, Morse, Webb, Kronau, Indian Head, Stornhenge, Stalwart, Swift Current, and Windthorst. In 1913, his Mission Board described his work in the following way:

P[astor] Wetzstein has for a year accomplished the difficult work of a general travelling missionary in Saskatchewan. He has been tireless in his work, has often during an entire week not been home a single day, and has many times travelled 60 miles on foot. He now lives in Moose Jaw, Sask., and has there already begun work that is promising. With the help of three students he served the parish of Wolseley-Vibank-Hodgeville and began the new parish of Swift Current-Luella. For the places, which stand under his care, five candidates have been called. Although P[astor] Wetzstein has worked so eagerly, already he could not go everywhere where they are demanding his service.⁶⁵¹

Wetzstein conducted the rest of his ministry in Saskatchewan, serving as travelling missionary from 1912 to 1917, then more permanently at Neudorf from 1917 to 1924 and at Grace congregation in Regina from 1924 to 1943.⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁹Walther, "Canada," Einundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht, 74.

⁶⁵⁰Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 44.

⁶⁵¹Walther, C. F., "Canada," Zweiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht, 75.

⁶⁵²Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 183.

Another man who brought strength and stability to the ministry of the Missouri Synod in Saskatchewan at this time was Paul E. Wiegner, who arrived in Heimstadt in 1909. In 1912 he began serving Hoffenthal where he stayed until he accepted a call in 1927 to Immanuel in Winnipeg, where he remained until 1938.⁶⁵³ In 1922, during his time at Hoffenthal, he was elected the first president of the newly-formed Manitoba and Saskatchewan District and continued to serve in this role until 1927 when he was succeeded as District President by Wetzstein. He authored the District's first comprehensive history at the request of the Board of Directors for its thirty-fifth anniversary in 1957.⁶⁵⁴ He remained in the ministry in Manitoba and Saskatchewan from 1909 to 1960, a period of fifty-one years.

Another man of importance to the ministry of the Missouri Synod was Walter Baepler, who came to Dundurn, Saskatchewan, in 1914, where he remained until 1917. From 1917 to 1922 he served as a travelling missionary for the region. In 1922 he accepted a call to Holy Cross in Winnipeg, but only served there a year when in 1923 he received an appointment to serve as a professor at Concordia College, Edmonton. He was considered an excellent teacher and remained at the College until he was called to serve on the faculty of Concordia Seminary in Springfield in 1936.⁶⁵⁵ Baepler served as second vice-president of the District when it was formed in 1922. He later authored

⁶⁵³Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 182.

⁶⁵⁴Paul E. Wiegner, The Origin and Development of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (The Manitoba-Saskatchewan District, 1957), 110 pages.

⁶⁵⁵Threinen, A Sower Went Out, 61.

an important history of the Missouri Synod's first hundred years entitled A Century of Grace.⁶⁵⁶

Three other men who began their ministry in Saskatchewan by 1915 and who remained in western Canada for a long tenure were Arthur Fuhr for thirty-six years at Spring Valley and Hoffenthal, Francis Hyatt for forty years at Middle Lake and five other places, and John H. Lucht who spent most of his forty-three years of ministry in Saskatchewan at Leader and MacNutt.

The Missouri Synod was clearly entering a new phase of ministry in western Canada by 1915. For example, a greater sense of commitment and stability was beginning to set in. Of the forty-seven men who were serving in the region at that time, ten would continue for the entire length of their pastoral ministry—an average tenure of forty-four years. Of the remaining thirty-seven, the average tenure would be seven years, with the average pastor changing locations no more than twice. Furthermore, with only two exceptions, they would all remain in the same districts where they began their ministry in the west—twenty remained in Alberta and British Columbia, and twenty-seven continued to serve in Manitoba and Saskatchewan.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵⁶ Baepler, A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod 1847-1947 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947).

⁶⁵⁷ The statistics for those serving in 1915 were calculated on the basis of comparisons made between the "Statistischer Bericht ueber die Mission in Canada fuer Jahr 1915-1916," in the Vierundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota-Distrikts der Deutschen Ev.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1916), 53-55, and the table in Appendix A of Threinen's A Sower Went Out, 167-183, as well as the table entitled, "Rostered Full Time Workers Serving in the District to 1994," in Threinen's Like a Leaven, 189-209.

The entire ministry of the Synod in western Canada continued to receive enthusiastic support during this time period from the leadership of the Minnesota and Dakota District (renamed the Minnesota District in 1912). From 1905 to 1910, President Friedrich Pfotenhauer consistently encouraged the members of his district to rejoice in the work God had placed before them in every area of the district. In 1909, for example, he looked back on the phenomenal growth that had occurred in his district since its inception and again tried to arouse all workers in the field to double their efforts to minister to others in every kind of circumstance and with the gifts that God had put into their hands:

It is an entirely magnificent blessing that God has placed upon our work! We realize this success, but imagine, however, that we are standing in danger and are becoming weary to the point that it should cause our faces to blush. This embarrassment however may further serve to drive away all weariness.

So then, let us become again awakened to our labours in this precious work, awakened in prayer, awakened in giving . . . awakened as preachers in loving admonition, in sincere warning, in solid refutation, in continuous teaching, in spite of all toil and work, and all humiliation and need. And if also only each of us makes a few blessed, so will it become a great multitude that no one can number, out of all nations, peoples, and languages, bringing glory and praise to God and to the Lamb, who was slain for us!⁶⁵⁸

Pfotenhauer may not have known it at the time, but he was giving his last message of encouragement as District President. He clearly had a concern for missions that became known beyond the great northwest, and he carried that concern with him when he was elected First Vice-President of the Missouri

⁶⁵⁸Friedrich Pfotenhauer, "Synodalrede," Achzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907), 10.

Synod in 1910, and then President of Synod in 1911 when Franz Pieper resigned from the presidency due to failing health.⁶⁵⁹

Pastor H. Schulz, who had been serving as First Vice-President of the District under Pfothenhauer since 1903, became the next District President. Beginning where his predecessor left off, he encouraged the delegates at his District's next convention to be missionaries "after the heart of God," and in the words of Mark 16:15 "to go forth and preach the Gospel to all creatures," being ever concerned for the salvation of their fellow man.⁶⁶⁰ During the remaining years before the first World War, the importance of mission work continued to be a major theme for Schulz and for his successor, R. Koehler, who served as District President from 1912 to the end of the war.

In western Canada itself efforts were already underway before the war to form two indigenous districts divided at the Alberta and Saskatchewan border. Before 1907 the entire region was under the supervision of the District Mission Commission. From 1907 onwards, C. F. Walther became the representative on the Mission Commission most responsible for the Canadian mission field. According to John Herzer, Walther "dreamed, thought, talked, planned, and lived Canadian missions."⁶⁶¹ Under his guidance the Synod's system of visitation circuits was begun under local supervision in western Canada in 1909. In that year William Hitzemann of Winnipeg became the

⁶⁵⁹Baepler, 219.

⁶⁶⁰H. Schulz, "Synodalrede," Zwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota-Districts der Deutschen Ev.-Lutheranischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1910), 7.

⁶⁶¹Herzer, 24.

visitor for Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and Fred Brockmann of Calgary became the visitor for Alberta. In 1912, Alberta was split into two circuits with Emil Eberhardt serving as visitor in the north and F. Walter Janzow serving as visitor in the south; Hitzemann at the time remained visitor for Manitoba and Saskatchewan. By 1914 the responsibility for Manitoba and Saskatchewan was split with Hitzemann remaining visitor for Manitoba and Rotermund becoming visitor for Saskatchewan.

In 1912 discussions were underway in Saskatchewan to consider the formation of new districts in western Canada. The Minnesota and Dakota District had already given birth to two other districts by then: the South Dakota District in 1906 and the North Dakota and Montana District in 1910. On August 12-17, 1914, a meeting was held in Stony Plain, Alberta, at which C. F. Walther began to ask if the time had perhaps come for the formation of two districts in the west.⁶⁶² A committee was formed to work on the idea, but the decision to separate had to be postponed when the District met in convention in 1915. The war, the poor state of the economy, and a number of other reasons led the delegates to back away from the idea momentarily, but the impetus for a more indigenous organization of western Canadian ministry for the Missouri Synod had begun.

By 1914 the Missouri Synod had fifty-eight pastors ministering to 174 congregations and preaching stations in western Canada. A reported total of 12,650 people—compared to 5,158 in 1905—were baptized members of the

⁶⁶²Threinen, Like a Leaven, 47.

Synod in that year. Thus, their membership had more than doubled in nine years.⁶⁶³

Men and Ministry in the Manitoba Synod

From 1905 to 1914 the Manitoba Synod experienced a great deal of frustration, particularly since they seemed to lack the manpower and finances to move forward in their mission work in the western Canadian provinces. One still finds an occasional negative reference about the Missouri Synod in their Mission Committee reports, but in comparison with reports of a decade earlier the tone is mild. For example, in a 1907 report one finds only the following brief observation, "Missouri has not neglected her opportunities."⁶⁶⁴ By 1913, however, the Ohio Synod seemed to be replacing Missouri as a target of concern: "Ever since the Joint Synod of Ohio started mission work in Western Canada bitter complaints have been raised by our missionaries against the management and practice of her emissaries."⁶⁶⁵ Due to the growing number of problems they were having with Ohio, attempts were being made—rather unsuccessfully—to set up a mechanism to resolve their conflicts:

To settle these difficulties a tribunal of arbitration was proposed. On account of regrettable delays this important matter is still in suspense. . . .

⁶⁶³Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten fuer das Jahr 1913 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1914), 81-87.

⁶⁶⁴Minutes of the Thirty-First Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1907 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1907), 174.

⁶⁶⁵Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Convention, 171.

It is our sincere hope that this controversy which both sides seem to deplore, will soon be brought to an issue, putting a stop to all antagonistic strife, so foreign to the spirit and so detrimental to the welfare of the Church.⁶⁶⁶

By now, however, the General Council and its Manitoba Synod were more readily able to admit that their difficulties in moving forward in mission work were more directly attributable to their inability to find enough pastors to send into the field. In 1907, for example, it was reported:

When two years ago the present Board was authorized by this venerable body to continue the work in the far Northwest, as well as on the Pacific coast, the outlook was none too good. The gains that had been made were offset by the losses incurred, and the Board asked itself, "Will it be possible to retrieve those losses? or shall we keep on losing?" That question has been answered . . . While we retreated in some instances, we advanced in others. If we are asked why we retreated, I say: just for one reason and one alone, viz., we did not have the men we needed, men who are willing and able to preach the Gospel to their scattered brethren in the German tongue.⁶⁶⁷

In 1911, the Mission Committee suggested that there were several reasons why pastors were "loath" to enter a ministry in the Canadian northwest:

1. The remoteness of the field. Many have an idea that they would feel quite out of the world, lost and God-forsaken in that distant region near the North Pole, thousands of miles away from their friends.
2. The extreme severity of the climate. It takes a robust constitution to endure long rides in a fierce gale at a temperature of 30 to 50 degrees below zero.
3. The lack of nearly all the accustomed conveniences and comforts of life. Most of us have not the remotest idea how primitive the surroundings of a missionary are in the new settlements of our pioneer farmers, and how frugal the manner of living is which he has to adopt.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷Minutes of the Thirty-First Convention, 174.

⁶⁶⁸Minutes of the Thirty-Third Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America, 1911 (Philadelphia: General

The pastoral shortage was intensified by the fact that some pastors who had begun serving in the field ended up having to resign for reasons of health or other factors, causing the shortage to be greater. For example, in 1909 H. R. Hauptmann at Pheasant Forks, Saskatchewan, suffered a nervous breakdown and retired, while G. Runge, who had been serving in Alberta and had been an invalid for a number of years, was "committed to an insane asylum."⁶⁶⁹ By 1911, F. Bredlow, incapacitated by ill health and old age, retired.⁶⁷⁰ In 1913 it was reported that A. H. Koehler "had to leave the northwest after a brief stay, on account of ill health"—he had contracted tuberculosis. In the same year A. Leonardi, following the advice of his physician after a long siege of illness, accepted a call to eastern Canada.⁶⁷¹

According to a 1915 report, this shortage of pastors was leading to an ever-increasing sense of instability in the field:

A most regrettable effect, directly traceable to this lack of men, was an altogether extraordinary instability in the mission field. Fifteen pastoral changes have taken place during the past biennium. A comparison of the

Council Publication Board, 1911), 182.

⁶⁶⁹Minutes of the Thirty-Second Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America, 1909 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1909), 203-204.

⁶⁷⁰According to Ernst George Goos in his Pioneering for Christ In Western Canada (Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces, 1947), 11, near loss of life while trying to cross a flooded Battle River had forced Bredlow into an early retirement. Still he continued to live on for another thirty-three years on his homestead near Wetaskiwin; it was there that he died in 1944 at the age of ninety-two.

⁶⁷¹Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Convention.

present ministerial roll with that of two years ago reveals the astonishing fact that only six of our missionaries have not changed their addresses.⁶⁷²

Furthermore, the Mission Committee reported that the instability of the situation could not be due to any fault of their men in the field—they were going where they were told to go in order to avoid further losses:

Since new men were not available, the only way open to the Board to overcoming the perplexing situation in many instances was to fill the more important vacancies by creating new ones in such districts where the prospects of having them served by neighboring pastors were more favorable and the ever-existing danger of losing one field or the other was less menacing.⁶⁷³

The situation was causing the General Council to revise the image it had of itself. No longer could they claim that they had the ability to serve the Canadian west on their own, nor could they blame the other synods for going where the need for ministry was in so many places becoming apparent. For example, in 1915, when they had to admit that they lacked the resources that others had to provide a ministry to the Peace River District of Alberta, they made the following observation: "It is an experience, which time and again we have brought face to face, that the contrast between our opportunities and our abilities has been the cause for our loss of ground, and that where we failed, others succeeded."⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷²Minutes of the Thirty-Fifth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1915 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1915), 178.

⁶⁷³Ibid. For similar observations, see also Minutes of the Thirty-Sixth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1917 (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1917), 227.

⁶⁷⁴Ibid., 182.

By 1909 it was becoming apparent to the General Council that the situation would continue to get worse unless they could find a way to train their own pastors:

Even though we have been first in the field, even though we cannot doubt that God has called us to the task, even though the door is still open, and the invitation to enter urgent, all efforts of the Board must fail, and the untiring zeal and faithful labor of our missionaries come to naught—as far as the General Council is concerned—unless a Seminary is provided to supply the men that we require in the field. The need of such an institution was recognized long ago, and is felt more keenly every year.⁶⁷⁵

Already in 1907 a committee was struck by the Manitoba Synod to handle the seminary question and an appeal was made to the General Council even then to establish a "Predigerseminar" in western Canada.⁶⁷⁶ In 1910 the Manitoba Synod's president, Martin Ruccius, made a personal appeal to a special commission of the Council, asking for a seminary. He gained a favorable response. At the Manitoba Synod's 1911 convention, Ruccius called for action on the seminary with the poignant words: "I consider the time of discussion to be past, the time for action at hand; or, I fear, this project will be forever dropped."⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁵Minutes of the Thirty-second Convention, 202.

⁶⁷⁶Minutes of the Manitoba Synod, 1907 Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, 10. See also Ernst George Goos, Pioneering, 19.

⁶⁷⁷The translation is Goos' in his Pioneering, 19. The original text reads, "Ich halte dafuer, dass die Zeit des Waegens vorueber und die Zeit des Wagens gekommen ist, oder aber ich fuerchte, dass das Projekt fuer immer fallen gelassen wird," in Verhandlungen der Zehnten Jahrsversammlung der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen - Trinity, Wpg., 13-17 July, 1911, Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, 6. Ruccius at the time was projecting a budget for the seminary showing expenses at \$3,370, and income of \$1,870 based on tuition of \$125 per student for ten students and a subsidy of \$620 from the Manitoba Synod. He was looking to the General Council to supply the balance of \$1,500

Finally, in the summer of 1913, Pastor J. Goos began a college in his home in Spruce Grove, Alberta, which ultimately would lead to the establishment of a seminary. By November it was moved to a location in south Edmonton where Goos served as principal with a staff of four assistant teachers that included Pastors H. W. Harms, Th. Hartig, Th. Hempel, and a Mr. Solheim. In the summer of 1914 construction was begun for a seminary in a more permanent location at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. There the college was moved in February 1915 and also there facilities were established for seminary training.⁶⁷⁸

In the meantime, the Mission Committee of the Council was still attempting to supply pastors to the field as the seminary was trying to gain a foothold. In 1910, five new candidates were assigned from Kropp. In 1911, three more could still be assigned from Kropp, but it was becoming more difficult to get candidates since the German Army was starting to get involved in a military build-up and compelling some of Kropp's graduates to do military service.⁶⁷⁹ In 1915 the Mission Committee reported: "The doors of the Kropp seminary are closed to us by war."⁶⁸⁰ By 1917, it did not seem to the Mission Committee that the seminary at Saskatoon had progressed quickly enough to meet their urgent need for more pastors; at the time, they were considering an arrangement with the seminary at Waterloo, Ontario. Eventually, however,

to open the seminary. See *Ibid.*, 5.

⁶⁷⁸Goos, Pioneering, 10.

⁶⁷⁹Minutes of the Thirty-Third Convention, 181.

⁶⁸⁰Minutes of the Thirty-Fifth Convention, 177.

the seminary at Saskatoon began to provide what was lacking. Their first two graduates were ordained in 1922.⁶⁸¹

During the period before the First World War, the Manitoba Synod and the Mission Committee of the General Council seemed to be struggling with one other, a problem affecting their work in the mission fields of the Canadian west. Given the fact that other synods were clearly making strides in the region, the Mission Committee was wondering out loud in 1907 if perhaps a "Mission Superintendent" should be appointed in the field to bring greater coherence to their mission efforts in the western provinces. The response of the Manitoba Synod at that time was negative; the opportunity for confusion between proper synodical supervision and Mission Committee interference through a superintendent seemed to them obvious. Furthermore, they said, the money spent on one superintendent "might suffice to send at least two more missionaries . . . to the field, which would be a good deal more desirable."⁶⁸²

Nevertheless, the idea was not to be lost. In the next convention of the General Council, it was pointed out that about a dozen vacancies had occurred in the Canadian west. Some of them had been without a pastor for more than a year. Under the circumstances, the Mission Committee felt the situation was urgent enough for them to call an "efficient field missionary, whose chief duty it should be to look after and temporarily supply vacant congre-

⁶⁸¹Goos, Pioneering, 21.

⁶⁸²Minutes of the Thirty-First Convention, 175.

gations."⁶⁸³ Their choice was Martin Ruccius, a strategic move since Ruccius was again serving as president of the Manitoba Synod at the time. The Committee could not say enough good things about him: "He possesses a good education, is endowed with splendid gifts, enjoys the necessary buoyancy, has ample experience, and is fully at home in the customs and manners of the German settlers in that territory."⁶⁸⁴ Thus, one person held both the office of synodical president and mission superintendent, a situation which to them seemed "an ideal combination."⁶⁸⁵

E. Knappe assumed the office in 1910 when Ruccius accepted the call to serve again as pastor of Trinity in Winnipeg. When Knappe resigned the position in 1914, H. Becker was appointed to replace him. Having served in the field for more than a decade, Becker had the obvious support of the Mission Committee and the respect of his peers, not to mention already the support of the congregations in the field which he now served.⁶⁸⁶ Thus, the General Council had chosen a more centralized approach to a problem that the Missouri Synod was choosing at about the same time to address through its system of congregational "visitors."

In spite of all hardships and difficulties, and in the midst of all changes to try to improve their system of support, the Manitoba Synod seemed to be benefiting from the services of some rather outstanding men—men who would continue to remain with the Synod during this period and beyond it to

⁶⁸³Minutes of the Thirty-Second Convention, 203.

⁶⁸⁴Ibid.

⁶⁸⁵Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶Minutes of the Thirty-Fifth Convention, 179.

try to bring strength and stability to their efforts in the region. Of course, a person of major importance to the work of the Manitoba Synod at this time was Martin Ruccius. He had served Trinity, Winnipeg from 1892 to 1898 and Zion in Neudorf from 1898 to 1901. After a brief interlude of modified service due to ill health, he returned to active service in 1903 at Strathcona, Alberta, remaining there until he became the first "missionary superintendent" in the west from 1909 to 1910. From 1910 to 1927 he again served as pastor of Trinity, Winnipeg. During the course of his ministry he was a great help to his fellow pastors in the west on many occasions. Of course, he served as the first president of the Manitoba Synod from 1897 to 1900, and again served as Synod president from 1907 to 1911. After his retirement from active ministry in 1927 he became editor of a German monthly and again served the Synod as its treasurer from 1933 to 1941. When he died in 1943 at the age of seventy-seven, he had during his lifetime served his Synod as pastor for thirty-five years, and as a treasurer for an additional eight years.

Mention has already been made of J. Goos, who had begun serving as pastor at Spruce Grove, Alberta, in 1903. He served as president of the Manitoba Synod from 1911-17. While serving as president of Synod, he also became president of the Synod's first college in 1913 and continued in that role until 1918. From 1918 to 1928 he served as pastor of Trinity congregation in Saskatoon and also as a professor at the seminary. From 1928 until his death in 1939, he served as a full-time seminary professor. He provided a ministry in the Canadian west for thirty-six years.

Another person who has also already been mentioned and who helped to bring strength and stability to the Manitoba Synod was H. Becker. He began his ministry in the Friedenstal-Emerson parish of south Manitoba in 1901, served for some time as travelling superintendent of missions, and became president of the Manitoba Synod from 1917 to 1925. Ill health, however, forced his retirement in 1926.

Another man who helped to provide leadership at this time was Thomas Hartig, who began serving as pastor at Strathcona, Alberta, in 1909. In 1913 Hartig became one of the members of Goos' teaching staff at the college that was started at that time in south Edmonton. He then moved in 1914 to Saskatoon to serve on the faculty of the college and of the seminary there. He was also pastor of the congregation at Wheatwyn, and eventually became president of the Manitoba Synod from 1925 to 1940. Upon his death in 1940, he had served the Synod for thirty-one years.

Another man who began his ministry in the parish and ended up teaching at the Saskatoon seminary was C. Kleiner. He began his ministry for the Synod at Duff in 1911, and after accepting the call to teach at the seminary in 1943, he continued teaching there for a number of years.

Among those who have not yet been mentioned who were serving in the Manitoba Synod by 1915, and also remained in the ministry of the Synod for more than thirty years, were M. Richter, W. Mahlstedt, H. Heimann, G. Poetzsch, and A. Schlange. Among those who served at least twelve years in western Canada were T. Hempel, G. Juettner, H. Karstens, B. Merz, H. Mueller, B. Tourney, and H. Walbaum.

When J. Goos addressed the delegates of the Manitoba Synod in August 1913 as their president, he urged them to be thankful that the boundaries of their field had been widened, new congregations had been founded, older congregations had become self-supporting, and also that a number of new workers had been sent into the harvest. Furthermore, he encouraged them to remember that "still more could be done, if more men and financial resources were at our disposal."⁶⁸⁷ Therefore, he asked them to pray the Lord of the harvest to send more workers into His harvest.

At the General Council convention in the same year, the Mission Committee shared similar thoughts with the delegates gathered there. They tried to impress upon them the fact that changes had occurred since they first began their mission work in western Canada. Then the settlers were longing for the Gospel. Now they seemed to be more apathetic, more prone to be materialistic, more beset by dangers on every side. It was therefore all the more urgent, they said, that they increase their efforts to reach them before it is too late, for they were, after all, their "Glaubensgenossen":

The people of this country are to a large extent our own flesh and blood, they speak our language, they were baptized and confirmed in our churches. They are more than our neighbors; they are our brethren, children of our household of faith. Surely we are responsible for their souls. They are our people. . . . Surely it is a gigantic task we have before us. It calls for combined efforts, and concentrated action.⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁷G. Goos, "Praesidialbericht," Verhandlungen der Elften Jahresversammlung der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen, 6-13 Aug., 1913, Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, 5.

⁶⁸⁸Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Convention, 169.

The General Council was again taking up the challenge that had initially led them to enter western Canada in the first place. The circumstances had, however, changed. Although an emerging seminary would help them to deal with the future need of pastors in the western provinces, it could not possibly solve all their problems. Nevertheless, they were trying to face the future with optimism.

Under the circumstances, it was difficult for them to exude optimism. The Manitoba Synod had only fifty-one congregations in 1914—compared to 61 in 1905—and a total baptized membership of 8,295, the lowest membership of the three synods located in the western region. They were actually showing a net loss of about 1,000 members since 1905.⁶⁸⁹

When they gathered again in convention in 1915, the early effects of war were also beginning to be felt. The Kropp seminary was no longer available to them. They had a large number of vacancies in the field. Given the fact that Canada was at war against Germany, they were beginning to sense that the public in general was starting to hold their German identity against them. Under the circumstances they were still trying to maintain an effective ministry, but more than the usual number of concerns were now weighing heavily on them. Above all, with the difficulties they were having filling vacancies, they were worrying about the possibility of having to sustain major losses in their battle to maintain a viable ministry in the Canadian west. Nevertheless, their new mission superintendent (Becker) was inspiring them to have hope and, other than that, they saw no other solution than to look to

⁶⁸⁹Minutes of the Thirty-Fifth Convention, 335.

divine guidance to solve a clergy shortage, which to them was beginning to feel like a "state of emergency":

Thank God, and owing to the missionary spirit of our pastors and especially to the untiring efforts and the spiritual and physical fitness of our Superintendent . . . we have been able to hold what we have, no losses so far having been sustained. But obviously the danger grows steadily with the duration of the present state of uncertainty, and the position of the Board is becoming ever more embarrassing, visions of threatening disaster hovering before our eyes like uncanny spectres. Unquestionably the General Council has been called by God into the Western Canadian mission field. Unquestionably the present state of emergency has been foreseen by Divine Providence. But whether the General Council will be prepared to shoulder the obligations involved and to meet the extraordinary requirements of this critical period, does not seem to be out of [the] question. Our most heartfelt prayers rise to the throne of the Almighty for a happy and encouraging solution to this question.⁶⁹⁰

Some of the doubts and fears being expressed by the General Council at that time would also be shared by the other synods as Canada plunged further and further into a war that would have its toll on everyone. A new phase was about to begin in their work in western Canada.

The Men and Ministry of the Ohio Synod

From 1905 to 1914, the Ohio Synod, as has already been noted, experienced a period of unprecedented growth in western Canada. Like the Manitoba Synod and Missouri Synod, they naturally encountered all the same problems of trying to offer a ministry to settlers under frontier conditions. For example, in March 1908, one of their missionaries, Arnold Fricke, wrote in an article in their synodical publication, the Lutherische Kirchenzeitung, that they were having to deal with problems of distance between settlements, problems

⁶⁹⁰Minutes of the Thirty-Fifth Convention, 179.

with the weather, problems due to a recent crop failure, problems of extreme poverty among the settlers—all the familiar problems that were ever associated with ministry in the Canadian west. In words reminiscent of those that had often been expressed by missionaries of the other synods, Fricke wrote in an appeal to members of his Synod:

O, help us, dear reader, you who listen at home in an old congregation, and have a place of worship, school, and parsonage! O, thank God for these often disregarded blessings and help your brothers and sisters in Canada through your mites.⁶⁹¹

Another missionary, Reinhold Arnsdorf, mentioned in a 1911 report that he had been experiencing similar problems and appreciated the efforts of President Gehrke to visit brothers in the field whenever they seemed to be in need of support.⁶⁹²

Indeed, much of the credit for the Ohio Synod's success in western Canada must go to Gehrke, who provided forceful leadership from the very beginning, and continued to try by every means possible to encourage his fellow pastors to take every opportunity to expand the mission of their Synod. Arnold Fricke, who eventually compiled a history of his district's first two decades in western Canada, later wrote of Gehrke:

Unselfish devotion to the Lord, holy zeal for the cause of God's Kingdom, great self denying willingness to sacrifice, splendid gifts for organization and leadership, made him a giant among his fellow-workers and a

⁶⁹¹Arnold Fricke, "Die Schwierigkeiten, denen wir bei unserer Mission in Canada begegnen," Lutherische Kirchenzeitung (March 21, 1908): 185.

⁶⁹²Reinhold Arnsdorf, "Missionsbericht," Lutherische Kirchenzeitung (March 4, 1911): 137.

pathfinder of home missions: a man beloved and respected equally by pastors and congregations.⁶⁹³

Gehrke was not a Canadian by birth, but a missionary who devoted nearly all his waking hours in the last ten years of his life to the development of his Synod's mission field in western Canada. Gehrke had actually been born on a small farm near Hanover, Germany, on December 26, 1863. Due to the influence of his mother and a devout teacher, he entered the seminary at Hermansburg at an early age to prepare for foreign missionary work. When problems began to develop at the Hermansburg seminary, he immigrated to the United States and studied from 1887 to 1890 at the Ohio Synod's seminary at St. Paul, Minnesota. From 1890 to 1905 he served four years in the ministry at Clintonville, Wisconsin, then four years at Stuart, Minnesota, followed by six years at Bigwoods, Minnesota.⁶⁹⁴ After being asked a second time to serve the south side Winnipeg congregation that had broken away from Trinity's north side group, he accepted, arriving in Winnipeg on November 2, 1905.

From the very outset Gehrke began to have a vision for mission work in the entire western Canadian region, and he proceeded on that basis. Initially, he received help from George Spohr who came to Winnipeg in 1906 to serve Christ congregation, which Gehrke had organized soon after he came. Soon

⁶⁹³Arnold Fricke, Geschichtlicher Ueberblick des Zwanzigjaehren Bestehens des Canada Distrikts der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten (Regina: Western Printers Ass'n, Ltd., n.d.), 5. The translation by Fred Lenz appears in George O. Evenson, Adventuring for Christ: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (Calgary: Foothills Lutheran Press, 1974), 63-64.

⁶⁹⁴H. Flathmann, "Uetrolog," Verhandlungen der achten Versammlung des Canada Distrikts der Allgemeinen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten (Columbus: Ohio Book Concern, 1916), 73.

after Berthold transferred from the Manitoba Synod, taking his congregation in Winnipeg with him, Gehrke also received support from Berthold in the field and from seminary students from St. Paul who were willing to help out in the summer months.

Gerhrke then turned to pastors already serving congregations of the Ohio Synod in the United States to assist him with his ministry in Saskatchewan. C. Pohlman came from Wisconsin to serve at Lemberg in the spring of 1906. Zaetschke came from Minnesota to serve Strassburg and eventually also Earl Grey. August Scheffler arrived from Illinois to serve a congregation organized by Gehrke near Lanigen. These men helped to bring wisdom and experience to what eventually would turn out to be a very young group of pastors in those early years, many of whom would be candidates from the St. Paul seminary. At the close of the war in 1918, Pohlman, Scheffler, and Zaetschke were still in the ministry of the Ohio Synod in western Canada.

Among the candidates who began serving during this early period were Fricke at Melville; Duerkop at Regina; Koosman at Kipling; Sandermann at Lang; Paul Kohlmeier at Redeemer, Winnipeg; and W. Reu at Radisson.⁶⁹⁵ By the time the Canada District was formed in 1908, L. F. Tank had become pastor of Kreuz congregation in Winnipeg, and H. Schmidt had become pastor of Trinity, Regina. Among the sixteen pastors who became charter members of the district, Gehrke, Fricke, Kohlmeier, Sanderman, Schmidt and Tank continued to serve as pastors in the Canadian west until their eventual retirement or death.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹⁵Evenson, 61. ⁶⁹⁶Ibid., 62.

When the Canada District met in Winnipeg for their first convention in July 1909, Gehrke could talk about a church that had begun as a mustard seed in 1905 and become in less than four years a "young tree" of over 6,000 members being served by sixteen pastors in 100 congregations and preaching stations.⁶⁹⁷ "From God this has come to pass," said Gehrke, "to him alone belongs the glory!"⁶⁹⁸

In his presidential address to the delegates of the second district convention which was held in 1910, Gehrke forcefully urged them to take the bread of life to those weighed down with worries in the bitter poverty of pioneer living, and to keep extending themselves for the work of the Synod:

The future of the Synod in this land depends, next to God, upon us! Don't let you forget it; for what we now neglect, someone else can no longer recover at a later time. Our Synod gave us the commission for this work, it places us also in the position to be able to work Dear Brothers! Our Synod expects from us, that each shall do his duty fully and entirely!⁶⁹⁹

His emphasis here on "duty" and on the expectations of "Synod" creates a rather authoritarian tone to his appeal. Nevertheless, his intent was to keep the Gospel uppermost in the ministry of his people. He urged them not to

⁶⁹⁷Gehrke, "Praesidialbericht," Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung, 5.

⁶⁹⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹⁹George Gehrke, "Praesidialrede," Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung des Canada Districts der Allgemein Evang. Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1910), 7. Text: "Die Zukunft unserer Synode in diesem Lande haengt naechst Gott von uns ab, lassen Sie uns das nicht vergessen; was wir jetzt versauemen, koennen andere in spaeterer Zeit nicht mehr nachholen. Unsere Synode gab uns den Auftrag zur Arbeit, sie setzt uns auch in den Stand, dass wir arbeiten koennen. . . . Liebe Brueder! Unsere Synode erwartet von uns, dass ein jeder seine Pflicht voll und ganz tue."

neglect those who were weak in faith or morally lapsed; they were not to give up on them, but work with them for the sake of the Gospel.

Under Gehrke's leadership the Canada District continued to move forward in their early years to the point that they were even beginning to consider from the outset the possibility of opening a school in western Canada for the training of future pastors and teachers. During his first convention as District President, Gehrke asked the delegates to consider the possibility. In their second convention they passed the following resolution:

Since we recognize that our work in Canada will only flourish after we can supply our congregations with pastors from Canada, we request that the honorable general Synod grant us an academy for Canada.⁷⁰⁰

In 1911, Gehrke was urging the members of his district to provide as much financial support as possible for the opening of the school. Melville, Saskatchewan, was to be the site.⁷⁰¹ Like the Manitoba Synod, they were beginning to see at an early date the advantages of providing theological training within the field in which they were working; unlike the Manitoba Synod, they were able to act on the idea even more quickly. The Melville Academy opened in 1913 with thirty students and functioned with the mandate to train teachers and to prepare young men for seminary training in

⁷⁰⁰Ibid., 31.

⁷⁰¹See G. Gehrke, "Praesidialrede," Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung des Canada Districts der Allgemeinen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1911), 6-7, and 13.

the United States.⁷⁰² In 1926 the school was moved to Regina and became known as Luther College, where it remains to this day.

It has already been noted that the Ohio Synod moved rapidly to serve as many congregations and preaching stations as possible during their early years, especially in central and northern Saskatchewan, and with increasing vigor as well in many areas of Alberta. Much of their initial success could be attributed to a combination of factors that included strong leadership from Gehrke, a shared zeal for mission work, a policy of openness to already existing congregations who, for whatever reason, no longer wanted to be served by the synod they first joined, and opportunities created by massive waves of immigration producing more people to be served than could be reached by all three synods combined.

About forty of the congregations that were begun during the years that Gehrke served as president continued to grow for many years to come. Gehrke himself, however, was not able to outlast the First World War, but died of pneumonia on December 29, 1915, as a result of overtaxing himself—he was only fifty-two.⁷⁰³ Five months before his death he began to express deep concerns that were similar to those being expressed by the pastors and congregations of the other Lutheran synods who were becoming bothered by the initial effects of the war on their German-speaking brothers and sisters in western Canada. In his 1915 presidential convention address, Gehrke made specific references to signs of hatred and suspicion that were beginning to occur in the general population over the presence of those in their midst who

⁷⁰²Evenson, 77. ⁷⁰³Evenson, 72.

spoke German.⁷⁰⁴ He urged them to continue to do everything possible to live in peace with their neighbors, while holding onto their precious Lutheran heritage without shame, realizing that only true peace comes in knowing Christ and experiencing life in His name.⁷⁰⁵

From 1905 to 1914, the Ohio Synod had not only shown the most dramatic growth of the three synods in western Canada, they had, in fact, become the largest synod in the region. In 1914 they had a reported membership of 13,216—about 500 members more than Missouri—with 100 congregations being served by forty-seven missionaries in the field.⁷⁰⁶ Indeed, like a mustard seed, they had grown in nine years to be of the three synods, the largest tree.

⁷⁰⁴George Gehrke, "Praesidialbericht," Verhandlungen der siebenten Versammlung des Canada Distrikts der Allgemeinen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten (Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1916), 7-9.

⁷⁰⁵Ibid., 10.

⁷⁰⁶Verhandlungen der sechsten Versammlung, 68.

CHAPTER TWELVE

CONCLUSION

The first thirty-five years of ministry to German-speaking Lutherans in the Canadian west were often marked by valiant attempts on the part of pastors to reach a growing population that would not sit still. Frontier conditions made life difficult for pastors and people alike. Nevertheless, a greater share of the responsibility for ministry was falling on the shoulders of the pastors themselves, and for reasons that are rather obvious. While a later period in history with better transportation and roads might make it so much more convenient for synods to centralize in congregations at key locations—people in a car could be expected to drive reasonable distances to get to places of worship—the frontier period with its more primitive forms of transportation and greater distances between settlements made it much more necessary, even economically advantageous in the case of rail travel, for one man, the pastor, to have the greater share of the responsibility to reach people where they were.

Add to that the very strong sense of mission that Lutheran pastors tended to have—generally speaking, they really were concerned about the salvation of those they tried to serve—it often seemed to them that it was a

miracle of God's grace that they were able to endure at all. Nevertheless, they did, and often with remarkable enthusiasm for as long as they could.

In the past several pages of this study it has been shown that the earliest period of Lutheran ministry to German-speaking people on the frontier began with a very small start on the part of the Missouri Synod in one settlement in Manitoba for as long as the settlement could last. While the Missouri Synod temporarily directed its attention to other areas of the great northwest, the General Council entered Winnipeg with the arrival of Heinrich Schmieder. Schmieder's vision was broad; he and his first colleagues were counting on remaining responsible for a ministry to all Lutherans in the Canadian west, regardless of their backgrounds. It was not to be. Over time, their territorial view of mission and ministry ultimately had to give way to an altered view, or they would end up entirely losing touch with reality in the west.

In short, they could not keep up. During the last ten years before the war their numbers remained stagnant, albeit due in part to some losses to a rather aggressive Ohio Synod moving in, but mostly due to their inability to find the resources to meet the growing need.

In the meantime, the Missouri Synod re-entered the field in 1891 with a vision of mission and ministry that remained relentlessly focused on individuals, families, and ultimately congregations that were in need of pastoral care. In their view, the Great Commission in itself provided sufficient reason to respond to the spiritual needs of people in the west, in spite of the fact that pastors of the General Council were also at work there. Conflicts

inevitably arose between pastors of the two Lutheran church bodies as they tried to minister to people with basic differences of opinion about the way mission and ministry should be conducted in a region as vast as the west.

No sooner had the General Council apparently adjusted to the presence of Missouri—though not entirely liking it—did the Ohio Synod arrive under controversial conditions in Winnipeg in 1905. This new synod to the Canadian frontier created difficulties for both groups, but especially for the General Council's Manitoba Synod, which lost some pastors and congregations to the Ohio Synod, especially when they first arrived. The Ohio Synod's views of mission and ministry had some similarities with the views of Missouri—they, too, were firmly convinced that the Great Commission did not recognize territorial boundaries. On the other hand, they tended to try to capitalize on situations where vacancies had occurred to an even greater extent than the Missouri Synod ever had during the previous fourteen years when the General Council and the Missouri Synod had the Canadian west to themselves.

Nevertheless, the population in the western provinces continued to grow, and with it the number of German-speaking Lutherans in need of ministry throughout the region. In other words, the harvest was continually seeming plentiful enough and the laborers few enough that there appeared to be room for everyone concerned—and more. The instances of conflict were far outnumbered by numerous examples of ministries to settlements where no one else was at work.

By 1914 both the Ohio Synod and the Missouri Synod had become strongly established in the western region. The General Council, though experiencing some setbacks and now the smallest of the three bodies, found itself taking some positive steps to try to minister more effectively in terms of manpower. It was to the advantage of the two larger synods that they could train their own men in the German language in seminaries in North America that were close at hand—in St. Paul and St. Louis. The General Council had been relying mostly on available men from Germany. This seemed to be a significant difference affecting their work.

The manpower issue had become a source of real concern for all three synods as the pre-World War I phase of their history in the west drew to an end. Each in their own way were beginning to sense that their ministries could be significantly strengthened if they could recruit and train missionaries and pastors of their own—men who were already adjusted to the rigors of western Canadian life. The General Council's Manitoba Synod began to feel an urgent need to head in that direction when the doors of the Kropp seminary were beginning to be closed to them by the oncoming war. Even before then, they were languishing due to their inability to attract qualified pastors to fill vacancies or to expand their ministry. For that reason they had decided to establish a seminary in Saskatoon and had begun to construct it by 1914.

The Ohio Synod and the Missouri Synod also began to develop similar perspectives on the manpower issue. Even though they had had an advantage in having trained men from North America in the field, both

synods eventually began to sense the benefits that could be gained in establishing theological training centres of their own in the Canadian west. In fact, as the period drew to a close, the Ohio Synod had already begun its college at Melville, Saskatchewan, for that purpose and was planning to move it to an even more strategic location in Regina in the very near future. Preliminary discussions were also under way in the Missouri Synod for the same purpose, eventually leading to the establishment of Concordia College in Edmonton in 1921.

None of these developments could have been easily achievable if the three synods had not also been dealing with structural issues during this pre-World War I phase. In fact, at different points in their history, and in varying degrees, each synod had begun to realize the importance of organizing their congregations into local districts or synods of their own. The General Council led the way with the organization of its Manitoba Synod in 1897, nine years after they had entered the field. The decision to form the synod had been primarily a top-down choice made by church leaders in the east. However, once the decision was made, the pastors and congregations in the west responded positively while remaining concerned about their own ability to support a synodical organization of their own.

In the meantime, the Ohio Synod formed its Canada District in the region only four years after they had begun their work in the west. Given the fact that they had established a strong concentration of congregations in the region—especially in central and southern Saskatchewan—they seemed to have all the momentum they needed to become organized as a district.

Moreover, the leadership of Gehrke was important to the success of the venture; for he, more than anyone else, helped his congregations to see themselves not so much as a collection of isolated outposts on the prairie, but as a family of believers linked together confessionally with each other. With Gehrke at the helm, the formation of the district as a district became a relatively easy task.

The Missouri Synod, on the other hand, would be the last to organize its congregations into districts in the west. It was not, however, because its congregations lacked a sense of confessional cohesiveness. Quite the contrary, members of the Synod maintained their confessional heritage wherever they went. It was soon, however, becoming evident that the ministry of the Synod would benefit most if two indigenous districts would be formed, one in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and the other in Alberta and British Columbia. This would eventually take place in 1921. However, already in 1912 discussions were under way on the grass-roots level that were pointing to that outcome. Even before then, the Canadian west had been organized into visitation circuits as early as 1909. A committee was formed in 1914 to work on the formation of the two emerging western Canadian districts. The war led to a delay, but the impetus for a district organization of Missouri Synod ministry in the west was well under way when the pre-World War I phase of its history came to a close.

Underlying all these efforts were differing visions of mission and ministry among the synods who were working in the west. As it turned out, the General Council's early territorial vision of mission and ministry could not

be sustained. From a practical point of view, they never could have kept up with all the needs of a rapidly expanding population of German settlers in the west. Moreover, from a theological perspective, sufficient grounds could never be found to support the view that our Lord's call to "go into all the world" was an invitation to stake territorial claims wherever one went with the corresponding duty to prohibit others to stay out. Both the Missouri Synod and the Ohio Synod read Scripture in another way. Motivated by a clear concern for the salvation of people, they had a more open view of mission and ministry, allowing them to reach out to people wherever they may be. If they were obviously being served by another synod, more often than not they would move on to continue their work in another part of the mission field—but they were not willing to concede an entire field to someone else if there was obviously room for them both to be at work.

In subsequent years the issue would be revisited, not so much on a macro scale, but on a more differentiated level as synods in the Canadian west and in other parts of North America would engage in conversations that could lead to comity agreements. In other words, one synod might agree to avoid one geographical area or another if the other synod would likewise agree to avoid areas that had been targeted for mission development by them. Such agreements have not always led to satisfactory results for anyone, but at least they have been based on the assumption that no territory belongs *a priori* to anyone else; and if there are going to be such agreements, they need to be mutual. Such was not the case in the earliest period of mission and ministry in the Canadian west.

The fact remains that three synods were at work on the frontier; and they seemed to be accomplishing much. Moreover, during this phase of their work all efforts of mission and ministry were being concentrated on German-speaking people who were coming to settle in the west. A more expanded vision of the task would have to wait for at least another generation or two, after the people had been settled and their children and grandchildren were beginning to become much more concerned about the need to reach out to other peoples of other cultures, not only in Canada, but in other parts of the world.

As the year 1914 came to an end, the First World War was looming on the horizon. Indeed, as the war began, Lutherans in western Canada and in North America generally found themselves in a new phase of development with difficult challenges that none of them had had to face before. But that is another chapter in the history that was unfolding. It is significant to note that in 1914 the three synods serving western Canada were ministering to over 34,000 German-speaking Lutherans. Some settlements had still not been reached by a Lutheran pastor, but their number was small. The first thirty-five years of ministry on the frontier had seen a considerable amount of progress in reaching people in need of pastoral care.

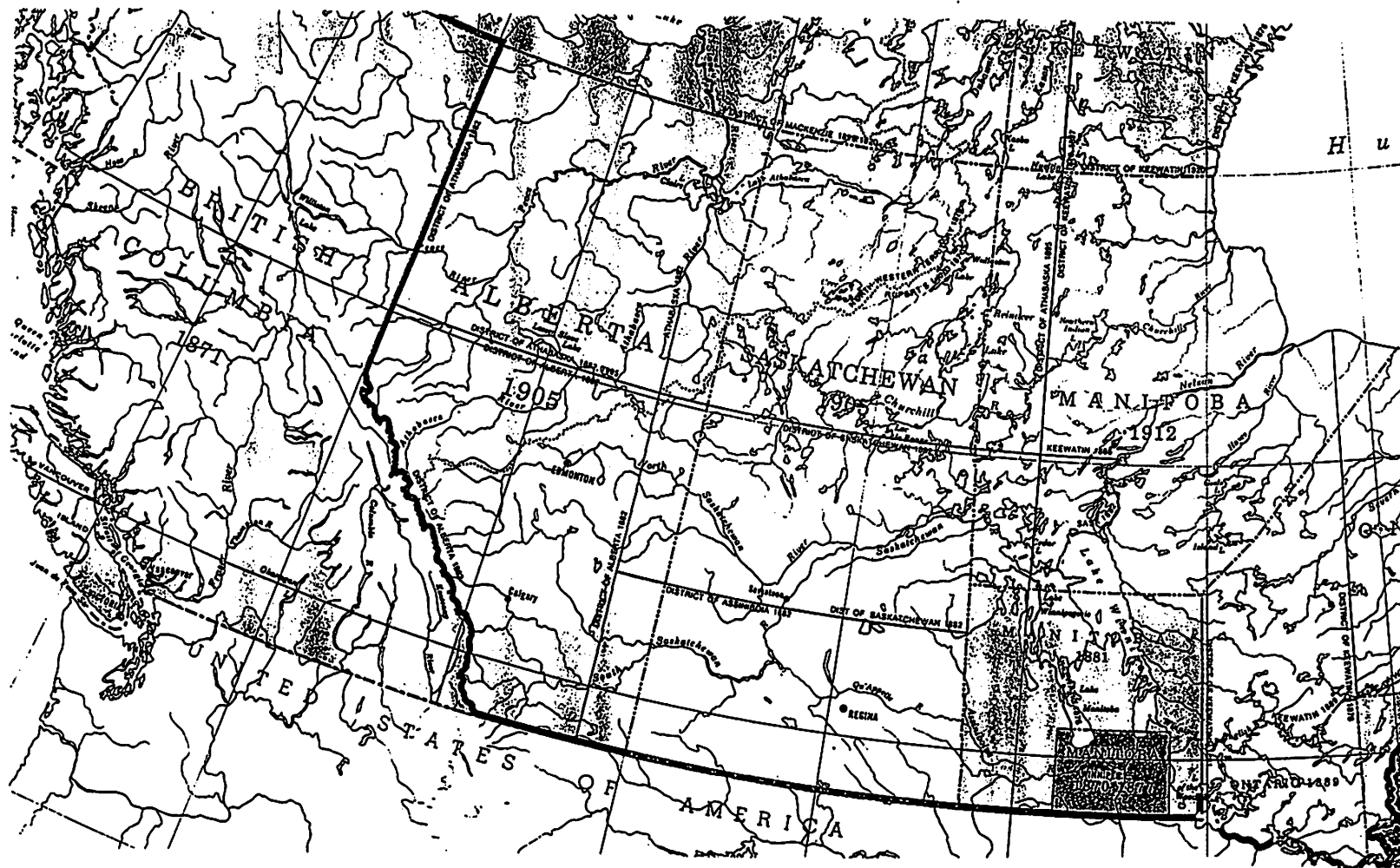


Fig. 1. Development Map of Western Canada – from Territories to Provinces

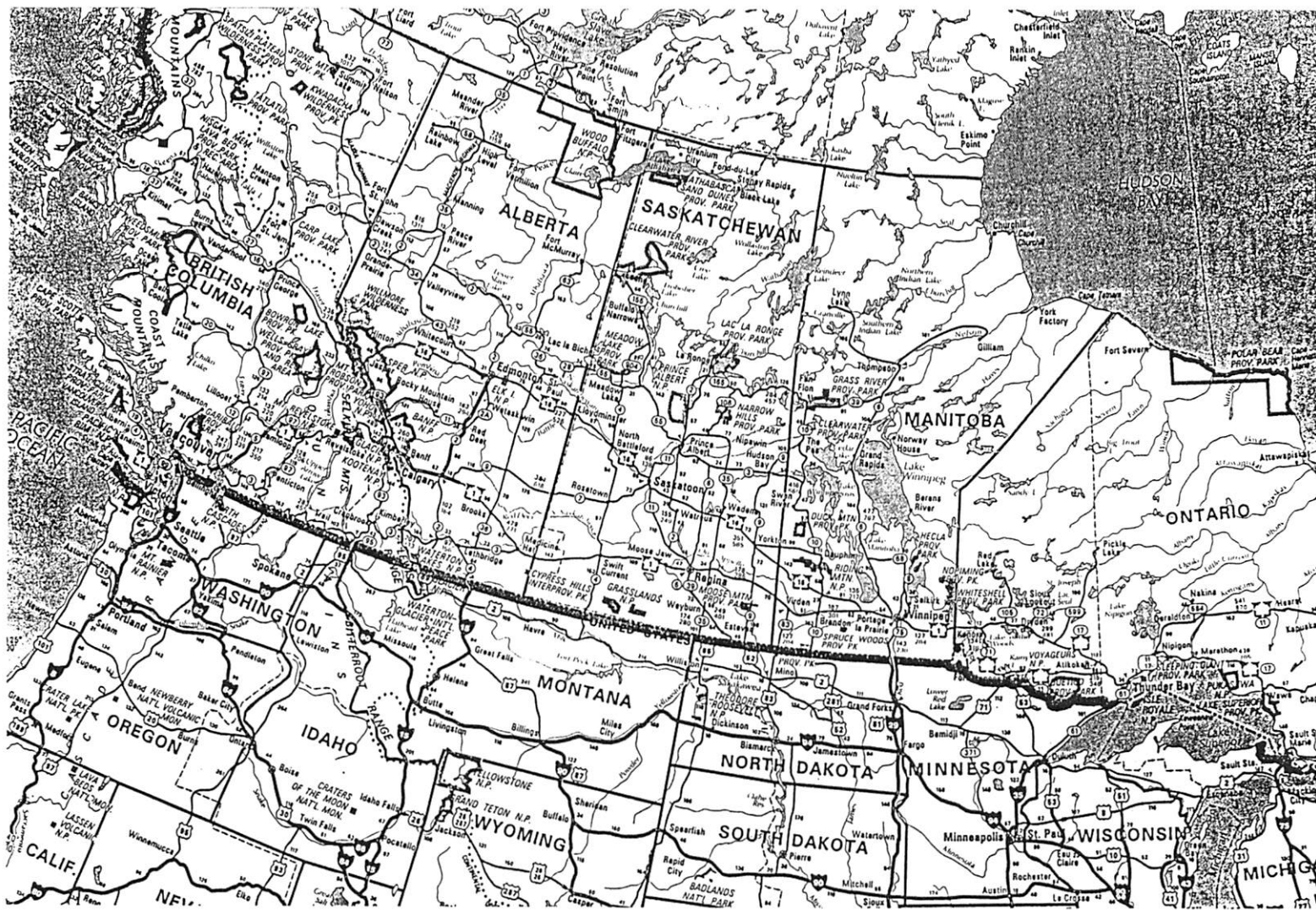


Fig. 2. Current Map of Western Canada

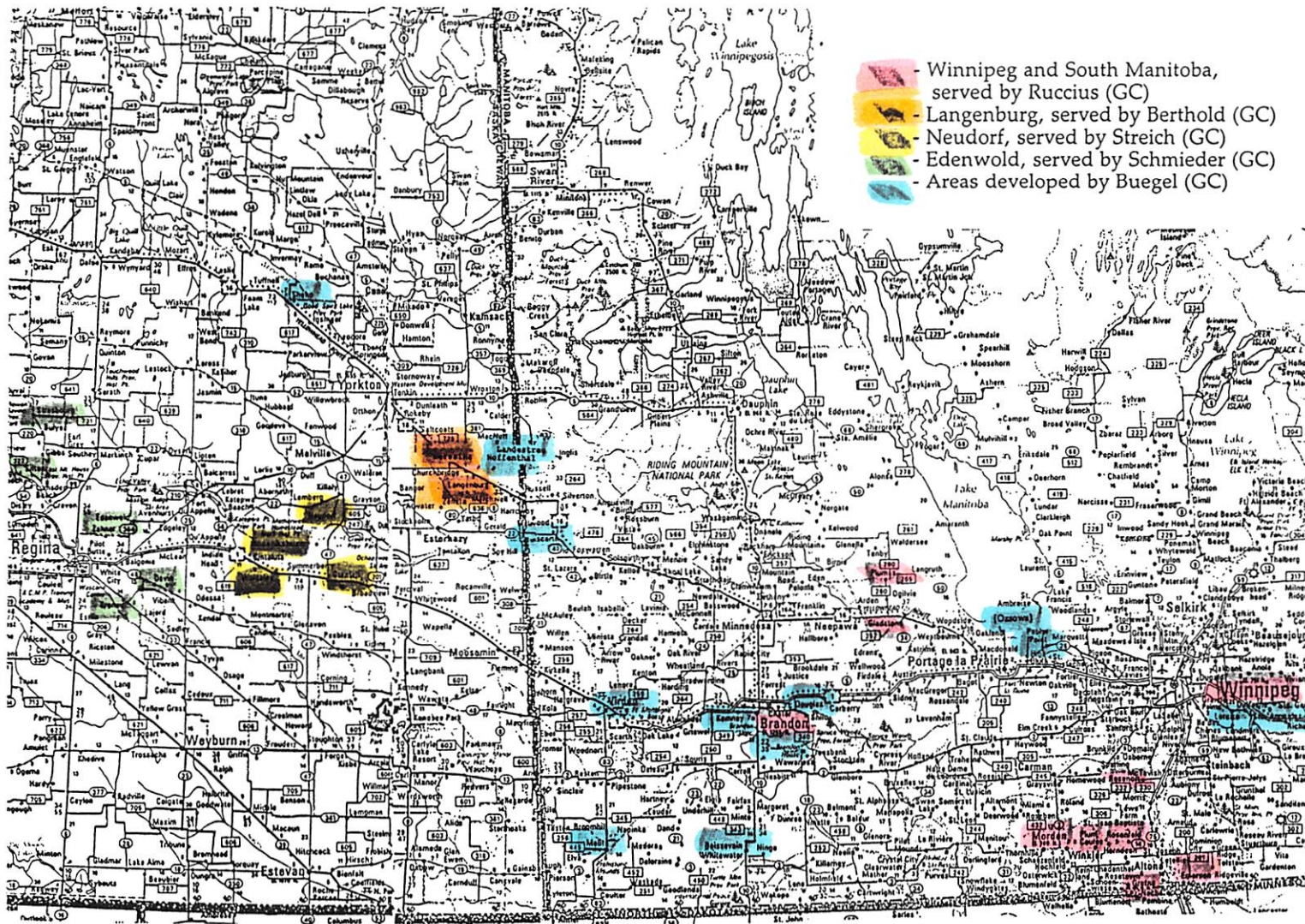


Fig. 3. Manitoba and Eastern Assiniboia Mission Field - 1893

1 cm = 20 miles

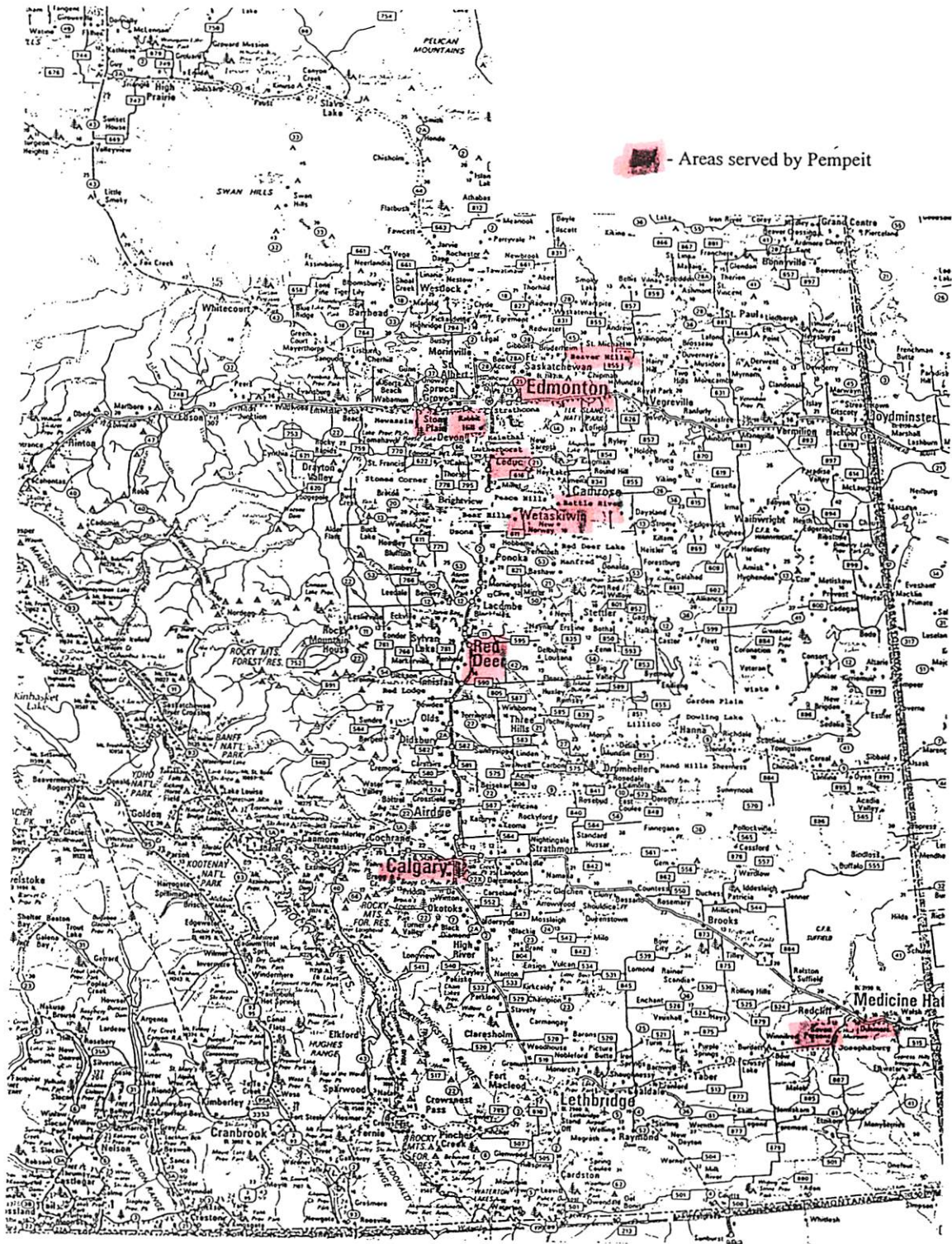


Fig. 4. Alberta Mission Field - 1893

1 cm = 20 miles

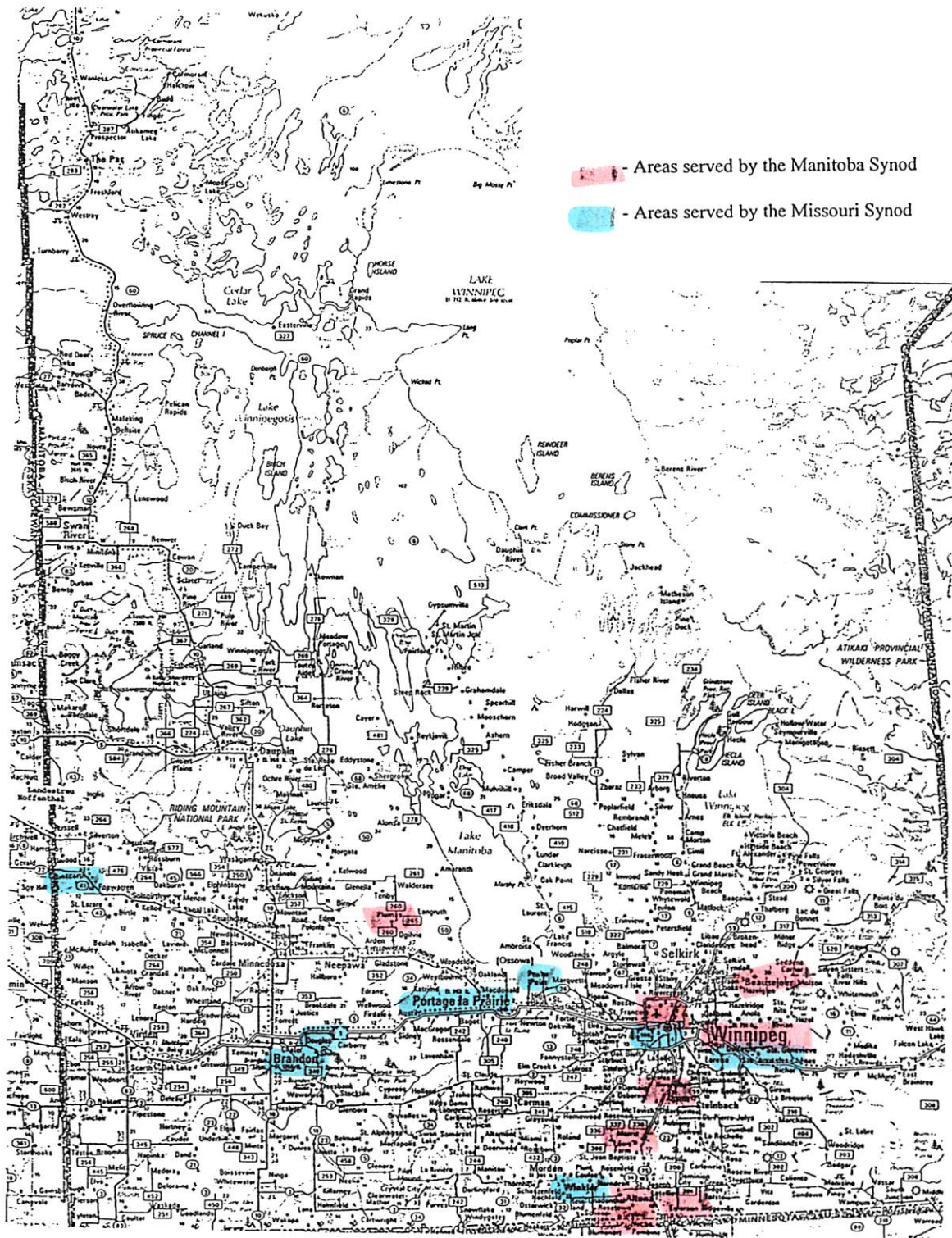


Fig. 5 Manitoba Mission Field – 1901

1 cm = 20 miles

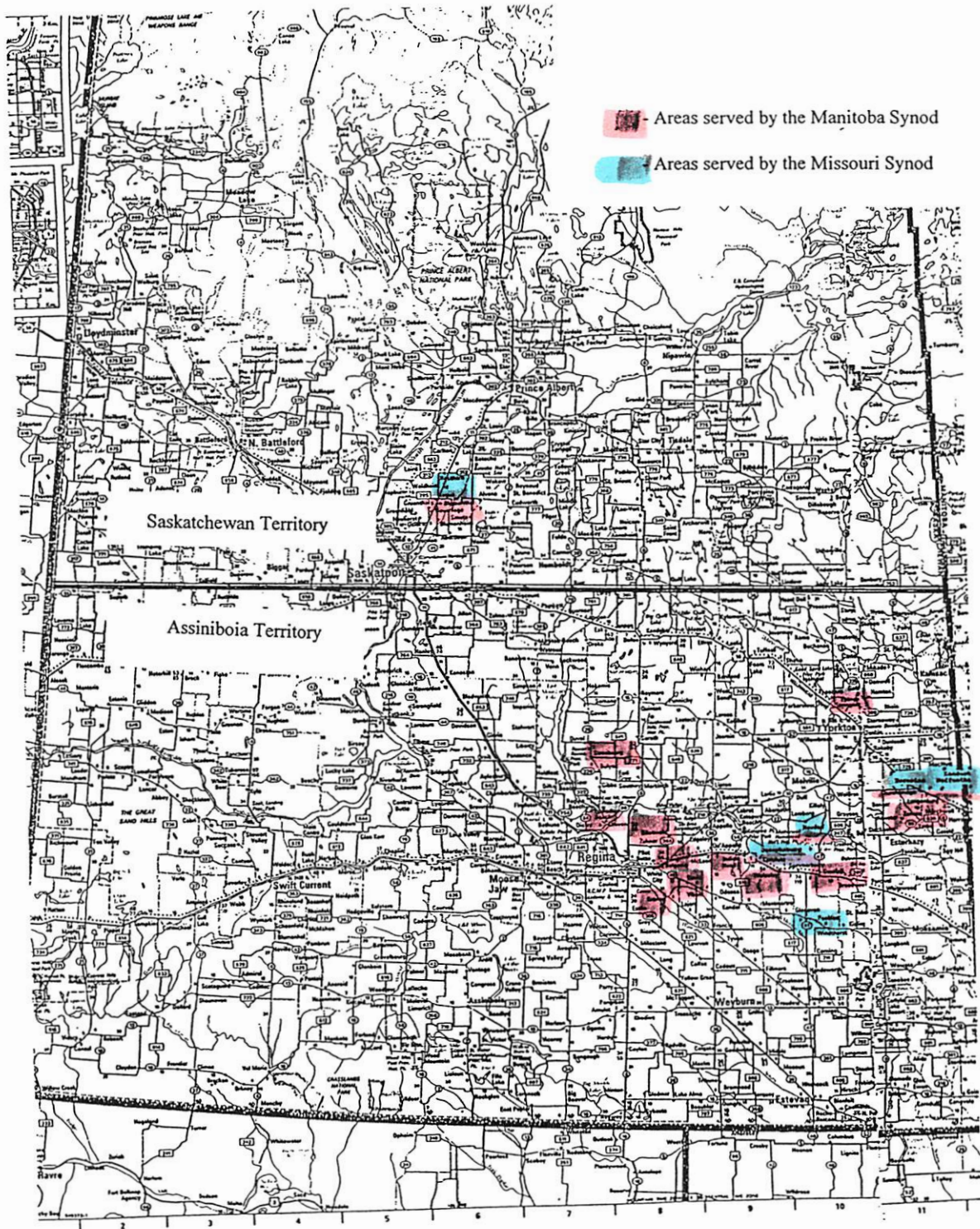


Fig. 6 Saskatchewan and Assiniboia Mission Field – 1901

1 cm = 25 miles

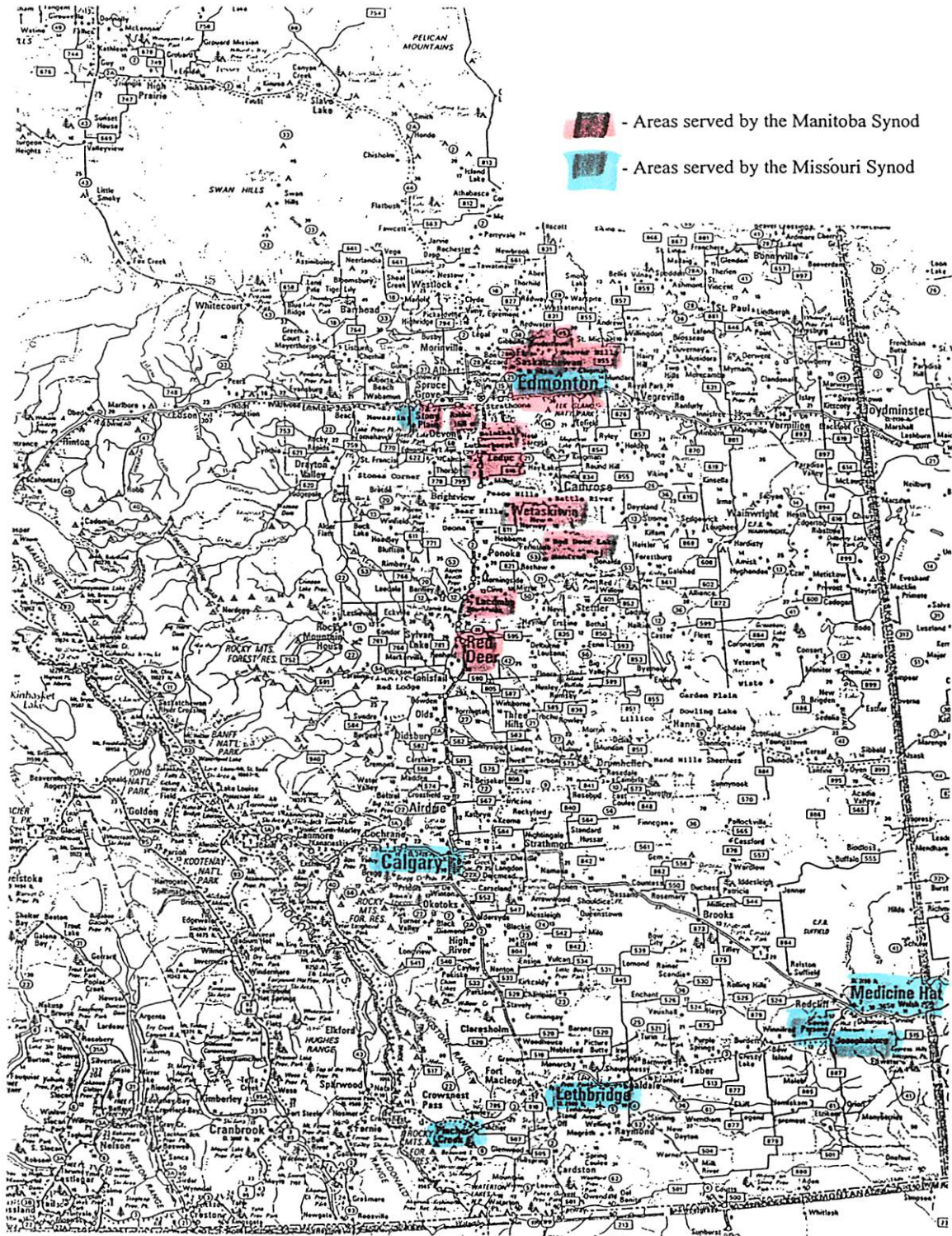


Fig. 7 Alberta Mission Field – 1901

1 cm = 20 miles

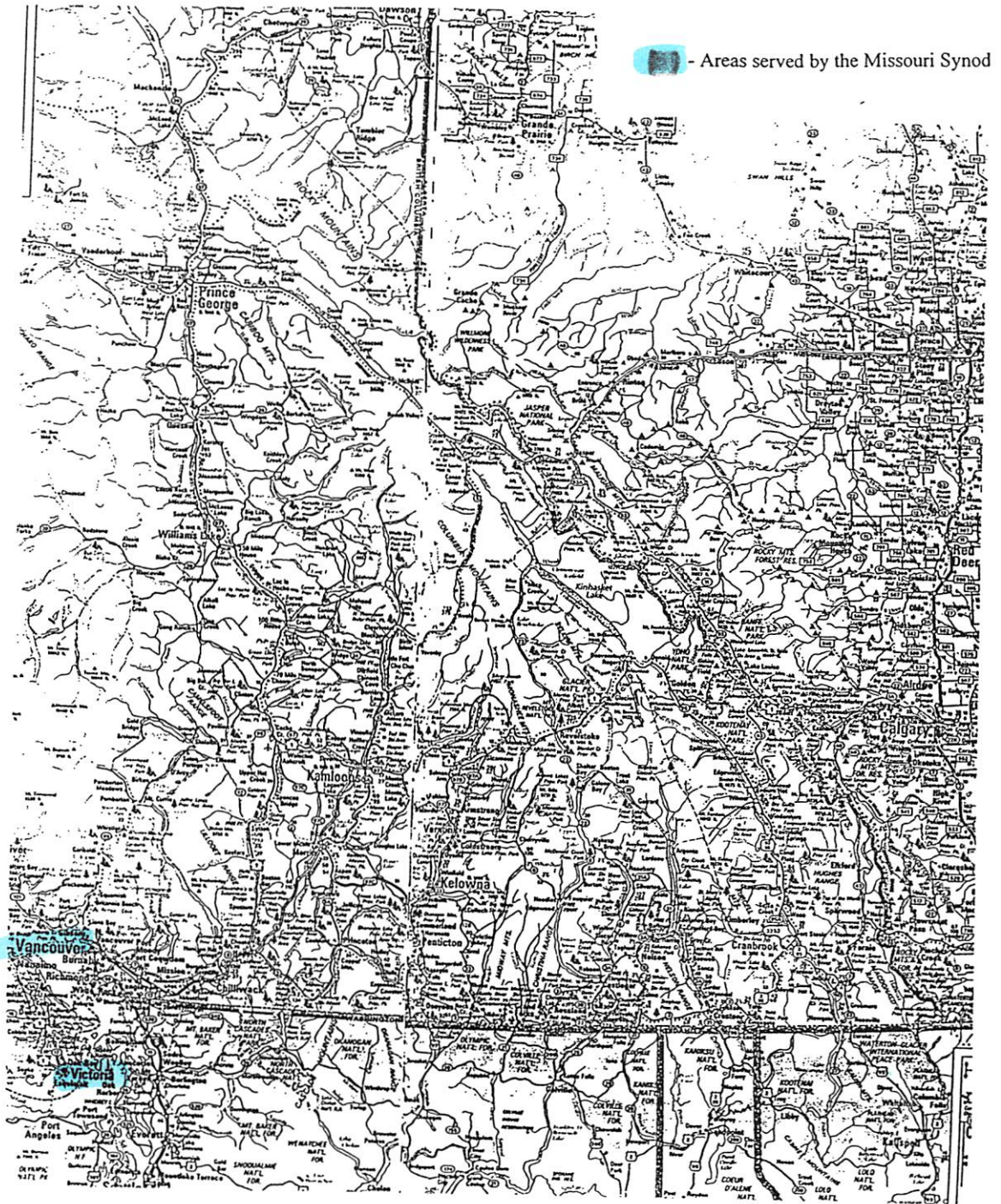


Fig. 8 British Columbia Mission Field - 1901

1 cm = 25 miles

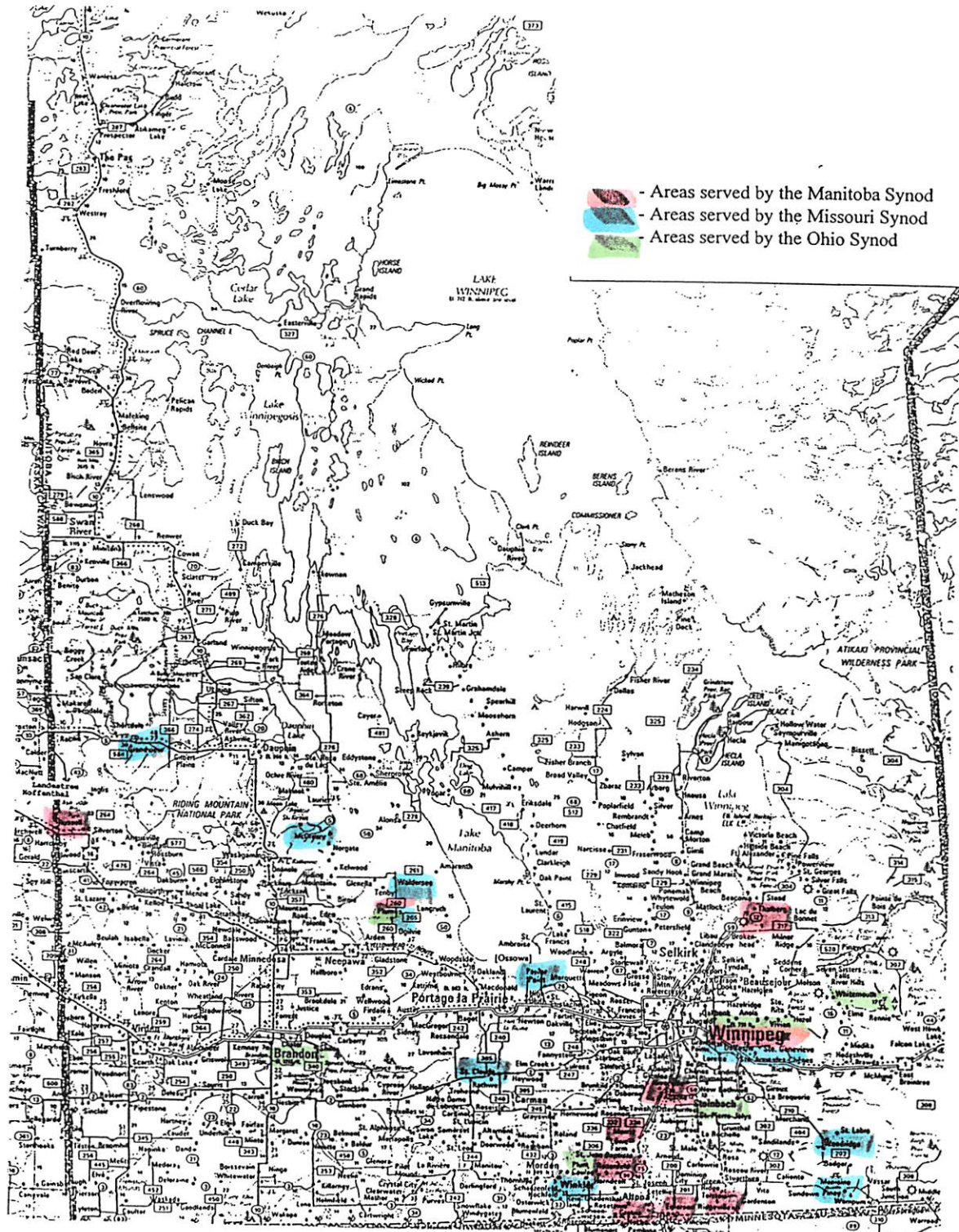


Fig. 9 Manitoba Mission Field – 1914

1 cm = 20 miles

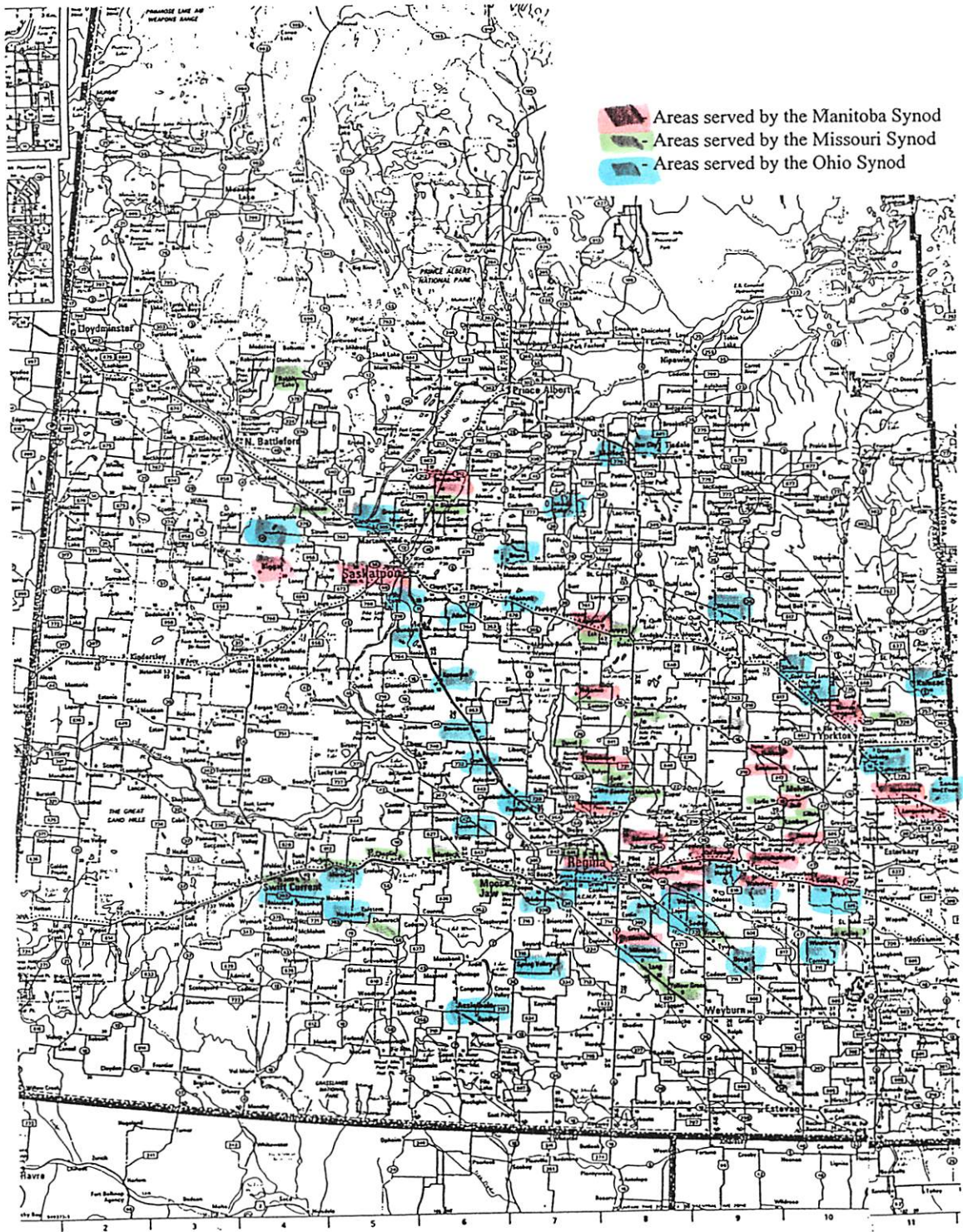


Fig. 10 Saskatchewan Mission Field – 1914

1 cm = 25 miles

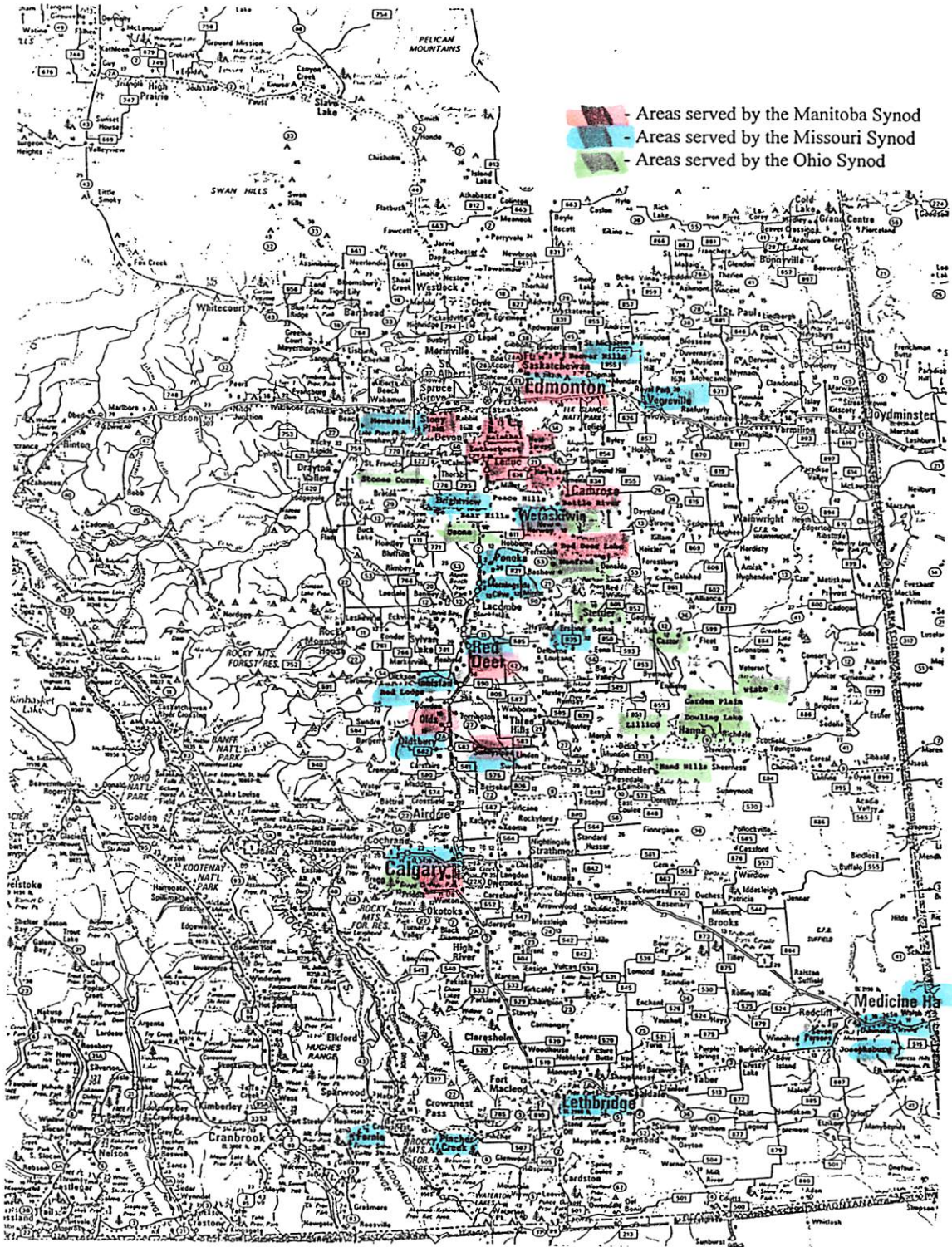


Fig. 11 Alberta Mission Field - 1914

1 cm = 20 miles

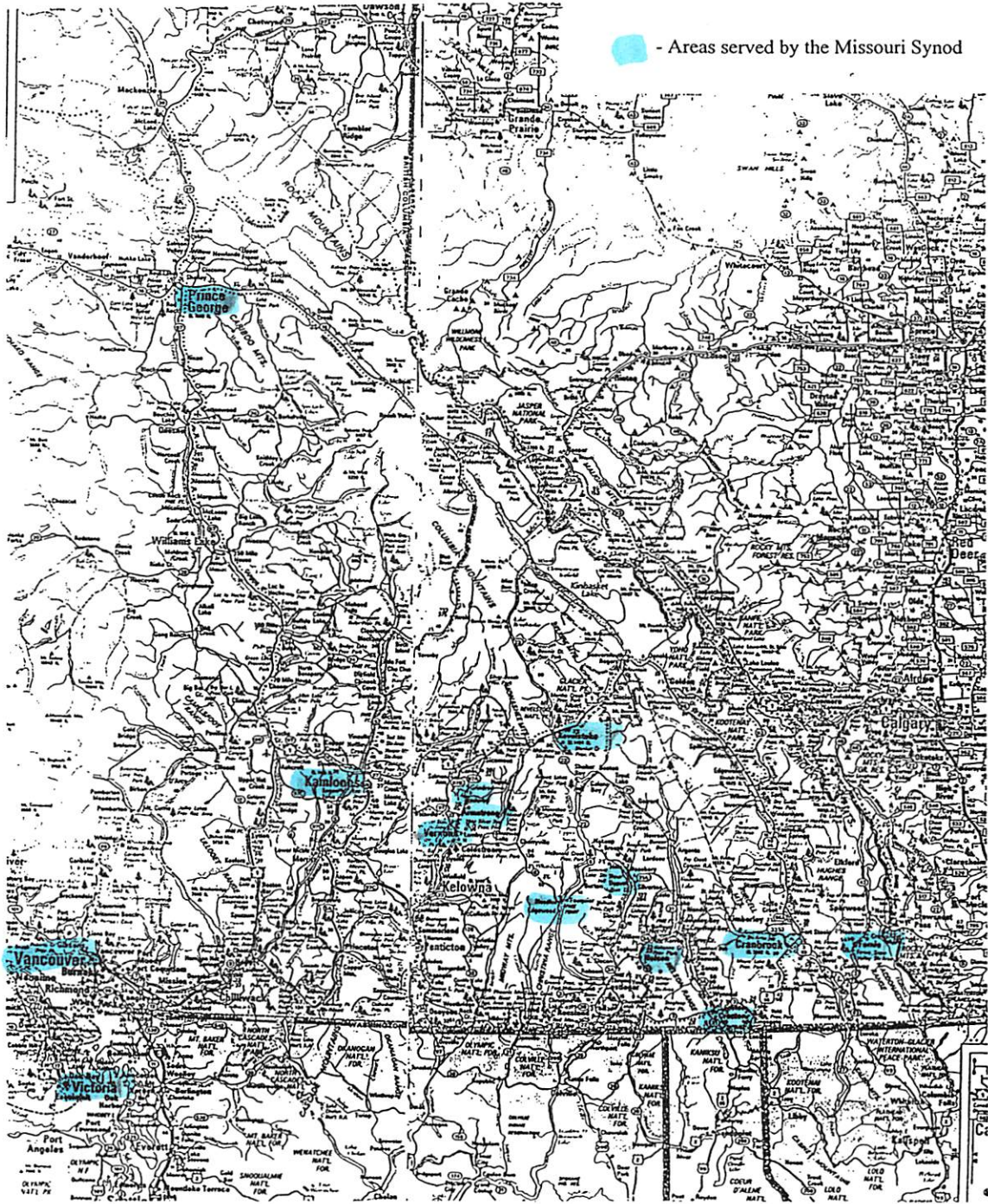


Fig. 12 British Columbia Mission Field – 1914

1 cm = 25 miles

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892.

Aksim, Eduard. "Aus Gretna, Manitoba." Siloah 20, No. 2 (February 1901): 10.

Arnsdorf, Reinhold. "Missionsbericht." Lutherische Kirchenzeitung (March 4, 1911): 137.

"Auf Den Artikel des Herrn Praeses Sievers." Lutherisches Volksblatt 21, No. 2 (February 15, 1891): 31.

"Aus Dakota." Siloah 4, No. 10 (October 1885): 38.

"Aus Deutschland." Siloah 1, No. 2 (February 1882): 6.

"Aus Edenwald, Assa." Siloah 16, No. 12 (December 1896): 1.

"Aus einem Schreiben des Herrn P. Pempeit." Siloah 12, No. 3 (March 1893): 22.

"Aus Russland." Lehre und Wehre 41, No. 5 (May 1895): 160.

"Aus Russland." Lehre und Wehre 42, No. 6 (June 1895): 91-192.

"Aus unsern Arbeitsfeldern." Siloah 10, No. 5 (May 1891): 37-38.

"Aus unsern Missionsfeldern." Siloah 10, No. 2 (February 1891): 3-14.

"Aus Winnipeg." Siloah 12, No. 6 (June 1893): 44.

"Aus Winnipeg, Man." Siloah 10, No. 7 (July 1891): 53.

Baepler, Walter A. A Century of Grace: A History of the Missouri Synod 1847-1947. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1947.

- "Bermerkungen zum Bericht des Herrn P. F. Pempeit." Siloah 12, No. 11 (November 1893): 87.
- "Bericht ueber Herrn P. Pempeits Distrikt." Siloah 11, No. 2 (February 1892): 13.
- Beer, F. "Aus Winnipeg, Manitoba." Siloah 20, No. 7 (July 1901): 53.
- _____. "Aus Winnipeg." Siloah 20, No. 9 (September 1901): 67.
- Berthold, E. G. "Aus Langenburg, Assa." Siloah 12, No. 2 (February 1893): 10.
- _____. "Aus Langenburg, Assa." Siloah 13, No. 7 (July 1894): 50.
- _____. "Aus Langenburg und Beresina, Assa." Siloah 10, No. 9 (September 1891): 67.
- Bredlow, Friedrich. "Aus Wetaskiwin, Alberta." Siloah 14, No. 8 (August 1895): 61-62.
- _____. "Aus Wetaskiwin." Siloah 18, No. 1 (January 1899): 4.
- _____. "Aus Wetaskiwin." Siloah 18, No. 8 (August 1899): 60.
- _____. "Wetaskiwin." Siloah 20, No. 8 (August 1901): 58.
- Buegel, Herman F. "Bericht ueber Innere Mission," Achter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 65. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892.
- _____. "Bericht ueber unsere Mission in Manitoba und Assiniboia." Lutherisches Volksblatt 23, No. 7 (March 23, 1893): 50-51.
- Buenger, Th. "Bericht des Dir. Buenger." Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Statten, 62-69. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901.
- _____. "Bericht ueber Montana und Canada." Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Statten, 44-49. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903.
- Burmeister, Klaus H. "Pioneer Missionary in the Northwest: The Schmieder Papers 1889-1893." Essay Competition of the Association of Lutheran Archivists and Historians in Canada, 1983.

Canadian Annual Review. Toronto: McGraw Hill Ryerson Press, 1964.

C. H. F. F. "Was ist jetziger Zeit die dringendste Aufgabe unser lutherischen Kirche hier in America betreff ihrer Missionsarbeit?" Magazin fuer Ev.-luth. Homiletik 7, No. 4 (April 1883): 103-111.

"Das Arbeitsfeld." Siloah 11, No. 11 (November 1892): 82.

"Das theologische Seminar in Kropp, Schleswig." Siloah 6, No. 8 (August 1887): 61.

Der Lutheraner 3 (September 5, 1846): 2.

Der Lutheraner 4 (November 4, 1847): 36.

Der Lutheraner 15, No. 24 (November 19, 1895): 196

"Der Nordwesten." Siloah 13, No. 1 (January 1894): 6.

"Der Westen." Siloah 1, No. 11 (November 1882): 44.

[Deutsche evangelisch-lutherische Dreieinigkeits-Gemeinde zu Winnipeg],
"Chronik," handwritten account of the beginning of the congregation.
Archives of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

"Die General Konzil-Mission in Manitoba und die Ohio-Synode." Siloah 24,
No. 4 (April 1906): 28-29.

"Die Kurze Nachricht." Lutherisches Volksblatt 20, No. 22 (November 15,
1890): 175.

Dritter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1885.

Duehrlop, Immanuel. "Aus Alberta." Siloah 12, No. 8 (August 1893): 63-64.

Eberhardt, E. "Mitteilungen ueber meine Missionsarbeit in Alberta" (1902). In Stony Plain Congregational Files, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family file. Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton.

_____. "To the Worthy Mission Board" (1908). In Stony Plain Congregational Files, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family file. Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton.

Eberhardt, Mary. Diary. Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton.

- Erster Synodal-Bericht des Nordwestlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten. St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten, 1875.
- Eylands, Valdimar J. Lutherans in Canada. Winnipeg: The Columbia Press Limited, 1945.
- Evenson, George O. Adventuring for Christ: the Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada. Calgary: Foothills Lutheran Press, 1974.
- Fick, E. Johann Hermann, August Craemer, F. W. Barthel. "Aufruf zur Mission unter den heidnischen Indianern." Der Lutheraner 4, No. 5 (November 4, 1847): 35-37.
- Flathmann, H. "Uetrolog." Verhandlungen der achten Versammlung des Canada Distrikts der Allgemeinen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten, 73-77. Columbus: Ohio Book Concern, 1916.
- Fricke, Arnold. "Die Schwierigkeiten, denen wir bei unserer Mission in Canada begegnen." Lutherische Kirchenzeitung (March 21, 1908): 185.
- _____. Geschichtlicher Ueberblick des Zwanzigjaehren Bestehens des Canada Distrikts der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten. Regina: Western Printers Ass'n, Ltd., n.d.
- Friesen, Gerald. The Canadian Prairies, A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Fuenfter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1888.
- Fuenfter Synodal-Bericht des Nordwestlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio, un. a. Staaten im Jahre 1880. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1880.
- Gabert, Fred T. "Pages from the Early History of our Church in British Columbia." The Canadian Lutheran (July 15, 1957): 9.
- Gehring, A. Diamond Jubilee: 75 Years of Grace. Stony Plain: St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, 1969.
- Gehrke, G. "Praesidialbericht." Verhandlungen der ersten Versammlung des Canada Districts der Allgemein Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten, 4-13. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1909.

- _____. "Praesidialbericht." Verhandlungen der siebenten Versammlung des Canada Distrikts der Allgemeinen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten, 9-21. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1916.
- _____. "Praesidialrede." Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlung des Canada Districts der Allgemein Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten, 5-17. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1910.
- _____. "Praesidialrede." Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung des Canada Districts der Allgemeinen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten, 6-19. Columbus: Lutheran Book Concern, 1911.
- General-Konzil 25 Convention zu Easton, Pa. Mt. Vernon, New York: Druckerei des Wartburg Waissenhauses, 1895.
- Giesinger, Adam. "Famine on the Volga in 1891-1892." Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, No. 7 (Winter 1984): 1-2.
- _____. From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans. Battleford, Saskatchewan: Marian Press, 1974.
- Goos, Ernst George. Pioneering for Christ In Western Canada. Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and other Provinces, 1947.
- Goos, G. "Praesidialbericht." Verhandlungen der Elften Jahresversammlung der Deutschen evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen, 6-13 August 1913, 4-10. Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon.
- Grosse, T. Johannes. Unterscheidungslehren der hauptsaechlichten sich lutherisch nennenden Synoden sowie der namhaftesten Sectenkirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1889.
- _____. Unterscheidungslehren der hauptsaechlichten sich lutherisch nennenden Synoden sowie der namhaftesten Sectenkirchen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika 4th ed. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1909.
- "Gustav Poensgen." Siloah 23, No. 6 (June 1904): 44.
- "Herr P. Schmieder." Siloah 12, No. 3 (March 1893): 20-21.
- "Herrn Pastor Berholds Besuch." Siloah 15, No. 3 (March 1896): 24.
- "Herrn Pastor Schmieders Bericht." Siloah 12, No. 5 (May 1893): 38-39.

- "Herrn Pastor Schmieders Besuch." Siloah 12, No. 4 (April 1893): 28.
- Herzer, John. Homesteading for God. Edmonton: Commercial Printers, 1946.
- "If Repetition Lends Weight." The Lutheran Witness 14, No. 15 (January 7, 1896): 117.
- "Jener missourische Eingriff." Siloah 10, No. 2 (February 1891): 14.
- "Kirchliche Nachrichten." Lutherisches Volksblatt 20, No. 20 (October 15, 1890): 158-159.
- Koch, Fred C. The Volga Germans. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977.
- Loehe, J. F. W. "Eine allgemeine Bemerkung ueber sogenannt lutherische Gemeinden Americas." Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und ueber Nord-Amerika, 1846, no.10, cols. 76-78.
- Lueking, F. Dean. Mission in the Making: The Missionary Enterprise Among Missouri Synod Lutherans 1846-1963. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964.
- "Meint es treulich mit unsrer Mission." Siloah 12, No. 5 (May 1893): 37.
- Meyer, Carl S. Moving Frontiers: Readings in the History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964.
- Meyer, H[erman]. "Aus unserer Inneren Mission in westlichen Kanada." Der Lutheraner 62, No. 4 (February 13, 1906): 51-53.
- _____. "Bericht des P. H. Meyer." Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 55-60. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1904.
- _____. The Planting Store of the Minnesota District of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Missouri, Ohio, and other States. Minnesota: 1932.
- Meyer, J. "Bericht des P. J. Meyer," Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 41-44. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906.
- Minutes of the Manitoba Synod, 1907. Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon.

Minutes of the Twenty-Third Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1891. Lancaster, Ohio: Republican Printing, Co., Printers, 1891.

Minutes of the Twenty-Fourth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1893. Lancaster, Ohio: Ohio Eagle Job Printing House, 1893.

Minutes of the Twenty-Fifth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1895. Milwaukee: King-Fowle-McGee Co., 1895.

Minutes of the Twenty-Sixth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1897. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1897.

Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1899. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1899.

Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1901. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1901.

Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth ConventionMinutes of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1903. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1903.

Minutes of the Thirtieth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1905. Philadelphia: General Council Board, 1905.

Minutes of the Thirty-First Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1907. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1907.

Minutes of the Thirty-Second Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America, 1909. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1909.

Minutes of the Thirty-Third Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of North America, 1911. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1911.

Minutes of the Thirty-Fourth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1913. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1913.

Minutes of the Thirty-Fifth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1915. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1915.

Minutes of the Thirty-Sixth Convention of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1917. Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board, 1917.

Moldehnke, E. F. "Von unsern Missionsfeldern im canadischen Nordwesten." Siloah 16, No. 3 (March 1898): 21.

_____. "Zur Aufklaerung fuer unsere Missionsgemeinden im Nordwesten." Siloah 10, No. 10 (October 1901): 71.

Mordhurst, Otto. "Aus Assiniboia, Canada." Siloah 20, No. 7 (July 1901): 52.

_____. "Aus Langenburg." Siloah 19, No. 12 (December 1900): 94.

_____. "Langenburg, Assa." Siloah 20, No. 1 (January 1901): 3.

"Nachrichten." Siloah 14, No. 2 (February 1895): 13.

"Nachrichten." Siloah 16, No. 5 (May 1897): 37.

"Nachrichten." Siloah 18, No. 10 (October 1899): 78.

"Nachrichten." Siloah 19, No. 6 (June 1900): 47-48.

"Nachrichten aus unsern Missionsfeldern." Siloah 10, No. 3 (March 1891): 22.

"Nachrichten und Bermerkungen." Lutherisches Volksblatt 20, No. 13 (July 1, 1890): 102.

"Nachrichten und Bemerkungen." Siloah 15, No. 12 (December 1896): 96.

Nelson, E. Clifford, ed. The Lutherans in North America. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.

Neunter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894.

Nicum, J. "Aus den Berichten." Siloah 15, No. 4 (April 1896): 28.

_____. "Unsere neuen Missionare." Siloah 9, No. 11 (November 1890): 82.

_____. "Unsere Nordwest-Mission." Siloah 18, No. 2 (February 1899): 11.

- _____. "Versammlung der deutschen Missionsbehoerde." Siloah 14, No. 11 (November 1895): 86.
- _____. "Versammlung der Ev.-Luth. Synode von Manitoba etc." Siloah, 27, No. 10 (October 1907): 74.
- _____. "Zum neuen Jahr." Siloah 16, No. 1 (January 1897): 4.
- "Noch immer grosse Noth." Der Lutheraner 47, No. 17 (August 18, 1891): 133-134.
- "Pastor Paulsen." Siloah 1, No. 11 (November 1882): 44.
- "Pastor Schmieders Besuch." Siloah 12, No. 4 (April 1893): 28.
- "Pastor Streichs Angelegenheit." Siloah 13, No. 5 (May 1894): 40.
- "Pastoral-Konferenz in Winnipeg." Siloah 13, No. 12 (December 1894): 91.
- "Pastoren aus Kropp in America." Siloah 6, No. 10 (October 1887): 79.
- Pempeit, Ferdinand. "Aus Alberta." Siloah 12, No. 7 (July 1893): 5.
- _____. "Aus Edmonton, Alberta." Siloah 11, No. 9 (August 1891): 62.
- _____. "Aus Edmonton, Alberta." Siloah 12, No. 3 (March 1893): 18.
- _____. "Aus einem Schreiben des Herrn P. Pempeit." Siloah 12, No. 3 (March 1893): 22.
- _____. "Aus einem Schreiben von Pastor F. Pempeit." Siloah 20, No. 12 (December 1901): 92-93.
- _____. "Aus Hoffnungsau, Edmonton P.O., Alberta." Siloah 11, No. 6 (June 1892): 46.
- _____. "Aus Lutherhorst." Siloah 18, No. 8 (August 1899): 61.
- _____. "Aus Stony Plain Alberta." Siloah 13, No. 4 (April 1894): 26.
- _____. "Aus Stony Plain, Alberta." Siloah 14, No. 1 (January 1895): 6.
- _____. "Aus Stony Plain, Alberta." Siloah 15, No. 8 (August 1896): 62.
- _____. "Bericht aus Edmonton, Alberta." Siloah 11, No. 8 (August 1892): 62.
- _____. "Bericht des Herrn Pastor Pempeit." Siloah 11, No. 11 (November 1892): 87.

- _____. "Drei tausend Meilen nordwestlich von Philadelphia." Siloah 11, No. 2 (February 1892): 10-11.
- _____. "Edmonton-Distrikt " Siloah 13, No. 1 (January 1894): 2.
- _____. "Einweihung in Hoffnungsau, Alberta." Siloah 12, No. 5 (April 1893): 30.
- _____. "Lutherhorst, Ellerslie, P. O. Alta., Can." Siloah 20, No. 1 (January 1901): 3.
- _____. "Missionsarbeit und Schwierigkeiten." Siloah 16, No. 7 (July 1897): 55.
- _____. "Von Missionar F. Pempeit." Siloah 10, No. 7 (July 1891): 53.
- _____. "Von unseren Missionsfeldern." Siloah 17, No. 7 (July 1898): 54.
- Pfotenhauer, Friedrich. "Nachrichten aus dem Missionsgebiete des Minnesota- und Dakota-District." Der Lutheraner 53 (January 12, 1897): 3-4.
- _____. "The Opening of the Great Northwest." In Ebenezer: Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century, W. H. T. Dau, ed. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922.
- _____. "Synodalrede." Achter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten, 6-11. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1892.
- _____. "Synodalrede." Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 6-8. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907.
- _____. "Synodalrede." Dreizehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 8-11. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1900.
- _____. "Synodalrede." Fuenfzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 6-9. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1903.
- _____. "Synodalrede." Neunter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio,

und anderen Staaten, 7-13. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894.

_____. "Synodalrede." Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 6-10. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901.

_____. "Synodalrede." Sechszehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten, 6-10. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1904.

_____. "Synodalrede." Siebzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten, 6-8. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1906.

_____. "Synodalrede." Zehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-District der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten, 7-12. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895.

_____. "Synodalrede." Zwoelfter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 7-10. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1898.

Poensgen, Gustav. "Spruce Grove, Alberta, Canada." Siloah 19, No. 6 (June 1900): 45.

_____. "Stony Plain, Alberta, Can." Siloah 18, No. 7 (July 1899): 52.

"Protokoll der ersten Versammlung." Siloah 11, No. 1 (January 1893): 5-6.

Raedeke, G. H. Fiftieth Anniversary of St. Matthew's Evangelical Lutheran Church. Stony Plain: La Survivance, Ltd., 1944.

Rehwinkel, Alfred M. "Laying the Foundation of a New Church in Western Canada." Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 38, No. 1 (April 1965): 3-15.

_____. "The Beginnings of Lutheranism in Western Canada." Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 16, No. 4 (January 1944): 119.

Rotermund, Rev. F. H. History of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in Western Canada 1879-1972. Trans. John Meichsner. Regina: Manitoba and Saskatchewan District Archives, 1912.

- Ruccius, Martin. "Aus der Missions-Arbeit in Winnipeg." Siloah 12, No. 4 (April 1893): 27-29.
- _____. "Aus Neudorf, Assa." Siloah 19, No. 1 (January 1900): 6.
- _____. "Aus unsern Missionsfeldern." Siloah 20, No. 8 (August 1901): 60.
- _____. "Aus Winnipeg." Siloah 13, No. 1 (January 1894): 3.
- _____. "Aus Winnipeg." Siloah 13, No. 5 (May 1894): 38-39.
- _____. "Aus Winnipeg." Siloah 15, No. 4 (April 1896): 29.
- _____. "Bericht des Herrn P. Ruccius ueber seine Reise nach Edmonton, Alberta." Siloah 12, No. 10 (October 1893): 79.
- _____. "Reiseeindruecke." Siloah 11, No. 10 (October 1892): 76.
- Runge, G. "Aus Alberta." Siloah 19, No. 12 (December 1900): 96.
- Schmieder, Heinrich, C. "Am Qu'Appelle Flusse." Siloah 10, No. 9 (September 1891): 66-67.
- _____. "Aus Assiniboia." Siloah 15, No. 5 (May 1896): 40.
- _____. "Aus Assiniboia." Siloah 15, No. 10 (October 1896): 80.
- _____. "Aus dem canadischen Nordwest-Territorium." [January 2, 1891]. Papers, 62-70.
- _____. "Aus der Nordwest-Mission." Papers. Public Archives of Canada, 18-19.
- _____. "Aus Edenwald." Siloah 13, No. 4 (April 1894): 31.
- _____. "Aus Edenwald, Assa." Siloah 13, No. 7 (July 1894): 50.
- _____. "Aus Edenwald, Assiniboia." Siloah 15, No. 9 (September 1896): 70.
- _____. "Aus Winnipeg, Manitoba." [December 3, 1889]. Papers. Public Archives of Canada, 10-11.
- _____. "Bei vierzig Grad unter Null." Siloah 11, No. 3 (March 1891): 23-24.
- _____. "Bericht von Herrn Pastor Schmieder." Siloah 11, No. 5 (May 1892): 33.
- _____. "Bericht von Pastor Schmieder." Siloah 15, No. 7 (July 1896): 53.

- _____. "Der Anfang unserer Nordwest-Mission." Siloah 30, No. 2 (February 1911): 11.
- _____. "Die Manitoba- und Nordwest-Mission." Siloah, 9, No. 4 (April 1890): 26.
- _____. "Ein Besuch." Papers. Public Archives of Canada, 6-10.
- _____. "Meine Mission nach Manitoba." Papers. Public Archives of Canada, p. 3.
- _____. "Pastorales Sendschrieben." Papers. Public Archives of Canada, 72-73.
- _____. "Quartal-Bericht aus Edenwald." Siloah 11, No. 8 (August 1892): 62.
- _____. "Strassburg in Assiniboia." Siloah 10, No. 8 (August 1891): 58.
- _____. "Unsere Nordwest-Mission." Siloah 9, No. 9 (September 1890): 69-70.
- _____. "Weihnachten in Edenwold." Siloah 11, No. 2 (February 1892): 9-10.
- _____. "Weihnachten in Winnipeg." Papers. Public Archives of Canada, 11.
- Schnurr, Joseph. Die Kirchen Und Das Religiöse Leben Der Russland-deutschen. Stuttgart: Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1972.
- Schulz, H. "Synodalrede." Zwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota-Districts der Deutschen Ev.-Lutheranischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten, 7-10. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1910.
- Schulz, P. "Aus Calgary, Alberta." Siloah 10, No. 7 (July 1891): 53-55.
- Schwermann, Albert H. "The Life and Times of Emil E. Eberhardt, Pioneer Missionary of Alberta and British Columbia, 20 April 1870 to 28 March 1957." Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 34, No. 4 (January 1962): 97-128.
- _____. "Notes on Dr. Eberhardt." In Stony Plain Congregational Files, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family life. Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton, 1.
- _____. "Transcript of Mrs. Eberhardt's Diary" (1961). In Stony Plain Congregational Files, Box 1, History of E. Eberhardt and family life. Lutheran Historical Institute, Edmonton.

Sechster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1889.

Seiss, Joseph A. Lectures on the Gospels. Philadelphia: Lutheran Bookstore, 1888.

_____. The Last Times and the Great Consummation. Philadelphia: Smith, English, and Co., 1863.

Sessional Papers, 1894, vol. 10, #13, Part I, 1.

Sessional Papers, 1895, vol. 9, #13, Part 1, 14.

Siebenter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 4-5. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1891.

Sievers, Fr. "Bericht ueber Innere Mission." Neunter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten, 64-70. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1894.

_____. "Bericht ueber Innere Mission." Zehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-District der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und anderen Staaten, 69-82. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1895.

_____. "Bericht ueber Innere Mission." Zwoelfter Synodal- Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 60-77. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1898.

_____. "Du sollst falscher Anklage nicht glauben, Und die Richter sollen wohl forschen." Lutherisches Volksblatt 21, No. 1 (January 1, 1891): 7.

_____. "Innere Mission." Dreizehnter Synodal- Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 39-64. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1900.

_____. "Innere Mission." Vierzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischer Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 41-72. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1901.

Sihler, Wilhelm. Lebenslauf. Volume 1. St. Louis: Druckerei des Lutherischen Concordia Verlags, 1879.

"Statistischer Bericht ueber die Mission in Canada fuer Jahr 1915-1916,"
Vierundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota-Distrikts der
Deutschen Ev.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern
Staaten, 53-55. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1916.

"Statistischer Bericht ueber unsere Missionsplaetze." Siloah 12, No. 10
(October 1893): 77.

Statistisches Jahrbuch der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synod von Missouri,
Ohio und andern Staaten fuer das Jahr 1896. St. Louis: Concordia
Publishing House, 1897.

Statistisches Jahrbuch der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von
Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten fuer das Jahr 1905. St. Louis:
Concordia Publishing House, 1906.

Statistisches Jahrbuch der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von
Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten fuer das Jahr 1913. St. Louis:
Concordia Publishing House, 1914.

Steinhaeuser, I. "Unsere Mission in Manitoba." Siloah 9, No. 7 (July 1890):
52.

Stoeckhardt, George. "Dass es die Eigenart des Reiches Gottes ist, dass es
waechst und zunimmt und durchdringt, nach aussen, wie nach innen."
Magazin fuer Ev.-luth. Homiletik 10, No. 9 (September 1886): 257-265.

_____. "Dass wir den Willen des Hirten an seinen Schafen, den verlornen
Schafen, hinausfuehren," Magazin fuer Ev.-luth. Homiletik 13, No. 7
and 9 (July and August 1889): 217-225.

Streich, Ludwig. "Aus Winnipeg, Manitoba." Siloah 9, No. 11, (November
1890): 86.

_____. "Bericht von Herrn Pastor Streich." Siloah 11, No. 5 (May 1892): 39.

_____. "Bericht ueber Winnipeg." Siloah 11, No. 6 (June 1892): 46.

_____. "Ecksteinlegung in Winnipeg." Siloah 10, No. 9 (September 1891):
69-71.

"Summa unserer Statistik." Siloah 14, No. 4 (April 1896): 28.

"Synodalverfassung." Der Lutheraner 3, No. 1 (September 5, 1846): 1-4.

The Lutheran Witness 14, No. 15 (January 7, 1896): 117.

Threinen, Norman J. A Sower Went Out. Regina: Manitoba and Saskatchewan District, 1982.

_____. "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada." Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 47, No. 3 (Fall 1974): 111-116.

_____. Like a Leaven. Edmonton: The Alberta-British Columbia District, 1994.

_____. Like a Mustard Seed. Kitchener: Valcraft Printing, 1989.

"Ueber Winnipeg." Siloah 13, No. 5 (May 1894): 33.

"Unser Missions-Werk." Siloah 10, No. 1 (January 1891): 1-3.

"Unser neuer Missionar." Siloah 14, No. 6 (June 1895): 44.

"Unsere Mission." Siloah 11, No. 11 (November 1892): 82.

"Unsere Missionare und deren Arbeitsfelder." Siloah 10, No. 6 (June 1891): 41-46.

"Unsere Nord-West-Mission—Missourischer Eingriff." Siloah 10, No. 1 (January 1891): 1.

"Verhandlungen der deutschen ev.-luth. Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien." Siloah 17, No. 9 (September 1898): 68-70.

"Verhandlungen der zweiten Versammlungen der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien." Siloah 19, No. 8 (August 1900): 69-71.

"Verhandlungen der dritten Versammlung der deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien." Siloah 20, No. 12 (December 1901): 93-94; Siloah 21, No. 1 (January 1902): 6-7; and Siloah 21, No. 2 (February 1902): 14-16.

Verhandlungen der siebenten Jahresversammlung der evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und den Nord-West-Territorien, gehalten in der provisorischen Kirche Deutsche. ev.-luth. Dreienigkeitsgemeinde zu Winnipeg, Manitoba, vom 20-22 Juli 1905. Minutes of the Manitoba Synod. Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, 70-93.

Verhandlungen der Zehnten Jahrversammlung der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen – Trinity, Wpg., 13-17 July, 1911. Archives, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon.

- "Versammlung der Missions-Behoerde." Siloah 11., No. 12 (December 1892): 92.
- "Versammlung der Missionsbehoerde." Siloah 14, No. 4 (April 1895): 28.
- "Vorsammlung unsres Missionskomitees." Siloah 15, No. 8 (August 1897): 60.
- Vierter Synodal-Bericht des Nordwestlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten. St. Louis: Druckerei des "Lutherischen Concordia-Verlags," 1879.
- "Vogelschau auf unserem Missionsgebiet." Siloah 10, No. 11 (October 1891): 74.
- W. A. "Die grosse Noth auf dem Gebiet unserer inneren Mission." Magazin fuer Ev.-Luth. Homiletik 10, No. 7 (July 1886): 199-203.
- Walbaum, H. "Aus Rosthern, Sask." Siloah 20, No. 2 (February 1901): 15.
- Walther, C. F. "Canada," Einundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota Districts der Deutschen Ev.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten, 73-80. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1912.
- _____. "Canada." Zweiundzwanzigster Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota-Districts der Deutschen Ev.-Lutheranischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio, und andern Staaten, 73-78. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1913.
- _____. "Kanada." Achtzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 43-46. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1907.
- _____. "Kanada." Neunzehnter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 32-37. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1909.
- Walther, C. F. W. Law and Gospel, trans. Herbert J. A. Bouman. Selected Writings of C. F. W. Walther 1, ed. Aug. R. Suelflow. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981.
- _____. Warum hängen wir so fest an der lutherischen Kirche? Beantwortet von C. F. W. Walther. 3d ed. St. Louis: n.p., n.d., 19.
- "Was Wir Wollen." Siloah 1, No. 1 (January 1882): 2.

"What is the Difference in Doctrine Between the General Bodies Known as the General Council and The Synodical Conference?" The Lutheran Witness 14, No. 13 (December 7, 1895): 97.

Wiegner, Paul E. The Origin and Development of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. Manitoba and Saskatchewan District, 1957.

Willing, Wilhelm. "Aus Sued-Manitoba." Siloah 15, No. 10 (October 1896): 75.

_____. "Aus Sued-Manitoba: Quartalsbericht vom 1. Dez. 1893 bis 28 Febr. 1894." Siloah 13, No. 5 (May 1894): 34.

_____. "Die Predigtplaetze in Manitoba." Siloah 12, No. 10 (October 1893): 73-74.

_____. "Edenwald." Siloah 20, No. 4 (April 1901): 29-30.

_____. "Konferenz in Winnipeg, vom 21. bis 23. July 1897." Siloah 16, No. 10 (October 1897): 77.

"Wo unsere Missionare sind." Siloah 11, No. 4 (April 1892): 28.

Wolf, Richard C. Documents of Lutheran Unity in America. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966.

Wyneken, Friedrich. Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nord-amerika. American ed., 1-13. Pittsburg: Druckerei der lutherischen Kirchenzeitung, 1844.

"Zum Bericht ueber Langenburg." Siloah 12, No. 10 (October 1893): 78.

"Zwei neue Arbeiter." Siloah 12, No. 7 (July 1893): 52.

Zweiter Synodal-Bericht des Minnesota- und Dakota-Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten. St. Louis: Luth. Concordia-Verlag, 1883.

Zweiter Synodal-Bericht des Nordwestlichen Districts der deutschen evang.-luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten. St. Louis: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio und anderen Staaten, 1876.