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THE WORK OF WM. LOEHE IN NORTH AMERICA

A thesis
presented to the faculty of
Concordia Seminary,
St. Louis, Mo.,

by

Victor C. Frank

in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree

of

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Chapter I

THE BEGINNINGS

Six months before the advent of the Saxon Lutherans in the Mississippi Valley, Frederick C.D. Wyneken (1810-1871), influenced by missionary journals which described the spiritual destitution of German settlers in North America, came to Baltimore, Md., in 1838, at the young age of twenty-eight years,¹⁾ with the intention of mitigating the spiritual malady. He had his first contact not with Lutherans, but with Methodist "Otterbeinarians," while in search for a Lutheran minister. When at length he found the Lutheran clergyman Haesbart, he was regarded by him at once as just another German swindler. But eventually ordained by this member of the Pennsylvania Ministerium as a missionary at large, he went to the "miasmatic and swampy regions of the Far West," as Indiana was known, to succeed the Rev. Jesse Hoover as pastor in Fort Wayne.²⁾

Wyneken was struck with horror by what he had found in America. He saw that the American churches and sects were digging their own phenix grave, from which would arise - who knew what! He noticed the Lutheran Church protruding with Zwinglian, Methodistic, rationalistic features, the baldest unionism, confessional indifference, religious ignorance and neglect, and quack methods of revivals, with the result that the Lutheran Church was dissipated, weak, and stagnant.³⁾

And the General Synod, with its nineteen district synods and 424 clergymen,⁴⁾

1) Hageman, Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken, 1926, p. 9

2) G.J. Fritschel, Geschichte der Lutherischen Kirche in Amerika, 1896, p. 129-131; Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, IV, 117-118; Hageman, op.cit., 15.

3) For an adequate account op. F. Bente, American Lutheranism, II, 1919, p. 68-93.

4) According to the Lutheran Almanac for 1843, quoted in Kirchliche Mitteilungen 1843, 11. Wyneken was a member of this Synod through his membership in the Synod of the West, a body within the General Synod since 1840. Bente, op. cit., p. 16.

while "denaturing, corrupting, and inoculating" itself with every noxious infection, "disemboweled its own Church of heart and lungs, and filled the empty skin with sectarian stuffings." 5) No wonder that Wyneken reacted, as he did in his writings, with all his energy, although not yet the staunch Lutheran ^{into} which he developed a little later. 6)

While Lutheranism was at this low ebb in America, the tide of a religious awakening was rising in Germany. In answer to Wyneken's requests for Lutheran pastors and teachers, F.W. Husmann (1807-1881), later first secretary of the Missouri Synod, left Germany on March 15, 1840, and in Ft. Wayne, Ind., during Wyneken's pastorate, served as the first teacher of St. Paul's congregation. 7)

The Bremen Mission Society, founded November 1839, through the incitation of Wyneken, sent, besides Husmann, also Schladermund, who became a teacher near Ft. Wayne, and Hordorf, teacher in Monroe, Mich. 8)

The Stade Mission Society, quoting from Wyneken's statements on the spiritual distress of his fellow Lutherans, issued an Appeal for Aid for the German Protestant Church in North America. This writing came to the attention of Wilhelm Loehle, the leader of Lutheran orthodoxy in Bavaria. He was so impressed that in the Noerdlingen Sonntagsblatt, issued by his friend Rev. J.F. Wucherer, pastor in Noerdlingen, Loehle took his first step for the American cause. In his "Address to the Readers," 9) Jan. 10, 1841, he pleaded with them for the relief of the spiritual catastrophe of their own fellow men.

The appeal found immediate response. In the summer of 1841 the Stade Mission Society sent two ordained ministers, Bartels and Jensen, to Indiana, ^{placing them} under Wyneken's care. 10) Jensen took Wyneken's place at Ft. Wayne during the

5) Thus Bente, op. cit., II, p. 90.

6) See Hageman, op. cit., p. 35-50.

7) Cp. E.S.H. Husmann, "Biographical Sketch of Pastor F.W. Husmann (1807-1881)," in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, I, p. 7-16.

8) Sonntagsblatt, 1842, no. 3, quoted in G.J. Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 198-199.

9) Sonntagsblatt, 1841, no. 2, quoted in Fritschel, op. cit., p. 195-198.

10) Sonntagsblatt, 1841, no. 1, quoted in Fritschel, op. cit., p. 198.

latter's absence in Germany, for a time, until he accepted a call to Pittsburg, and Husmann, having taken up the study of theology privately, preached until Wyneken's return.¹¹⁾

Loeche's appeal netted other far-reaching results. In a report¹²⁾ issued later, Loeche stated that in a short time 600 florins (about \$260) were donated. While he and his friend Wucherer had in advisement the transfer of the growing sum to the newly organized Dresden Society for North America, this society in turn sent to them a cobbler, an apprentice in Bohemia, a young man eager to become a missionary. He had read the distress-call, and at once offered his services to the Dresden Society, which informed him that he would find sufficient opportunity in his native province to prepare himself. Thus Adam Ernst came to his former pastor, Wucherer, in Bavaria. Loeche remarked: "How we had an unmistakable sign to undertake our work independently, and thus we were forced by outward circumstances to do what we had not coveted."¹³⁾

Soon another pupil was added, George Burger, a native of Noerdlingen. These two young men Loeche gave a year's preparatory training for teachers. Their course included English, calligraphy, geography, secular and church history, catechetics, Bible history, and dogma. They received practical experience in the instruction of an able, though blind, boy, and in general by their quiet conduct won the hearts of the Neuendettelsau people.¹⁴⁾

Wyneken himself came to Germany in October 1841,¹⁵⁾ at the request of the General Synod during its recent convention in Baltimore, and to the German church addressed his cries for relief. He wrote letters, delivered lectures,

11) Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, I, p. 8.

12) Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 138-140; also Deinzer, Loeche's Leben, III, 1892, p. 3-5.

13) Fritschel, op. cit., p. 139; Deinzer, op. cit., p. 5.

14) Deinzer, op. cit., p. 4-6.

15) Hochstetter, Die Geschichte der Ev. Luth. Missouri-Synode, 1885, p. 99; Fuerbringer-Engelder-Kretzmann, Concordia Cyclopaedia, 1927, p. 829; Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, I, p. 8; Fritschel, op. cit., p. 140: summer of 1842, erroneously.

and entered into personal interviews with influential men, both of the clergy and laity -- in Erlangen, Dresden, Leipzig, Bavaria, and elsewhere. Loehs helped him publish his pamphlet, The Distress of the German Lutherans in North America.¹⁶⁾ Wynken stirred Germany so thoroughly that, as Loehs remarked, "people were ashamed to remain indifferent at the side of the burning affectionate fire of his zeal." ¹⁷⁾

When he left Germany in May, 1843, he had kindled the missionary spirit of the mother church. It fell to the lot of Loehs to keep that flame aglow. And he did. Wynken retired to America, Loehs came into the foreground in Germany. He was not slow to seek every advantage. He advised a synodical conference of the state church meeting in Leipzig in 1843 to accept the responsibilities of supplying missionaries for America, but the conference left the work in the hands of Loehs, for, as Dr. Petri wrote in a letter to Wuehlerer, July 19, 1843, "Es ist Ihnen historisch zugewachsen." ¹⁸⁾

Loehs confirmed his position by surrounding himself with friends of his cause. In Hanover, Dr. L.A. Petri, a great helper, had the same universal outlook. He divided his province into districts and appointed a head of each, who was to represent the cause in his division and later report in a general committee in Hanover. This organization was of immense benefit as the work progressed, supplying many provisions and more men than any other province. (Wolter, Sievers, Roebbelen, etc.)

In Saxony, notably the Dresden Society was of great value. (Sihler and others)

16) Hageman, Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wynken, 1926, p. 39-40; Fritschel, Geschichte der luth. Kirche in Amerika, 131-138; Dau, Ebenzer, 1922, 54-58.

17) Deinzer, Loehs's Leben, III, 1892, p. 12.

18) Deinzer, op. cit., p. 17.

In Mecklenburg Karl von Maltzen was the energizing spirit. All his life he was an intimate friend of Loche. His interest in Loche's cause won others, and after their connection with Neundettelsau had been established, they were factors of good. (Cramer and Lochner).

Beside the society in Stade, organized in 1840, which sent five pastors to America, even in France, in Alsace and Lorraine, a missionary society gave its enthusiastic support to the work. 19)

Loche himself retained the recognized leadership in his province of Bavaria.

19) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 8.

Chapter II

THE FIRST EMISSARIES OF WM. LOEHE

"Wenn Gott was will, so muss sich's schiicken." Under this majestic heading the beginnings of Loehs's activity are described in the first issue of the Kirchliche Mitteilungen (1843).

By the summer of 1842 the first missionaries for America were ready and on the twenty-fifth of June Loehs presented his final instructions to them.¹⁾ His parting letter was grave, - an unknown land, an uncertain future, an untried undertaking. Ernst and Burger were coming to America as "Elementar- und Religionslehrern." (#7) If possible they were to join themselves to a true pastor of the Lutheran faith. (#8) If they came into a region entirely unchurched they were to enroll themselves with a Lutheran synod for ordination in the ministry, (#9) and become pastors. Loehs asked for their subscription to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church, (#11) whereupon he gave them final instructions for their conduct. This document was signed by Wucherer, Hospitalprediger zu Noerdlingen and Pfarrer von Baldingen, by Loehs, and by Ernst and Burger.

Loehs informed Dr. Petri, that he was sending "two grains of salt for a Brosamlein Gottes, for some forsaken fellow-Christians in America." 2)

On the twenty-sixth of September, 1842, these men arrived in New York, absolutely unknown, except for the acquaintances they had made during their activities on board ship.³⁾ Ernst found work in New York, but Burger did not, and accordingly Burger sought counsel from Rev. Stohlmann. Here he met Winkler,

1) Deinzer, Loehs's Leben, III, 1892, p. 6-10; Fritschel, Quellen und

Dokumente, p. 199-204.

2) Deinzer, op. cit., p. 11.

3) Fritschel, op. cit., p. 204.

former pastor at Newark, then on his way to assume a professorship at Columbus, Ohio. Both counseled the emissaries to become pastors instead of teachers. They followed Winkler to Columbus, where Ernst, by day, taught in a school that soon numbered 90 pupils, and by night, continued his shoe-making as a means of support.⁴⁾ Burger entered the seminary for further study.

Burger's entrance into the seminary was the incentive for the temporary union between the Ohio Synod and Wm. Loehe. The school sought at once to strengthen this new bond. Shortly afterwards the Ohio Synod in convention assembled at Columbus resolved to take up relations with the church in Germany. It appealed to Loehe and Wucherer for men trained like Ernst and Burger -- at least 50 pastors could be used in Ohio at once -- for students, for subsidy, and for books.⁵⁾

"To keep what we have and to win what is lost,"⁶⁾ wrote Loehe, was the great aim of his work, and this coupled with the crying need for ministers compelled him to train pastors instead of teachers.⁷⁾ At a conference in Muernberg this was approved, though other plans were suggested.

But the question of finances was always impending. How should provision be made for the workers he was training? To found a society was not advisable, and to collect public funds for a private undertaking was not legal in the state-church system, yet the genius of Loehe was not to be baffled. He proposed the publication of a monthly journal with news about missions and missionaries in America, the profits from which were to be invested in America. Thus the Kirchliche Mitteilungen aus und ueber Nord Amerika came into existence in 1843, and served this purpose till 1866. By printing an edition of 8000 copies, Loehe took a chance -- and won. For the first year the net

4) Deinzer, op. cit., p. 11

5) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 2; Fritschel, op. cit., p. 17; Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 144-145.

6) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 3.

7) Deinzer, op. cit., p. 21.

profits were 2,000 florins, which were used for young students, Columbus, Ernst, Burger, and other purposes.⁸⁾ This journal was not only a means of income as such, but served as a causative factor for the many diverse gifts and provisions sent from all over Germany, and as a distribution center of the same. The Mitteilungen were full of interesting data helping to keep alive the interest in Germany. They had also a strong confessional tone, criticizing the lax and commending the conservative Lutherans in America. Dr. Jacobs says correctly: "They could not fail to influence the progress of events in this country." ⁹⁾

Loehe was working in dead earnest. As soon as his first emissaries left him, he undertook the instruction of others. One of his students of particular interest was Paul Israel Baumgart, a young Jew converted in his nineteenth year. He served the teaching profession in various localities, until Ernst in the spring of 1843 was able to assume pastoral duties in Ohio. Baumgart desired to fill the vacancy thus created in the school in Columbus, and after four months of further study with Loehe, he left for America, together with Dr. Sihler, whom friends in Dresden were sending. Thus he was under the progressive influence of Sihler, who had obtained permission to serve as chaplain on board ship. They arrived in New York early in November, and on the fourth proceeded to Columbus, Ohio.¹⁰⁾

Ernst passed his examination for the ministry,¹¹⁾ and began his pastoral work in Neuendettelsau, Ohio, June 24, 1843, among somewhat over 100 communicants.¹²⁾ Baumgart, too, worked with success, in 1843 still teaching over 70 pupils.¹³⁾ His school, he informed Loehe, was "blossoming as a rose among

8) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 11.

9) Quoted in Neve, Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, 1916, p. 117.

10) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 10. Loehe's comprehensive instructions to Baumgart are given in Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 8.

11) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 8.

12) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 9.

13) According to his letter of Feb. 3, 1845, Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 4.

thorns." 14) This prospect pleased Loehe, who, in a letter to Baumgart, emphasizes schools as integral parts of the church. 15)

Burger, after a year's study in Columbus, 16) became pastor Oct. 22, 1843, in Cannonsburgh, Hancock Co., Ohio, 17) where he was very active in the Seelsorge and preaching throughout this vicinity. 18) He removed to Van Wert Co., near Willshire, in the service of two congregations, 19) soon establishing a third. 20) His work was cut short by a sudden, untimely death. 21) He was a true shepherd. It is said of his work that the scattered Lutherans of his territory were nearly more important than those of his own congregation. 22)

Dr. Wm. Sihler had been won for the American cause by Wynken's appeal, the advice of his pastoral friends, and the zeal of Loehe. Upon his arrival in Columbus the professors at the seminary, on recommendation of Rudelbach and Loehe, directed him to Pomeroy, Ohio, a German mining settlement, to serve two congregations. 23) He received ordination in December 1843 and became a member of the Ohio Synod. In July, 1845, he succeeded Wynken in Ft. Wayne. 24)

George Wm. Hattstaedt, 25) born 1811, by profession a belt-maker, had been influenced by the need of the American Lutherans to prepare himself for American service. He studied under several pastors in Fuerth for half a year, then in the spring of 1842 he was sent to the mission seminary at Dresden, and a year and a half later, October, 1843, to Neuendettelsau. On the twenty-third of July, 1844, he and his fellow journeyman Zwerner, a colporteur, arrived in New York and went to Columbus, Ohio. 26)

14) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 6.

15) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 8; Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 158-159.

16) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 9.

17) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1843, 12.

18) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 12.

19) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 6.

20) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 3.

21) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 5.

22) Fritschel, op. cit., p. 157.

Hattstaedt had received instructions ²⁷⁾ to travel as far west as possible before assuming a charge, and find the churches which held to pure doctrine, and to make some contact with them, especially with the Saxons (18), and to enquire into the work being done among the Indians and the possibility of further work by Loche (20). He had been given a series of questions ²⁸⁾ regarding the status of the "Stephanists," to which, however, Ernst and Sihler had to obtain the answers through correspondence with Walther, since Hattstaedt entered into ministerial work at once in Monroe, Mich., commissioned by Winkler at Columbus to supply the demand of those Christians for a good minister. He was ordained there October 9, 1844. ²⁹⁾ The demand was supplied as his success shows. ³⁰⁾ His three congregations and the four schools in his vicinity formed a nucleus for further development. ³¹⁾

Conrad Schuster, born 1819, was a weaver by profession. Later when impressed by the distress of the American Lutherans he dedicated himself to the teaching profession, and after approval was enrolled with Loche, August 4, 1843. ³²⁾ Loche sent him to America "as traveling teacher to serve the individual families in Busch." ³³⁾ Schuster was a school teacher in Sihler's congregation in Pomeroy, Ohio, but not for long. ³⁴⁾ When his gifts were recognized, especially

23) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 2

24) See Biographical Sketch by W. Broecker, "Dr. William Sihler," in Ebenezer, 1922, p. 65-78. Also Concordia Cyclopedia, 1927, p. 704.

25) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 5.

26) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 10.

27) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 6; Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 33-36; Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, 1896, p. 156-157.

28) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 4.

29) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 1.

30) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 2.

31) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 5.

32) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 6. His instructions: 1844, 7.

33) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 2.

34) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 2.

35) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 12.

his gift of speech, his friends at the Cleveland meeting advised him to enter the ministry. Accordingly, Schuster went to Monroe to complete his studies, under Hattstaedt, and then to Frankfort, Mich., as assistant to Graemer.³⁵⁾ Examined in Ft. Wayne during a conference in July,³⁶⁾ and ordained by Sjhler on October 14, 1846, he became pastor of a congregation about 65 miles from Ft. Wayne, in Eckhart's County, Ind., where he established two preaching places at once. He had endured not a little for his strong confessional attitude.³⁷⁾

G.J. Zwerner, (born 1821) after an instructive career of making Kartoffel waennlein in order to gamble, was led by the grace of God from the errors of his way, chose the profession of cobbler, and in 1842 decided to enlist in America as colporteur.³⁸⁾ According to Loeh's "Instructions to the Colporteur Zwerner, April 30, 1844,"³⁹⁾ he was not to intrude upon the pastorate, but merely to sell or give away books. He was to submit a quarterly report and was to distribute no books not previously accepted by Loeh or Loeh's co-workers. On his brief case were inscribed the words of Is. 40,31: "They shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk and not faint." Zwerner carried out his colportage in Columbus, Ohio.⁴⁰⁾

With each succeeding Loeh emissary the bond of union with the Ohio Synod was growing closer. The suggestion had even been made that an Indian missionary seminary be connected with Columbus, though confronted with difficulties.⁴¹⁾ Money and books were sent too. From a new edition of Veit Dietrich's sermon books in 1844, half of the profits were destined for Columbus Seminary.⁴²⁾ Loeh had sent his first shipment, 304 pounds, of books in May 1843.

Loeh wrote of his emissaries⁴³⁾ that either they were poor or became poor when they volunteered for America. When their lives are studied, the student

36) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 10.

37) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 4.

38) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1842, 2; 1844, 7.

39) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 8; original in the archives of Wartburg Seminary.

40) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 4.

begins to realize what sacrifices they made and the comforts they forsook. Yet undoubtedly it is true, as Dr. Herin, instructor in the seminary at Mercersburg, Pa., wrote, that "the evangelization of all of China could hardly be of greater importance." 44)

The genius of Loche seemed limitless; his efforts knew no end. Another emissary, twenty-two years of age, by the name of Andreas Sauer, left Germany Sept. 2, 1844, together with Candidate Schmidt from Mecklenburg and Dr. Hunger (sent by the Dresden Society).⁴⁵⁾ Sauer found a most fruitful field. On Winkler's advice he accepted the call to Evansville, Ind. There were five congregations in the vicinity, four of them with churches. "Twenty miles around Evansville," he wrote, "everything is thickly peopled by Germans." 46) Loche saw at once that several assistants should be put into the field, but the demand could not be supplied, and thus much of the territory was lost to the Evangelicals.

Two additional emissaries of this period were Bartels and John Kornbausch, a teacher.

Loche's horizon was expanding continually. There was nothing provincial in his outlook. He looked not only beyond the immediate confines of his parish, his nation, his fellow men in another nation, but now to the native Indians of America. His next move was to supply them with the Word of life. Again his plan was magnificent. He was not satisfied to send individual missionaries to them, but he sent whole established congregations to colonize in the midst of them as missionary agencies. This feature alone is worthy of special treatment in a later chapter.

41) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 1.

42) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 1.

43) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 8.

44) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 2.

45) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 12.

46) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 11.

For this purpose the first colony of settlers left on April 20, 1845, led by August Craemer,⁴⁷⁾ a candidate for the ministry, a man well equipped for the undertaking both in knowledge and practise, in piety and will-power, a spiritual man "cast in heroic mold." This group settled in Michigan. With them came four other missionaries,⁴⁸⁾ who were far enough advanced to assume their duties at once. But they were the last to be sent to the Ohio Synod. They were:

Edward Romanowski, from Elbing. Educated in a Prussian normal school, in the Dresden mission school, and privately by Loche at Neuendettelsau. Saxon friends provided for his needs in America. He succeeded Dr. Sihler at Pomeroy, Ohio.⁴⁹⁾ When Schuster left for Monroe, he took charge of both school and church.

Friedrich Lochner, whom Loche called "a highly endowed, eloquent youth."⁵⁰⁾ Studied in Muernberg, Swabach, and with Loche in Neuendettelsau. Formerly he had been a Kupferstecher, but Wyneken's lecture at Fuerth, Germany, had warmed his heart for the American brethren.⁵¹⁾ He together with Craemer received financial aid from Mecklenburg friends,⁵²⁾ and Loche supported him the first year in America.⁵³⁾ As pastor of thirty-five families in Toledo, Ohio,⁵⁴⁾ a strategic position on Lake Erie for immigrants to the West, he combatted "unirter Untriebe,"⁵⁵⁾ the sects, and a pronounced Yankee spirit.⁵⁶⁾ In the years that followed he was called to the pastorate near Edwardsville, Ill.,⁵⁷⁾ and Milwaukee, Wis.⁵⁸⁾

47) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 5.

48) Siehe Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 5.

49) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 9; 1845, 11.

50) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 5.

51) Hageman, Friedrich Konrad Dietrich Wyneken, 1926, p. 36-39.

52) See the report of receipts and expenditures by the Mecklenburg friends, Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 8.

53) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 8; 1845, 11.

54) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 9 & 10; 1845, 11.

55) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 2.

56) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 12.

57) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 5.

58) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 8.

Adam Detzer, formerly a baker, served as itinerant preacher around Ft. Wayne, in Indiana and Ohio. He located at Bryan Postoffice, ordained by Sihler Dec. 17, 1845. The people of his circuit he described as being "wild wie die Gegend." 59) He established two congregations of 45 and 24 members each, and was serving several preaching stations. 60) In a letter to Loeh, dated Oct. 29, 1846, he too complained of that general Methodistic pest: "The Methodists like cuckoos lay their unhallowed zeal in strange nests." 61) By February 1847 he was serving three established congregations and four preaching stations, and this circuit of 70 miles he made every two weeks in summer. As the first minister ever to set foot in Madison Township, Jan. 3, 1847, he had been in the home of a settler hardly a half hour before the house was filled with people curious to see a preacher! 62)

Finally, Jacob Trautmann, at one time a tailor, now a minister near Monroe, Mich., 63) and then in Danbury, Ohio, with nature around him still unmolested. 64) By 1849 he had a new church, a parsonage, and a school. 65)

Four of these Loeh men, Hattstaedt, Craemer, Lochner, and Trautmann joined the "Missionary Synod of Michigan." Loeh had demanded that "no missionary shall be released to the heathen who does not swear to the Concordia of the Lutheran Church." 66) On the other hand, he wished also that the bodies joined by his men would be non-heretical. With the assurance of Schmidt, 67) that the Michigan Synod was orthodox, these four emissaries joined this organization.

59) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 6.

60) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 7.

61) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 2.

62) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 5; see also 1848, 8.

63) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 9 & 10.

64) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 11.

65) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 6.

66) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 1; Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, 1896, p. 161.

67) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 5; Fritschel, op. cit., p. 152.

Chapter III

THE RUPTURE WITH THE OHIO SYNOD

In the way of men, money, and books, the Ohio Synod had gained considerably during the past three years. Though its confessional attitude was not satisfactory to the Loehe emissaries, nevertheless they hoped to influence the synod into the correct position. But the attempt to transmute heretical opinions into conservative principles ran true to history and failed.

There were two parties at work; the one favoring the element of laxity, represented by C.F. Schaeffer, and the use of the English language in the seminary at Columbus; the other, the positive element represented by Winkler, which favored the use of the German language.¹⁾ In 1839 the resolution had been passed by the synod to give instruction also in the English language, but the synod in 1844 in Zanesville repealed that resolution with the result that the confessional party favoring the German language stood supreme. This caused great joy in Loehe, who promptly appealed to his readers for funds in behalf of Columbus.²⁾

But in 1845 the schismatic majority overruled the gains of the minority,³⁾ and the English language was adopted in the school.

To men of staunch confessional character all this was a lot of quibbling. To them it was not a question of language, it was a question of orthodoxy and morality. Dr. Sphler, the classmate of von Moltke, forthwith led the fight, both he and his followers taking exception and making objection to the lodgery, unionistic formulas, and the ignorance of even the particular confessions of the Lutheran Church.

1) Neve, Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America, 1916, p. 268; Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, 1896, p. 146-147.

2) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, II, Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, 17-23.

3) Deinzer, Loehes Leben, 1892, p. 24-25.

After this synod, they were through. A document of separation⁴⁾ was prepared and signed at Cleveland, Sept. 18, 1845, by Fr. Winkler, Sihler, Fr. Becker, Ad. Ernst, G. Burger, A. Schmidt, A. Selle, W. Richmann, A. Supert, and Schuermann. This formal protest was a matter of conscience and duty. There was none of this present-day "me too" weakling hesitancy, but some new[?] talk. They had convictions, not "views." They countenanced no anythingarian attitude of Kurtzes and Schmuckers.

From Sept. 13-18, 1845, a meeting was held in Cleveland of pastors who wished to form a union on the basis and for the extension of pure doctrine. Eighteen men were present - Winkler, Sihler, Wynken, Ernst, Burger, Selle, Schmidt (pastor in Cleveland), Hasmann, Richter (of the Michigan Synod), Detzer, Romanowski, Schmuster, Mattstaedt, Baumgart, Lohner, Kornbausch, and two students. Of the Lohse men, Craemer sick with fever, and Supert, removed by great distance, were absent. The former, however, as Brohm in New York, addressed a communication to the convention. ⁵⁾

We notice that Wynken was present also. He too had severed his relations with the General Synod in a fashion that affords a most interesting bit of reading. ⁶⁾

The next move of this body of men must be to counteract the pervading indifferent zeitgeist by rallying all conservative forces in America.

4) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 1; also Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, 1898, p. 148-150.

5) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 12; Fritschel, Opellen und Dokumente, p. 50. Burger, Schmidt, and Romanowski received ordination at this meeting.

6) Fritschel, Geschichte, p. 141-143; cp. Steffens, Doctor C.F.W. Walther, 1917, p. 238f. Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 9&10. For the characterization of the General Synod's doctrinal status during this period, see Bente, American Lutheranism, II, 1919, p. 48-76.

Chapter IV

THE MISSOURI SYNOD

Virtue affiliates with virtue.

Early in his ministry Adam Ernst, that worker of unassuming character, cherished the desire to affiliate in some manner with the Saxon ministers in Missouri. His desire he made known to Loche. Later while at the home of Wyneken late in 1844, at a meeting of the Synod of the West, he - like Sappert, Schuster, and Wyneken - was strengthened in his hopes by contact with the first pages of Der Lutheraner,¹⁾ published since September 1.

Wm. Loche gave his emissary Wm. Hattstaedt the specific instruction, early in June, 1844, to seek union with the Saxon Lutherans. Loche himself had the highest regard for their orthodoxy,²⁾ and by no means wished to alienate their respect by fraternizing with laxity. He considered "the former Stephanists in Missouri the most noble children of our church in North America."³⁾ Hence his instructions to Hattstaedt were specific:⁴⁾

"On this journey (is. to the West) you shall visit the emigrated faithful Saxon pastors and their congregations, who have severed their relations with Stephanism. Extend to them the greetings of the brethren in the fatherland, request of them, together with our brethren in Ohio for the purpose of a mutual performance and promotion of their holy cause, a communication regarding their needs and blessings. Tell them of our love, our good wishes; inform them of what takes place and is attempted among us, and accept their counsels, especially with regard to the American heathen races." We recall that Hattstaedt,

1) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 2.

2) Deinzer, Loche's Leben, III, 1892, p. 24-25.

3) Deinzer, op. cit., p. 25.

4) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 6, paragraph 16. Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 35.

since he took up his pastorate in Konroe, transferred his duties to Ernst and Sihler. In addition to this, if Grabau would discard his tyranny and heresy, L_oshe desired a union with the Prussians.⁵⁾ A union of these three groups, the Loeshe men, the Saxons, and the followers of the Prussian, if made on the basis of doctrinal purity would be a source of richest blessings.

Another contributory factor was the publication of Der Lutheraner, of whose objects, as Walther stated, one was "to unite the divided members of the Lutheran Church, to recall those that have fallen away, and to prove that our Church has not become extinct, indeed, never can become extinct."⁶⁾

Wynken's letter to L_oshe,⁷⁾ of August 24, 1844, was full of longing for a union of the American Lutheran Church on the basis of confessional Lutheranism.

Sihler, too, was desirous of a strongly unified Lutheran consciousness, "eine Kette rechtgläubiger Synoden."⁸⁾

In due time he and Ernst received favorable replies to their questions, and transmitted them, together with copies of Walther's publication to the animated, hopeful L_oshe.

In May, 1846, a delegation of Ernst, Lochner, and Sihler met in conference with Walther, Loeber, Keyl, Gruber, Schieferdecker, and Ruerbringer for the purpose of deliberating on the preliminaries of church union, especially for drafting articles of a synodical constitution.⁹⁾

The impression made by the Saxons, particularly Walther, on the L_oshe

5) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 4

6) From the Prospectus, paragraph three, presented to Trinity Congregation June 3, 1844, Steffens, op. cit., p. 235-236.

7) Reprinted in Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 3. In this letter Wynken also appeals to L_oshe for support of the two students whom he was instructing, and whom he was desired to send to Columbus.

8) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 11.

9) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 6. Fritschel, Geschichte der L_{uth.} in A_merika, p. 170; Deinzer, op. cit., III, p. 26-27; Steffens, op. cit., 252-253.

representatives was lasting, and their praise correspondingly high. Walther's¹⁰⁾ draft of a constitution for organic union was signed on May 20, after an entire week's discussion, and the resolution passed to meet again in July in Ft. Wayne for further consultation, after copies of the proposal would have been sent to those who were not present.¹¹⁾ As a token of the unity in faith and practise, pulpits were exchanged with the Loche men.

In the intervening period, there was action in Michigan also. The Loche emissaries, Hattstaedt, Graemer, Lochner, and Trautmann had joined the Michigan Synod on the pledge of its orthodoxy, but they had been ill informed, for the synod permitted unionistic formulas and services, and even sent an outspoken liberal (Dumser) to the Indians. On June 25, 1846, these men followed their unheeded protests with solemn withdrawal from the Michigan Synod.¹²⁾

Early in July the meeting transpired in Ft. Wayne that was to culminate in memorable history the following year. This conference, in convention to consider the articles of constitution for a new synod, was composed of the following men:¹³⁾ Husmann of Marion Township, Ind.; Sihler of Ft. Wayne; Walther of St. Louis; Loeber of Altenburg; Schmidt of Cleveland; Ernst of Neuendettelsau, Ohio; Graemer of Frankenmuth; Hattstaedt of Monroe; Trautmann of Danbury, Ohio; Burger of Willshire; Detzer of Williams Co., Ohio; Selle of Chicago; Bohm of New York (?); Knappe of Henry Co., Ohio; Schneider of Marion, Ohio; Jaebker of Adams Co., Ind; Schuster of Eckhart's Co., Ind; Candidates Lehmann, Boehm, Wolf, Scholz, recent arrivals from Germany.¹⁴⁾ Six ministers unable to be present sent their written approval of the constitution.

10) Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 184: In wesentlichen ein Werk Walthers. Cp. also Sihler's recognition in Steffens, Walther, 1917, p. 258-259.

11) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 8&9.

12) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 10.

13) Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, I, p. 11 or H. Kowert, "The Organization of the Missouri Synod," in Ebenzer, p. 98. Was Keyl present? Steffens, op. cit., p. 256 says that he came with the St. Louis delegation;

After adoption of the St. Louis draft, with modifications, the conference decided on nearly a year's interim to encourage due consideration and a larger lay representation. Here too an exchange of pulpits with the Saxon pastors was a mark of unity in faith and doctrine.

Thus there was growing to manhood a body of men somewhat unique in the American situation. That they should consider the doctrines of the Church more than some set opinions of various teachers within the Church, was strange indeed, especially when "concupinage" with the sects" 15) and a fearsome degeneration of doctrine, the result of decades of laxity, unionism, and revivalism, seemed incurable. But here we find a group of Lutherans daring to foster untimely "theories" and impractical tenets for the sake of a conservative confessional union. How queer!

What was Loeh's attitude to the proposed constitution? Objection had been taken by his emissaries, especially Sihler, to Walther's position on the spiritual priesthood of the Christian congregation and its freedom from ecclesiastical control. With much emphasis they had sought, from Scripture, to establish some kind of episcopal supervision over congregation and pastor, but they could not. They turned to Loeh for counsel, presenting also the constitution for his review. Loeh found fault with two major principles: 16) Absence of the episcopal element and the equality of lay representation with the clergy. To him this was an "Americanizing" and "democratic" tendency sure to work great harm. 17) The president should be more than a primus inter

no mention is made of him in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly; Loeh speaks only of Walther and Loeber of the Saxons, Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 10. Ho says also that there were twenty-six men present; Deinzer, Loeh's Leben, III, p. 27, says twenty of Loeh's emissaries and Walther and Loeber were present, whereas the total number was twenty-one, of whom fourteen were Loeh men.

14) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 10.

15) As J.W. Mann correctly described the Lutheran Church of that time (1847), quoted by Bente, op. cit., II, p. 50.

16) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 10; Deinzer, op. cit., p. 27-28; Fritschel, op. cit., p. 184-185; Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 78.

17) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 6, p. 44.

pares. The pastors and officials should have more influence in the election and appointment of a pastor. And though Loehe feared usurpation of church power by the laity, since he thought the application of the principle of congregational rights would "bring the Lutheran Church of North America into the open danger of giving the lay element ein uebermaechtiges Gewicht," 18) and although he dreaded the doom of the prospective organization, yet far was it from him to counsel his emissaries against a union which otherwise showed itself so profitable. He was not the bigot to enforce his own desires in a human institution like a synodical organization. Therefore, he approved expressly on Oct. 12, 1846, in a letter to Sihler: 19) "I treasure unity much more than the realization of my greatest desires in this matter. It is my most precious concern that unity be enacted on the basis of the Concordia of 1580.... In my judgment you can join the synod with full peace of conscience, and if I were over there, I, too, would join it."

Let us not suppose that Loehe was isolated in his attitude. At the organization meeting in the spring of 1847, not only were various points of the draft vigorously opposed, but Koyl and Schieferdecker did not even become "advisory members." Craemer himself was skeptical until he saw the organization in action. 20) The congregations of Loebner, Fuerbringer, and Brohm did not at once see any advantage in such a union. The congregation of Schieferdecker nearly had a fist fight when he attempted to read the constitution to them, and Trinity congregation under Walther's leadership, had been convinced -- after ten meetings, and that only on Feb. 22, 1847, with the provision that the synod declare itself to be just an advisory body. The congregation at Chicago, where the synod was organized? They refused outright to enter this federation of congregations. 21)

18) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 7. Germany kept shaking its head for many years.

19) Deinzer, Loehe's Leben, III, p. 30-31.

20) Hochstetter, Geschichte der Missouri-Synode, 1885, p. 163.

21) Steffens, Walther, 1917, p. 264.

At Chicago, then, the organization of the synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, was consummated, having as its aims: "The preservation and cultivation of the unity of pure confession, and the common averting of separatistic and sectarian confusion," and "the protection of the rights and duties of pastors and congregations." 22) From the 26th of April to May 6th, eighteen sessions were conducted with twelve congregations represented by twelve pastors, 23) four lay delegates, with eleven advisory pastors, 24) and seven others, a total of thirty-four. 25)

"During the meeting of Synod ten temporary committees were appointed, which, in the main, were concerned with very important and difficult matters; one theological opinion was given; three instructions and six other writings prepared; colloquiums held four times; two ministers received ecclesiastical ordination, and there was preaching seven times." 26)

By this union of eleven of the Loehle emissaries - there were over twenty-three, excluding the students at Ft. Wayne - and five of the twelve Saxon pastors, and eight others, a new synod with clear-cut principles was at once extended over many states and many of the larger cities, as New York, Buffalo, St. Louis, Chicago, Ft. Wayne, and others, 27) with equipment unusually complete, such as commissions and boards, two seminaries, an Indian mission field, a parish school system of education, the ^{then?} most renowned Lutheran journal in America, ^{then?} and a doctrinal controversy with the Prussian aberration, under Gabau.

Loehle reprinted the constitution in his Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 28) together with the report of the Chicago convention. He himself was very favorable to

22) Paragraphs two and three of the constitution.

23) Among them Ernst, Sihler, Craemer, Schuster, Streckfuss, Walther.

24) Such as Hattstaedt, Detzer, Trautmann, Fuerbringer, Loeber, Selle.

25) Erster Synodalbericht, 1847, p. 5.

26) Erster Synodalbericht, 1847, p. 4.

27) Erster Synodalbericht, 1847, p. 17.

28) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 7&8.

Synod, although "everything, in my opinion, bears the American garb."

"The whole synodical report gives the impression of something firm and complete." The constitution "affords by far the most and the best of all the North American synodical drafts with which we have become acquainted." 29)

Before his activity for that body concluded, he had been instrumental in providing it with 84 laborers, an activity which so liberal a magazine as the Lutheran Observer could not fail to acknowledge. 30)

It is a matter of historical accuracy that the conservative reaction in America during the next decades was due [?]chiefly to the powerful influence of this new synod in the West, together with the awakened confessional Lutheranism in Germany and Lutheran immigration. 31) The abundant negative criticism from the wagging tongues of implacable enemies is proof sufficient. Even Dr. Philip Schaff, in an address delivered March 10, 1846, said, in predicting the impossibility of a confessional Lutheran Church in America, that it would be easier to direct the course of the Mississippi to Bavaria and to convert the Chinese through German sermons than to maintain the basis of the Formula of Concord.

The confessional influence of these "symbol-Lutherans" is greater than is usually acknowledged. In 1850 Lohse wrote that the reaction of the past ten years had been remarkable. The prestige of men like Kurtz and Schmucker was losing, positive views were gaining, the new synod, numbering by now 70 pastors and 106 congregations, 32) was spreading, and its seminary re-opening in St. Louis. 33) Their explicitness, sincerity, and determination

29) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 12, p. 91.

30) Cp. Bente, American Lutheranism, II, 1919, p. 155.

31) See Bente, op. cit., p. 145-158.

32) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 1.

33) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 8.

"won the respect not only of the General Synod, but of the Church everywhere," thus commented their out-spoken opponent S.S. Schmucker in 1860. Their influence reacted on the Ohio Synod so quickly that in 1848 the Ohio Synod obligated its members to acknowledge the Symbolical Books.³⁴⁾

As early as five years after the organization of this union, Walther wrote in the Lutheraner, August 31, 1852: "God has used and blessed our humble testimony." That he was right is shown by the smash-up of laxity within the next decade.

34) Hoehstetter, op. cit., p. 131.

Chapter V

LOEHE'S SEMINARY AT FT. WAYNE

In 1845 Loehe addressed his memorial to the American Lutherans, entitled Greetings from the Homeland to the German Lutheran Church of North America, in which he appealed to the members and pastors for a firm adherence to the Word. This memorial, signed by some 940 men in Germany, received wide dissemination in America in 1846. Early in 1847 in an appeal for man-power on the mission fields,¹⁾ Loehe urged the establishment and support of the office of traveling missionary. This he linked up with his memorial of 1846, which had awakened Lutheran consciousness and which was, therefore, in need of instant follow-up work for best results.

Wynken, too, had been cognizant of the ministerial scarcity long ago. Consequently while still at Ft. Wayne, before his removal to Baltimore as successor of Rev. Haesbart, he began the training and instruction of two promising young men as missionaries, J.H. Jaebker and C. Fricke (Fricke), whom he desired to send to Columbus later.²⁾ Ernst realized it also, for in 1844 he started the preparatory instruction of two youths intended for the same school.³⁾

In July 1845, when Sihler came to Ft. Wayne, he continued and completed the instruction of Wynken's students, enjoying them much.⁴⁾ They were ordained the first Sunday in Advent, 1845; Jaebker as pastor of three congregations near Ft. Wayne, and Fricke as traveling missionary.⁵⁾ These are the earliest ^{activities} traces of the Ft. Wayne Seminary.

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- 1) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 2.
 - 2) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 3. His letter of Aug. 24, 1844.
 - 3) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 2.
 - 4) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 11.
 - 5) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 2.

When the seminary at Columbus was lost to the lax Lutherans, the orthodox division that withdrew from the synod, was in need of a similar institution. A new seminary must be founded for pastors and teachers, an ideal originating with Dr. Sihler,⁶⁾ who declared himself ready to take over the direction and some of the instruction of the new institution free of charge.

Loeche then ^{made} took the stroke of a master. In a circle of friends he had expressed the desire to do yet more for America, a desire that found fruition in the willingness of his patrons to raise a large capital for his new undertakings. At Loeche's request, Sihler advised the establishment of a new Lutheran seminary at Ft. Wayne, whereupon Loeche, with joy, entered into another phase of his work in America, and though there were only 700 florins in his treasury, he pledged his support to the extent of 5,000.⁷⁾ He decided also to transfer to America the eleven students whom he and Brook in Aurenheim were preparing for this country,⁸⁾ sending them forth in the summer of 1846 under the charge of Candidate Roebbelen.⁹⁾ These arrived in America September 3, and proceeded to Ft. Wayne, where they were housed with Lutheran families until the opening of the Seminary in October.¹⁰⁾ They were: Haid, Birkmann, Johannes, Claus, J.G. Wolff, Sauer, Kalb, Zagel, Seiz, and two others.¹¹⁾

Loeche had high hopes for the success of the institution. In the summer of 1846 he wrote that more and more he was withdrawing his support from those ministers who were serving regular established congregations, in order to favor the new seminary, traveling missionaries, and such pastors as were

6) Deindoerfer, Geschichte der Synode von Iowa, 1897, p. 13; Deinzer, Loeche's Leben, III, 1892, p. 33.

7) Deinzer, op. cit., p. 33.

8) Deinzer, ibid.

9) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 7.

10) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 11.

11) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 1.

founding new congregations.¹²⁾ Moreover, its location was fortuitous, since Ft. Wayne itself was becoming somewhat of an important center, with its eight churches, a population of about 4,000 people, two schools for girls - one a Roman Catholic, the other an English school - and a "ladies academy" in construction.¹³⁾ Sihler's congregation had a membership of eighty families and fifty unmarried communicants.

The new institution was opened in rented quarters Oct. 10, 1846 with the purpose of preparing "emergency" men. The instruction was given at first by Dr. Sihler, Candidate Roebbelen, and the English Lutheran pastor of Ft. Wayne, Albach.¹⁴⁾ When Candidate Wolter arrived, Roebbelen went to Cleveland to assist Schmidt, who was sick, and to take charge of another congregation;¹⁵⁾ while the new man took over most of the duties, working thereafter in all earnestness and in favor with the students.¹⁶⁾

The Preparatory Institution. The training given young Germans on native soil as a preparation for their studies in Ft. Wayne, was fostered by Loche in order to imbue them with the proper attitude for their future labor; to test the mettle of their characters; for it happened occasionally that some returned to their former vocations, voluntarily or upon advice; and to supply deficiencies in learning as a step to higher schooling.

Before the establishment of Ft. Wayne, Rev. Brock in Aurenheim had undertaken this work. In consequence of his labors and Loche's, eleven students were supplied the new school at its opening. For a short time also in Augsburg two men were taught, one of whom later entered Ft. Wayne. But especially in

12) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 3.

13) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 11.

14) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 2.

15) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 2.

16) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 5.

Muernberg at the time of Ft. Wayne's founding, some candidates for the ministry undertook similar preparatory instruction of the youths destined for America, under the guiding spirit of the institution in the person of Candidate Frederick Bauer, a close friend of Loche and a catechete in one of the schools of higher learning in the city.¹⁷⁾ This circle of friends instructed its students without touching the resources for America, yet providing means of living for their pupils from other sources. Their curriculum was introductory to the course of studies at Ft. Wayne. Let it be said at once to the credit of their institution that the entrance requirements and the educational standards were both high.¹⁸⁾ Semesters began Oct. 1 and April 1. Twenty-two or more hours per week were devoted to historical, exegetical, systematical, and practical branches.¹⁹⁾ In a letter of the summer of 1847 to the Muernberg teachers, whose personnel numbered six men in 1850, Sihler and Wolter expressed their gratitude and asked that "as soon as possible we be provided with similar good (wacker) young people." By the end of 1848, about 19 had been sent to America.²⁰⁾

In the fall of 1849 this preparatory work received a new impetus by the organization under Loche of the "Society for Inner Mission in the Spirit of the Lutheran Church of Bavaria."²¹⁾ The institution became a full missionary institute under full time of Inspector Bauer,²²⁾ and was removed to the quietude

17) Deinzer, op. cit., 136-137.

18) See Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 2&3.

19) For the complete curriculum see Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 2&3.

20) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 1; Deinzer, op. cit., p. 36-37; Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 171-172; Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 14.

21) The purposes of the Society, as given in Schaefer, Wilhelm Loche, 1909, p. 197-198 were: 1) To provide pastors and teachers for forsaken fellow-Christians; 2) Dissemination of literature; 3) Provision for the emigrated fellow-Christians and their colonization; 4) Amelioration of local spiritual and physical life.

22) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 2&3.

of Neuendotelsau. Though its connection with Ft. Wayne was only of short duration on account of the doctrinal discord with the Missouri Synod, yet this institution continued its supply of workers in the later Iowa Synod.²³⁾

Let us turn to the progression of Loche's Seminary in Ft. Wayne. One term was enough to convince the new federation of churches, then in the making, of its value. At its first convention in 1847 Dr. Sihler asked to be relieved of his duties at the school and that another man be called to the vacancy, but since the Seminary was a private institution, no one except Loche could grant the request.²⁴⁾ For practical reasons the synod at its fifth session, Friday, April 30, and Saturday, May 1, passed the resolution that "the representative of the German brethren, the Reverend Loche, be asked whether the founders of this institution are willing formally to transfer the same to the synod for independent control, and at the same time afterwards as before, so far the Lord permits, to support it with money, books, etc., since the synod, especially now at its beginnings, is not in a position to maintain the Seminary."²⁵⁾

Loche was willing to relinquish all his control on several very acceptable conditions made known in his formal deed of transfer, Sept. 8, 1847, published together with a code of regulations.²⁶⁾ The first of these conditions required "that it forever serve the Lutheran Church and train ministers and shepherds for it. As the Lutheran Church we recognize only that which adheres to all the confessions of the Lutheran Book of Concord." And what is more, he not only gave up every claim to it, but of the funds at his disposal he continued to devote support to the teachers, students, and library.²⁷⁾ Here we have truly

23) Deinzer, Loche's Leben, III, 136-137; Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 15; Schaefer, op. cit., p. 197-198.

24) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 6.

25) Erster Synodalbericht der Synode von Missouri, etc., 1847, p. 9.

26) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 6; Zweiter Synodalbericht, 1848, p. 16-17.

27) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 19.

another example of a kindness that did not seek its own advantages. Thus again, the union of the Loche emissaries and the Saxon pastors brought increased benefits to the cause of Lutheranism in America. A new body in possession of two ministerial schools, both strictly Lutheran, was certainly a cause of admiration even for its enemies.

The story of Ft. Wayne's landed growth may briefly be recorded thus. The school continued to be housed in rented quarters for several years.²⁸⁾ On May 20, 1847, a land purchase of 99½ acres of land -- twelve of them cleared -- had been made for \$500 about two miles from the city, a reasonable price indeed and a tract which offered the advantages of providing food supplies, fuel, etc.²⁹⁾ After the construction of a house, granary, stabling for \$144.48 this college farm was leased to a German farmer. In succeeding years the students spent many an hour of physical work there.

In addition to this a certain Mr. Hamilton, a Presbyterian, gave the school a piece of good land about a half mile from the church for the building of proper school structures,³⁰⁾ which also the Seminary planned on doing. Early in 1849 the local congregation gave \$1,500 for this purpose, Jaebker's congregation in Adams Co., gave \$365,³¹⁾ while other neighboring churches likewise brought their donations.³²⁾

But on May 12, 1849 Wolter informed Loche³³⁾ that the prospect had changed. About a mile from the city fifteen acres of land, attendant with favorable circumstances, were for sale, together with the following improvements: A stone house with four spacious rooms, connected with a farmhouse which had a kitchen, anteroom, and two sleeping rooms upstairs; about ten steps away a small stone structure which could be used by the students for a club room;

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- 28) For a description of the living conditions see Kirchliche Mittl., 1848, 9
29) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 2; 1847, 7&8.
30) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 7&8.
31) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 4.
32) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 7.
33) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 7.

a barn, orchard, and gardens -- all for \$2,500. No wonder Loehe remarked:
"Auszerordentlich billig!"

The institution took advantage of the proposition, made this property its own, moved to its new quarters, and within a year, on August 29, 1850, dedicated the Wolter House, a new addition erected with the help of Loehe.³⁴⁾

But that splendid character and leader, Wolter, was not permitted to enjoy any of this. On the first of September, 1849, we find a student pouring out words of grief in his letter to his parents over the death of Professor Wolter,³⁵⁾ whom cholera - the death-cup of 60 congregational members thus far - had but yesterday laid low in ten hours. Wolter, at the seminary three years, was only 31 years of age when he was taken from "his bereaved wife and us poor orphans." Sihler himself wept tears of sadness. Shortly before, on August 19, Loeber had died in Altenburg of a nervous fever at the age of 53 years. The one sorrow had brought another heir.

After a short professorship by Blewend, who then removed to St. Louis, August Craemer was called to Ft. Wayne. Loehe regretted the loss of this giant in Michigan, but said: "Synod could hardly have chosen a more upright representative of its convictions and practice." ³⁶⁾

Within two years after the founding of the Ft. Wayne Seminary, fourteen students had been graduated, eight as pastors, four as teachers, and two continued their studies in Altenburg.³⁷⁾

The first of these was Joh. G. Wolff, Dec. 1846, a teacher in the congregation at Ft. Wayne.

Next J. Seidel entered the ministry in July 1847, at Nonesville, Union Co., Ohio, called there to relieve Ernst, who as a result of his fruitful

34) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 2.

35) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 12.

36) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 2.

37) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 10. Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente,

missionary toil was serving four congregations.³⁸⁾

In August, 1847, K. Lange left the institution to continue his work in Altenburg; later pastor in St. Charles, Mo.³⁹⁾ He together with Kalb and Wunder had been designated by Sihler as "the most outstanding" of the first students.⁴⁰⁾

Five requests had come to the Seminary through Walther from congregations in Illinois and Missouri for pastors.⁴¹⁾ Accordingly on the fifth of November 1847, Kalb, Strasen, and Birkman finished their studies and left for their charges. The next morning new students arrived from Loche.

Kalb (J.P.) was called to Jefferson City, Mo., and ordained there.⁴²⁾ Later he was pastor in Lancaster, Ohio.⁴³⁾

C. Strasen went to Randolph Co., Ill.,⁴⁴⁾ and Collinsville, Ill.⁴⁵⁾

Joh. Birkmann was pastor in the neighborhood of Bellville, Ill.,⁴⁶⁾ and Waterloo, Ill.⁴⁷⁾

Ad. Claus became minister in Nobel Co., Ind., Nov. 1847, 22 miles from Ft. Wayne,⁴⁸⁾ later also in Neumelle, St. Charles Co., Mo.⁴⁹⁾

December, 1847, the same month in which the Altenburg College was dismissing its first graduate, the seventh, C. Fricke, was dismissed from Loche's Seminary, and entered the ministry in Bartholomew Co., Ind.

Ad. Auer entered the service January, 1848, in Noble Co., Ind.

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- 38) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 4.
39) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12.
40) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1847, 5.
41) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 3.
42) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 3.
43) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12.
44) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 3.
45) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12.
46) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 3.
47) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12.
48) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 3.
49) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12.

P. Heid, F_ob. 1848, took up his charge in Angioize Co., Ohio.⁵⁰⁾ Later he removed near Greenville, Dark, Co., Ohio.

Caspar Ulrich finished in March 1848 and became teacher of the congregation in St. Louis.⁵¹⁾

Andreas Zagel finished in April 1848 as teacher near Ft. Wayne, in the country.

Joh. Pinkepank left the seminary May 1848 for Frankemut, Mich., where he was assistant to Craomer and teacher.⁵²⁾

Mich. Johannes, May, 1848, pastor in Jefferson Co., Mo., then in Colecamp, Benton, Co.⁵³⁾

H. Wunder, graduated in May 1848, continued his studies in Altenburg.⁵⁴⁾

The first student from an American congregation to be graduated from Ft. Wayne was Michael Kirich, from Neundettelsau, Ohio,⁵⁵⁾ pastor in Chester, Ill., 1849-1866.⁵⁶⁾

The eight pastors graduated during these two years were examined by the president of Synod, Walther, and his assistant Buenger, who were "heartily delighted with their humility and frankness," as they said. "Wolter and I," wrote Sihler, "had the joyous assurance upon their emission that through the grace of God they would prove themselves to be faithful and thorough workers." ⁵⁷⁾

50) A former report in Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 3, says he was called to allen Co. by two congregations after making a canvass of their territories.

51) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 9.

52) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 9.

53) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12.

54) Wunder, a remarkable Loche emissary, who upon completion of his elementary schooling at Muggendorf, Bavaria, was prepared for the American ministry in Loche's school at Neundettelsau, Bavaria. At the age of 16, after a voyage of over two months, he came to Ft. Wayne, where he continued his study in Loche's seminary for two years; after completion of his work in Altenburg he was ordained in the Lutheran ministry Dec. 16, 1849; and later attained renown as organizer and director of the Lutheran Church in Chicago. Cp. A.H. Schmidt, "Heinrich Wunder, D.D.," in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, IV, p. 53-57.

It is a matter of great interest to trace the history of subsequent students as later pastors and teachers, but suffice it to say that from 1846 to 1852, 79 students were instructed in the seminary, 48 of whom entered the services of the Missouri Synod, and 17 of whom were in attendance in 1852.⁵⁸⁾

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- 55) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 9&10.
56) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12; Geschichte der St. Johannes Gemeinde, Chester, Ill., 1924, p. 8-11.
57) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 10.
58) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 12.

Chapter VI

THE BAVARIAN SETTLEMENTS IN MICHIGAN

That a magnificent conception lay at the basis of this Neuendettelsau worker's ingenuity is admitted laconically by the hostile Lutheran Observer: "An Old Lutheran in Bavaria turned his eyes on this country sending colonies of hyper-Lutherans."

Loehe's marvelous benefits for the Lutheran Church in America have not received their due credit. Men have exhausted language in trying to express their admiration for work less noble and character less exalted. But they have quite generally overlooked the benefactor of great enterprises, and indeed Loehé himself would be satisfied with the oversight. That he is worthy of a place in the annals of the Lutheran Church of this country is attested not only by the singular activities we have thus far examined, but also by other undertakings probably unique in the history of American missions.

The instructions given Hattstaedt had been carried out on the one hand by the union of the Loehé men with the Saxons. On the other hand, we recall that he had been instructed to inquire into the feasibility of work among the American Indians.¹⁾ Hattstaedt as pastor in Monroe reported favorably that such work might be undertaken jointly with the Lutherans then living in that state, since the Michigan Synod had already called an Indian missionary, the Rev. F. Aueh.

Loehé had always been enthusiastic for missions, in fact so much that according to his own testimony in an early writing, he wished to make every Lutheran mission the example for all others.²⁾ His missionary interests had

1) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1844, 6, paragraphs 16-20.

2) Schaefer, Wilhelm Loehé, 1909, p. 52.

begun as early as 1827. It is natural then that he should be solicitous at once in his American activity to show this dying heathen Indian race "the way to eternal life with the torch of the Gospel."³⁾ He proposed to conduct the work by new methods, not by sending individual missionaries, but by founding missionary colonies, "whose worship and Christian life were to demonstrate to the heathen the benefits and beauty of being with Christ," as he said.

His plan, therefore, for evangelizing the American aborigines was to plant Lutheran congregations in the immediate vicinity of the Indian villages, letting the light of Christian life thereby dispel the darkness of heathendom and immorality. The minister as the pastor loci should at the same time be missionary to the Indians. This interest of Loche led to others. Before he ended his work for the Chippewas, his activity extended not only to missions, but also to colonization and social endeavors.

1. Franckennut, Loche's "Letter to the Heathen."

At that time there lived in the home of Loche a young Franconian candidate of philosophy, a man of talent, accomplishment, and experience, likewise a devotee of the American cause. Him Loche chose in 1844 as the leader of his new missionary colony. A servant Lorenz,⁴⁾ who had been with Loche two and a half years, also determined to emigrate as colonist. A small company of young Franconian volunteers gathered about Crasmer; chose to settle in Michigan, where Schmidt from Ann Arbor and Aich had surveyed land for Loche and had recommended a number of suitable sites in Saginaw County;⁵⁾ and there to serve as a mission

3) Schaefer, op. cit., p. 54.

4) Schaefer, op. cit., p. 53. For an autobiographical sketch of this engaging character see Deinzer, Loche's Leben, III, 1892, p. 39-41. Lorenz speaks of his "torments of hell" in his unconverted state from which Loche rescued him.

5) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 4; 1853, 8.

base. After a period of weekly consultations in Neuendettelsau, the company left for port, hospitably entertained on their way in the home of Dr. A. L. Petri, the energetic supporter of Loehe in Hanover.

From New York they went to Albany by river boat, and thence by rail to Monroe, Mich., July 17, and ultimately to Saginaw, where they remained until the purchase of the 680 acres of land for \$1700 on Cass River was concluded.⁶⁾

The men cleared the forest and built the "Company Hut" for the five couples and the two single men, and the pastor's log-house. Homes they were, to be sure, though "they gave free access to wind and weather from every side." "Frakennut" Loehe called their settlement in just commendation of their Franconian courage.

Friedrich August Craemer was eminently fitted for the supervision of this colony. A Bavarian by birth, May 1812, he had studied theology, and languages, and literature in various localities in Germany, and had taught in Germany, also in England, as tutor of the children of Lord Byron's daughter, and as professor of German language and literature at Oxford, which institution he left, however, on account of Tractarian domination.⁷⁾ The distress call of Wynoken caused him to offer his services to Loehe in 1844, at a time when the Neuendettelsau organizer was in need of a spiritual leader for his emigrating colony. Craemer was the man, for he had sufficient backbone to forsake a more lucrative life that needed only to countenance error, and to face the rigors of the pioneer.

Loehe had drawn up a fully worked out Kirchenordnung for the colony. His regulations were very minute and detailed, besides demanding from the

6) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 9&10. Fritschel, Geschichte der luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 198; Deinzer, op. cit., p. 42.

7) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1845, 5.

8) Op. Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 11&12. A summary is given in Deinzer, op. cit., III, p. 43-45.

members full adherence to the Lutheran confessions. This Kirchenordnung of 88 paragraphs was adopted as the constitution of the Frankenmuth colony, though modified in a few minor points, when the congregation joined the later Missouri Synod.

Craemer's log hut served as the church for nearly a year. In August, 1846, after the arrival of about 90 additional settlers,⁹⁾ "church land" was cleared and a church building 42x26 built. As among the Salzburg Lutherans in Georgia, so here daily morning and evening worship was held in the little log church, with communion almost every Sunday.¹⁰⁾

Indian Mission Work.¹¹⁾ The purpose of the colony was not disregarded. At once 70 acres of land were set apart for the mission. While the first settlers were busy erecting their own log houses, Craemer accompanied by an Indian interpreter began his missionary labors by visiting the Indians along the Kawkawlin, Swan, Chippewa, Pine, and Bell rivers, and ultimately establishing three preaching stations among them, which he visited once a month, besides his pastoral duties at the home congregation. By 1846 his school at Frankenmuth, conducted by himself and Flessa,¹²⁾ had an attendance of 30 Indian children receiving instruction in the rudiments and in Catechism and Bible history. Does a school react favorably on the Church? The day after the dedication of the house of worship at Christmas, 1846, the first three Indian children converts were baptized by Craemer.¹³⁾

But the children were not the only ones to benefit from Craemer's care, for he also purchased land for a number of Indians who had inclinations toward

9) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 7.

10) Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 196.

11) For full accounts of the work in Michigan and Minnesota see Kaiser, Lutheran Mission Work among the American Indians, 1922, p. 55-94; Fritschel, op. cit., p. 199-217; Deinzer, op. cit., p. 38-59.

12) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1846, 7; 1848, 6. Johann L. Flessa was one of the seven pastors from Germany who came with the 90 settlers in 1846. He consented to assist Craemer. Later he became an instructor in the school at St. Louis, with three others.

13) Op. "A List of Baptisms of Indians in the St. Lawrence Church at Frankenmuth, Mich." brought by P.E. Kretzmann, "Documents and Resolutions Pertaining to the Lutheran Missions among the Indians in Michigan, 1844-1869," in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, III, p. 31-32.

agriculture. By 1849 harvests had been reaped and the land partly paid for. Thus there began "a civilized Indian village under the influence of our colonies and their pastors, and who knows whether this village will not in a short while be a part of our line of parishes in Saginaw County," said Loehe in July 1849.¹⁴⁾

The stupendous duties of the two-fold task of pastor and missionary compelled Craemer to appeal to the Bavarian benefactor for assistance. At Loehe's request, the Leipzig Mission House sent E. Baierlein to Michigan. In the fall of 1847 Baierlein relieved Craemer of his mission among the Indians on the Pine river about 64 miles from Frankenmuth. In the following spring, Baierlein made his home among them, and became a member of the tribe. His station he called Bethany (House of Want), now St. Louis, Mich. Though this station as also Shebohyangk arose "without our direct influence" (Einwirkung) they received their independent existence as a result of the movement to Michigan and the many gifts from Bavaria.¹⁵⁾

At its first convention in 1847, the new Missouri Synod asked Loehe for his mission field in Michigan. He offered no objection. "Since our emissaries belonged to this synod and Pastor Craemer was appointed to the committee, we looked upon the synod as the heiress of our mission station."¹⁶⁾ He did more. He even applied to the Collegium of the Ev. Luth. Mission in Leipzig, which was fostering the work of Baierlein, and suggested also a transfer of that field to Missouri. At the third convention in 1849, the committee on missions reported that both Loehe and the Leipzig Mission House had consented: "We transfer the management of the German Lutheran mission-stations in Michigan to the Synod of the German Lutheran congregations in Missouri, Ohio, and other states, with the expectation that they will do everything in their power to

14) Loehe, "Something about the German Lutheran Colonies in Saginaw County, Mich." July 19, 1849, translated by R.W. Heintze in Concordia Historical Institute, IV, p. 22.

15) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

16) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 4.

further the work of missions begun there by us." 17)

The synod heartily accepted the responsibilities. Synod commissioned its mission board "to thank them for the transfer of the mission-stations, and at the same time to express the request that they continue to assist the stations as much as possible, since Synod under existing circumstances would hardly be in a position to maintain them with its own funds." 17)

Though Frankenmut had witnessed success in its work among the Red Men, yet as an outpost for missionary enterprise it lost its significance on account of the greater importance of the three other stations, Bethany, Shiboyank, and Sibiwaung, and on account of Craemer's removal to Ft. Wayne, as Wolter's successor and president of the seminary. 18)

The Frankenmut settlement, however, had prospered. By the time its new pastor, Rev. K.A.W. Roebbelen, arrived in May 1851, there were 80 cabins and farm houses, a saw mill, a flour mill, a physician, three merchants, and a postoffice. 19) By 1853 there were about 150 families and a new church, necessitated by the growth of the village. 20)

2. Frankentrost

In the fall of 1846, Wm. Loche issued a call for volunteers in a new venture. As his mission colony was succeeding and now flourishing, so his vision was seeing other conquests. "At first," he says, "there was really nothing else intended ^{than} the founding of a mission-colony; nobody spoke of German colonization in general. But Frankenmut drew ever more relatives and friends of the first emigrants to its village; and so the question arose whether

17) Cp. P.E. Kretzmann, "Documents and Resolutions Pertaining to the Lutheran Missions among the Indians in Michigan, 1844-1869," in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, II, p. 103; Dritter Synodalbericht, 1849, p. 12-13; Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1849, 11.

18) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 8.

19) Doinzer, op. cit., III, p. 46; Fritschel, op. cit., p. 196; Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 8.

20) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

this region were not a suitable gathering-place for German Lutheran emigrants generally." 21) Accordingly Loehé called for participants in his new colonization project by which he wished to transplant German colonies to America where they might enjoy the free exercise of their religious convictions.

For his purpose he chose Michigan. Why Michigan? We must recall the political background in Germany and remember that Loehé was a strong German nationalist and patriot. In Michigan he thought it was still possible "to create a permanent dwelling for the German element" in the United States, although he realized that this element would at some time give way to the English. Nevertheless since Michigan was surrounded by water on three sides, and by Chicago on the south, Americanization would be checked to a degree. 22) Then he saw the danger of losses to the Church if the immigrants would be settled in widely scattered communities, especially in view of those pestilential sects about whom his emissaries were constantly scolding. Therefore, he favored a more compact unit of different parishes united both by religion and common interests.

Thus his magnificent conception of transferring well-ordered colonies to America found its outlet in Frankentrost, "a few hours northwest of Frankenmuth." The first group of emigrant rural Franconians sailed on the Greole on April 18, 1847, and the second followed on the twenty-second, with J.H. P. Graebner from Burghaig the leader. Loehé had instructed him that "if our vessel should meet with dangers, I was to think of my rescue only after the last of my charges had left the ship." 23) After their arrival in New York, June 1, 1847, they traveled by rail from Albany to Buffalo, by steamer across Lake Erie to Detroit,

21) Loehé, op. cit., p. 19.

22) Deinsér, Loehé's Leben, III, p. 64.

23) Th. Graebner, The Bavarian Settlements of the Saginaw Valley, 1919, p. 15.

where Baierlein rejoined the group, and by wagon to Frankenmut, where they arrived June 11. Doubtless there was hardship connected with this frequent transfer of both passengers and freight.

Land was purchased for 82 cents per acre. After a week of surveying, the building of log houses, laid out according to the plan of a German village, was begun for the 22 families. The experiences of Frankenmut made the establishment of this new settlement easier. "Here," writes Loehe, "they built their houses in a regular row and thus Frankentrost is said to present a lovely sight." 24)

This congregation of 102 souls,²⁵⁾ as that at Frankenmut, desired brief morning and evening services. It likewise was governed by Loehe's church constitution of 88 paragraphs,^{25b)} and during its early years held its services in the house of its pastor.

3. Frankenlust

Late in 1847, the genius that was Loehe decided to finance his projects by collecting a so-called "shifting colonization fund," a Wanderkapital. He explained it thus: "'Colonization capital' we called it because the sum was to be entirely in the service of church colonization; 'shifting,' because it was to buy the first complex of land for new settlements and after its sale was to shift to other localities, for the same purpose. We wished to use this sum also to buy a connected piece of acreage, have it surveyed and laid out as the nucleus of a colony. After that the entire complex was to be sold, plot for plot, only to immigrating Lutherans, and on this land there was to be employed, at the very beginning, a pastor, and under him there was to be organized a congregation of purely Lutheran confession after the fashion and constitution

24) For a description of the location see Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 8.

25) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 10.

25) b. Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1848, 11&12.

of Frankenmt and Frankentrost." 26) This fund never amounted to more than 3000 gulden. It was strictly a matter separate from Loehe's treasury for American missions (rein Privatsache), for which specially designated funds were used or funds left to his free disposition. It aided the establishment of two colonies, an educational institution, and the Iowa Synod. With the growing Wanderkapital 600-700 acres of Indian reservation land 27) for Loehe's next colony, known as Frankenlust, were purchased about ten miles southwest of Saginaw Bay, near the mouth of the Squa-quaming.

"If a thing must be, the right man will be found." Thus Loehe was encouraged for his third colonization effort when G.E. Fr. Sievers, an assistant pastor in Husum, Hanover, devoted to the home missions of North America, volunteered in 1847 to take up the work among destitute Lutherans here. In the spring of 1848, seventeen Franconian countrymen gathered around him and left on July 4 for their destination 22 miles northwest of Frankenmt. 28) He tramped on all considerations of self, even sacrificing his savings of 600 florins. Loehe said of him that he was "a man who already in his native land had given evidences of his practical proficiency (Tuechtigkeit)." Sievers proved it, too.

Lots were sold to the settlers. Though perhaps the climate was not so pleasant, yet the land compared with the best. By summer of 1853 Frankenlust numbered more than 60 families. 30) Loehe called it "the most outstanding" of all. 31)

Sievers organized his congregation, taught school, and by November, 1850 was able to dedicate a church, 28x24, built of logs and plastered with clay. He himself had donated 63 acres of its property, and the colonists 27.

26) Loehe, op. cit., p. 19-20. Cp. also Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 12.

27) The American government had purchased some of the best Indian land, and was now selling it again to pioneers, colonizers, etc. Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 10.

28) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 9.

29) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

30) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

31) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 9.

Frankenlust did not receive new settlers so rapidly as the other colonies, on account of the conditions in Germany. The Revolution of 1848 caused property values to fall and land sales at home to cease, while at the same time the blockade of the Elbe and Vistula Rivers nearly stopped emigration. Loehle dreaded that the borrowed capital would be recalled by his creditors, and when the opportunity presented itself he withdrew some of his funds in order to be ready for this contingency. But Sievers activity in America gave him new courage for the future, so that he continued his monetary aid, for example, giving Sievers in 1850 an additional 3041 florins for the Franconian churches.³²⁾

4. Saginaw City

"In this territory the Yankee has long been resident." Thus Loehle described the region south of Frankenlust known as the thriving city of Saginaw.³³⁾

Sievers had vision. When he noticed that many a fellow Lutheran was moving up from southern Michigan, and that a Lutheran congregation was forming in Saginaw, he at once invested money received from land sales at Frankenlust in some city lots near Saginaw City, a mighty fortunate look ahead! He also gathered a congregation of twelve families in 1848, and organized it on Jan. 29, 1849.³⁴⁾

When Candidate E.O. Cloeter, "well disposed to the Lutheran Church and already ordained," of Bayreuth, Germany, arrived in Saginaw, he was called by this group of Lutherans as their pastor and was installed Nov. 30, 1849.³⁵⁾

Loehle was still on the job. In America he wished to introduce an institution known as the Pilgerhaus, a foundation similar to that of Basel the Great near Caesarea for those who "journey and those who require medical treatment."³⁶⁾

32) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 3&4.

33) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 8.

34) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 7.

35) Vierter Synodalbericht, 1850, p. 11.

36) Ramsay, Pauline and Other Studies, p. 385.

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His plans, unfolded in 1850, were truly great.³⁷⁾ This institution was to serve as a stopping station (Stapelplatz) for future immigrants -- Loehs was even then planning the regular chartering of a ship every August and April for transportation of Lutheran colonists to America³⁸⁾ -- a hospital for the sick, and a school, with a "liturgische Ordnung des ganzen Hauswesens."

Detroit was considered for a time as the place of its location. Schaller, the spiritual child of Loehs, in the city since 1850, and also a certain Sommer, who had been traveling for Loehs, favored its establishment.³⁹⁾ But a pastoral conference in Detroit determined that this city was not suitable on account of the high costs, since at least 25,000 florins would be necessary for the building.⁴⁰⁾ Consequently Saginaw City was chosen, for it already had an available location - the lots purchased by Sievers. Closter, "a man of unmistakable practical talents,"⁴¹⁾ was entrusted with the construction of the building. Under his supervision and that of another Loehs emissary, G.M. Grossmann, this private undertaking of Loehs became a reality. Yet it never served its original purpose. "Without knowing it we had built for a more worthy and greater purpose."⁴²⁾

When Walther and Wynoken made their journey through Germany in 1851, they expressed their desire for a teachers' seminary. Loehs naturally reacted most favorably. He at once decided to establish such an institution in America at Detroit also, chiefly on account of the cities location and Schaller's presence. He planned for the first to send six students with a teacher, and later to open a second course with more pupils.⁴³⁾

All preparations had been made for this new school, but again prohibitive costs prevented its construction, so that finally, as with a stroke, Loehs

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- 37) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 10.
38) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 7.
39) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 3&4.
40) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 3.
41) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 3&4.
42) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 12.
43) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 3.

transferred it to a new home, his Pilgerhaus in Saginaw City.⁴⁴⁾ He asked his Franconians to accept and cherish the new institution. Besides the financial support provided from the colonization capital and other sources, Loehle had sent G.M. Grossmann of Hesse as the first teacher, and five students.⁴⁵⁾ When they arrived in July 1852, at the time of the Missouri Synod's sessions in Ft. Wayne, the large frame house near the landing place and opposite the court house was in the building. After its completion it became the home of Loehle's second seminary in America.⁴⁶⁾ The instruction began temporarily in a rented store, but after the dedication Grossmann and his five students occupied its quarters.⁴⁷⁾

Loehle informed his readers: "We are glad to report on the happy beginning of a German Lutheran teachers' seminary in Saginaw City. This teachers' seminary in Saginaw is the first Lutheran and perhaps also the first Protestant teachers' seminary in North America."⁴⁸⁾

If any one wishes to see the magnanimous character of Loehle again, let him know that Loehle sent his inspector Grossmann 300 gulden for the publication of a new monthly journal, and went so far as to inquire into the possibility of establishing a female academy in Saginaw City, in case enough women were interested.⁴⁹⁾

5. Frankenhilf

Loehle's activity in America thus far extended to the work of home missions, ^{led} foreign missions, education, colonization. The Church and the State had been benefitted, and now the Home was to receive its due. Loehle undertakes social service in the highest sense.

44) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 5.

45) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 7.

46) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

47) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 12.

48) Cp. Deindoerfer, Geschichte der Evang. Luth. Synode von Iowa, 1897, p. 27-29; Deinzer, Loehle's Leben, III, p. 72-73.

49) Letter of March 31, 1853, "An Grossmann, Wegge, Deindoerfer, u. Ammon," reprinted in Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 55, p. 711-722.

Sievers we have characterized as a man of foresight. We have noticed how his purchase of lots in Saginaw fostered the founding of an educational institution there. His same vision he applied in another direction. In the spring of 1849, after the fortunate sale of a large piece of land in the Frankentrost territory, Sievers, when he had consulted Casmer, made another profitable investment. Four miles east of Frankentrost and about the same distance north of Frankenmut, on the Cheboigening he purchased 1592 acres of new land at a very low price, which at once gave occasion to Loehs for realizing his plans of a "Poor-couple Colony." 50)

Peculiar regulations prevailed at the time in Bavaria with regard to marriage, the estate being conditioned chiefly on the amount of property. Poor people could not enter it lawfully and live together legally and uprightly, consequently gross unchastity prevailed among them. The relief of this barrier on honorable life in wedlock, and the provision for sobriety and chastity in an institution regarded by these people as of divine ordination, is truly a social service that must command our admiration and respect. "How many betrothed couples," lamented Loehs, "on this side doomed to sin and the proletariat, can be saved body and soul on the other!" Therefore, he organized a fourth colony known as Frankenhilf, "Aid for the Bavarians."

In the spring of 1850 a group of emigrants gathered under the leadership of Candidate Herman Kuhn, and left Germany April 22, for their new home.⁵¹⁾ In Saginaw in May 1850 unfortunately they separated; some had to seek employment in order to meet the obligations of their expenses, and others, attracted by the superior comforts of their friends, particularly in Frankentrost, settled elsewhere. The family of Gottlob Ammon, a man of character and refinement, was the only one to face the hardships of pioneer toil.

50) Loehs, *op. cit.*, p. 21-24.

51) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 7.

Gottlob Ammon⁵²⁾ was a Swabian. He and his family began to clear the moss-bearded woodland, and built their home all alone. It was dedicated by Kuehn on Aug. 17, 1850. In the fall of the same year other Swabians visited the colony, but they settled in Frankemut. Thus his existence was isolated and his tract surrounded by unbelieving Westphalian neighbors, in fact a settlement of 20 to 25 families of them lived between him and Frankentrost four miles away.⁵³⁾ Of the Frankenhilf 982 acres were still procurable for settlement, while at the same time land values were steadily increasing.⁵⁴⁾

In December of the year 1851 another L_ohe emissary, sent by the Society for Inner Mission, Johannes Beindoerfer and five families with 18 souls came to Michigan to make their homes in the Frankenhilf territory. Thereafter this new colony seemed to prosper. Ammon opened his home to them for church purposes, and provided the pastor with room and board,⁵⁵⁾ Kuehn in the mean time at the direction of the Missouri Synod, having become pastor in Schaumburg, near Chicago.⁵⁶⁾ They built their first church, 36x25, in 1853, and from the start fostered Christian education of the day school.⁵⁷⁾

6. Amelith.

Another settlement was begun under the direct influence of L_ohe,⁵⁸⁾ when in 1850 Bergrath Fr.C.L. Koch, the son-in-law of Sievers, purchased 2,000 acres of land one mile southwest of Frankenlust for a new colony.⁵⁹⁾ L_ohe feared that this new colony would become the prey of speculators, but when Koch decided to open it only for religious people, and asked Sievers to induce colonization, L_ohe was overjoyed at this sudden good turn.⁶⁰⁾ Koch

52) Cp. Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 3&4; 1851, 5&6 for full accounts.

53) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 8.

54) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 3&4.

55) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 8.

56) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 5&6.

57) The Kirchenordnung, dated Feb. 15, 1850, is reprinted in Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1850, 8; 1850, 9.

cleared a location for the immediate tillage of the first settlers -- in a short time a Franconian farmer purchased 180 acres -- erected a log house for their use, which later was used as the church, and built a mill.⁶¹⁾

Amelith had a quick expansion. By the early part of 1853 there were 22 to 25 families living on the tract, likewise enjoying the ministry of a Loehc ommissary.⁶²⁾

Thus again Loehc's activities for North America brought blessing upon six new colonies -- he was considering the founding of another⁶³⁾ -- and many people. In 1853 there were seven pastors and four school teachers in a locality which six years before had been practically heathen.⁶⁴⁾ Courage, consolation, joy, and aid (Mart, Trost, Lust, Hilf) had been brought to another frontier of a growing nation.

58) "Im Zuge unserer Bewegung," Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

59) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 526, as Koch describes in his book on "The German Colonies in the Neighborhood of Saginaw River." He intended to sell his land to future settlers at \$1.50 to \$2.50 per acre.

60) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 11.

61) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 9.

62) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

63) On the banks of the Tittibawasee and Chiawasee rivers, where a large tract of land was purchasable. Cp. Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 55, p. 718-719.

64) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

Chapter VII

DOCTRINAL DISCORD

Issues incite and clashes clarify. The constitution of the Missouri Synod, we noticed above, and the ideals of Loehle were not in complete harmony. Between the two parties, there was, to begin with, a difference of view-point. The spirit of progressive development (Fortentwicklung) was dominant in the state church of Germany, nourishing evil influences on the relation of many teachers and pastors to the Symbolical Confessions of the Lutheran Church. Loehle as a member of that body all his life, though not always in accord with it, was not entirely untouched by that spirit, in later years to a still greater degree.

In America, however, the teachers of the Church were not bound by the "inherited ecclesiastical conditions" of Europe, but were free to establish their Church as God's Word and nothing else demanded.¹⁾ Their insistence on the perspicuity of the doctrines of Holy Writ without further revelation by the Church, and their sole sufficiency as its norma normans for all time, had actuated their separation from un-Lutheran bodies.

We noted that Loehle was not satisfied, primarily, with the equality of lay representatives with the clergy. This feature was, to be sure, an "innovation" in church government, though Scriptural in every detail, as Missouri maintained. It was apparent that full harmony was wanting in regard to the doctrines of the Church and the Ministry. The differences became more pronounced as the tenets

1) Cp. Walthers' Vorerinnerung of his book on the ~~the~~ Church and the Ministry, in Ebenzer, p. 154-156. Also Wynken's letter to Loehle, Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1852, 1-3: "With us neither the pastor rules over the people nor the people over the pastor, but God's Word over both and this alone," etc.

of the other were better known. The principles of the American leaders had been tested and their truth confirmed by the controversy with Grabau and his Prussians in New York. The new synod was awake to the difficulties between itself and Wm. Loehle at once. In the discussion of this phase of our topic, it would be most profitable for all concerned to hang our poorly informed prejudices on the peg of silence for a few minutes until the doctrinal discord has been viewed in its historical ^{setting} appearance.

Loehle himself had given a quia subscription to the confessions of the Church, and had demanded the same of his emissaries and his colonists. His confessional attitude, however, toward the doctrines of the Church and the Ministry was not of the same staunchness, neither were all parts of the confessions of equal validity as binding forces. For him all doctrines were not "closed." "Many another doctrine," he said, "for which our fathers left only a polemical and apologetical interpretation can, to be sure (wohl), be more fully and more excellently developed." 2) Pursuant to these principles, he affirmed his own position on the controverted questions in the following points:

1. That the office (of the ministry) in the New Testament is not only the spiritual priesthood in action (i.e. in public administration), but within the spiritual priesthood there is a special call which indeed is related particularly to the functions of the common priesthood of all believers.

2. That therefore the congregation does not surrender its powers to the clergy, but that the congregation is an organ of Christ to delegate (uebertragen) His office.

3. That the individual congregation only extraordinarie (in an extraordinary event) should surrender its office without the aid of the clergy, that in the ordinary way, as also the very nature of the case requires, the clergy must be called in (beigezogen) for the administration of the office.

2) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8, p. 59-60. Deiner, Loehle's Leben, III, p. 92

4. That the visible church is not just a place of protection or a place of concealment for the invisible church, but that in accordance with the Lord's purpose it should be a revelation and manifestation in the world of the invisible, through which the Lord calls and gathers his saints.³⁾

In other words Loehle denied that a Christian possesses inherently all the rights and privileges of the Office of the Keys, and disavowed that these rights are transferred by the Christians as spiritual priests to their pastor, but held that the congregation as a corporate entity is only a "pipe," after a manner of speaking, through which the office is transmitted to the clergy, which therefore, according to his third point, constitutes a higher order of dignity, an Anglican idea, somewhat of an apostolic succession in Lutheran form. Consequently, the local congregation is not the highest authority, but the ministerium should have a voice in its call of a pastor; and by defining the Church as the invisible fellowship of faith made visible (point four), the distinction between the two is not observed, and the definition comes to include the means of grace, so that the Church in itself becomes something like a means of grace.

Moreover, ordination Loehle considered more than a public attestation of the validity of the call (publica testificatio vocationis).⁴⁾

The view taken by the Missouri Synod, as championed by its leader Walther, had been tested in the fever of controversy and had been vindicated twice on American soil, in the Altenburg debate and the Grabau conflict. Walther, therefore, was requested to present his doctrine, and in the synod of 1851 at Milwaukee justified his convictions so thoroughly that the Synod adopted his position - all Loehle emissaries included.

Against Loehle the Synod held that the ministry is not a separate estate, but an office of service to administer the rights of the spiritual priesthood

3) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 7, p. 54-55, July 25, 1853; Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 26-27.

4) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 7, p. 55, Deinzer, op. cit., p. 80.

of all believers. The office is delegated by God through the congregation, the possessor of the Keys, by means of its divinely prescribed call. Ordination is only an apostolic, ecclesiastical rite and a public attestation of such call. The laity has the right to judge doctrine, and hence to have seat and voice with the ministers in church courts and councils.⁵⁾

Furthermore, the Synod held that the distinction between visible and invisible Church is to be observed, and that the means of grace be regarded as the unfailing marks by which the presence of the ⁱⁿ⁻visible Church is definitely known in the visible body.⁶⁾

When the differences were recognized, attempts at settlement were made at once and repeatedly on part of the Loehe men who tried to justify Loehe's position.⁷⁾ In 1847 the Missouri Synod requested its benefactor to attend its next sessions at St. Louis,⁸⁾ but in 1848 Loehe himself was engaged in conflict in his own province and could not take leave. By the end of 1850 the situation had grown grave. Both fully realized its gravity.⁹⁾ In the convention of 1851, June 18-28, Wynken very earnestly admonished the delegates to make every effort to stay in union with Loehe, "dass uns schon die Pflicht der Selbsterhaltung noetige, alles zu thun, um den gaenzlichen Riss abzuwenden,.... dass unser grosser Mangel an Predigern eine festere Verbindung mit den Bruedern in Deutschland uns zur Noethwendigkeit mache."⁹⁾ The charge of wilful isolation and high-handed ingratitude is nothing less than misrepresentation of third-rate historical research. An overture by Sihler and others proposed that a delegation of peace be sent to Germany. The Synod accepted the proposal, and most of the absent pastors as well as many congregations "hatten ihre Beistimmung schriftlich

5) Cp. "Theses on the Ministry," in Fuerbringer, Engelder, Ketzmann, Concordia Cyclopedia, 1927, p. 508.

6) Cp. "Theses on the Church," op. cit., p. 507, paragraphs 1 and 5.

7) Zweiter Synodalbericht, 1851, p. 8. Kirchliche Mittheilungen, 1851, 3&4.

8) Erster Synodalbericht, 1847, May 6, p. 15.

9) Fuenfter Synodalbericht, 1851, p. 8.

zu erkennen gegeben, und ihre ~~th~~actige Mitwirkung zur Deckung der Kosten zugesagt." 10)

Yet the Synod had regard for the heinousness of sacrificing Scriptural principles for material benefits. "All other motives retreated to the background, in particular also that one by which our Church here would gain many a material advantage from a close union with the German mother-church." 11) They did not stop to calculate their personal interests in the dispute, but trampling on every consideration either of good or gain, they periled all in the sacred cause of doctrine. The Synod resolved unanimously to include the matter in its public prayer. 12)

Since to-day the tenets of an invisible Church and a universal priesthood have become part of the consciousness of many Lutheran synods, the controversies leading to their declaration do not seem so important, but history shows they were of immense consequence in shaping destiny.

The delegation of peace, Walther and Wynken, left in August, 1851, and in October, 1851, writes Loche, "We came together in peace." 13) Loche admitted that by a series of deductions in which the starting point is the priesthood of all believers, a person can arrive at the conclusion of the Missouri Synod, but he denied Scriptural basis for the conclusion. 14) "Wir begegneten uns oft in der Behauptung das wir im Grunde einig seien." 15) Though their friendly feelings were renewed, their efforts were not entirely successful, and their hopes did not find complete fulfilment. Loche even acknowledged the American practise "als recht und gut," and closed this first period of doctrinal discord with the words: "Brethren, for you and with you we gladly go." 16) Yet both he and

10) Fuenfter Synodalbericht, 1851, p. 8.

11) Fuenfter Synodalbericht, 1851, p. 9.

12) Fuenfter Synodalbericht, 1851, p. 10.

13) Op. Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 10, a special number.

14) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 7; Deinszer, op. cit., III, p. 89.

16) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 10.

15) Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 24.

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the delegation remained firm. Missouri had expected Loehs to change his view point, and Loehs was hoping that Missouri would not consider these differences a barrier to continued union.¹⁷⁾

What was the relation between Wm. Loehs and the leaders of the Missouri Synod thereafter? On this point the rabidness of poorly informed prejudice has often stepped in before the historian was through.¹⁸⁾ The present writer insists that this relation was by far more congenial than is usually admitted, and he brings the following considerations in support of his proposition.

Through Dr. v. Harless, the princess of Bavaria had given permission to the churches in her realm to raise funds for Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, by means of church collections. In Kuenchen, where the first collection was to be gathered, when Walther was informed privately that Loehs and his associates were to be asked to resign their office because they refused to tolerate Reformed heresy at the Lord's Supper, Walther withdrew his request as a protest against that position. Loehs considered this the brightest event of their visit.¹⁹⁾

When about to return to America, Walther wrote to Loehs: "I am taking away with me a hearty trust in your sincere fidelity over against our beloved Lutheran Church. I have seen how near to your heart is the success of our Church, which is largely a seedling (Pflanze) of your faithful hands."²⁰⁾ The Loehs emissaries acknowledged the benefits of Loehs; so did Walther.

Der Lutheraner of 1852, No. 13, acknowledged Loehs as "the truest friend of the Lutheran Church of North America, the most eloquent intercessor for her (beredtesten Fuerbitter), if not before God, then surely among the brethren, in which the Missouri Synod by all means must do honor to her spiritual father,

17) Deinzer, op. cit., III, p. 96-97.

18) See, e.g., Schaefer, Wilhelm Loehs, 1909, p. 58f.

19) Hochstetter, op. cit., p. 233-235; Fritschel, op. cit., p. 193-194.

20) Deinzer, op. cit., III, p. 94.

to win him and to establish closer connection with other parts of Germany." For that purpose W_alther had published his book in Erlangen on "The Voice of the Church Concerning the Office."

It is natural that L_oehe's censure of the Missouri Synod should be intensified when the break came in 1853. Yet he was always the man. He never was so rabid as some of his biographers.²¹⁾ Thirteen years later, in 1866, he still expressed joy that the Missouri Synod was in existence with its pure Word and Sacrament.²²⁾

The peace delegation had healed the breach for a time, but the visit of Grabau to Loehe, Sept. 18-21, 1853, aggravated it again. Loehe had never favored the Buffalo Synod as much as he favored the Missouri.²³⁾ He, therefore, did not join with that body, but took a mediating position between the two and resolved to found a third party.²⁴⁾

At the same time, the unification of Missouri was growing more complete, the seminary in Saginaw was serving as the opposition school, and the doctrinal question had become acute in Michigan not only among the ministers, but also among the lay people of the Franconian settlements.

Consequently, at a pastoral conference late in 1852, through Cloeter's incitation, Graemer took the first offensive against those who shared L_oehe's views.²⁵⁾ At another conference in 1853 Grossmann and D_eindoerfer were given the alternative either of discontinuing the seminary founded by Loehe, or of turning it over to the Missouri Synod. Wyneken intimated in private discussion with them that they and their adherents might avoid conflict by emigrating to a territory not yet occupied by Missouri.²⁶⁾

Then there was dissension in the congregation at Frankenhilf, the one

21) Cp. even Fritschel, op. cit., p. 169f. 217-229.

22) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1866, 11&12.

23) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1851, 10.

24) Fritschel, op. cit., p. 222-223; Deinzer, op. cit., III, p. 98999; Hochstetter, op. cit., 280-281.

25) "Deindoerfer an Loehe," Dec. 6, 1852, Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 55, p. 705.

26) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

party favoring membership in the Synod, the other endeavoring to follow its instructions to "stand in inner communion with the Missouri Synod indeed, but not under Missourian church government," 27) although their pastor, Deindoerfer, had joined the Synod. 28)

Ultimately, for the sake of peace, Wyneken in a letter of August 8, 1853, requested Loehs to transfer his seminary to another location. A few days before, on August 4, Loehs had written his letter of separation to Sievers, in which he severed relations with the Saginaw settlements and the Missouri Synod. He censured the latter for its "echt papistische Territorialismus," its "cuius religio eius regio," as he termed it. 29)

In conclusion, before the final judgment is passed, let the reader not lose the proper historical perspective. Let him bear in mind that the students of the seminary were members in congregations of the Missouri Synod, that a pastor of that Synod (Cloeter) was giving instruction in the school, 30) and that the inspector himself was under its congregational jurisdiction.

Let him remember that one of the reasons for choosing Michigan and grouping the colonies together was the preservation of their distinctive Lutheran character, and that the prevailing custom of settlements was still that of the German parish in which the Church is the nucleus of village life.

Let him recall that relations between a mother church on native soil and the church in a colony have always been detrimental to the welfare of both, as Wyneken correctly recognized. 31) At the present day, the example of the evil effects which the Swedish Augustana Synod has sustained from its relations with the state church of Sweden, will suffice.

27) Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 128-129.

28) Sechster Synodalbericht, 1852, p. 16.

29) For full text see Kirchliche Mittheilungen Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 112-116; or Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, p. 227-229; or Deinzer, op. cit., III, p. 102-106.

30) Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 127-128. "Loehs an Grossmann, Weege, Deindoerfer, u. Ammon, March 31, 1853," in Kirchliche Zeitschrift, 55, p. 711-722.

31) Letter of August 8, 1853.

Finally, let him regard the verity in the words of Charles Porterfield Krauth, who said: "Outward human forms are nothing; ecclesiastical government, so far as it is of man, is nothing; all things are nothing, if there be not this oneness of faith. With it begins, in its life continues, in its death ends, all true unity. There can be, there is, no true unity but in the faith." 32)

32) Cp. Bente, American Lutheranism, 1919, p. 184. See also Walther, The Proper Distinction between Law and Gospel, p. 28-30, on the disasters of making slight concessions in doctrine.

Chapter VIII

THE IOWA SYNOD 1)

The first twelve years of Loehle's work in America had been crowned with marvelous successes. His genius now directed itself to another field. "When we finished in Ft. Wayne, we proceeded to Saginaw County. Now we have finished in Saginaw County, accordingly we proceed still farther." 2)

At the end of September, 1853, G.M. Grossmann, John Deindoerfer, and a party of twenty adherents, among them the Ammon family and two of the seven students from the Seminary in Saginaw, left the Franconian colonies and migrated to Iowa, via Chicago, then west just across the Mississippi River. 3)

On account of the poverty of this group, Grossmann and his students remained in Dubuque, a promising field for missionary activity, where St. John's congregation was gradually gathered; while Deindoerfer and the others went 60 miles farther northwest and founded the colony of "St. Sebald on the Spring."

The need of ministers in Iowa brought about the change of the teachers' seminary into a theological seminary for ministers. The seminarian K. Bockel had started a private school, and after shortly, the arrival of six students 4) from Neuedtelsau early in November, the new seminary came into being on the tenth of November, 1853. This school, like that in Ft. Wayne formerly, continued to receive the support of Loehle, both in students and funds, besides the fully trained ministers supplied the Iowa Synod by the Mission Institute in Neuedtelsau. On December 18, 1853, Loehle directed that the profits from the sale of the Pilgerhaus, as well as the 3728 gulden given by him in the past year be taken as donation for this school in Dubuque, while the returns from land-sales in Saginaw were to be used for the founding of Lutheran parishes.

In return Loehs requested regular quarterly reports on their institutions and work.^{5) 6)}
The seminary received other monetary aid also.

Another factor of progress was the rise of the Iowa Synod. In July 1854, Sigismund Fritschel, former pastor of the Free Church in Hamburg, M. Schmeller, and student Duerr arrived from Loehs's city. The next month, on August 24, the first two with Grossmann and Deindoerfer organized at Sebald the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States, based only on some guiding principles -- among them the "peculiar tendency" principle -- which stamped the Synod at once as somewhat hesitant in definiteness and dim in clarity. At a conference in Dubuque, April, 1855, a Kirchenordnung was formulated for its congregations on the basis of Loehs's constitution for Frankenhilf.⁶⁾

The Synod in its strategic position experienced a remarkable growth. It continued to expand from the start. New men were added from Keuendettelsau each year, and from its own school, so that in the period from 1854-1864, 18 examined candidates were sent from Germany, and 21 were graduated from the Wartburg Seminary, the latter having been transferred from Dubuque to St. Sebald in 1857.

Loehs and his emissaries were minded to do mission work among the Indians, also through the Iowa Synod.⁷⁾ Particularly noteworthy were Jacob Schmidt, who arrived for that purpose in 1856, and Moritz Braeuninger, a spiritual son of Loehs, who came to America in April 1857 with three students for Dubuque.

1) Cp. Deindoerfer, Geschichte der Evang. Luth. Synode von Iowa, 1897, p. 53-117; Deinzer, Loehs's Leben, III, 1892, p. 126-144; Fritschel, Geschichte der Luth. Kirche in Amerika, 1898, p. 234-243; Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 127-205; Fuerbringer-Engelder-Kretzmann, Concordia Cyclopaedia, 1927, p. 364-366; Neve, 1916, p. 362-381, Brief History of the Lutheran Church in America.

2) Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 8.

3) For an account of this very interesting journey cp. Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 33-43.

4) According to Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 38, though Kirchliche Mitteilungen, 1853, 12, says five students were sent.

5) Fritschel, Quellen und Dokumente, p. 181-183.

6) Fritschel, op. cit., p. 133-135.

7) Cp. Kaiser, Lutheran Mission Work Among the American Indians, 1922, p. 95-114.

But the praiseworthy efforts of these two missionaries in Crowland, Montana, were rendered futile by the circumstances of the time, chiefly political conditions and the westward movement of American civilization. At the hands of foul murderers Brasuninger, only twenty-three years of age, suffered a martyr's death July 28, 1860.⁸⁾ A few years later in the rebellion of the Sioux the last spurs of the mission were quenched (1864), and therewith Loehe's direct heathen mission work in America ended.⁹⁾

Loeche was gradually withdrawing his interests in favor of other causes in Germany. He was directing his activity into new channels there. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his work in America, celebrated in 1868, a review of it was given by him, and the blessings which had accrued therefrom. Though not all his plans had carried through, yet, he said, "alles ist so gegangen, dass Heil und Segen mitgefolgt ist bis auf diese Stunde, und dass der Herr von dem Werk unserer Haende seine Hand nicht abgezogen hat." With a prayer for the continued grace of God, Loeche's labor for North America was finished.

* * * * *

In retrospect let us, then, not forget Loeche. It was he more than any other man, who turned a sympathetic ear to the needs of North American Lutherans. It was Loeche who kept aglow for them the missionary zeal of the Lutherans in Germany, and thereby gathered large sums of money for the maintenance of his

8) Schuster, Von Indianern ermordet, 1929, p. 44-52.

9) Deinzer, Loeche's Leben, III, 1892, p. 57-59; Schaefer, Wilhelm Loeche, 1909, p. 54; Deindoerfer, op. cit., p. 55-65.

work and workers. It was Loehe who began and continued the instruction and supply of special emissaries for this land, until they numbered more than 100 laborers. He fostered the rise of the confessional attitude in this country by demanding acknowledgment of the confessional principle from his emissaries, synods, colonists, and seminaries. Through him the stupendous impetus was given the Missouri Synod in its early years, for two-thirds of his men made up that body. Through his labor seminaries were founded and financed. Through his energy colonies of Lutherans were transplanted to America, mission fields opened among the natives, and the most important centers and states evangelized with Lutheran doctrine. Yes, his devotion produced these blessings for the Lutheran Church of America, facts which surely make him worthy of our high regard.

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