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The First Years of Trinity Congregation Freistadt, Wisconsin

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THE FIRST YEARS OF
TRINITY CONGREGATION
FREISTADT, WISCONSIN

A Thesis Presented to
The Faculty of Concordia Seminary
Department of Historical Theology

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Bachelor of Divinity

by
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April 1944

Approved by:

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Chapter I

During the 17th and 18th centuries in Germany Pietism and Rationalism had been opposing the principles founded in the Reformation, which demanded a separation from error. Thus for a long time the Lutherans had kept themselves separate from the errors of the Reformed. Yet thru Pietism, which stressed the outward life instead of doctrine, and thru Rationalism, which set human reason above the revelation of God, this principle of the Lutheranism was being undermined, and the punch was being taken out of Lutheran orthodoxy.

This opposition to pure doctrine came not only from outside the Lutheran Church, but also from within, for many pastors had succumbed to Pietism and Rationalism. It is, however, likely that the doctrinal questions would not have come to such a head if Germany had not had a state-controlled church. The German rulers, however, tried to bring the Reformed and the Lutherans together for the sake of order in the country. Frederick I of Prussia had already called councils of Lutherans and of Reformed theologians at Berlin to bring the two into union, and Frederick Wilhelm in 1737 sought to unify church usages by abolishing certain forms.

In 1817 matters started coming to a head, for in that year Frederick Wilhelm III of Prussia proclaimed the union of the Lutherans and Reformed. As at the Marburg Colloquy in 1529 the main difference between the two lay in the

Lord's Supper, so now yet the difference in the doctrine of the Sacrament was what promised to cause considerable difficulty in the plan for union.

"To the king who was of the Reformed faith the union-seemed most simple. 'According to my opinion,' he had said, 'the communion strife is only an unfruitful theological subtlety, of no account in comparison with the fundamental faith of the Scriptures.' The fact that he was outside of the church to which the great majority of his people belonged, was a source of great regret to him. Possessed of a deeply religious nature and for some time under pietistic influences, the union had been one of his dearest objects. Though the act may have been praiseworthy, and was performed by the king in the profound belief that he was called to do that work, yet his unfortunate belief in the sacred prerogative of kings which led him to carry out the reform in a thoroughly absolute manner, was destined to call forth an opposition which ended in the partial failure of the attempt. The union was proclaimed without the consent of the churches, and in 1822 a new agende was drawn up by Bishop Eylert and the court theologians, and in 1830, was rigidly enforced."

"While the movement had many warm supporters and was imitated by other German courts, namely, by Baden, Nassau, and Rheinpfalz, yet it was not heartily supported by the rationalistic element, and on the other hand, aroused a new Lutheran consciousness. It was taken as an attempt to root out Lutheranism which the revival of Germany's great past was more likely to restore. This was especially the case in those parts of Prussia where Lutheranism existed almost unmixed, where, then, there was no sympathy with Reformed doctrines and the union was not felt as a practical necessity. This was the case in North Germany - Saxony, Mecklenburg, and in Pomerania. 'It seemed,' says Treitschke, 'like an uprising of Reason against Revelation.' "

"For some years the opposition was confined to literary polemics, but in 1830 when the new agende was enforced by cabinet orders, Prof. Scheibel of Breslau founded a separate society¹ of two or three hundred families, and being refused permission to worship according to the old agende, Scheibel

1. In this document "society" means "congregation".

left the country. Many Silesian pastors followed his example and resistance spread rapidly to Erfurt, Magdeburg and different parts of Pomerania. At Erfurt the leader of the movement and afterwards of the emigration to America was Rev. Johannes A. A. Grabau, pastor of the Evangelical church. In spite of an early education under the influences of a pastor of the United faith, Grabau seems to have kept his preference for the Lutheran church. Finally, in 1836, he reached the conclusion that the Union was contrary to the Scriptures and declared publicly that he could no longer use the new agende with good conscience. Being questioned by the counsellor of the consistory, he replied that the new form in the administration of the Lord's Supper did not express the belief of the Lutheran church, and that their faith was curtailed and weakened in the new spirit of the times. His society agreed with him and when he was suspended from his office and a new pastor was put in charge, they followed him to his house where services were held. This, too, was forbidden, but they decided to 'obey God rather than men'."

"The separate society grew until it reached a membership of nearly 400. Meanwhile, at Magdeburg, another small body of Lutherans had separated from the Union church and were holding services at the home of a captain of the guards, Henry von Rohr. The movement was spreading in Pomerania and many pastors and laymen were being persecuted."¹

After Grabau² had been deposed from his office as pastor of St. Andreas Church a new man was appointed for his pulpit. Grabau was then ordered to the City Hall, where he was taken into custody. He was sent to Heiligenstadt as a prisoner. The jailor, however, was a kind-hearted man, and gave Grabau special privileges. Since

1. Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, Madison, Wisconsin, 1892. vol. 8, p. 289f.
 2. Grabau was born March 18, 1804 at Olvenstedt, near Magdeburg, Saxony. Graduating from the University of Halle, he took up teaching for a while, and in 1832 passed his examination for the ministry.

Grabau was to be exiled to Westphalia, it was suggested to him to escape, upon which suggestion he then acted.

The "Oberlandsgericht" of Hallerstadt had ordered Grabau to be freed, but the criminal director of Erfurt decided that the order must come from the royal government representative in Erfurt, so Grabau was not released, but at the same time felt that he would not have conscience scruples on account of the escape.¹

1. Grabau, Joh. A., Lebenslauf des Ehrwuerdigen J. An. A. Grabau, Volksblatt Publishing Company, Buffalo, N. Y., 1879 p. 26.
Wachende Kirche, vol. 54, no. 14.

Chapter II

About this time Captain Heinrich von Rohr had been discharged¹ from the army. Heinrich von Rohr was of noble birth, had attended the Prussian military academy at Stolp when only eight years old, served as a page at the court of Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia, was at eighteen a second lieutenant in the grenadier regiment "Kaiser Alexander" and saw service in France during the Franco-Prussian disputes. At thirtytwo he married, and was converted to Christianity by his wedding sermon. His wife died with the birth of their first child. When he became a captain, he was transferred to Magdeburg, and shortly before this he took another wife, Julia Mangold of Berlin. Von Rohr, being an educated and wellread man, did not need much time to tell the difference between Reformed and Lutheran doctrine, and affiliated himself with Lutheranism. Matters came to a head when Bishop Draeseke gave him an ultimatum to have his child baptized in the Reformed faith, saying that non-conformists would be deprived of civil and ecclesiastical privileges. When von Rohr still refused, the case was refered to Friedrich Wilhelm III, who, in spite of the intercession of General von Thiele, had von Rohr discharged from the army with these words: "I hereby release Captain von Rohr from further service because

1. Grabau, *op. cit.* p. 27

he refuses to carry out the order of his superiors."¹

On February 10, 1837 von Rohr was handed the formal release. Thru the death of his wife and of his son, von Rohr had come to take his religion very seriously, and upon his discharge decided to devote his time to church work in opposing the Prussian Union. Soon services were held in his home, for each of which a \$5.00 fine had to be paid. Von Rohr also had to pay a fine of \$30.00 for not revealing the name of a christening pastor.² Another heavy blow fell on von Rohr when his second wife and one of his children died of cholera, leaving him only his three and one half year old daughter, Julchen. While thus concerned about the welfare of the true faith in Germany, von Rohr heard about Grabau in prison in Heiligenstadt. Therefore von Rohr together with one Friedrich Mueller, who had been an oboe player in von Rohr's regiment, and who had also been discharged for religious reasons,³ later emigrating with Grabau and taking over a pastorate in the Buffalo Synod, went to free Grabau from prison. With the passive cooperation of the sympathetic jail keeper, the escape plot was easily carried out, after Grabau had been in prison slightly more than six months.⁴

1. Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. 18, p. 251

2. *Ibid.*, p. 253

3. Grabau, *op. cit.*, p. 27

4. *Ibid.*, p. 25

Grabau, von Rohr, and Mueller then went thru the country looking up loyal Lutheran families and holding Lutheran services whenever they could do so. The police was often hot on their trail.

Von Rohr, going to Berlin and thinking that that was safe territory for him, was seized and imprisoned for almost a year. During his imprisonment he no doubt decided to leave Germany and go to America.¹

Von Rohr was the real backer of the emigration, and it was mostly up to him to plan and organize this great undertaking. Grabau was considered the real leader of the Lutherans in and around Erfurt, but Grabau had not yet seriously thought of emigration when von Rohr was already set on it. When von Rohr was released from the prison term during which he had made up his mind to emigrate, Grabau was betrayed and again imprisoned, on September 21, 1838. It was first during this prison term that Grabau decided to immigrate to America,² when von Rohr was already out making plans for this immigration. Since Grabau became very ill during this prison term he probably was not able to give much concern to a possible exodus, for he was so run down that he expected to die. At first it is almost surprising that Grabau did not object strenuously to the emigration preparations made by his followers while he was in prison,

1. Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. 18, p. 255

2. Wachende Kirche, vol. 54, no. 14
Grabau, op. cit. p. 31 ff.

under the leadership of von Rohr. But if we keep in mind that Grabau, in reply to his requests for release, soon learned that the only condition under which the German government would release him was that he leave the country immediately and that he cease officiating as a pastor, then we can understand that Grabau was no doubt more than happy that somebody was making preparations for him. Grabau was released on March 12, 1839.¹

Grabau's "congregation at Erfurt and Magdeburg, suffering also from state persecution, urged emigration to America where religious freedom was possible. Because Grabau still cherished the hope of gaining freedom for the Lutheran Church in Prussia, he resisted this movement. 'As long as we dare hope for this,' he said, 'it would be wrong to emigrate.' A petition for religious freedom from the Lutherans, causing King Frederick William III to declare that he would tolerate the Lutheran Church only within the United Church, made Grabau consent to the plan for emigration."²

1. Grabau, op. cit., p. 35
2. Neve-Allbeck, History of the Lutheran Church in America, Burlington, Iowa, 1934, p. 268

Chapter III

In the meantime those interested in emigration had elected four men, Martin Krueger, David Helm (both of Pommerania), Heinrich von ^Kohr, and Wilhelm Barkfeld, as a committee to make arrangements for the emigration. These men met in ^Berlin on February 15, 1839, and passed the following resolutions: that it is sinful to demand community of goods, but it is hoped that a community treasury can be established by free-will donations, everyone giving according to his abilities, (enough money was contributed to pay the passage way to New York of the 778 people who wanted to emigrate. Later this number was raised to 1000); that the first concern of the group would be the erection of a church and a school; that as soon as the people would be able to obtain remunerative employment in their new home, all the money plus interest should be paid back to those who had extended loans for the common treasury; that only Lutherans in good standing were to be permitted to go along, but those who were not members of the Lutheran church should be permitted to go along if they were sincere seekers after the truth; that the group go to New York; that May 1 be temporarily set as the date of departure; that the emigration should be carried out whether or not permission could be obtained from the

authorities. It was not made a matter of conscience to emigrate, for anybody who wanted to stay could do so without any judgment being passed on him. Rev. Karl (who had baptized von Rohr's child in 1836) and Candidates Froehlig and Brandt were asked to join the congregation, but they declined.

Two deputies were to proceed to America before the congregation left, to prepare the way for the main body. It was decided that after the arrival of the congregation in America, the two deputies would have to give an account to the pastor and to the elders. A complete record, it was decided, was to be kept of every member, so that everyone could know what his financial status was in respect to the treasury established for the trip. The deputies were to take care of the physical needs of the congregation, and the elders were to take over the spiritual affairs under the guidance of the pastor.

Even the elders, as well as everybody else, were to submit to the rules and regulations made by the deputies, altho the elders were to be asked for their advice wherever possible.

The members of the committee of four signed their names as deputies of the congregation of Rev. J. A. A. Grabau, which was about to emigrate. The resolutions were accepted by all the people, as well as by Grabau.

Official permission for the emigration was then sought. When the Crownprince, the later Friedrich Wilhelm IV, heard about this, he sent a special messenger to von Rohr, urging him to postpone the emigration, for the Prince was favorably inclined towards the Lutherans, and promised them that when he became king, they would receive protection and religious freedom. But von Rohr turned down this offer, saying that they had recognized it as their duty to emigrate from Germany to get away from the Union so as to save their souls.¹

Preparations were then made for the emigration. Von Rohr was trying to get contracts in Hamburg for transporting all the emigrants directly to America, but the cost would have been too great, for only \$3000 had been collected for all the expenses. In Hamburg he took the advice of two merchants, Frenzel and Boethke, who advised him to go from Hamburg to Hull, England, and then to Liverpool, and from there to America in American sailing ships, since this route would be one fourth cheaper.²

The official permission for the emigration was granted in April 1839.³ On April 26 Grabau was informed of this permission.⁴

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1. Letter of Dr. E. Deneff of Theresa, Wis., to the author
 2. Wachende Kirche, vol. 54, no. 20
 3. Letter of Deneff
 4. Grabau, *op. cit.*, p. 36

The date of departure was set for June 7. Von Rohr then hurriedly went to Camin via Berlin and Stettin for another meeting of the emigration committee on May 13. It was decided here to speed up the emigration, and that von Rohr and Krueger should go to Hamburg immediately to sign the contracts for ship passage. Buffalo, New York, was selected as the meeting place of the emigrants. Another meeting of the committee took place in Hamburg on May 28, where it was decided to send von Rohr and Dr. Gustiniani, a former Catholic priest who had become a Lutheran, to Liverpool to make the necessary arrangements there, since Gustiniani could speak English.¹

On June 16 the two agents² sailed for America. In nine weeks they reached Baltimore, and arrived in New York on August 20.³

In the meantime Grabau had been released from prison, and was escorted by the police to Hamburg, to make sure that he would keep his promise to leave the country. By and by the emigrants arrived in Hamburg in groups. While they were waiting in Hamburg, services were held by Grabau. The emigrants left Hamburg in five ships, the first leaving June 28, the second and third June 30, the next on July 12, and the last on July 27. Grabau was on the last ship.⁴

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1. Letter of Deneff
 2. Joh. Ph. Koehler, Geschichte der Allgemeinen Ev.-Luth. Synode von Wisconsin, Northwestern Publishing House, Milwaukee, Wis., 1925, says: "Captain von Rohr had gone ahead with Dr. Gustiniani", p. 160
 3. Wachende Kirche, vol. 54, no. 20
 4. Grabau, op. cit., p. 37

Chapter IV

Rev. E. F. E. Krause, who had also run into unpleasant situations with the government on account of his religious persuasions, had already some time before planned an emigration, before Grabau was determined to emigrate.¹ In the Fall of 1838 Krause's congregation had already decided to emigrate, and Krause together with Faude, one of the elders, had gone on ahead to look over the lay of the land, the congregation paying their expenses.² The congregation was to follow in the Spring of 1839. When the Grabau group was in Hamburg about to emigrate, they met Krause's congregation there, also about to emigrate. Schulthes, the deputy of the congregation in the absence of Krause, had come into contact with a certain Angas who wanted the congregation to emigrate to Australia. When the congregation heard about Grabau's going to America, they wanted to go along, but Grabau did not want to take them because he held that they were obligated thru the commitment of Schulthes to go to Australia.

There does seem to have been a little indecision in the emigration plans of Krause's congregation, probably due to the fact that their pastor was not with them. A seemingly well founded report gleaned from one of the older and better informed members of the Freistadt congregation relates that some of the people from the

1. Grabau, *op. cit.*, p. 41

2. Minutes of Trinity Church, Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 27, 1850

section from which Krause's people were (Silesia), had been emigrating to Australia, and that at least a part of this congregation had planned on going there likewise, but that they had literally missed the boat, and since, as it is reported, there were no ships sailing for Australia for quite some time, they decided, it is said, to go to America with a large group of other Germans whom they had met in Hamburg (no doubt the Grabau group). Altho this is only a father-to-son tradition, the report seems to be true, for there would be no plausible explanation for the basis of an unfounded story of this type. This would be in keeping with the indecision among Krause's congregation, which was the basis for Grabau's first refusal to take them along to America.

Furthermore, it is possible that Krause himself had not definitely decided to go to America, altho Joh. A. Grabau reports in his Lebenslauf, page 41, that Krause and Faude went ahead to America to make preparations for the arrival of the congregation, and Dr. Deneff in Wachende Kirche, volume 54, number 21, writes that Krause had already in 1838 decided to go to America, and that he went to Buffalo in the Fall of 1838 to pick out good land for his congregation. (Krause had decided to emigrate, already in 1838, but it seems he did not know where he wanted to go). Yet Krause himself, in his Chronicle,

reports only the following: "On November 4, 1838, I, Rev. Krause, with a deputy, journeyed to America, sent by a large group of Lutherans in Silesia, to find out whether in the ^{Free} States of North America the Lutheran Church has freedom. It has that, in all respects. On January 7 the deputy and I landed in New York." Krause does not say that plans were absolutely definite to go to America, altho it is probable that America got most of the consideration in Krause's emigration plans, which would be indicated by the fact that he himself went to America to see what the status of the church was there.

A group of Silesians had just shortly before this sailed to Australia under Pastor Kavel. Probably some of the people in Krause's group were expecting no more than to follow their countrymen to Australia. When, however, Krause's group met Grabau's group in Hamburg, the richer people of Krause's group decided to go to America, but the poorer ones could not make that decision because they did not have the finances. \$800 had been collected by Angas for those who wanted to go to Australia, but the people were quite persistent in their desire to go with Grabau to America, even tho Krause's group had no common treasury out of which to pay the general expenses. Each family had to shift for itself financially.

There was much talk of Grabau refusing to give Krause's people Communion in Hamburg, and of Grabau's excommunicating

the whole group, but Grabau claimed that Krause's congregation did not ask him for Communion. At any rate, on account of this question whether to take Krause's congregation along, a quarrel resulted which took on major proportions later on in America, causing Grabau's congregation in Buffalo to split. Nevertheless, Grabau took Krause's congregation along to America, financing \$800 of their expenses.¹

As stated before, the first of the five ships on which this combined group under Grabau's leadership emigrated from Hamburg, left on June 28, the second and thirds ships left on June 30, the fourth left on July 12, and the last on July 27, taking the emigrants to Hull, from where they went to Liverpool, taking American ships from there. The emigrants did not leave in one ship from Bremen, as is so romantically described by Philip von Rohr Sauer in The Wisconsin Magazine of History, volume 18, number 3, page 257: "Amidst an outburst of good and evil wishes the German ship left Bremen with its company of stalwart Pilgrims." To the contrary, there is overwhelming proof that five ships left from Hamburg. In a letter to the author Dr. E. Deneff states that there were five ships leaving Hamburg. Joh. A. Grabau in his Lebenslauf page 37 writes that there were five ships going from

1. Wachende Kirche, vol. 54, no. 21

Hamburg to Hull, and also five ships from Liverpool to America. Furthermore, Krause in his Chronicle also reports that there was more than one ship leaving Hamburg.¹

Another inaccuracy, furthermore, occurs when Kate A. Everest writes in an article entitled Early Lutheran Immigration to Wisconsin in the Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, volume 8, page 294, that "passage was engaged for one thousand people in five American sail vessels. Rev. E. F. E. Krause, a pastor from Silesia with his society accompanied them." Krause was at this time in America, and probably did not even know that his congregation was going with Grabau.

The first part of the trip was without mishap, but on the last lap of the voyage the last ship, on which Grabau was, ran into a severe storm.

"The sails tore, the masts were shattered, and nobody could control the rudder. In spite of the Pastor's warning, somebody had given the assistant helmsman and several other sailors some whiskey, with the result that the drunken sailors could not control the ship when the heavy storm broke loose. God punished these proud men severely. Already the vessel was shipping water. Everything seemed to be lost. One of the Lutherans tasted the water, and behold, it was sweet water. The severe beating which the ship had sustained had broken the kegs of drinking water stored below deck. The captain awaited the end, having locked the cabins. 'We can do nothing,' is all he uttered."²

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1. Krause: ". . . und fuhren von Hamburg aus auf meheren Segelschiffen".
 2. Grabau, op. cit., p. 37 f.

Yet the ship weathered the storm and docked in New York on September 18, 1839.

Chapter V

Meanwhile, however, the other four ships had arrived at New York from the 4th to the 10th of September. Von Rohr met this first group in New York and proposed several alternatives for future action. Either the congregation could stay in New York, or go to Pennsylvania, or go to Buffalo, where Krause was, as they thought, or the congregation could go to Wisconsin. Von Rohr seems to have favored a combination of the last two possibilities, for by going to Buffalo, the congregation could affiliate itself with Krause and his small congregation which he was said to have gathered there. Furthermore, if the congregation would get together with Krause in Buffalo, they would then have two pastors, Krause and Grabau, so that those who wanted to go to Wisconsin could do so and still have a pastor to go with them.¹

It seems that von Rohr, as for himself, had his eye on Wisconsin, and wanted to go to Buffalo only to get in touch with Krause so that there would be an extra pastor who could then accompany him and those immigrants who

1. Letter of Dr. E. Deneff

wanted to go along to Wisconsin.

"Just why he selected Wisconsin, it is impossible to say, but after traveling thru New York, Ohio, Illinois and Wisconsin, in order to find the best possible location for a settlement, Wisconsin and New York seemed the most favorable. It is thought that the climate which resembles that of North Germany was one inducement. Another was the prospect of obtaining finely wooded lands, always highly prized by the Germans, at low prices. Captain von Rohr was very fond of the hunt and the west doubtless attracted him strongly. The position of Wisconsin too, as to the routes of travel thru the Great Lakes must have been another favorable consideration."¹

Von Rohr was probably also influenced by the migration westward of the New York and other eastern farmers. When the population of the great Northwest "was swarming, every consideration affecting the future western communities and their mutual relations with the East was thoroughly canvassed. The first and most fundamental question was how to insure a market for the surplus products of agriculture, which practically reduced itself to a problem of transportation. It was inevitable, under these circumstances, that the relative advantages of the Mississippi system and the Great Lakes system should become the subject of general debate, and in that nation-wide discussion the northern route ultimately proved victorious so far as relations with the upper Mississippi valley were concerned. For, it was pointed out that the Erie Canal, the Great Lakes, and the Hudson gave access with certainty, cheapness, and dispatch to the most adequate of the country's seaports; while the Mississippi and its branches were often obstructed by low water at the rapids, flatboat traffic was threatened by dangers from floods, from snags and sawyers, and particularly from sickness and mortality among their crews. Moreover, weather conditions on the lower river jeoparded the cargoes, for flour and pork were apt to spoil in transit, bringing severe losses or even total ruin to the owners. The market at New Orleans, so largely dependent on the demand among the planters of the Gulf states, was precarious in comparison with the more cosmopolitan market at New York."²

1. Transactions, op. cit., vol. 8, p. 293

2. Schafer, J., Four Wisconsin Counties, Madison, Wis., 1927, p. 41

Then too, reports from explorers who went thru the Wisconsin territory were very favorable. Henry R. Schoolcraft, who travelled up the western shore of Lake Michigan, says: "The country around Chicago (from Chicago to Green Bay, Wisconsin) is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined. . . . As a farming country it presents the greatest facilities for raising stock and grains, and it is one of the most favored parts of the Mississippi Valley; the climate has a delightful serenity and it must, as soon as the Indian title is extinguished, become one of the most attractive fields for the emigrant."¹

Major S. C. Stambaugh, one of the commissioners to treat with the Menominee Indians in 1831,² and who had orders to explore the country included in the cession made by that tribe, said of this territory: "I believe it is not presuming too much to say at least two thirds of it is fit for cultivation, and offers attractions to the agriculturist rarely to be found in any country. The soil presents every indication of great fertility: it appears to be a mixture of brown loam and marl, very deep; and wherever its properties have been tested has been found uncommonly productive. The whole country is bountifully supplied with water from lakes, rivers and small creeks; and with the exception of several extensive and valuable prairies, it is covered with a heavy growth of oak, hickory, maple, cherry, beech, bass, cotton, butternut, elm, ash, and pine timber."

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1. Schafer, J., op. cit., p. 47, quotes this from Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River in 1820, Resumed and Completed by the Discovery of its Origin in Itaska Lake, in 1832, Philadelphia, 1855
 2. Gregory, John G., Southeastern Wisconsin: A History of Old Milwaukee County, volume 2, The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1932: "In the treaty of February 8, 1831, the Menominee ceded their land to the government. About two and a half years later, on September 26, 1833 the Potawatomes followed their example. The treaty of the latter was ratified on February 21, 1835, but the Indians had a clause inserted, which left them in possession of the land for three more years. So it happened that the country east and north of the Milwaukee River was opened for settlement seven years earlier than that west and south." page 1088.

"The Indians have marked the land bordering on the Manaywauke (Milwaukee) river as being of a superior quality, by the name they have given to the stream, 'Manaywauke' signifies 'scarce or good land'; its interpretation in our language means 'the river of good land'. The mill privileges on this are very fine; and timber on its border is hickory, oak, hard maple, beech, and black walnut. The whole extent of country between Milwaukee and Manitowoc rivers is represented as being equal in value to that I have just described."¹

Influenced by such reports as these, and by the good harbor facilities of Milwaukee,² von Rohr was tempted to move out to the neighborhood of Milwaukee. The most heavily wooded areas lay to the north of Milwaukee, while to the south the country was more open. This open land was more in demand by the incoming farmers, since they would not have to spend so much time in clearing the soil. However, the 'Yankee' farmers bought most of what is now Racine and Kenosha counties shortly before the Germans arrived.³ Then too, speculators had snatched up much of this land, and were reselling it at a profit. The Germans' rather meagre finances caused them to avoid the higher price of the speculators and to seek government land, selling for \$1.25 per acre, which was still to be found north of Milwaukee, in Washington County.⁴

1. Schafer, J., op. cit., p. 49 f.

2. Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. 18, p. 78: "The Town at present is building up about a mile and a half above the mouth of the river, where vessels of 100 to 140 tons burthen sail up with very little embarrassment and Steam Boats of the largest Class on the Lakes may navigate our River to this point."

3. Schafer, J., op. cit., p. 60 ff.

4. Washington County was created by an act of the Territorial Legislature of Wisconsin on December 7, 1836. At that time it extended to Lake Michigan, taking in all of what is now Ozaukee County also. Port Washington was the first county seat.

Chapter VI

So it was that von Rohr had decided to go to Wisconsin. (Barkfeld, one of the four men on the emigration committee, had died in Hamburg, and Helm, one of the others, had died at sea, so von Rohr was at least half of the governing committee, and no doubt the more influential half on account of his organizing and leadership abilities). Krause relates in his Chronicle that the plan was that those whose funds were exhausted could stay in Buffalo, and that those who had enough money and the desire to do so, could travel with von Rohr to Wisconsin.¹

The expenses had already been figured rather closely, and with Grabau's financing the trip for some of Krause's people, the expenses had no doubt exhausted the treasury by this time.

Von Rohr thought too, that his plan would work out well in respect to supplying the spiritual needs of the people, for he figured that one of the pastors (Krause or Grabau) could stay in Buffalo, and the other come to Wisconsin.²

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1. Krause's Chronicle: "Da durch die Auslagen auf der Landreise fuer die Armen Glieder und durch andere nicht vorhergesehenen Erwignisse das Geld sehr verringert war, so ward beschlossen, dasz diejenigen, welche noch Mittel haetten, weiter zu reisen, ins Territory of Wisconsin ziehen moechten, um eine Niederlassung zu gruenden, die aber, welche ohne Mittel zu dieser Reise waeren, wollten in Buffalo bleiben."
 2. Letter of Dr. Deneff: "Da die Gemeinde 2 Pastoren haben wuerde, koennten die Unbemittelten in Buffalo bleiben, und die Bemittelten koennten mit dem anderen Pastor nach Wisconsin gehen."

Krause had, however, left again for Germany, which von Rohr did not know.

On September 26, 1839, the trip to Buffalo was begun. A few stragglers stayed behind in New York and in Albany. On October 5 the group arrived in Buffalo, and from there about forty families left for Wisconsin.¹ Krause relates that a goodly number of people went to Wisconsin and landed in Milwaukee in the early part of October.²

Some reports of the arrival of the immigrants seem to be a bit glorified. "The year 1839 brought the first installment of immigrants from Germany and Norway. The effect of their arrival with their gold and silver wherewith to purchase land was electric. Whereas Milwaukee had been under financial depression before, now all doubts about the future were dissipated."³

The number of the immigrants is also sometimes overestimated.

"The first German colony arrived in 1839. It consisted of about 800 men, women and children."⁴ Kate A. Everest, who quotes this, remarks: "The number is probably exaggerated."⁵

And no doubt it is, very much so. Buck relates that "they brought with them the necessary housekeeping utensils and encamped on the lake shore south of Huron street. The men went about in a business way, examining the government plats in the land office, and having ascertained by all means in their power where lands well timbered and watered could be purchased, they entered lands bounding on the Milwaukee River, between Milwaukee and Washington (later Ozaukee) counties.

1. Letter of Dr. Deneff

2. Chronicle: "So zog denn ein bedeutender Haufe hieher nach Territory of Wisconsin, und landete Anfang Octobris 1839 zu Stadt Milwaukee. Diese sind der Stamm unserer evangelisch lutherischen Kirchgemeinde in Town IX, meistens aus Pommern."

3. Buck, Pioneer History of Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Wis., 1876 vol. 2, p. 181

4. Buck, ibid., p. 181

5. Transactions, vol. 3, p. 294

"A small number remainde in the village (Milwaukee) but the most of them employed themselves without delay in clearing and cultivating lands. The men immediately declared their intention to become American citizens, every man signing his name to his petition, to the number of seventy in one day."¹

Krause relates that after the immigrants had provided for shelter in Milwaukee, a meeting was held at which Heinrich von Rohr, August Radue, and Martin Friedrich Schoessow were elected a committee to select the location for the settlement. A guide was hired who knew the country, and the committee spent several days looking over the lay of the land. After a week they returned to Milwaukee and reported their findings. Soon after they made another expedition on which they were to pick a definite location for the colony. The territory in Town IX, Washington County, seemed suitable to the congregation. The ground was not too hilly, and there were two brooks running thru it. Sugar maple, oaks, bass, beech, hickory, wild apple, cherry and plum trees were to be found in great abundance in the thick forest. The soil was fruitful. In this section then the congregation decided to settle. The families camped out in tents and brush houses till they completed their log cabins. During the cold weather these temporary shelters were not so agreeable, but the Lord prevented any serious illness, and there was no snow till after Christmas.²

1. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 181

2. Krause's Chronicle: "Nachdem unsere Gemeinde fuer Dach und Fach in Milwaukee das Nothduerftige veranstaltet hatte, denn das Wetter war schon rauh, hielten sie im Namen Gottes Berathung, wie der Platz zur Niederlassung auszusuchen waere, und wer aus der Gemeine zu diesem Werk ausgesendet

Dr. Deneff relates that of the approximately forty families that had come to Milwaukee, a small part settled there, but that the majority, among whom was von Rohr, founded the settlement of Freistadt about fourteen miles north of Milwaukee. This was the first Lutheran congregation in Wisconsin.¹

werden sollte? Die Wahl traf den Hauptmann Heinrich von Rohr, August Radue und Martin Friedrich Schowssow. . . Die zur Kundschaft fuer den Platz der Niederlassung Ausgesandeten oben genannten Drei Brueder begaben sich mit einem des Waldes und der Gegend kundigen Wegweiser auf die Reise, die . . . ueber mehre Tage auf dem Wege von hier nach Milwaukee . . . zubrachten. . . Nach sieben Tagen kamen sie wieder in Milwaukee an, und berichteten ueber ihre Kundschaft. Bald darauf ward noch eine Reise gemacht, dabei der Ort fuer die Niederlassung bestimmt werden sollte. . . Es gefuehl die Gegend in Town IX Washington County der Gemeine, der Boden ist blach, mit zween Baechen, Zucker-Achorn, Eichen, Linden, Buchen, Wallnuszbaeume, auch wilde Apfelbaeume, Pflaumen- und Kirschenbaeume, wilder Wein und Strauch-Beeren finden sich reichlich. Der Wald, sehr dick. Die Stumpfe der abgehauenen Baeume bezeugen es genug. Das Erdreich ist fruchtbar. Da beschloz denn die Gemeine, hier ihre Huetten im Namen Gottes aufzuschlagen. Bis diese zur Nothdurft errichtet waren, muszten die Familien unter Zelten liegen. Das war bei der eingetretenen Kaelte sehr uebel. Doch Gott half durch, dasz alle gesund blieben."

1. Deneff writes: "Ein kleiner Teil liesz sich in Milwaukee nieder, der groeszere Teil, bei dem von Rohr war, gruendete etwa 14 Meilen von Milwaukee die Niederlassung Freistadt. Die erste lutherische Gemeinde in Wisconsin."

Philip von Rohr Sauer reports: "Land in the Milwaukee office was to be had almost for the asking, and homesteaders were given their plots of ground for \$1.25 an acre. In the center of the settlement forty acres were reserved for the church, while the country about it was meted out, by casting lots, to the farmers who comprised the group, each getting forty acres. Heinrich von Rohr also received his forty and paid for it with the legacy left to his daughter Julchen by her mother, he having invested all his own money in the voyage to America. The work of building blockhouses was begun at once while the pioneers were living in their temporary brush-houses. These permanent homes were for the most part completed by the time winter set in and were bulwarked by those long rows of evergreens which even today deck the horizons of the neighboring plains. But some of the less fortunate farmers, unable to finish their houses in time were overtaken in their brush-houses by that winter of '39 with its four feet of snow."¹

Krause reports in his Chronicle that the first log house to be built in the settlement was that of von Rohr. This log house was located on the old Stock farm southwest of the present church, below the foot of the hill.

Krause also reports that especially in 1839 and 1840 the friendly Indians frequently came to visit the colonists.

One of the immigrants, a man named Garbisch, settled as far as two and a half miles from the church, on a plot of forty acres which three years later became a part of the old Suelflow homestead, now owned by William Suelflow.

1. Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol.18, p. 259

Chapter VII

Life in the colony was no doubt hard and rugged, especially on account of the great amount of clearing that had to be done before the soil could be tilled. It is true that this country presented a favorable combination of high and low land, the high land being almost invariably wooded with heavy hardwood forests, and the low land being divided between those sections wooded with cedars, soft maple, and other swamp-growing trees, and open meadows. Yet to produce grain crops, the settlers had to use the higher land, which had to be cleared first, because the low land was unsuitable for these crops.

"One can well imagine the hardships and deprivations that these early settlers endured. Implements and foodstuffs were both of the most meagre sort. Only two yoke of oxen were available in the entire settlement. The primitive felling of oaks for building purposes was an ordeal that no description can revive; fortunately a sawmill in the near neighborhood, run by one Turck, a former Baptist minister,¹ was at the disposal of the farmers and proved a godsend for their little community. Methods of travel too were primitive, and supply stores in cities were far away."²

Dr. Deneff relates that the settlers had a difficult beginning, since their food at first consisted of dry bread, salt meat, and black coffee. The only variety in the lives of the settlers was the change from clearing the forest so as to make the land tillable to procuring food and nourishment, which had to be fetched from Milwaukee

1. This was very likely on the Milwaukee River, several miles east of the settlement

2. Wisconsin Magazine of History, vol. 18, p. 259

on the shoulders of men who used compasses so as not to lose their way in the heavy forests.

The people, however, were not only concerned about their physical welfare, altho that was a serious concern to them, but they immediately took steps to provide for their spiritual welfare also.

The congregation passed a resolution that everyone pay one shilling into the congregational treasury for every acre of land he bought, which money was then used to buy a plot of land on which the church was to be erected.¹ Thus it was literally a church land tax, which was no doubt due to the long years of influence which the state church in Germany had exerted on these people, where the government collected the church dues along with the taxes, and then paid the pastor out of the state funds.

The congregation then bought, according to this resolution, forty acres of good land in Town IX, section XIX, range XXI east, which bordered on the west on von Rohr's farm, and on the east to the land of M. Schoessow

1. Krause's Chronicle: "Es beschlosz naehmlich die Gemeine, dasz, so viel acres Laendereien Jemand, der zum Kirchspiel der Lutherischen Kirche in Town IX sich bekannte, er auch eben so viele Schillinge, das ist, so viel Acres er kaufte, eben so viel Schillinge gebe, damit davon ein Grundstueck zur Kirche und Schule angekauft, Kirchen-Schul- und Pfarr-Gebaeude errichtet, in Summa alles beschafft werden koennte, um ein Kirchen- und Schulwesen aufzurichten. Diesem Beschlusz nach kaufte dann die Gemeine inmitten der Niederlassung 40 Acres gut Land zu diesem Zweck."

and C. Knuth, who was a blacksmith. The land sloped down from east to west, and the cemetery was located on "the last high point" of church land, meaning on the eastern boundary of the church property.¹

Most of this first cemetery is still to be seen today in the extreme northeast corner of the church property. It is reported that at one time the cemetery extended farther east, but that the highway was widened with the increase in traffic, which necessitated the clipping off of a few yards of the church property on the eastern boundary.

The congregation also passed a resolution that everybody who would come later on to join the congregation, would have to pay the land tax of one shilling on every acre, so that the church building, once put up, could also be maintained.² Here again we can see the influence

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1. Krause's Chronicle: "Diese 40 Acres Kirchen- und Schul-Land liegen in Town IX Section XIX, Range XXI East, und gehen von der ehemaligen Farm des Hauptmann von Rohr, jetzt besessen von M. Stock, bis an das Land von M. Schoessow und C. Knuth, des Schmid's, an welchen beiden Grenzen der Kirchhof die letzte hohe Spitze des Kirchen-Ackers inne hat."
 2. Ibid.: "Auch war festgesetzt, dasz diese Bestimmung als eine Grund-Akte gelten solle: dasz Jeder, der spaeterhin ankame und zur lutherischen Kirche in Town IX sich gliedlich hielte, gleichfals je einen Schilling von gekauften Laendereien zahle, damit das auf solche Weise gegrueudete Kirchen-Wesen erhalten werden koenne. Es hat sich in der Folge gezeigt, wie heilsam dieser Beschlusz gewesen ist, ohne den die Kirche kein Eigentum erhalten haben wuerde. Denn das noch uebrige wenige Geld schwand bei den theuren Preisen der Lebens-

of the German state church, for the people were not used to giving to the church as an organization, but had been trained to pay their church dues with their taxes.

mitteln, welche ein ganzes Jahrland die Angesiedelten kaufen mussten, bevor sie aus den kleine Stuecken Feld, die sie durch Umhauen der Baeume urbar gemacht, ein geringes Getreide bauen und ernten konnten."

Chapter VIII

It will be recalled that the immigrants had left New York City for Buffalo before the last of the five ships, on which Grabau and his family was, had docked in New York. The first four ships had arrived from the 4th to the 10th of September, 1839, but Grabau's ship did not arrive till the 18th of the same month.

It must also be kept in mind that von Rohr had calculated that Krause was still in Buffalo. But when the group arrived there, they learned that Krause had gone back to Germany. What the reason for this departure was has not been definitely determined. Lochner writes that

"Krause was pastor of a small group of Silesian Lutherans, who, before the arrival of Grabau, had made a temporary home in Buffalo. After a short term of office, and just as Grabau and his immigrants were landing in New York, Krause forsook his congregation in the still of the night, and hurried back to Germany for nonexistent reasons. When, however, he did not get the hoped for reception there, he sent a letter to Grabau saying he was sorry, upon which Grabau made it possible for him to come back to America, and then recommended him to the people in Freistadt and Milwaukee." 1

Thus the people found themselves without a pastor in Buffalo. As stated before, a sizeable group left for Milwaukee. Their departure from Buffalo took place just a few days before Grabau arrived there.

As far as these people had gotten on their journey von Rohr had proven himself an efficient and capable leader, who had brought his people safely thru many

1. Friedrich Lochner, Geschichte der Ev.-Luth. Dreieinigkeits-Gemeinde zu Milwaukee, Wis., Milwaukee, Wis., 1897, p. 3

hardships without any serious accident or disaster on the perilous way. Von Rohr had been the chief organizer of the immigration, and he had kept things rolling, so that it did not cost the congregation as much as if they would have tarried longer in one place. But von Rohr knew what he himself wanted, and he had sound propositions to make to the immigrants in New York for the welfare of the congregation, and he knew how to get the people to act without wasting precious time and money.

When, however, the barest necessities of life had been provided in the new settlement in Freistadt, the people looked around for a spiritual leader, for they had no pastor. Contact was established with Grabau, who had by this time settled in Buffalo and was the pastor of those of the immigrants who had stayed in Buffalo. The congregation in Freistadt besought Grabau to come to them to be their pastor. But Grabau answered that he could not come. A second time the congregation wrote to Grabau, asking him what they were to do, for their babies were unbaptized, people wanted to get married, and the sick especially desired Holy Communion.

Since Grabau did not answer for a while, the congregation felt that they could take the advice of Prof. Scheibel,

who had been a professor of theology at Breslau, Germany. Scheibel had advised the Lutherans in Germany that if at some special time of need as had occurred in Germany, when there was hardly an orthodox pastor to be found, then the people could temporarily elect a layman from their midst to dispense the sacraments among them, till they could obtain the services of a regular pastor. Von Rohr did not object to this advice. Therefore the congregation elected their teacher, Joachim Lueck, to dispense the sacraments among them and to hold services in this time of need.

Lochner relates that this Joachim Lueck officiated among those settlers who had stayed in Milwaukee. But it makes very little difference, since the two groups (Freistadt and Milwaukee) were considered one congregation. Just what the conditions in respect to services were in Freistadt the records do not say. Reading services were no doubt held, since Krause relates that during the first winter (1839-1840) the divine services were held in the log cabin homes of the settlers, where school was also taught.

In the Spring of 1840, however, the congregation erected a church in Freistadt, which was also used for a school. The building was thirty feet long and twenty feet wide. The cash expenditure for this building was \$45.50,

most of the work being done gratis by members of the congregation. In the summer of 1840 the congregation laid out and enclosed the cemetery, costing them \$11.25.¹

We see, therefore, that services were held before there was a pastor, for Grabau had also exhorted the congregation to pray in church every Sunday that the Lord would provide a pastor for them.²

The congregation decided that von Rohr was to get in touch with Grabau again and ask him whether the action of the congregation was justifiable, and whether Grabau would subscribe to their action in electing Teacher Lueck to hold services. Grabau answered negatively and reprimanded the congregation for their action, which caused the people to become restless. On December 1, 1840, Grabau wrote his Hirtenbrief to instruct the people concerning the proper call into the ministry.

In this Hirtenbrief Grabau said that congregations should beware of accepting a man as pastor unless he were properly called, meaning thereby that not the congregation

1. Krause's Chronicle: "Den ersten Winter 1839 bis zum Fruehling 1840 ward der Gottesdienst in den engen Block-Haeusern kuemmerlich gehalten, eben so die Schule. Im Fruehjahr aber errichtete die Gemeinde ein besonderes Gebaeude zur Versammlung fuer Gottesdienst und Schule, 30 Fusz lang, 20 Fusz breit. Die dabei geschehenen Auslagen betruen \$45.50, denn die eigentliche Arbeiten thaten die Gemeinglieder umsonst."
2. Grabau, J. A. A., Hirtenbrief

had the final right to designate and call a man as their pastor, but that the ministry had to put its official stamp of approval on any new pastor who was called. Thus, for example, when the Freistadt congregation later called Krause as their pastor, this was not official till Grabau had put his approval on it, and then the Freistadt congregation went ahead and sent the call to Krause. Furthermore, when Krause was later pastor in Freistadt and Milwaukee, and a new man was moving into the territory with his congregation, (Kindermann and his congregation came in 1843) then Krause twice had an "investing" of Kindermann, which Krause records in his Chronicle as the usual thing, without any special comment. Krause seemed to think that he had to put his official stamp of approval on Kindermann. And this was not an official reception by a synod, because at that time none of these pastors belonged to any synod.

Grabau's teaching, then, in respect to the ministry and the church was that the ministry perpetuates itself, and is not dependent on the congregation, whereas the Scriptural teaching is that the ministry is the outgrowth of the congregation, and that the ministry does not perpetuate itself, but that the congregation perpetuates the ministry by calling pastors.

Grabau also taught that a special ordination was

necessary (laying on of hands by an ordained minister) to make a man rite vocatus.

After quoting a long list of Scripture passages for some of his falacious arguments in his Hirtenbrief, Grabau says that no individual Christian has the right to interpret Scripture himself, but that rests with the church, and is done on the basis of the Confessions. Therefore papistical errors of the crassest sort were handed out in this peaceful frontier life, which killed that very religious freedom which these immigrants had sought in this country.

This Hirtenbrief was read in a meeting of the elders of the congregation, and also in a congregational meeting, and accepted as the correct doctrine by most of the people. It was decided, therefore, not to take a layman for dispensing the sacraments, but to wait patiently for Grabau to come to them occasionally, or to wait for Krause, whose return from Germany was expected.¹

What an immediate effect this Hirtenbrief had upon the congregation, especially on the group in Freistadt, can be seen from the fact that just thirteen days after it had been issued in Buffalo (and it had to be mailed all the way to Wisconsin) the congregation called Krause as their pastor, who was at this time still in Germany.²

1. Letter of Dr. E. Deneff

2. Krause's Chronicle

In the summer of 1840 von Rohr received a request from Grabau to come to Buffalo to teach in the school there, and to prepare himself for the ministry. The Freistadt congregation, however, did not want von Rohr to leave, and he himself seemed to be content to stay in the colony. But upon a repeated urgent beckoning, von Rohr gave in to Grabau's demand, sold his farm, and left for Buffalo in the Fall of 1840. Before he left the congregation in Freistadt promised him that they would remain in fellowship and affiliated with Grabau and his Buffalo congregation. Thus the congregation lost their capable leader.

Dr. Deneff writes that in the summer of 1841 Krause came back again to Buffalo and became the assistant pastor of the congregation there. On September 14, 1841, as Dr. Deneff says, the congregation in Freistadt had a meeting for the purpose of calling a pastor. Pastors Krause and Fritschel were suggested, but Fritschel had gone to Australia, which left only Krause on the list. Since Grabau had no objections, Krause was called.¹

It is, however, questionable, whether the meeting of the congregation was held as late as September 14, as Dr. Deneff claims, for Krause writes in his Chronicle that on September 24 he arrived in Milwaukee already. It is hardly possible that such speed could be displayed under those

1. Letter of Dr. Deneff

pioneer conditions, that the call was mailed from Freistadt, Wisconsin to Buffalo, New York, and that Krause accepted it, packed his belongings and travelled to Wisconsin all in just ten days. Therefore the 14th of September cannot be the day on which the congregation called Krause. Probably a meeting of the congregation was held on that day in which some things about the arrival of their new pastor were discussed, but certainly the call must have been issued much earlier.

Krause also mentions in his Chronicle that those who had been in favor of laymen dispensing the sacraments in special times of need when there was no pastor available, that these people, together with the "Stammgemeinde" (mother congregation) had called him, residing at the time in Hamburg, Germany, as their pastor, on December 13, 1840.

The point that Deneff brings up in respect to Krause's being the assistant to Grabau at the time he received his call to Freistadt does not stand well confirmed in the light of the information that Krause himself gives in his Chronicle. Of course, it depends on what Krause meant by "Stammgemeinde". If he meant the mother congregation which stayed in Buffalo, then it is possible that Deneff's report is correct, and that Krause was the assistant pastor in Buffalo for a short time. This would then have had to take place on his trip from

Germany to Freistadt, and could not have been for more than a few weeks, for Krause says that he arrived in New York on July 11, and by September 24 of the same year he was in Milwaukee. Furthermore, Krause writes that as soon as he got to Buffalo he contacted the congregation in Wisconsin, and told them that he would come to be their pastor if they would fulfill certain conditions, which will be discussed later in this paper. Therefore it is evident that Krause was merely traveling thru Buffalo, and was not the assistant pastor there, altho he probably preached there a few times on his way to Wisconsin.

Further evidence we have of this in Krause's Chronicle, for when we read on we find that it becomes evident that by "Stammgemeine" Krause meant the Freistadt congregation, and by the separatists he meant those in Milwaukee, or at least a part of them. For when he contacted the Wisconsin people immediately upon his arrival in Buffalo, he wrote that if the separatistic spirits in Milwaukee would promise to adhere to the word of God and to the Lutheran symbols, he would come to minister to them. Therefore by inference we know that the Buffalo congregation had nothing to do with Krause's call (Grabau had, however, put his stamp of approval on Krause first, but this was Grabau's personal act, not the congregations)

We can see also that the Freistadt group was at this time in good standing with Grabau and therefore also with Krause, for if it had not been, Krause certainly would have made them say pater peccavi, as he did with the Milwaukee group.

Furthermore, Lochner writes that Krause was called by "our" settlers in the city and in the country, meaning those in Milwaukee and those in Freistadt.¹ According to the best testimony, then, the Buffalo congregation had nothing to do with calling Krause.

However, be that as it may, Krause relates that on May 23, 1841, he received the call signed by 61 Lutherans, which call he accepted. On July 11 he arrived in New York on the ship Franklin. On August 23, 1841, Krause wrote from Buffalo that if the separatists in Milwaukee (those who wanted laymen to dispense the sacraments till they could obtain a pastor) would promise to adhere to the word of God and to the Lutheran Confessions, then he would come to serve them. On September 5, 1841, the people answered that with the help of God they would adhere to the Lutheran Confessions and to the two Old Lutheran church orders, the Pomeranian and the Wittenberger, and that they would have no fellowship with heretics and separatists. On September 15 Krause got this letter, and three days later he left with his family from Buffalo on the ship Great Western.²

1. Lochner, *op. cit.*, p. 3

2. Krause's Chronicle

Chapter IX

On September 24, 1841, Krause arrived in Milwaukee, and on Sunday the 26th, namely the 16th Sunday after Trinity, Krause preached his first sermon in Milwaukee. There were two services that Sunday, and after the afternoon service a meeting of the Milwaukee group of the congregation took place. It is quite certain that Krause spent the first Sunday in Milwaukee, and that he did not come to Freistadt till sometime during the week following, preaching in Freistadt on October 3, because the resolutions entered in his Chronicle, which were passed by the congregation after the first Sunday service, were signed by the Milwaukee group on the 26th of September, and by the Freistadt group on the 3rd of October.

The resolutions signed were: the acceptance of the symbolical writings of the Lutheran Church and of the old church orders, namely the Saxon or the Wittenberger and the Pomeranian; acceptance of the Dresden Catechism and the Hirtenbrief of Grabau as being correct in doctrine; the congregation in Buffalo (Grabau's) was recognized as orthodox Lutheran, and Grabau was proclaimed an orthodox Lutheran pastor; the congregation resolved that they were very sorry that they had strayed from the church order, and that they had differed with the Buffalo congregation and their pastor; the congregation resolved that the dispensing of the sacraments

be limited to the office of the ministry - emergency cases like sickness excepted - and that they had erred in this, namely that cases where the Lord merely wanted them to wait were taken as emergency cases; the congregation recognized the heretics and separatists and all who sided with them as enemies of the Lutheran Church; the congregation declared itself in complete unity with the congregation in Buffalo.

On October 10 Krause again conducted services in Milwaukee. After the service he announced that on the following Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he would be willing to meet with anybody to discuss the difficulties which existed. Krause announced also that on Thursday of that week he would again go into the "settlement" (Freistadt) from where he would not return till the Tuesday of the following week. Krause also announced that whoever would subscribe to the church¹ order by the following Wednesday, October 13th, would be accepted as a member of the congregation, and that on the 20th an election would be held for the election of elders. Krause also announced that church membership would always be open to anybody, but that those who by two weeks from the 10th of October had become members would then, together with the Freistadt group, be considered as the original congregation, or as charter members. Note that

1. Or "constitution"

Krause considered the two groups as one congregation.

Krause also relates that the separatists in the Milwaukee group were invited to come and express their reasons for separation. They had, however, declared themselves free of Krause's congregation. A notice was then sent to the separatists that they should appear on January 9, 1842, and to declare: whether they would want to remain in communion with the heretics here and in Buffalo or not;¹ whether they would recognize Krause and his congregation as orthodox; whether they would recognize Grabau and his congregation as orthodox; whether they would admit their mistake which they had made, retract the slander against Grabau and Krause and their congregations, and the slander against the Dresden Catechism and against the Histenbrief, and ask for forgiveness and seek reinstatement; whether they would promise to adhere to the Wittenberg order

1. In Buffalo the group of Silesians had separated from Grabau's congregation. This was a continuation and result of the first differences that had developed in Hamburg when Krause's group wanted to go along to America with Grabau, and Grabau did not want to take them because he considered them obligated to Angas to go to Australia. After they had settled in Buffalo, Grabau demanded that they write Angas an apology, explaining their actions. This stirred the old flames of conflict again, because the Silesians claimed they had never been obligated to Angas. The result was that the Silesians separated and organized their own congregation. They called Buerger as their pastor, who had come with the Saxons to Missouri, had then regretted his emigration and decided to return to Germany via Buffalo and New York. But he stayed in Buffalo then as the first pastor of this Silesian congregation.

of 1536 and to the Pomeranian order of 1690. If they would not appear on January 9 at nine in the morning, they were to be considered as those who strive against the word of God according to Matt. 18, 17. The record of these transactions in the Milwaukee group was signed by the elders M. Bruhs, Michael Winter, and C. Kauffung.

Krause, then, came to Milwaukee and Freistadt with all guns blazing, determined to tear out by the roots anything that he considered heresy. Just why there was so much trouble among the Milwaukee group and not in Freistadt has not been determined. It is possible that in the Milwaukee group there were more Silesians, and in the Freistadt group more Pomeranians. The Silesians, we recall, had been forsaken in Buffalo by Krause, and his own congregation in Germany had been ill treated by him, for he had practically left them high and dry when he left for America to find out the lay of the land. Therefore the Silesians had no special love for Krause, whereas the Pomeranians did not know Krause so well, and it took them a while to catch on to what Deneff calls his "unfortunate character".

However, this opposition to Krause certainly was not due to Kluegel, who later caused some friction, for he did not arrive in Milwaukee till 1843.¹

1. Kluegel had come over with the Saxons to Missouri as a candidate. The Saxon pastors had warned him not to start working in Wisconsin, thus showing due respect to Grabau and his people by steering shy of "sheep-stealing". However, Kluegel did not accept this advice, but went to Wisconsin on his own. Deneff relates further about Kluegel, that he got followers in Milwaukee and in "the country" (undoubtedly

How many of the Milwaukee members Krause lost in the very beginning on account of his belligerent nature has not been determined. It is very probably that, if Krause had been good-natured and slower to anger, he could have taken over this congregation without the loss of any members, in spite of the errors of Grabau.

But let it suffice here to say that altho some members in Milwaukee were lost to the congregation, in general the double congregation submitted itself quite humbly to its new pastor and to the errors of Grabau.

Freistadt) and that these called him for their pastor. Deneff says, however, that the Saxons had declared Kluegel a recalcitrant and that they were in no way supporting his work in Wisconsin.

Chapter X

Since two thirds of the parish members lived in¹ Freistadt, and since living conditions in Milwaukee were considered too expensive, the parsonage was built in Freistadt. On October 21, 1841, the first trees were felled under the direction of Heinrich Christian. On the 26th of November the house was begun. The length was 28 feet, the breadth 18 feet, and the height 13 feet. The height was evidently measured from the floor to the lowest part of the roof, and not to the peak of the roof. There were two rooms upstairs, and two downstairs. Altho constructed of logs, the parsonage seems to have been well finished, for in all 320 work days were put in on the house, and it had a basement. Teacher August Lemke in August 1842 constructed a hall or vestibule.² Monies expended for the construction were: \$21 to Christian, who supervised the felling of the trees; \$12 to Ernst Milbrath; \$25 to Salisbury for doing the work on the window and door jams and frames;³ \$12 to Hilger the mason; \$23 for boards to Peter Turk;⁴ \$11.48 to T. R. Austin, a merchant, for windows, putty, and door frames; \$12 for nails, bricks, and line; \$5 to Georg Garbisch for cutting and trimming planks for the basement and the hall.⁵ By June 20,

1. All information and quotations in this chapter are from Krause's Chronicle

2. "Der Anbau, so den Hausflur bildet". This is the first reference by Krause to a teacher in Freistadt

3. For "Tischer Arbeit"

4. See footnote 1, page 26

5. For "Holzbeschlagen und Plankenschneiden zum Vorbau und Keller"

1842, the house was finished, and the pastor and his family moved in. The family consisted of the mother, Katharine Elisabeth, and the two children, Kathaline and Wilhelmina.

On October 21, 1842, the congregation erected a building for the pastor to be used as a wood shed and a barn, to shelter the cow and calf which the congregation had purchased for their pastor in July of the same year. In November the congregation also bought a stove for the church, costing \$8.

In 1842 the summer was cold and dry so that the wheat, which, incidentally, sold for 50¢ per bushel, did not grow well that year. November 11, 1842, a heavy snow fell, so that it lay almost three feet deep.

On May 17, 1842, the congregation resolved that: all men from the ages of 20 to 60 are obliged to help in the "Pfarrbau", (either the congregation at that time already planned on building a new church, or the completion of the parsonage might be meant, which is unlikely, since the parsonage was at this time practically completed); every member between the ages 16 to 60 is to contribute \$1 a year for the pastor's salary; for every 40 acres that a member had he was to contribute one bushel of wheat a year to the pastor, but for this year also one bushel of potatoes and half a bushel of corn is to be donated to the pastor, but in the future the members will donate only wheat, as stated, and

the members of the congregation will cultivate enough of the church land to provide the pastor with sufficient potatoes and corn; the pastor is to receive 400 pounds of fat pork per year; a milch cow and sufficient feed is to be provided for the pastor at all times; for every wedding the pastor is to receive \$1.50, for baptism 50¢; for thanksgiving after the birth of a child the pastor receives 25¢; for announcing the churching of a mother the pastor is to get 25¢; for a funeral sermon the pastor is to receive \$1, funeral without sermon is 50¢; for announcing a death the pastor is to receive 25¢;¹ the teacher is to receive 25¢ for a wedding or a funeral, and one shilling for a baptism.

It was further resolved that a member of the congregation who bought land outside of town IX would also have to pay the tax of 25¢ per acre, and that no refund of this land tax would be made when a member left the congregation. The congregation resolved never to sell the cemetery. The congregation resolved further that the special fees mentioned above for the pastor and the teacher should go into effect April 1, 1842, and that church dues were supposed to be paid in quarterly installments; that as long as the pastor remained orthodox the duties of the congregation over against their pastor would remain, but as soon as the pastor should teach false

1. "fuer die Danksagung des Verstorbenen"

doctrines these duties would be dissolved; that if the pastor should die, the congregation would give his widow the regular salary for one year, and after that the succeeding pastor would be obliged to give the widow of his predecessor one sixth of his salary. If the widow should remarry, this support is cancelled.

Up to November 20, 1842, there were 37 baptisms, 27 confirmations, six couples were married, 602 partook of the Lord's Supper, there were six funerals, and 110 sermons were delivered in Freistadt and in Milwaukee. Krause also reports that nine couples which had received the "emergency marriage" before he came, that they received the special blessing of the church thru the office of the ministry, and were thus reaffirmed of their married state.¹ This throws an interesting light on the doctrine of the church and of the ministry among the Grabau followers.

Krause relates that in the regular morning services he preached one year on the Gospel lessons, and the next year on the Epistle lessons. In the afternoon services (Sunday afternoon services were held regularly) he had alternately Catechism sermons and Catechism examinations.

The following is the order of service used by Krause:

Introit
 Antiphonia by pastor
 Response by congregation
 Hymn, either "Herr Jesu Christ Dich zu Uns wend, or
 "Liebster Jesu Wir sind Hier"

1. "welche während der Ermangelung des Prädigtamts die Nottrauungen empfangen, sind in ihren Bunde durch den Segen der Kirche vermittelt des Predigtamts als Eheleute bestaetigt worden".

Kyrie, Gott Vater in Ewigkeit, by standing congregation
 Ehre Sei Gott in der Hoeh, chanted by pastor
 Congregation responds "Allein Gott in der Hoeh sei Ehr
 Collection
 Der Herr sei mit Euch, by the pastor
 Und mit deinem Geiste, by the congregation
 Epistle
 Main hymn
 Der Herr sei mit euch, by the pastor
 "Ut Roram", by the congregation
 Gospel
 Ich glaube an einen Gott, intoned by pastor
 Wir glauben all an einen Gott, by the congregation
 Sermon
 Confession of sins
 Remission and retention ("Absolutio et Retentio") of sins
 Church Prayer
 Intercessions, thanksgivings, and announcements of
 births, if any ("Aufgebot")
 Oratio Dominica
 Announcements
 Votum

If there was communion, the following would be added:

Praefat of the Wittenberg Agenda
 "Verba orationes Dominicae et Testamenti"
 Distribution, during which the congregation sang the
 Agnus Dei
 Thanksgiving
 Blessing
 Close - "Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet"

About the middle of the week in the afternoon a service
 was held in which the pastor preached a sermon on a whole book
 of the Bible. The days of the Apostles as also St. Michael's
 Day were observed. High festivals were observed for three
 days. Ascension Day, Maundy Thursday, and Good Friday were
 observed with a service. Saturday afternoons at 2 o'clock
 a vesper service was held, during which a whole book of the

Bible was read, with a short exposition. All services were conducted according to the Wittenberg Agenda.

Services were also held on Christmas Eve, and on December 31. Four special days of penitence ("Busztage") were observed, and if the weather and the strenght of the pastor permitted, these days were observed with a morning and and afternoon service with sermon. On the days of the Apostles an afternoon service was held. On the 25th of June a service with sermon was held in commemoration of the Augsburg Confession. Reformation day was observed all day on October 31.

In the parochial school the first hour was to be devoted to prayer and hymns, then Catechism drill, Bible reading, and studies in Johannes Huebner's Bible History, which was to be used diligently, according to the injunction of Krause. The Gospel and Epistle and the Bible passages of Johannes Heermanus von Koebenas were to be studied, and three Bible passages memorized every week. Children were urged to attend the Sunday afternoon Catechism service. (This afternoon service was the conventional "Christenlehre"). English was also taught in the school, for Teacher Johan Brueggemann (from Krause's Chronicle it seems that Brueggemann succeeded Lemke, who is mentioned in previous pages) went to Milwaukee to learn English in January, 1843, at which time Pastor Krause himself took over the school. At this time there were 60 children attending.

The congregation was divided into four circuits with one elder for each circuit, who also handled all monies coming in from his circuit. Once a year the financial books were audited by the pastor, elders, and a few especially elected members. The first audit was held on January 2, 1843. \$310.38 1/2 had been taken in, and \$309.62 1/4 paid out.

On June 18, 1843, new elders were elected, so as to give others a chance to be trained in this service also.¹

On May 30, 1843, Praeparandus Friedrich Stork from Buffalo came, who became the school teacher in Brueggemann's absence.

On November 7, 1843, in a congregational meeting of the Freistadt group it was suggested by some members that the congregation build a stone church, and quite a few members immediately pledged sums of money for this project. On November 19 a building fund was started.

On November 26, 1843, Carl Christian Wilhelm Mueller was inducted into office as teacher in Milwaukee. The service was held by Krause, according to the Wittenberg Agenda. Mueller was also the "Custos", or janitor. The new teacher was born on October 6, 1804, in Neumuehlen, Hanover. His parents were Christian Wilhelm Mueller, and Metta, nee Osmer, who was born in the district of Achim,
1. "damit auch andere darinnen geuebet werden"

not far from Bremen.¹

Krause was still trying to get the aforementioned "separatists" in Milwaukee back into the congregation, but he was not willing to make any concessions in respect to his rashness or the false doctrine of Grabau and his adherents. On December 10, 1843, the "separatists" received the last and final summons to return to the Holy Christian Church.²

On October 18, 1843, Krause ordained Rev. R. C. L. Clausen, the first pastor of the historical Norwegian church at Muskego.

During the course of the church year of 1843 there were: 114 sermons delivered, 25 children baptized, two confirmed, eight couples married, four funerals (one adult and three children), and 703 attended the Lord's Supper.

In the church year of 1844 there were: 115 sermons delivered, eight boys and 14 girls baptized, 34 confirmations, and ten couples were married. 1248 attended the Lord's Supper. These statistics still take the Freistadt and Milwaukee groups together.

1. "im Gericht Achim, unweit Bremen"

2. Dec. 10, 1843, "ist den Sektieren in Milwaukee die letzte Aufforderung, zur Heiligen christlichen Kirche wiederzukehren, zugesendet worden".

Chapter XI

Since 1841 Krause was the first Lutheran pastor in Wisconsin. In 1843 Rev. Kindermann came with his congregation. Krause relates in his Chronicle that on October 5, 1843, Kindermann and 100 Lutherans arrived in Milwaukee. On the tenth Sunday after Trinity, 1843, 130 more Lutherans arrived, and on October 22 of the same year about 90 or so more arrived.

These people too had come from Germany, having been persecuted in the same manner as Grabau's and Krause's congregations had been. In 1840, however, Friedrich Wilhelm III died,¹ and his son, Friedrich Wilhelm IV became ruler. Friedrich Wilhelm IV had already promised von Romer toleration when he would become king, and he was going to carry out his stated plan of action, lifting the law which had been enforcing the union between Lutherans and Reformed. At first the Kindermann congregation was resigned to remain in Germany, and the desire to emigrate died down. But the congregation decided that in spite of Friedrich Wilhelm's benevolence, the existence of the Lutheran church was not sufficiently safeguarded, so they decided to emigrate anyway. This desire to emigrate after all was intensified by trouble between Kindermann and Ehrenstroem, who later came to Buffalo, N.Y., and the Breslau Synod on the other side. The trouble was a result, at least

1. On Whitsunday. cfr. Grabau, op. cit., p. 43

in part, of Kindermann's insistence at a session of the Breslau Synod that foreign missionaries have a definite call from the congregation which they were to serve, even if it would number only three persons, or at least have a call from the government of the country into which they were going. Secondly, these two pastors claimed that the Lutheran church was the only church in which there was salvation. Furthermore, the Synod made a few resolves concerning the permit which the Lutheran church now had to exist. Both Kindermann and Ehrenstroem accepted these resolves, but their congregations objected to them; whereupon both pastors said that they would retract their votes. The Synod then said that they could not do that, and threatened to expell them. All this resulted in their resolve to emigrate to America. In February 1843 the emigration was begun, with 436 persons. They arrived in Buffalo in September. Ehrenstroem could not go along, since the German police arrested him for a reputedly caustic sermon which he had preached.

When Kindermann and his congregation arrived in Milwaukee, the group broke up into smaller sections, one section settling in Watertown, Wisconsin, and another in Cedarburg, and still another in Kirchayne, about seven miles northwest of the Freistadt settlement. Kindermann for some reason stayed in Milwaukee for the first winter, and served Krause's Milwaukee parish, Krause in turn serving Kindermann's Kirchayne group.¹

1. Cfr. A Brief History of the Ev. Lutheran Church of the David's Star, Kirchayn, Washington Co., Wis., p. 42

Some of these people of Kindermann's congregation who were going thru Freistadt to their new settlement at Kirchayne stayed in Freistadt, and some of Krause's old settlers, like the Garbisch family, went along to Kirchayne, so that there was an interchanging of members, which must be taken into account to help us understand further developments in the Freistadt congregation.

In the Spring of 1844 Kindermann himself came out to Kirchayne and served his people there, and Krause again took over his small charge in Milwaukee.¹

Krause relates that on January 17, 1844, Kindermann took the oath to adhere to the Symbolical books of the Lutheran Church. Krause makes this sound suspiciously like an official approval on his part of Kindermann, as if that were necessary for Kindermann's ministry.² We must note here in this connection that this was not an official reception of Kindermann by any synod, because none of these men belonged to any synod at this time.

1. Wachende Kirche, vol. 55, no. 17

2. Kindermann was "oeffentlich auf die saemtlichen Symbolischen Buecher der evangelisch lutherischen Kirche vereidet worden". - Krause's Chronicle

Chapter XII

In November of 1843 the congregation had decided to¹ build a new church. On January 8, 1844, in a congregation meeting, the location for the new church was selected.

On January 29, 1844, the board of elders and the pastor made a contract with a carpenter, Johann Friedrich Hinz, to put up a church with a steeple. The work would have to be finished except for the shingling of the building, which the members of the congregation decided to do themselves. The new church was to be 60 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 18 feet high, constructed of stone. The gables were to be 10 feet high, and a tower on the west end was to be 9 feet above the roof, with a small roof of three feet on top of the tower. The contractor estimated that the new building might be completed by St. Jacobi. He also estimated that 5322 feet of beams would be needed in the construction.

On April 26 the building of the church was started, the lumber needed for the construction having been cut and piled in one day, on February 15, by 40 strong men, Krause relates, with 14 yoke of oxen. June 17, 1844, the foundation beams were laid. On this day the congregation assembled for an open air service on the location of the construction. The school children and the choir assembled in the school and marched out to the assembled congregation.

The choir was a male chorus of 20 voices, and Krause relates that their singing was very pleasing to the ears.²

1. All information and quotations in this chapter are from Krause's Chronicle

2. "Die Chor-Saenger haben fein gesungen Vierstimmig, was gar lieblich anzuhoeren war".

In the afternoon (presumably of the 17th of June) two men, namely Johann Goetsch Jr., and Carl Will, dragged the joists into position with a yoke of oxen, and the following laid the joists: the older Garbisch, the older Gierach, Friedrich Suelflow, Wilhelm Frenz, Friedrich Schoessow Jr., and Christian Groth. In the afternoon Pastor Krause and his family served the workers a "vesper meal", which is still known by some of the older members of the congregation today as having been customary among these people. They would have breakfast and the noon meal at the regular time, and then at four in the afternoon the "vesper meal" would be served, which was a rather heavy lunch. When the men would be working in the fields, the women would bring this meal out to them. Later then, about 8 or 9 in the evening, another meal would be served.¹ On the 26th of July at 6 a.m. there was another service, after which the erection of the wall beams was begun. Sixtytwo men helped with the work, and by noon the walls were standing. The women brought the noon meal out to their men, and Krause and his family joined the group in a picnic lunch.

On the next day there was another 6 o'clock service, after which the tower was erected. Again a picnic lunch was had by the workers, who again numbered over 60 men. Pastor Kindermann from Kirchayne and the Norwegian pastor Clausen were also present at this service, taking part in it. On 1. This information from Mr. Henry Suelflow, Rockfield, Wis.

the 8th Sunday after Trinity the first communion service was held in the church, which Kindermann and Clausen also attended, altho the church had at this time only a skeleton form.

On August 5 preparations were made to prepare brick for the walls of the church. The brick oven was set up near the school, and bricks were burned till the 28th of September. The men who burned the brick were at first supposed to receive \$3 per thousand, but when it was shown that the bricks were of poor quality because they had put too much sand into them, they were satisfied with \$2.75 per thousand.

On October 9 the masonry work on the church was begun, Johann Link having a contract to do it at 8¢ per foot. The members of the congregation shingled the church, each family furnishing 300 wellmade shingles. Each communicant member contributed 75¢ at this time for the support of the building program, since evidently the amount collected was not enough.¹

On November 9 the congregation finished the sacristy of their new church, which was 14 feet square. On November 14 the building was completed, except for a few last touches of the mason work, which Link finished on the 22nd. Link received \$25.20 for his labor, having used 30,000 bricks. Hinz received \$84.50.

1. "Zur Durchfuehrung des Baus hat sich die Gemeinde verpflichtet freiwillig, dasz jeder Communicant 75¢ beisteuert."

During the building of the new church, which certainly was a big undertaking for those pioneers, the members of the congregation evidenced a healthy interest in the completion of their church, and Krause demonstrated the benevolent side of his character like he had not done heretofore. The pastor surely did much towards a feeling of real fellowship by serving the working crews an occasional meal, and by eating with them on other occasions when they brought their own meals, even tho he lived close by and could have had his meals in the comfort of his home.

The dedication of the new church took place on June 1, 1845. No explanation is given by Krause why this was postponed so long. The service was begun at 8 a.m., and the order of service was as follows:

Hymn: Meine Seele Erhebt den Herrn

Prayer of thanksgiving

Lord's Prayer

Benediction

Hymn: Nun Danket Alle Gott, sung by the congregation as they went from the old church-school building, where the service was begun, to the new building. When the congregation arrived at the new church, the keys were given to the oldest elder, Michael Bellin, who opened the church.

Antiphon from Ps. 100

Response

Hymn: Jesus, Jesus, nichts als Jesus

Antiphon by the children

Response by the congregation

Antiphon

Response

Psalm 84

Hymn: Ach bleib mit Deiner Gnade

Gloria in Excelsis

Hymn: Allein Gott in der Hoeh sei Ehr

Der Herr sei mit Euch, by the pastor

Und mit Deinem Geiste, by the congregation

Scripture reading: II Chron. 6, 19 ff.
 Hymn: Ein Feste Burg
 Der Herr sei mit Euch, by the pastor
 Und mit Deinem Geiste, by the congregation
 Epistle: 1 John 3, 13-18
 Ich Glaube an Einen Gott, intoned by pastor
 Hymn: Wir Glauben All an Einen Gott
 Sermon by Krause on Luke 14, 16-24
 Communion (63 partaking of the Sacrament)
 Close: Lasz mich Dein sein und bleiben

Besides this order of service, Krause says that expositions were given on Psalms 24, 25, and 118. The whole service lasted six and one half hourse, from 8 a.m. till 2:30 p.m., but, says Krause, it was too short nevertheless.¹ At this service it was decided to call the congregation Holy Trinity, because it was dedicated to the Triune God.²

The altar in the new church was 5 feet by 7 by 3.

It is said that the first church built by this congregation was located quite a bit south of the present church, and is said to have been located on the present new cemetery lot, just about on that section where the carefully trimmed cedar trees may now be seen. The second church, the building of which has been described above, was located just a few yards north of the present church. In the summer when the sun dries out the lawn, one may see where the old wall foundations are just a few inches below the surface, because

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1. "Ein Herrlicher Gottesdienst; der von acht Uhr morgens bisz halbdrei nachmittag dauerte und uns doch noch zu kurz war."
 2. "Die Heilige Dreifaltigkeits Kirche"

there the grass dries up sooner than in the other sections of the lawn.

During the first years of his ministry Krause seems to have regarded the two groups in Freistadt and in Milwaukee together as one congregation, for he often refers to the congregation, but in 1844 the pastor made the first entry in his Chronicle in which he calls the Milwaukee group the "filial" congregation, or ascribes to it its separate existence as a congregation.

Krause relates that the congregation in Milwaukee also built a church in 1844. It was 40 feet by 26, and ten feet high, built of wood. The total cost to the congregation, together with the lot on which the church was built, was \$400. This church was dedicated on the 17th Sunday after Trinity, 1844.¹

1. Seeger, Gustav, 100th Anniversary of the Evangelical Lutheran St. Paul's Church, Milwaukee, Wis., p. 17, places the location of this church on Fourth Street, between Wells and Cedar (now Kilbourn Ave.)

Chapter XIII

So as to permit a more thorough understanding of the developments in the history of this congregation, we must first have a more complete understanding of the doctrinal development among the congregations and pastors which were under the leadership of Grabau. It would be a very shallow historical study merely to accuse Grabau and his followers of false doctrine, and to state that on account of false doctrines the Freistadt congregation was lost to the Buffalo Synod.

But to attempt to understand the doctrinal development of Grabau and his followers we have to go back once more to their German environment.

It seems first of all that the spirit of State-churchism prevalent in Germany had dulled the sensitivity of the common people, so that they were not as enthusiastic about their church as if it had been a more voluntary organization. To the people in Germany at and before the time of Grabau's and Krause's emigration, the church existed without the backing of the people, for it was supported by the state. Thus naturally many people lost interest and permitted errors to creep in which would have been more severely opposed in a more democratic church organization.

As a result rationalism gained a good foothold among the people and the clergy of Germany. The authority of the Word of God was disregarded in many places, and even opposed. Not all the people, however, were asleep, for there were some who did

oppose the advance of rationalism. Not much could be done against rationalism in an official way, because the state was in control, and only the state could appoint or depose a pastor. According to the German State-Church system the people were assigned to a definite parish or congregation, and the state appointed pastors for each parish.

When a Christian of sound spiritual understanding would be a member of a congregation whose pastor was a rationalist, and who would not preach the truth of the atonement of Christ and thus give the Christians the comfort of the forgiveness of their sins, such a Christian with a sound spiritual understanding would not do much to obtain an orthodox pastor. Consequently such a Christian, realizing that he was not receiving the assurance of the forgiveness of his sins, would begin to consider his pastor as a barrier between himself and his God. As a result the sincere Christian would attempt to find a way out of this predicament. The most natural way was this: if a man cannot reach God thru the preaching of his pastor, circumvent the pastor and get to God directly. Thus the spirit of mysticism was revived in the German State-Church, which taught that the Christian could have direct communion with God thru contemplation.¹

The spread of mysticism was also favored by the pietistic

1. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, G. & C. Merriam Co., Springfield, Mass., 1940, Fifth Edition, under "mystical", second meaning, says: "Of, resulting from, or manifesting an individual's direct communion with God through contemplation, vision, or inner light, or the like."

leanings and tendencies of the German church of this time, since mysticism and pietism seem to have a tendency to go together.¹ Rationalism, which was detrimental to sound Lutheran theology, but which favored the Reformed theology, was also at the root of this development. For rationalism, by undermining the foundation of the emphasis which Luther had always put on sound doctrine, caused the emphasis of religion to be turned to the outward life in contradistinction to doctrine, so that the question that was most often asked of a new pastor was not whether he was orthodox in doctrine, but whether he was pious in his life. The pastors who were serious about opposing this questionable development, like Grabau, would naturally then advise a congregation to examine a new pastor carefully in respect to doctrine, to see that he was soundly Scriptural. Therefore we can understand that Grabau, as soon as he was no longer under the control of the German State-Church, would advise his people that they should carefully examine a new pastor, to see that he was orthodox in doctrine. But because these people who had just come from Germany where the deadening effect of the State-Church had had its influence on them for hundreds of years already, were not fit to judge doctrine, Grabau set forth his tenets about ordination and the call into the ministry. Grabau held that a new pastor had to receive the approval of the

1. Neve, J. L., A History of Christian Thought, The United Lutheran Publication House, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, vol. I, 1943, p. 211 ff.

pastors already ordained, and that laymen were not supposed to interpret Scriptures, but that this was up to the body of pastors, or the ministerium, as it was called. For in his Hirtenbrief of 1840 Grabau writes "what is contrary to the Word of God or what is not contrary to it is not to be decided by the individual member of the church, but the church itself decides this in the Symbolical books, in the church constitutions, and in synods."¹

Furthermore, the spread of mysticism was also favored in another way. Because the average Christian associated his rationalistic pastor too closely with the doctrine of the means of grace, this doctrine was also circumvented by many of those who were chafing under rationalistic pastors. Thus the attitude among many of the sincere Christians was something like this: since the pastor does not preach the Gospel of the forgiveness of sins, we have to get this assurance some other way and sidestep the pastor who is blocking the road back to God; since the pastor is the only one who may dispense the Word and the Sacraments, we also have to find some way besides the preached Word and the Sacraments to give us the assurance of the forgiveness of sins." Thus many people fell into error in respect to the Scriptural doctrine of the means of grace by becoming mystics.

Some of the sound pastors who had not yet succumbed to

1. Grabau, Hirtenbrief vom Jahre 1840, Nebst den zwischen ihm und mehreren lutherischen Pastoren von Missouri gewechselten Schriften, H. Ludwig & Co., 70 Vesey Street, New York, 1849, p. 14

rationalism, realized the danger of this trend to mysticism among the people, and tried to counteract it by stressing the doctrine of the ministry. In their attempt to counteract mysticism with the correct doctrines of Scripture, they very naturally began to lean over backwards in respect to the doctrine of the ministry especially, so that some pastors, like Grabau and Krause, with perfectly sincere intentions, became hierarchical, succumbing to a sort of sacerdotalism.

Furthermore, Grabau's loathing for anything that resembled sectarianism can also be traced from the German background. As stated already, rationalism had caused a shift of emphasis from doctrine to life. Even sincere Christians judged a pastor not on the basis of his doctrine, but only on the basis of his outward life. A sincere Christian, therefore, who had an unbelieving rationalist for a pastor, would desire the guidance of a believing pastor, for a rationalistic pastor's lack of faith was evident from his preaching. Since, however, judgment was passed on the basis of life, many sincere Christians who sought real spiritual guidance were misled into accepting a Calvinistic pietist as an orthodox teacher. Krause writes that Christians, fed up with the rationalism of their own pastor, would act contrary to the wishes of the government and would run to almost any other pastor of whom it was said that he was a believer, and receive communion from such a one,

and have their children baptized by him.¹ As a result, things were no longer done "decently and in order", which called forth the sharpest criticism from men like Grabau and his followers. Quite naturally, and also quite correctly, these men when they came to America, opposed severely anything that smelled of such disorderliness in congregational life, so as to avoid the mistakes of the church in Germany. It is regrettable, however, that these men leaned over backward in their attempt to correct these abuses. They became too radical in condemning anything that looked to them like a separatistic or sectarian group, condemning them as "Rotten" or mobs. Keeping this development of men like Grabau and Krause in mind, it is easy to understand why they would overemphasize ordination. For by making the average Christian realize that thru ordination his pastor was to be the only one to dispense the sacraments to him, in that way could people be kept from running to every and all pastors who could be found, for the purpose of receiving the Lord's Supper and for having their children baptized.

Thus in attempting to combat error, Grabau and his followers succumbed to error themselves. It cannot be said that they maliciously set forth these errors at first, for the whole spirit of the Hirtenbrief of 1840 is gentle and kind.

A copy of this Hirtenbrief was also sent to the Saxons in Missouri. However, because the Saxons were at this time

1. Krause's Chronicle: "So verblendete der Teufel in der Gestalt des Engels des Lichts, die einfaeltigen Christen, welche gern wollten selig werden, dasz sie nichts mehr darnach fragten, was der Prediger fuer eine Lehre, fuer ein Bekenntnisz

just setting themselves straight on practically the same doctrines in which Grabau erred, they were too much confused to answer immediately. In 1843 they finally answered Grabau's Hirtenbrief in a kind, ~~gentle~~ gentle manner, but objecting to the incorrect teachings in it. It must be kept in mind that the Saxons, just having freed themselves from the hierarchical system of Stephan, suddenly leaned rather heavily toward decentralized government. When Grabau noticed this tendency among the Saxons in their answer to his Hirtenbrief, he seems to have become excited, no doubt somewhat afraid that the Lutherans in America would fall back into the same errors in which they had been in Germany, if the government of the church became too decentralized. Consequently the answer of the Saxons was like pouring oil into a fire, for a doctrinal controversy broke loose which lasted for a few decades. During this controversy Grabau got deeper and deeper into the mire of false doctrine, goaded on by the opposition which his teachings were receiving from the Saxons.

Grabau's doctrines were officially formulated, as it were, when the Buffalo Synod¹ was organized in 1845.

Sessions were held in Freistadt from the 3rd to the 19th of June, and in Milwaukee from June 23 to the 25th.² Four

habe? hoerten sie: der und der Prediger ist glaeubig, flugs hingelaufen, und das Abendmal dort genommen und die Kinder von ihm lassen taufen."

1. The Synod was officially called "Die Synode der aus Preuszen ausgewanderten lutherischen Kirche" at this time, and only years later (1866) was this changed officially to "Buffalo Synod", but for the sake of brevity it shall here always be referred to as Buffalo Synod.

2. Krause's Chronicle

pastors present at the organization of the Synod were Krause, Kindermann, Von Rohr, who had taken his theological training under Grabau since we last heard of him, and Grabau, who was elected the "senior ministerii".¹ The men from the Freistadt congregation who signed the "Synodal-Brief" or Synodical Report of this first session of the Buffalo Synod were: Michael Heuer, Carl Will, Johann Knuth, Michael Bellin, August Lemke, August Radue, Peter Block, and Michael Helm.

The organization of the Synod at this time strengthened and confirmed Grabau and his followers in their false doctrine, and after this we notice greater stress laid upon the doctrine of the supremacy of the Synod (or ministerium) over the individual congregation. Later also Grabau and his Synod succumbed to more fallacies of doctrine, like the teaching that the Synod (Buffalo Synod) could not possibly err from the correct teaching, altho it was admitted that a single session or conference could possibly make mistakes.² However, we shall here not concern ourselves with the later doctrinal statements of the Buffalo Synod, for they were published after the Freistadt congregation had severed connections with that Synod.

It must, however, be mentioned here that at first the congregations of the Grabau group submitted quietly and

1. This title was later changed to "President".

2. Zweiter Synodal-Brief von der Synode der aus Preussen ausgewanderten lutherischen Kirche, versammelt zu Buffalo, N. Y., im Juli, 1848. Brunck and Domedion, Buffalo, N. Y., 1850, p. 57

meekly to his teachings. It cannot be said that it was false doctrine which caused the splits in the Buffalo Synod congregations in Wisconsin, but rather the first cause of these splits was the abuse of the special powers which Grabau's teachings gave to the pastors, and especially the abuse of these powers by Krause. This abuse Krause displayed already before the organization of the Synod in 1845.

Chapter XIV

Everything went well until 1844. In that year disturbances broke out in Freistadt, thru which also the relation between Kindermann and Krause was seriously strained. Krause's unfortunate character, which led him to hasty and unjust actions, was the chief cause of these disturbances, which tore up the large congregation in Freistadt so that it was eventually lost to the Buffalo Synod completely. From Freistadt the disturbances spread to Milwaukee and finally also to Kirchayne. When Krause became excited, he would bring things into the pulpit which did not belong there. He would forget himself so completely that he would scold and rant, and would use such expressions which cannot be excused, much less justified.

Toward the end of the year 1844 Krause excommunicated two members who, just recently come from Germany and not used to such ranting and raving on the part of the pastor, expressed their astonishment at it.¹ Such an abuse of excommunication naturally aroused unrest, and it also brought Krause into conflict with Kindermann. When in the beginning

1. Hattstaedt, Otto F., Geschichte des Sued-Wisconsin-Distrikts der Ev.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo., translated by the Wisconsin Historical Records Survey of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, (History of the Southern Wisconsin District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States), Madison, Wisconsin, 1941, p. 15: "When in 1844 two men in Freistadt, Johann Suelflow and Joachim Goetsch, who had arrived there from Germany with Rev. Kindermann, a short time before, expressed their surprise at the immoderate, disagreeable invectives and unholy accusations of heresy which they heard from the pulpits, to which they were not accustomed from their Lutheran pastors in Prussia, they were placed under bans by their pastor as being agitators."

of 1845 Grabau sent Krause a report about the heresies of Ehrenstroem,¹ one of the elders in Freistadt, Martin Krueger, did not want to believe this report immediately.² Krueger had thought very highly of Ehrenstroem, and it seemed impossible to him that Ehrenstroem should succumb to such heresies. Krueger expressed himself accordingly in front of the church and also in the house of the teacher. Krause heard about this and went to the teacher to inquire about the circumstances of this conversation. When he was told about it, Krause gave a harsh reply. After a while Krueger received a note from Krause, summoning him to appear before the pastor to be instructed properly in this respect. Krueger did not comply. Another note was sent, as also a public summons. Krueger refused to be summoned, but asked to appear before the pastor for the purpose of defending himself on this matter. This Krause refused to do, and excommunicated Krueger, claiming that Krueger had enmeshed himself in the Ehrenstroem heresies

1. Ehrenstroem had intended to emigrate with Kindermann, but was detained by the German authorities on account of a reputedly caustic sermon he had preached against the government. After a short while he was released and came to America, and went to Buffalo, New York. He took charge of a small congregation of the Grabau group near Buffalo. Soon, however, he fell into all kinds of serious errors, like enthusiasm, and claiming that a converted Christian must be able to perform miracles as a proof of his conversion. Thus he made Christianity look foolish by trying to perform public miracles, and then failing in them.

2. Hattstaedt, *op. cit.*, p. 15: "When in 1845 Grabau sent a letter to Pastor Krause concerning the apostasy of Pastor Ehrenstroem who read it to the congregation, the school principal, Martin Krueger, could not accord the report full credence and expressed himself to that effect, for which reason he was placed under ban by Pastor Krause."

and had become guilty of sectarianism. Krueger then left and took up membership in Pastor L. C. Geyer's congregation.¹

For the sake of preserving peace Krueger could have gone to Krause to attempt to discuss the matter; but Krause's dealing was not right in this that he dealt with a man who could not immediately believe the report of Ehrenstroem's fall, as a heretic and a rebel. And since Krueger offered to come to the pastor to defend himself, Krause's dealings were doubly unjust and unwise. But especially the sending of a summons was not in accord with the Scripture. For the Lord says, "Moreover if thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone." This sending of notes no doubt aroused dissention and only harmed the Synod.

This ban was also announced to Kindermann and his congregation, and it was demanded that Krueger be considered banned by the Kirchayne congregation also. This announcement of the

1. Geyer had come to America with the Saxons of Missouri. When Kindermann's congregation came to Wisconsin, a part settled in Lebanon, which is about 40 miles west of Milwaukee. Since methods of transportation were still very primitive in those days, and no railroad had been built, Kindermann suggested to his Lebanon congregation that they call their own pastor, since it was almost impossible for him to serve them regularly. When Kindermann learned that the Lebanon group was calling Geyer, a Saxon, who held the same doctrines as the Saxons did, Kindermann apparently regretted his advice and reprimanded the Lebanon congregation, saying that they should cancel Geyer's call, and call him (Kindermann) as their pastor again. This they refused to do. Consequently Geyer came to Lebanon in 1844. Dfr. Hattstaedt, op. cit., p. 18.

ban was received with distrust in Kirchayne. Already before this one of the Kirchayne elders, Retzlaff, and the teacher, Stiemke, had told their pastor that they would not subscribe to any more bans of Krause unless it was proved to them on good grounds that such a ban was just. Because Krause had refused the sacraments to several members in Milwaukee because they were dissatisfied with him, Kindermann had already reprimanded him. When this announcement of the ban was made in Kirchayne, several of the members went to Krueger and inquired about it. Thereupon Kindermann and his congregation wrote to Krause for more details and for trustworthy evidence. Krause felt insulted, and told them so. The Kirchayne people and their pastor now turned to the Freistadt congregation, urging a thorough investigation of the case, and warning the Freistadt congregation against the tyrannical tendencies of their pastor. A congregational meeting was held in Freistadt then, in which several members got it so far that the matter was to be discussed verbally between the Kirchayne and the Freistadt people. The pastor and the congregation in Kirchayne were to be notified of this, and were to designate the location of the meeting. Krause wrote the letter, and presented it for the proper signatures. This letter, however, was not written in the form of a friendly invitation, but in the form of a summons. Because the letter aroused antagonism in Kirchayne, the people asked for an explanation. A part of the congregation in Freistadt sought to

get Krause to retract the summons. But Krause wanted to hear nothing of this, instead he fell back into his old mistake of bringing matters like this into the pulpit, and scolded those who were dissatisfied, and also the Kirchanje people. Kindermann advised the people to lay the matter before Brabau, and also showed them how they could make such application in a Scriptural way. This advice was followed in the beginning of 1846.

In the meantime there was also trouble in Milwaukee. Krause had been preaching in Milwaukee once every six weeks. In November of 1844 a congregational meeting was held to see what could be done about providing more reliable transportation for Krause, since before this Krause had no transportation himself, but was always called for when he went to Milwaukee. Since only a few members were present at this meeting, nothing was accomplished nor decided. In 1845 then Krause appeared before the congregation and asked them to buy him a horse and wagon, stating that if every member would contribute 3¢ a week for 20 weeks, the necessary amount could be collected. But the congregation could come to no agreement in this matter, which is hard to understand, since the congregation was paying \$8.00 per trip at the time, which amounted to \$64 per year. So they should have been able to raise about \$90.¹

Krause lost his temper and resigned his pastorate in Milwaukee, but the resignation was not accepted. Instead the congregation asked Krause to come to a meeting where the

1. Material up to this point in this chapter has been freely translated and condensed from Wachende Kirche, vol. 55, no. 17

difficulties could be discussed. Instead of trying to smooth out the difficulties by talking them over in a meeting, Krause came for a service and rained forth fire and brimstone on the congregation. After the service Krause announced that all those who had voted against buying him the horse would be suspended from communion.

It is hardly possible that the Milwaukee congregation was so poor that they could not afford to pay \$90 for a horse and wagon for their pastor, but on the other hand it is not fair and honest merely to accuse the congregation of flatly refusing to provide the necessary transportation for their pastor. No doubt both pastor and congregation were at fault in this case. But Krause did aggravate matters considerably by reprimanding the congregation severely, and by telling them that they ought to feel conscience bound to buy him the horse since he had asked them to do so. This is where the abuse of Grabau's doctrine of the ministry caused trouble.

The matter caused quite a stir, not only in Milwaukee, but also in Freistadt, in Kirchanje, and in the whole Buffalo Synod. Some of the details of the case have not been determined definitely, since von Rohr and Grabau, after investigating the case, claimed that the congregation was mostly at fault, because a resolution was passed, as von Rohr and Grabau claimed, to buy the pastor the necessary horse and wagon, which resolution was later rescinded without Krause's consent. But Kindermann

on the other hand took the side of the congregation, and claimed that the congregation never in the first place passed a resolution of the kind which von Rohr and Grabau claimed to have been passed.

The Freistadt congregation reprimanded Krause for his harsh dealings with the Milwaukee congregation,¹ not out of pure sympathy, no doubt, but also because the ire of the Freistadt people had by this time been aroused by Krause.

Because the matter could not be settled peaceably, Grabau came to Wisconsin shortly before Ascension, 1846, to attempt to restore peace once more. First a meeting was held in Freistadt to establish peace between Krause and the Freistadt congregation. Even tho the congregation was willing to forgive and forget, yet they would not consent to keep Krause as their pastor, because they were convinced that his tyranny would have no end anyway. As a result Grabau promised to call Krause to the newly established ministerial college in Buffalo. But, Grabau, stated, he would have to consult with his congregation in Buffalo about this first. Then also Grabau held a meeting with the Kirchayne congregation to smooth out matters between Krause and that congregation. Next meetings were held in Milwaukee, but here like in Freistadt the people insisted that Krause's pastorate be terminated. Krause and Kindermann had it out once more in these sessions because Kindermann admonished Krause to admit his mistakes. Krause, however, admitted nothing

1. Minutes of Trinity congregation, Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 27, 1850

except that his manner of condemning the Milwaukee congregation for not buying him a horse might have been a little caustic, but as to the content of his sermons he retracted nothing. All the Milwaukee members but one were then willing to close the matter by forgiving Krause. When the Freistadt congregation then reiterated their desire to have Krause transferred, Grabau replied that such a request was unchristian, and that such a condition could not be made after the matter had been settled.¹

On account of this answer of Grabau the whole thing was blown wide open again, and matters only became worse instead of better. The thing dragged on for a few months, but no settlement was reached.

Finally about half of the Freistadt congregation would no longer attend Krause's services. They declared themselves free from Krause's leadership and from the Buffalo Synod, and started to conduct their own services. The first separate service was held, according to Krause, on November 8, 1846, the 22nd Sunday after Trinity.²

1. Wachende Kirche, vol. 55, no. 18

2. Krause's Chronicle: "Als die hiesige Kirchgemeinde nach beendigten Vormittags-Gottesdients aus der Kirche ging, draengten die Abtruennigen, and ihrer Spitze der abgefallene ehemalige Schulmeister Stock, Kauffung und Koerner in das Kirchengebaeude. Auf die von mir Pastor L. F. E. Krause ihnen gemachte Erklaerung, dasz sie hier nichts zu thun haetten, denn der Gottesdienst waere aus, und wuerde die Kirche zugeschlossen werden, antwortete, im Namen der Rottengeister, der Kauffung: wir werden jetzt anfangen. Sie blieben sitzen. Darauf haben sie ihren Goetzendienst gehalten bei Zwo Stunden; ihre Weiber kamen ihnen nach."

Because those who separated from Krause in Freistadt kept the church building and half the other church property, the age of the existence of Trinity congregation is always dated back to the first services held soon after the arrival of the immigrants in October, 1839. In later years also this group was much more prominent than that part of the congregation which stayed with the Buffalo Synod, which quickly degenerated after the break. Krause stayed for a while after the break, but in May of 1848 he received a call to Martinsville, N. Y., which he accepted on July 16. On September 3 he held his farewell sermon.¹ Krause was no doubt glad to leave Wisconsin, since the work there had become distasteful to him.

In Martinsville Krause labored for a few months, when he got into difficulties with the congregation there, and also with Grabau. It seems that a feeling of frustration took hold of him so completely that he lost all interest in his work, for he had any number of complaints to make. He complained that his congregation was not paying him enough, that he should have a new parsonage, that he was sick and that his congregation refused to do something about it, and finally he said that he wanted to leave and go back to Wisconsin. In May 1850 he left Martinsville after he had aroused the ill feeling of Grabau. He then made application to join the Missouri Synod. In November he was back in Wisconsin and straightened out all the

1. Krause's Chronicle

difficulties with his former charges in Freistadt and Milwaukee.¹

Krause published a "Public Confession" in the Lutheraner² in which he stated:

"Thru the grace of God I have come to realize that the German-Lutheran Buffalo Synod, of which I was a member up to September of this year, takes an incorrect stand in respect to the doctrines of the ministry, the call, the spiritual priesthood, and also in respect to Christian liberty. The Synod errs also in practice, namely in respect to church government, the ban, church regulations, and the relation of the pastor to his congregation; which all was set forth at first by Rev. Grabau in his wellknown Hirtenbrief, and later on was defended by him, by myself, and by the other pastors of that Synod, against the interesting refutations issued by the Pastors Loeber, Walther, and Keyl. . . . In contradistinction to this the German-Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States has given evidence of its orthodox position both in doctrine and in practice. . . . Since God's Word commands us to avoid Unrighteousness and to select the paths of Truth, I have, after I recognized the errors of the Buffalo Synod . . . declared myself separate from that Synod . . . This I do hereby. . . ."

For a while then Krause served a charge near Detroit. But things did not go well here either, so he left. For a while his whereabouts cannot be traced, but in 1856 he was back again to rejoin the Buffalo Synod, retracting the statement he had made in the Lutheraner.

In Milwaukee the situation was much the same as in Freistadt. About half the congregation separated from Krause and took over the church property, with the consent of the city government, by paying the balance of the debt on it. Krause

1. ~~Krause's Chronicle~~ *Minutes of Trinity Congregation*
2. December 24, 1850

threatened these people for a while, attempting to scare them back into his fold, but to no avail. That part which separated from Krause's congregation is in existence today as Trinity congregation (on Ninth Street at Highland) of the Missouri Synod, and that part which stayed with Krause is today St. Paul's congregation (Wisconsin Avenue at 28th Street) of the American Lutheran Church. St. Paul's congregation claims existence from September, 1841, when Krause preached there for the first time.¹ And Trinity congregation, Milwaukee, generally traces its birth back to the completion of the break with Krause in 1847. However, since there is no proof that the name of the original congregation was St. Paul's, and since, quite to the contrary, Krause calls the original congregation Trinity congregation,² and since the church property was kept by that group which today is Trinity congregation, it would seem more proper that the present Trinity congregation in Milwaukee be the one to whom the honor of the greater age be ascribed, instead of to St. Paul's.

1. Centennial Anniversary book of the congregation, p. 13
 2. Krause's Chronicle, entry of 1844: "Heilige Dreifaltigkeits-Kirche"

Chapter XV

The definite split of Krause's congregations had occurred when a part of each of those congregations refused to come to Krause's services, and when they declared themselves free from Krause's congregation and from the Buffalo Synod. Yet, when it came to judging doctrine, these people were not too well trained nor indoctrinated, consequently there was a feeling of uncertainty evident. This too is an indication that the splits occurred not primarily on account of the doctrinal differences, but as stated already, on account of the hierarchical tendency of Krause, and the abuse of the special rights and powers which the Buffalo Synod doctrine of the ministry and of the church gave him; and then too these Germans were not as easy to lead nor as meek as lambs, so that there was not a little bullheadedness on both sides.

The split which occurred in Freistadt can hardly be called an absolutely clean break, for it was not the case that about half the congregation broke away from the Buffalo Synod and then later joined the Missouri Synod. About half the congregation broke away, it is true, but there were some loose ends which were not immediately picked up by the Missouri Synod. Kluegel had started a preaching station in Public School No. 9, Town of Germantown, which school was located about two miles northwest of Freistadt. Some of the settlers attended services here for quite a number of years, some of them later joining

the Missouri Synod congregation in Freistadt, after the congregation had become firmly established.

In spite of some of the ragged edges that resulted from the break, however, there were quite a few members who had broken with Krause, who stayed together in a body and who exhibited not a little organization. For we find that in 1847 at the organization meeting of the Missouri Synod in Chicago, the two congregations in Freistadt and Milwaukee had sent J. D. Bewersdorff and C. Kauffung as delegates to present their cause to the new Synod for an opinion and for advice. On Wednesday, April 28, the matter was brought up before the Missouri Synod session, and a committee was assigned to investigate.

The question was placed before the committee by these two delegates whether those who had separated from Krause could with a clean conscience call another pastor. On May 3, the committee reported before the session that the two delegates had presented documents which explained in detail the dealings with Krause, and that they had orally explained other details which were necessary for understanding the whole affair. The committee reported, that, since they had no reason to disbelieve any of the statements of the two delegates, its decision, arrived at on the basis of the facts and information presented to it, was as follows:¹

1. Synodical Report, Missouri's Synod, 1847, freely translated

That Krause had taught false doctrine in respect to the following:

1) Of the Church he teaches that the pastor and the elders of a congregation are the Church, and whatever the pastor would order, even if it was without the consent of the congregation, was the law of the Church; the Lutheran Church, furthermore, is a visible Church outside of which nobody can be saved.

2) Krause teaches that he who breaks a church regulation is not only not a member of the parish, but is also not a Lutheran; likewise Krause teaches that he is not a Lutheran who does not give credence to the reports of the clergy.¹

3) In respect to the doctrine of the ministry, he held false doctrine when he refused to give his congregation an audience when they took him to task for several sermons which he had preached. He also claimed that the physical blessings of his congregation were dependent on his intercession, for he said, if he would not pray for his congregation, they would receive worms and empty straw instead of wheat, scorpions instead of calves, snakes instead of pigs. He also claimed that all those who had not condoned his teaching and who had separated from him were damned.

4) In respect to excommunication he gave evidence of false doctrine, for he excommunicated a man by the name of

1. "den sogenannten Acten der Kirche, d.h. den Pfarramtlichen Berichten, nicht Glauben beimesse."

M. Kruecher (sic!) because he had not immediately given credence to a report of Rev. Grabau, which reports are called "Kirchenacten"; furthermore he refused to give communion to those who had not agreed to give him \$90 which he had demanded, without listening to any other possibilities, for buying a horse. Furthermore he would always excommunicate someone without the opinion of the congregation. He declared excommunications over people who were not even members of his congregation. And he refused to perform the marriage ceremony for a member of Geyer's congregation unless this member would declare that congregation as a sectarian body. As soon as a large part of the Freistadt congregation protested against Krause's dealings with the Milwaukee congregation, he declared this Freistadt group unworthy of the Sacrament, unless they would make public confession. Finally, he has turned away from the baptismal font at least four persons on account of this "Horse" affair.¹

Krause was charged with many more misdemeanors and false doctrines by this committee on the evidence presented by these two delegates. There was, however, considerable misunderstanding between the two parties (Krause and the opposition) which was brought out in later investigations, and it seems that some of the accusations brought up by the two delegates against Krause were not checked for authenticity
1. Thus far the free translation

by the committee. Without condoning any of the false doctrines or practices of Krause, it must be admitted that a little maliciousness was evident in the accusations made to the Synod.

The committee then issued the following opinion on the case:

"That Mr. Bewersdorff and Mr. Kauffung and their brethren who have delegated them, have not only the right, but also the holy duty to avoid Rev. Krause as a dangerous heretic and an obstinate sinner, and that they be concerned about getting a faithful shepherd as soon as possible."¹

The delegates went home with the decision of Synod in their pocket. Soon the group which had separated from Krause organized more thoroughly. Even before a pastor could be obtained, there is evidence of a new spirit shown by a study of Scripture and an orientation in respect to doctrine. No doubt these difficulties the people underwent caused them to study up on the various teachings to see what the Bible had to say about them. Thus this period might be called the beginning of the revival of orthodoxy.

The two congregations in Freistadt and Milwaukee, now no longer under Krause, resolved that if at any time one or the other of the congregations should independently call a pastor, then the other congregation would pay half the

1. Synodical Report, Missouri Synod, 1847

expenses involved in obtaining the pastor, no matter who he might be.¹

Furthermore, the two congregations conjointly called a pastor, namely Ernst Gerhard Wilhelm Keyl, pastor at Fröhna, Missouri, one of the Saxons. The call was dated August 3, 1847. It was decided that the pastor himself decide, when he would arrive, where he would live, in Freistadt or in Milwaukee. However, where the pastor decided not to live, that congregation was to have the right to call their own pastor if they so desired.² Rev. Keyl chose to live in Milwaukee.

In the meantime a split had also occurred in Kindermann's Kirchayne congregation. On October 17, 1848, a petition was made by the separated Kirchayne congregation, as also by the Freistadt congregation, to the congregation in Milwaukee, that Rev. Keyl continue to serve them as he had done heretofore, and that he come at least four times a year.³ It was decided that Pastor Keyl could serve one of these congregations in the country every fourth Sunday. Thus he did not get around to either one of them more than once every two months.

On April 10, 1848, the Milwaukee congregation gave special permission to Keyl to preach in Freistadt on Good Friday and on Easter Sunday.⁴

However, the good work which Keyl was doing here as the pioneer pastor of the Missouri Synod in Wisconsin was short

1. Trinity congregation, Milwaukee, minutes of April 10, 1848

2. *ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1848

3. *ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1848

4. *ibid.*

lived. Before the end of 1849 he had received a call to Baltimore, Maryland. On December 20, 1849, representatives of Kirchayne and Freistadt met with the Milwaukee congregation to induce Keyl to stay. The reason for wanting Keyl to stay were also sent to Walther. However, when both Walther and Keyl felt that Keyl should go to Baltimore, the congregation gave him a peaceful dismissal.¹

In the same meeting it was decided to call another pastor. On February 17, 1850, the congregation voted to call Friedrich Lochner as their pastor.

In August the Freistadt and Kirchayne congregations again petitioned the Milwaukee congregation to permit Pastor Lochner to serve them. The pastor was permitted to do so once every six weeks. Thus if he preached at one place one time, and at the other place the next time, he would not be able to hold services in one of the two country congregations more than once every twelve weeks.²

Evidently the Freistadt congregation became impatient with this arrangement, for soon thereafter they called Rev. Ottomar Fuerbringer, pastor in Venedy, Illinois, one of the greatest men of the Saxon immigration, probably also the greatest mentality among them. By November 11, 1850, Fuerbringer had the call.³

Fuerbringer, "pioneer preacher, builder, winner of souls,

1. Trinity congregation, Milwaukee, minutes of Feb. 10, 1850

2. *ibid.*

3. Saleska, E. J., History of St. Salvator Evangelical Lutheran Congregation at Venedy, Illinois, p. 5

and staunch defender of conservative Lutheranism,"¹ was the first resident Missouri Synod pastor in Freistadt. His coming marks the end of the beginning of this struggling congregation. With this prominent and sound theologian the congregation was firmly grounded in the faith. And it also gained prominence in Synod, not only on account of the fruits it produced, but also on account of its famous pastor. Many are the pastors and teachers that have come out of the midst of this congregation, men who have served the Lutheran Church thruout the world.

But since the scope of this paper has already been more than sufficiently expanded for the requirements of a thesis for the degree Bachelor of Divinity, we shall leave the further interesting phases in the history of this congregation to some future time or to some other interested student.

1. *ibid.*, p. 3

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