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GERMAN LUTHERANS IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Their Church Background, Emigration  
and New Beginning in Canada.

by

John M. Cobb

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THEIR CHURCH BACKGROUND, EMIGRATION AND  
NEW BEGINNING IN CANADA

BY

JOHN M. COBB

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT: German Lutherans in the Prairie Provinces before the First World War: Their Church Background, Emigration, and New Beginning in Canada.

In this dissertation the author examines the development of German Lutherans in the Prairie Provinces against the background of their historical experience in Europe. The evidence indicates that a large majority of the immigrants originated in Russia, especially Volhynia, and in Austria-Hungary, especially Galicia. Here they generally lived in cohesive communities (Gemeinden) centered on church and confessional school. In both Russia and Austria-Hungary their Gemeinden formed, as is it were, "Germanic islands in a Slavic sea."

Only a minority of German Lutherans came from Germany itself. However, the influence of this minority, which included many pastors and writers in the German-language press, was great as German Lutheran church life developed in western Canada.

German Lutherans in western Canada, as they are identified from the census, were about twice the number which Lutheran church bodies claimed as members. To the question: Why did so many religious people not rejoin the Lutheran church? the study answers: the original pastors who answered the call to western Canada attempted to guide the settlement of Lutherans back into cohesive Gemeinden such as the latter had experienced in Europe. However, conflict occurred within their parent church body over the question of German missions in Canada. The resulting weakness from this conflict led to the entrance of competing Lutheran church bodies. After 1895 German Lutheran church life was marked, not only by a weakness in shepherding a large number of immigrants scattered over a huge territory, but also by energy robbing and demoralizing ecclesiastical conflict.

A consequence of this conflict was that, although all held to an ideology which had gained strength in the minority context of eastern Europe, the Lutheran church bodies in western Canada had but partial success in setting up the parochial schools on which the churches believed their future would depend.

John M. Cobb, September 1991.

## PREFACE

Who were the German Lutherans of the Canadian Prairies? Numbering about 60,000 in 1911, most of these people had sought permanent homes two, in some cases three, even four times before they started reaching Canada in the last quarter of the 19th century. Most settled together in little islands of language and religion.

The fact of religious settlement by certain distinctive minority groups such as Mennonites and Hutterites has been recognized for years. Benjamin G. Smillie's Visions of a New Jerusalem: Religious settlement on the prairies<sup>1</sup> shows, however, that many more groups were involved in religious settlement than is commonly known and, furthermore, that these groups hoped to act on their own "visions of the New Jerusalem" as they settled the Canadian west. Smillie includes, among others, Anglicans, French Catholics, German Catholics, and Ukrainians (both Orthodox and Catholic), as well as the predecessors to today's United Church of Canada.

Within the essays which Smillie had collected, Lutherans were also included, but only in a general sort of way: they were put with the United Church in a single chapter representing a "Protestant theology of building the

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<sup>1</sup> Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1983.

New Jerusalem."<sup>2</sup> The two denominations were dealt with in the same chapter because they made up "nearly forty per cent of the religious affiliations on the prairie."<sup>3</sup> (1971) Missing was a coherent picture of German Lutherans during the settlement period and the particular vision for the future which they had during that period. In fact, German Lutherans during this period were an identifiable group, distinct from the various Scandinavian groups, and often at odds with various Protestant bodies.

However, the fact that Smillie's book lacked a coherent German Lutheran vision was understandable since no modern comprehensive study of German Lutheran settlement before World War I existed, although in 1911 these Lutherans were roughly comparable in size to the total of all Ukrainians and about twice the number of Mennonites.<sup>4</sup>

It was this lack of a comprehensive study of a group of significant size and import in prairie Canada which caused me to take on this study through a doctoral dissertation. By the time I had gotten well into the primary documents, it became clear that, not only did these people come to Canada

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<sup>2</sup> B. G. Smillie and N. J. Threinen, "Protestants--Prairie visionaries of the New Jerusalem: The United and Lutheran Churches in western Canada," p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> See our Appendix III and Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Fifth Census of Canada: 1911, pp. 4-5, 12-13 and 134-5. Also A. Davidson Dunton and Jean-Louis Gagnon, co. chr., Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, (1969), pp. 259, 261 and 263.

for economic reasons and for the chance of "a better life," but they, too, were guided by a vision of the "New Jerusalem."

From eastern Europe and Germany they came with the dictum of ancient Christianity "to pray and to work" (ora et labora). At least in the minds of many of their leaders, the German Lutheran vision involved not only a looking forward to the New Jerusalem but also a human participation which looked back historically and also saw before itself the task of rebuilding Christianity (das Christentum). Inspiration for this rebuilding aspect they found in the Book of Nehemiah. Further, not only did German Lutherans have a vision looking forward to a New Jerusalem for themselves; but, like French Catholics in western Canada,<sup>5</sup> much of their leadership believed that they had a special mission in North America as a whole, in this case, both as Germans and as Lutherans.

The parallels to French Catholic thinking continue. For German Lutherans, as for the French Catholics, religion and language were closely related. German Lutherans had, as part of their vision, the establishment of parochial schools. Their clergy participated, to a degree, in the settlement process and were also influential in establishing an ethnic press. However, for German Lutherans the First

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<sup>5</sup> See J. A. Huel's essay, "Gestae Dei per Francos: The French Canadian experience in western Canada," pp. 39-53.

World War intervened with devastating consequences.

To conclude, let me also say that I have come to appreciate better the experience which Professor Smillie expresses in his "Conclusion" essay of New Jerusalem:

A nostalgic lament is voiced by each writer as each expresses a deep sorrow for a religious heritage that seems doomed to either genocidal assimilation or to an attenuated existence with geriatric future.<sup>6</sup>

Many of us, involved in German Lutheran work, have encountered this sentiment for some time. However, in having done this study I feel a sense of profound privilege for having been able to study outstanding historical persons who firmly believed in a God who could bring forth life from a body "which was as good as dead" (Abraham in Romans 4:19b) or breath life into dead bones, scattered and dried out (Ezekiel 37:7-10).

I wish to express appreciation to all of those who have provided help and support for this effort: especially my parents and some very special personal friends for their financial support; to my wife and children for their forbearance during the time required to complete this study; to the librarians and archivists who have been helpful in locating rare materials, especially Mr. D'Arcy Hande, Dr. Arthur Grenke, Mrs. Jeannette Brandell and Prof. David Warluft. As well, appreciation is expressed to Professors Grislis, Threinen and Freitag for their encouragement and

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<sup>6</sup> p. 177.

willingness to share some of their personal research with me. Further, I thank Professors Friesen and Lich for their willingness to serve on the Examination Committee. Finally, a special word of appreciation is expressed to my advisor, Dr. Michael Kinnear, for his invaluable assistance in helping me to bring this work into a presentable form.

I am grateful to many for their assistance in the production of this dissertation, but I alone must be responsible for its contents.

John M. Cobb

15 September 1991

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

In the latter part of the 19th century, the Canadian Prairies came open for large scale settlement. This followed the acquisition of the Hudson's Bay Company lands, the creation of the Province of Manitoba and a government for the Northwest Territories, and the passage of the Dominion Lands Act to allow homesteading. Although immigration began rather slowly, by the turn of the century it had become heavy and continued thus until the outbreak of the First World War. Among those settlers arriving on the Canadian Prairies were German Lutherans, who, although relatively few in the 1870's and 80's, by 1911 formed approximately 5% of the region's population.<sup>1</sup> Typically, these settlers had, in their place of origin, lived as part of a local Gemeinde whose basic institutional structure was centered on a church and a confessional school.<sup>2</sup> This study

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>2</sup> The German word Gemeinde can mean either congregation or (place) community. In practice, in Europe, during the period under discussion, the two entities tended to be the

describes the church life of German Lutherans in their points of origin. For eastern Europe, we emphasize life in the Gemeinde since eastern Europe was the origin of a large majority of the immigrants. For Germany and the United States we concentrate more on theology, mission practice and the larger church, since these two places provided the Lutheran church leadership for the Canadian Prairie region. Our study shows how German-speaking Lutherans attempted to form their Gemeinden also on the Canadian Prairies. However, in this attempt, they were only partially successful because the region as a whole was lacking an effective Lutheran church-at-large. Ecclesiastical contention in the United States had prevented the

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same in practice. As will be shown, in the areas they emigrated from, Lutherans who were gathered into congregations had generally established parochial schools under clergy supervision. Before the 20th century, the prevailing modes of transportation required that those who were active in the Gemeinde also live in some proximity to each other. Thus one is able to speak not only of a Lutheran congregation but also of Lutheran villages, or in the case of larger cities, Lutheran neighbourhoods.

As will be shown further in this study, the first stage, generally, in the establishment of formal Lutheran Gemeinden in western Canada was the bringing together of German Lutherans in congregations gathered around Word and Sacrament. However, as the beginning Gemeinde continued to mature, it often brought forth a second institutional expression, namely, the parochial school. We emphasize in this description the word "formal," because we are also aware that in most cases the first members of a new Gemeinde had settled together in some sort of identifiable (place) community before any pastor had arrived. Further, it turns out that in the Canadian Prairie region the strange situation occurred where some small (place) communities were divided into two Lutheran church Gemeinden, a situation nearly unheard of in Eastern Europe.

development of a clergy sufficient to properly oversee and assist in orderly German Lutheran settlement and the development of Gemeinden. However, in the immediate pre-War era, there were signs that the Lutheran church was beginning to work more effectively, especially in the field of parochial education.

#### A. Definition of Terms.

The designation "German" is used in our title even though only a minority of the people had come from the German Empire itself. Many more were German speakers from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Russian Empire; also, another significant group was German-American. Only a small proportion was from Ontario.<sup>3</sup> However, the term "German Lutherans" (Deutsche Lutheraner) was common currency for people of German language, culture, and tradition who were Lutheran in the time period of our study, both inside and outside the Empire. But strictly speaking, the people who are the subject of this dissertation were "German" in a sense corresponding to the Dominion Census "Origins of the People" designation "German." i.e., "Germans" by ethnic

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<sup>3</sup> For an estimate of the proportions of immigrants from each place of origin, see Appendix V.

origin.<sup>4</sup> Theoretically, this category could well have included many persons of German background (through male ancestry) who may not have been capable of speaking German (as is the case today). Still, in the time period under discussion, "German ethnic origin" in western Canada generally meant German-speaking as well since the immigration had been recent and since, up until the eve of the First World War, German-speaking parents seemed, by and large, able to transmit their language on to their children.<sup>5</sup> This state of affairs is also borne out by the fact that church documents relating to these people were almost completely in German; indeed, in parochial reports for the period, work done in English is noted as such and is rare.<sup>6</sup> Further, by the end of the pre-World War I period,

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<sup>4</sup> This is the way German-speaking people were classed generally. However, in some cases, apparently, the usual sense of this category was confused and some ethnic Germans were listed as "Austro-Hungarian" or "Russian" according to their place of origin. See Heinz Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada (Berlin: Junker und Duennhaupt Verlag, 1939), p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> See Kurt G. Tischler, "The Efforts of the Germans in Saskatchewan to Retain their Language before 1914," Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch, vol. 6 (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada Inc., 1981), pp. 48 and 61. Tischler's conclusion in this regard for Saskatchewan will be accepted by this author for the Prairies in general with respect to the large rural majority of German Lutherans. This is because of personal acquaintance with many German Lutherans from Alberta to Manitoba who spent their childhood on the Prairies and had retained their mother tongue. Some of these grew up in the pre-War era; others grew up later, in much more difficult circumstances.

<sup>6</sup> And here, as well, the English language may have been used to accommodate Lutherans of Scandinavian background.

only two English Lutheran congregations are known to have been in the region.<sup>7</sup> If there were German origin Lutherans in them (as is likely), they would have been so small a percentage<sup>8</sup> of the total German origin Lutherans in the region that they do not materially affect any overall numerical conclusions of this study. Indeed, the very fact of their presence and the small numbers of those joining them<sup>9</sup> serves to demonstrate that nearly all German Lutheran church members also remained German-speaking for the period under discussion, at least in their worship life.

It is possible that a large proportion of the members of the English congregations were Scandinavian in background. Scandinavian background Lutherans appear to be slightly more numerous than German Lutherans in the Prairie

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<sup>7</sup> First English Evangelical Lutheran Church of Winnipeg, begun in December of 1904, and First English Lutheran Church (Calgary), begun in 1913. See Frank E. Jensen, "Dr. F. E. Jensen and the Beginnings of First English Lutheran Church, Winnipeg" in For the Record, August 1985, pp. 3-7 and C. M. Cherland, The Lutheran Legacy: Growth of Calgary's Lutheran Churches (Century Calgary, 1975), pp. 69-70. The former article is an excerpt, slightly edited, from an essay apparently written in 1938.

<sup>8</sup> In 1911, three large German language synods, along with two other individual congregations had a total membership of approximately 31,465. See Appendix VI.

<sup>9</sup> In 1911, after over six years of its existence, the Winnipeg congregation had but 180 members. See "Dr. F. E. Jensen and the Beginnings of First English Lutheran Church . . .," p. 7 and English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the Northwest, Minutes, 1911, p. 93. Regarding the Calgary congregation, it was not in a position to build its first church building until 1920. Cherland, p. 72.

region<sup>10</sup> although a much lower proportion of them became members of Lutheran congregations.<sup>11</sup>

The concept "Lutheran" requires some explanation, especially in the context of the ecclesiastical situation as it developed on the Canadian Prairies with several synods<sup>12</sup> active, all calling themselves "Lutheran" and all competing with each other. Initially, this concept is fairly straightforward. "Lutherans" are those members of the Christian church who follow the church teachings initiated in the Reformation of Martin Luther. The prime Lutheran Confession of Faith is the Augsburg Confession, presented to

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<sup>10</sup> See Appendices II and III.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix VI.

<sup>12</sup> In the context of 19th century North American Lutheranism "synods" were on-going organizations of some variety which generally were composed of member pastors and congregations. Among other things they provided for the education, ordination and discipline of pastors; and they were responsible, in some fashion, for missionary activity in situations beyond reach of individual congregations. Often they had the name of a state (or, then, province) in their titles; but in many cases their membership and work extended far beyond the boundaries of the geographic designation. See The Encyclopedia of the Lutheran Church, 1965, s.v. "Synod" by George F. Harkins and "North American Lutheranism. Second Period: 1750-1800. 2. Adaptation" and "North American Lutheranism. Third Period: 1800-1850. 3. Expansion" by Willard D. Allbeck.

One special exception to the above description should be noted, however. This was the formation in 1820 of the "General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church" which was actually a federation of synods (in the above sense). By the middle of the century its membership included all the English synods in the United States and some bilingual ones. Ibid. It has been estimated that by 1860 two-thirds of Lutherans in America were part of the General Synod. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 525.

the Emperor Charles V in 1530. Thus Lutherans are historically distinguished, on the one hand, from Roman Catholics, who rejected parts of the Confession, and Calvinists (Reformed, Presbyterian) and Anabaptists (Mennonites, Hutterites, and other Baptists of later origins) who separated from Rome in another context and were later in doctrinal disagreement with Lutherans, thus forming separate communions<sup>13</sup> or branches of Christendom.

In the context of the period of this study, the term "German Lutherans" was a commonly used, working concept.<sup>14</sup> It identified the people so designated as distinct from German Reformed, German Baptist, Mennonite or German Catholic. It even proved a distinguishing concept in situations where there could be a tendency to blur the distinction, such as those involving Moravian Brethren.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> It has been an important principle of Christian practice that a common sharing of the Lord's Supper may occur at a point where conflict between members (including doctrinal controversy) has been reconciled. See Lutheran Cyclopedia, 1975, s.v. "Altar Fellowship."

<sup>14</sup> For examples, see Chapter XI, notes 34 and 45.

<sup>15</sup> For a case in point, the ministry of Andreas Lilge provides an example. In the late 1870's, he had joined the Lutheran Church in Volhynia in order to serve as a Kuester-Lehrer (Sacristan-Teacher); yet still he operated as the Leader of a local "Christian Fellowship" (Moravian) holding Bible study and fellowship meetings. Kurt H. Vitt, The Founding of the Moravian Church in Western Canada and the Andreas Lilge Story (Edmonton: Canadian Moravian Historical Society, 1983), pp. 16-17. When the Moravians began an ordained ministry in Volhynia, Lilge joined that church, but had to leave the Lutheran Church. p. 20. Later, as he was establishing the Moravian colony at Bruederheim, Alberta, Lilge urged that the immigrants should "call

However, although all Lutherans were heir to the Augsburg Confession, Lutherans in the Canadian Prairie region found themselves not in doctrinal agreement with each other and not in one communion.<sup>16</sup> This led to several decades of bitter rivalry between competing church bodies. To understand why this was the case, one must first understand certain aspects of Lutheran history subsequent to the Reformation, especially developments in 19th century Germany and the United States.

In 1530, "certain Princes and Cities" presented the Augsburg Confession to the Emperor in an effort to both defend the position of those who were following the doctrinal emphases of Martin Luther and also as a basis of discussion in hope of eventually attaining peace with the Roman Church. However, this peace proved impossible to attain and reluctantly Lutherans were compelled to establish

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themselves 'Moravians' (Bruedergemeinler) and not 'Lutherans' as they had been apt to do" (which indicates the potential for confusion). p. 100. Yet later on, when Lilje became Lutheran (in Alberta), he did so only after separation from the Moravians. pp. 110-113.

<sup>16</sup> At issue, generally, among North American Lutherans in the 19th century was the question of communion with other denominations. See Eugene L. Fevold, "Coming of Age: 1875-1900" in The Lutherans in North America (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), p. 311. However, it should be noted that "In [the] 19th c[entury] and early in [the] 20th, [the] majority of Lutherans in Am[erica] tended to follow organizational lines in [the] practice of altar fellowship." Lutheran Cyclopedia, 1975, s.v. "Altar Fellowship." Given the heat of controversy which developed in western Canada, one could expect that this would be doubly true, although certainly exceptions could be expected in view of pioneer conditions.

separate church organizations. In this process, various questions arose and were debated, and documents were written to speak doctrinally to various situations in the life of the church. Finally, in an effort to clarify the confessional stance of Lutherans and to provide a comprehensive statement of Lutheran unity, documents in addition to the Augsburg Confession<sup>17</sup> were collected and published in 1580 in the Book of Concord which was subscribed to by a large number of Lutheran rulers as the standard for church teaching and practice in their domains.<sup>18</sup> Thence followed what has been called the Age of Orthodoxy<sup>19</sup> in Lutheran lands which accompanied a period of bitter religious conflict in Europe in general.

By the 18th century, movements had arisen in reaction to Orthodoxy which were blurring confessional consciousness. Especially rationalism, which deemphasized the divinity of Christ and the sacraments,<sup>20</sup> had, in the eyes of its

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<sup>17</sup> The importance of the Augsburg Confession (along with Luther's Small Catechism) in the formation of Lutheran denominational identity can scarcely be overestimated. Although the average parishioner may not have ever read the Confession, through application to parish teaching and practice it determined what he or she came to believe and expect in matters of faith and life and parish practice. See Willard D. Allbeck, Studies in the Lutheran Confessions (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), pp. 3-11.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> See Otto W. Heick, A History of Christian Thought, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), pp. 468f..

<sup>20</sup> See Heick, A History of Christian Thought, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 131-32.

proponents, the effect of rendering large parts of the Confessions meaningless. For these, the church became "essentially a society for the promotion of personal and civic virtue."<sup>21</sup> The two phenomena of confessional disregard and church subordination to the civil order found their dramatic expression in 1817 as Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia merged Lutheran and Reformed Churches<sup>22</sup> into a Union Church in the interests of State-Nationalism.<sup>23</sup>

In America, meanwhile, a parallel development was taking place which, however, took a turn quite different from that which eventuated in the Prussian Union Church. In the new United States in the last quarter of the 18th century, Deism or the "cult of reason" was popular while many organized churches were in a state of depression.<sup>24</sup> However, at the beginning of the 19th century a return to organized religion took place. This return was dramatically marked by the Cane Ridge (Kentucky) revival of 1801, famous

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>22</sup> Applied to the whole of Prussian territory, the process was uneven, occurred over a period of time, and also brought forth a reaction. Details are to be found in Lutheran Cyclopedia, 1975, s.v. "Prussian Union" and in Conrad Bergendoff, The Church of the Lutheran Reformation (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), pp. 206-207.

<sup>23</sup> In his book Too Good to Miss, J. Robert Jacobson equates the terms "Unionism" and "Nationalism" in this context. Calgary: Foothills Lutheran Press, 1977, p. 58.

<sup>24</sup> Ahlstrom, pp. 365-6.

as "a watershed in American church history."<sup>25</sup> From this point on, the Baptist and Methodist denominations, which had been "relatively small fringe groups" grew by 1890 to become the "popular base of American Protestantism" and its two largest denominations.<sup>26</sup> Taken as a whole, American Protestantism generally accepted the radical branch of the Reformation as it had been carried out in Switzerland and then by the Puritans, but grafted onto that was the emphasis of individualistic revivalism.<sup>27</sup> Further, the movement itself became nationalistic. It came to provide strong religious support for the idea of American Manifest Destiny.<sup>28</sup> This latter idea became, in the words of Prof. Sidney Ahlstrom, "the almost universal American conviction that the United States had a mission to extend its influence throughout the world." It "meant that the American was characteristically a 'post-millennialist.' He believed that the Kingdom of God would be realized in history, almost surely in American history."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 433.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 843.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 843-4.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 878.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 845. We hasten to add that millennialism is only one variety of a theology which looks for the Kingdom of God in history. Chiliasm is rejected by the Augsburg Confession (Art. XVII). The Lutheran clergy in the Prairie Provinces maintained a strong emphasis on the breaking in of the Kingdom of God in their mission theology while, at the same time, rejecting what they saw as

To the above described developments in mainstream American Protestantism German Lutherans responded in a variety of ways. In the latter part of the 18th century, American Lutherans were affected by Rationalism in a way sometimes reminding of the European experience,<sup>30</sup> but they also reacted against it.<sup>31</sup> However, it was with the arrival of the 19th century and the phenomenon of popular American Protestantism that Lutherans faced their most serious challenge. The years 1800-1817 have been called the "crisis years,"<sup>32</sup> but for different times and places this designation could almost be extended to cover the whole first half of the 19th century.

At issue was survival itself, and the threat from popular Protestantism was precipitated by the language question as children of German Lutherans grew up not knowing German. "Behind every other problem loomed the language question."<sup>33</sup> To this situation there were different

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heretical notions about that Kingdom. See our Ch. XII, B.

<sup>30</sup> Catechisms were revised; confessional statements were overlooked in the writing of synod constitutions. See Bergendoff, pp. 230-1 and H. George Anderson, "The Early National Period: 1790-1840" in The Lutherans in North America, p. 93.

<sup>31</sup> Especially in the fight against Deism. See Anderson, pp. 105-6.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. In simplest terms, not knowing German meant that Lutherans were cut off from much of their hymnody and devotional literature. See *ibid.*, p. 97. As well, the Book of Concord was not completely translated until 1851.

responses. Many individuals lost both German and Lutheran identity by either joining other churches or by dropping religious affiliation altogether.<sup>34</sup> However, for those remaining as a part of Lutheran church organization, there were basically three<sup>35</sup> types of response which were as follows:

1) Accommodation to the prevailing climate. This was the response which came to be represented by the General Synod (See note 12) which had formed in 1820, with the purpose of raising Lutheran consciousness through united action.<sup>36</sup> As noted, by mid-century this general church body included all of the English synods and several bilingual synods. It was a church body which tried to maintain a peace between those who maintained an adherence to the Augsburg Confession and those who wanted Lutheran practice to move in the direction of more general Protestantism. The most open sign of accommodation came in 1855 when the "American Recension of the Augsburg Confession" was published. Characteristically, some member synods accepted

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Ahlstrom, p. 521. However, one suspects that there was still much more to the matter than mere translation.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pp. 97-98.

<sup>35</sup> This is not to say that the responses, especially #2 and #3, could not overlap.

<sup>36</sup> See August R. Suelflow and E. Clifford Nelson, "Following the Frontier: 1840-1875" in The Lutherans in North America, p. 215ff..

it, but others did not.<sup>37</sup>

2) Cultural defense. The proponents of this response felt that "either they would [have to] preserve the German language or they would have to abandon the faith to inevitable extinction."<sup>38</sup> Thus they set about defending German culture, principally through the promotion of schools and newspapers.<sup>39</sup> However, in an ironic parallel to the Prussian Union phenomenon, a common concern for German culture sometimes brought Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Moravians together and often blurred the distinction between them.<sup>40</sup>

3) Confessional affirmation. This third response to the threat to Lutheran identity involved positive, wholehearted acceptance of Lutheran teaching as found in the Augsburg Confession. Occurring most positively after 1817, and mostly among German-speaking Lutherans,<sup>41</sup> it seems, time-wise, to parallel Lutheran reaction in Germany to the Prussian Union. And, indeed, those participating in the movement were augmented by immigration from Europe in the 19th century.<sup>42</sup> It is especially this type of response that

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<sup>37</sup> See Ahlstrom, pp. 523-24.

<sup>38</sup> Anderson, p. 98.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>41</sup> See Ahlstrom, p. 521f..

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

will concern this study since all German Lutheran church bodies operating in western Canada were a part of it.

B. The Confessions and the Three German Lutheran Synods in the Prairie Provinces.

In the time period covered by this study, basically three<sup>43</sup> United States based German Lutheran church bodies came to be operating in the Canadian Prairie region. These were 1) the Manitoba Synod<sup>44</sup> of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America<sup>45</sup> 2) the Canada District of the Ohio Synod<sup>46</sup> and 3) the Minnesota and Dakota District of the Missouri Synod.<sup>47</sup> All three of these church

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<sup>43</sup> Omitted from this discussion are the Wisconsin Synod and the Iowa Synod, which in 1911 had apparently only one congregation each. See Lutheran Cyclopedia, 1975, s.v. "Canada. A. Lutherans in," by Albert Schwermann and Dakota Distrikt der Ev.-Luth. Synode von Iowa und anderen Staaten, Bericht, 1912, "Parochialbericht des Dakota Distrikts fuer das Jahr 1911."

<sup>44</sup> "Die Deutsche Evangelisch Lutherische Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest-Territorien" later changed to ". . . und anderen Provinzen." See Chapter X, note 33.

<sup>45</sup> From title page of General Council, Minutes, 1888.

<sup>46</sup> "Der Canada Distrikt der Allgemeinen Evang. Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten." From title page of Verhandlungen, 1909.

<sup>47</sup> "Der Minnesota- und Dakota Distrikt der Deutschen Ev.-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten." From title page of Synodal-Bericht, 1910. In 1906, the South Dakota part, and in 1910, the North Dakota and Montana parts were divided off, and the western Canadian

bodies represent a Lutheran confessional response to the religious climate in the United States in the first half of the 19th century with one of them also being especially a response to an unconfessional attitude in Germany. All three subscribed to the Augsburg Confession and the Book of Concord.<sup>48</sup> Yet, in spite of all they had in common, none could work in harmony with the others. The result was the unhappy conflict and rivalry which, at the least, was confusing to the German-speaking settlers from Russia or Austria-Hungary.<sup>49</sup>

The following sketch will examine the origins of the three church bodies in question and show how they came to be in conflict:

1) The Ohio Synod was formed in 1818 in a peaceful separation (because of distance) from the Ministerium of

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work was left with the Minnesota District. See Norman J. Threinen, A Sower Went Out: A History of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan District of Lutheran Church-Canada (Missouri Synod) (Regina: Manitoba and Saskatchewan District, 1982), p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> See Suelflow and Nelson, pp. 174-176, 180, and 234-35.

<sup>49</sup> To be sure, parallel movements such as the decline of the Lutheran church under rationalism, the return of confessional consciousness, and the presence of pietistic and revivalistic elements within (or alongside) the Lutheran communities took place in the Lutheran church background of the immigrants from Russia. However, as we shall show in the respective sections on the European church background of the immigrants, processes in the Lutheran church itself do not appear to have been as confusing (at least for the involvement of the average church member) as those which occurred in the United States.

Pennsylvania.<sup>50</sup> Under the influence of the Henkel family,<sup>51</sup> it was one of the first synods to be a part of the confessional movement in the United States and stayed aloof from the General Synod.<sup>52</sup>

2) The Missouri Synod was formed in 1847 principally from a core of immigrants from Saxony who had been resisting the Prussian Union movement.<sup>53</sup> Their ranks had been augmented by several immigrant pastors from the Ohio Synod who were dissatisfied because of perceived confessional indifference, the ascendancy of English at the seminary, and the "process of Americanization."<sup>54</sup>

3) The General Council was formed in 1867 under the

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<sup>50</sup> Suelflow and Nelson, p. 174.

<sup>51</sup> Paul Henkel (1754-1825) and clergy sons Philip, Ambrose, Andrew, David and Charles (names Anglicized in reference) were prime actors in the early confessional movement. With a family printing press in New Market, Virginia and clergy sons in Tennessee, Ohio, and North Carolina, this family published and disseminated numerous doctrinal works, catechisms and hymnbooks throughout the region both in German and in English, including hymns and a liturgy written by the elder Henkel himself. See Bachman S. Brown, ed., Life Sketches of Lutheran Ministers: North Carolina and Tennessee Synods, 1773-1965 (Columbia, S.C.: North Carolina Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, 1966), pp. 87, 88 and 90. See also Suelflow and Nelson, p. 207.

<sup>52</sup> Suelflow and Nelson, p. 176.

<sup>53</sup> Although from the area of Dresden, these immigrants were a part of the confessional revival movement which was opposing the Prussian Union and its influence in other parts of Germany. See *ibid.*, pp. 152-157 and 178-181.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179. It should also be stated that following this time (1845) the Ohio Synod strengthened its confessional commitment. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-6.

leadership of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania because of continuing confessional disregard on the part of the General Synod.<sup>55</sup>

4) Both the Missouri and the Ohio Synods had appeared at the beginning of the General Council and had considered becoming members of it, but later withdrew because of their perception of confessional laxness on the part of some member synods.<sup>56</sup> We observe in the statement of Missouri that the concern was for both doctrine and "churchly practice,"<sup>57</sup> indicating that now the issue was not merely confessional subscription but also confessional integrity, that is, consistent application of church teaching to the life of the parish.<sup>58</sup>

5) In 1871 the Ohio Synod joined in fellowship with Missouri in the "Synodical Conference."<sup>59</sup> This unity,

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<sup>55</sup> Having weathered the storm of the American Recension, at issue this time was the admission of the "Frankean Synod," which would not subscribe to the Confession. Ibid., pp. 231-2.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 234-5.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 236.

<sup>58</sup> Sidney Ahlstrom is instructive here. "Historic Lutheran doctrine was asserted in official constitutions, and it was expounded in seminaries. But in Lutheran congregations across the land the attitudes and the practices of American Evangelical Protestantism maintained a lively existence. Much that one could see and hear reflected the fact: church design, vestments, hymnody, worship, preaching, and ethical advocacy." "Facing the New World: Augustana and the American Challenge," in Centennial Essays, p. 15. Cited in Fevold, p. 352.

<sup>59</sup> Suelflow and Nelson, pp. 250-1.

however, was shattered in the 1880's by the Predestination Controversy. Missouri saw the nature of conversion as a central question in the debate.<sup>60</sup> In response, Ohio joined with those who saw in Missouri's teaching "crypto-Calvinism."<sup>61</sup>

Thus, by the end of the 1880's, none of the three synods which came to work in western Canada were in fellowship with each other.

The General Council was especially strong in the eastern United States and counted among its member synods the Canada Synod<sup>62</sup> whose strength was centered mostly in the area of Berlin, Ontario.<sup>63</sup> This synod, however, was too weak financially to carry out an effective mission in western Canada. Although the Canada Synod did begin the first lasting mission in Winnipeg in 1888, the work was quickly turned over to the German Home Mission Board of the General Council which carried it on until the founding of an indigenous Manitoba Synod in 1897.<sup>64</sup> The General Council,

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<sup>60</sup> Fevold, p. 323.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., pp. 316-17.

<sup>62</sup> J. M. Lenker, Lutherans in All Lands (Milwaukee: Houtkamp and Cannon, 1893), p. 766.

<sup>63</sup> Today, Kitchener. See Carl R. Cronmiller, A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada, vol. 1 (The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada, 1961), pp. 108 and 214.

<sup>64</sup> See [Martin Ruccius], Denkschrift zum Silber-Jubilaeum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba u. a. Provinzen: 1897-1922 (Winnipeg: National Press, Ltd., 1922), pp. 7-9 and 13f..

although conservative with respect to confessional subscription, can be considered, relative to the Ohio Synod and Missouri Synod, to be somewhat more liberal, opposing, yet on occasion allowing, lodge membership<sup>65</sup> and allowing pulpit and altar fellowship with other denominations as a matter of exceptional privilege.<sup>66</sup> Although more decentralized (being made up of member synods), its seminary and major institutions were in the states of New York and Pennsylvania.<sup>67</sup>

The Missouri Synod was the largest single synod in the United States<sup>68</sup> and especially strong throughout the Midwest United States.<sup>69</sup> Its most outstanding theologian had been

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<sup>65</sup> Fevold, p. 353. The fundamental objection to membership in lodges (especially Freemasonry) was that it substituted a religion of moralism and rationalism for Christianity. Other types of lodges were more debatable. Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>66</sup> See Suelflow and Nelson, p. 237 and Lutheran Cyclopedia, s.v. "Altar Fellowship." For concrete examples of the conservative-liberal tension in the General Council itself, see our section on the Kropp controversy in that body. Below pp. 303ff..

<sup>67</sup> See Lenker, pp. 767-772 and 787-9.

<sup>68</sup> At 320,000 confirmed members (in 1893) it was about three times the size of the next largest synod, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and larger than the whole General Council. See Lenker, Lutherans in All Lands, p. 766. This remarkable 800 page book, contemporary to the main events of this study, was written by a pastor of the General Synod who was also president of the American Lutheran Immigration Society. From title page.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., p. 795.

Dr. C. F. W. Walther;<sup>70</sup> and its headquarters were in St. Louis, Missouri. Of the three church bodies, Missouri tended to be most conservative and representative of 17th century Lutheran orthodoxy.<sup>71</sup> For the period under study, Missouri carried out its mission on the Prairies through its Minnesota-Dakota (resp., Minnesota) District.

The Ohio Synod could perhaps be considered theologically in the middle, between Missouri and the General Council.<sup>72</sup> It had its headquarters in Columbus, Ohio<sup>73</sup> and soon after entering western Canada formed a Canada District, analogous to the Manitoba Synod.<sup>74</sup>

It should be noted at this point that the Manitoba Synod, by the year 1911, was smaller than the Canada

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp. 791f..

<sup>71</sup> Lenker quotes Walther: "We have tried the experiment, as it were, whether by the doctrine of the sixteenth century the souls of the nineteenth century might not be edified unto salvation . . . and, behold, our hope has not been disappointed." p. 794. See also E. Clifford Nelson, "The New Shape of Lutheranism: 1930-" in The Lutherans in North America, pp. 460-1.

<sup>72</sup> This is not easy to show simply. Perhaps one of the more meaningful indications of it is the fact that some years later, among the descendant bodies of the General Council, the Ohio, and the Missouri Synods (viz., the LCA, the ALC, and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod), the ALC was in fellowship with the LCA and the Missouri Synod, but the LCA and the Missouri Synod were not in fellowship with each other. See Nelson, "The New Shape of Lutheranism," p. 530.

<sup>73</sup> See Lenker, pp. 767-772.

<sup>74</sup> See pp. 315f..

District<sup>75</sup> and was tiny in comparison to the other two synods who were more comparable in size to the entire General Council.<sup>76</sup> However, all three church bodies will usually be called according to synodical names in this dissertation, since after 1897, that was the usual parlance of the time in western Canada.

We should also emphasize that, in the context of western Canada, the three synods were, in fact, quite similar in theology and practice and that the conflict between them was based on controversies arising in the context of American religion, transported to Canada, and then exacerbated by the predictable personal conflicts and feuds which arose.<sup>77</sup> To be sure, German Lutheran immigrants--having in common a religious life informed by the Augsburg Confession (with understandable local and

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<sup>75</sup> See Chapter XI, note 22.

<sup>76</sup> In 1893, by confirmed members: the General Council, 283,646; the Ohio Synod, 68,225; the Missouri Synod, 320,000. Lenker, p. 766.

<sup>77</sup> However, we also observe that something of that American context was also present in western Canada, both with the German Baptist movement and with the more Anglo-Canadian reform movement emanating from the social gospel. In the context of German-Canadian resistance to prohibition in 1910, a German Catholic paper called the latter "ein Amerikanisch-puritanisches Gewaechs, entsprossen dem Prinzip von der Allgewalt des Staates und der falschen Auffassung, dass der Staat allein die Menschen auch sittlich erziehen und seiner hohen Bestimmung entgegen [sic.] fuehre[n] kann." See Arthur Grenke, "The Formation and Early Development of an Urban Ethnic Community: A Case Study of the Germans in Winnipeg, 1872-1919." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1975), pp. 317, 322, and 326.

regional variations)--these were not naturally inclined to be divided according to the manner of three synods!

Ironically and tragically, all three synods, in the midst of their conflict, were trying to accomplish the same thing, namely, to be faithful to the Confessions of the Church, i.e., in their understanding, the Gospel in the faith and life of the Lutheran parish, and that in the problematic context of North American religion.

#### C. Previous Treatment of German Lutherans Immigrating to the Prairie Provinces.

At this present time there has been no substantial academic study of German Lutherans as such in the Prairie region although they have been included in studies of Germans in general in the region. In this regard, two works are especially notable, namely, the 1939 publication of Heinz Lehmann, Das Deutschtum in Westkanada, and Arthur Grenke's unpublished doctoral dissertation: "The Formation and Early Development of an Urban Ethnic Community: A Case Study of Germans in Winnipeg, 1872-1919."

In his work, Dr. Lehmann has a detailed chapter entitled "Die Deutsche Einwanderung vor dem ersten Weltkrieg" in which he attempts to account for the place origins of all German origin people in the region. In this

attempt he includes German Lutherans in his work in a manner somewhat proportionate to their actual numbers.<sup>78</sup>

Lehmann has been credited with the discovery that Germans immigrating into western Canada tended to settle in groups not only according to common language but also according to common religious confession, even more so than according to common place origin.<sup>79</sup> Still, Lehmann's treatment is, of necessity, quite limited in dealing with German Lutherans in the period. His 51 pages are intended to cover all Germans in all of western Canada (including British Columbia) for that period.

A more modern treatment of ethnic Germans in the

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<sup>78</sup> Lehmann had, apparently, as his sources, 128 written replies to a (Saskatchewan) Courier request for information on origin and settlement in the German-speaking community. pp. 9, 78 and 376. He had had interviews with Saskatchewan Provincial Minister Dr. Uhrich in Regina and had interviewed Manitoba Synod President Hartig, former Manitoba Synod President Martin Ruccius, President Fritz of the Canada District of the American Lutheran Church (successor to the Ohio Synod) and Prof. Albert Schwermann of Concordia College, Edmonton (Missouri Synod), as well as leading Mennonite and German Catholic figures. p. 9. Unfortunately, Lehmann does not always show how he arrives at his conclusions from the primary data although he appears to give adequate attention to crediting secondary sources. But the work, although generally convincing as to its overall competence, is further flawed by statements of an anti-Semitic nature which occur in some spots. e.g., pp. 323 and 371. (These are without documentary support.)

<sup>79</sup> Gerhard P. Bassler, "Professor Dr. Heinz Lehmann, 1907-1985," in Canadiana Germanica, Nr. 48 (December 1985), p. 36. This would have been obvious in certain situations of organized group settlement such as southern Manitoba Mennonite settlement and the large Saskatchewan German Catholic settlements, but otherwise was not quite so apparent.

Prairie region is provided by Arthur Grenke in his doctoral work alluded to earlier. Although Dr. Grenke's thesis concentrates on Winnipeg, it also includes information on German (including German Lutheran) settlement throughout the Prairie region which he regards as a "hinterland" of Winnipeg.<sup>80</sup> Grenke's work, however, relative to the Prairie region, appears not to emphasize German Lutherans to a degree proportionate to their numbers, which would be understandable, since the thesis is, after all, concerned mainly with Winnipeg, and by 1911 German Lutherans in Manitoba were less than a third of the total for the Prairies.<sup>81</sup> Grenke has gathered a wealth of material on Germans in western Canada, many of whom were Lutheran; and, at the time he wrote, was able to preserve interviews with many people who still remembered the pre-World War I era.<sup>82</sup>

However, in his treatment of German Lutherans as such, he is subject to occasional misconception and error. For example, in his thesis he has the idea that the Missouri Synod "[l]ike the Reform Church . . . held a Calvinistic view of the Lord's supper."<sup>83</sup> In another example, he confuses the General Synod and the General Council.<sup>84</sup> In

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<sup>80</sup> See pp. 78ff..

<sup>81</sup> See Appendix III.

<sup>82</sup> See especially pp. 487-491.

<sup>83</sup> p. 177.

<sup>84</sup> See p. 158.

still another, he states that "Western Canadian congregations of the General Council, which at first formed part of the North Dakota Synod, organized themselves . . . into the Synod of Manitoba . . ."85 In fact, Manitoba Synod pastors had been members of the Canada Synod as we document in Chapter X. Further, in the next two sentences, Grenke confuses the concepts of Conference and District in the formation of the Canada District of the Ohio Synod.86

On his page 175, Grenke states that "Protestants, such as the Lutherans, drew a more or less strict line between what constituted the Church and the secular world, with pastors tending to confine themselves to strictly sacred activities." This he then contrasts to the practice of Roman Catholics. While we do not want to dispute this statement directly, we will note that Grenke's sources are either from English Lutheranism or post-World War I German Lutheranism. One of the goals of our study is to show that in the pre-World War I era, the work of pastors in the German Lutheran tradition was somewhat closer to that which Grenke characterizes as being Catholic. Specifically, this was the case with their involvement in the areas of the "secular" press, the settlement process and the parochial

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85 p. 165.

86 In his wording, he seems to identify the two and has them forming in 1908. In fact, the Conference formed in 1906 and out of it came the District in 1908. Details are in our Chapter XI.

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We will indicate other areas where we differ from Grenke as our study progresses. However, for now, one other misconception should be cleared up. In his Chapter II, Note 74, Grenke quotes Prof. Lehmann (pp. 73-78) as saying that the 'master races' in Galicia and Hungary tried to assimilate the Germans and this was one of the causes for their emigration. This writer has read Lehmann pages 73-78 and is not able to find this expression anywhere. Rather, the concept for Lehmann is that of "[ein] staatstragende[s] Mehrheitsvolk."<sup>87</sup> Although Lehmann does not give all of his primary sources, this writer, in checking some of his data for this study, has found him to be accurate except for only a few minor errors.<sup>88</sup>

Finally, in connection with treatment of Lutherans in works dealing with ethnic Germans in general in the Prairie region, mention should be made of work which is Provincial in scope but still important because it is of more recent treatment. This is an M.A. thesis by Kurt Tischler entitled "The German Canadians in Saskatchewan with particular Reference to the Language Problem, 1900-1930" (University of Saskatchewan, 1978).<sup>89</sup> In a chapter dealing with

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<sup>87</sup> p. 59.

<sup>88</sup> See below pp. 378 and 395, note 1.

<sup>89</sup> Published in modified form as "The Efforts of the Germans in Saskatchewan to Retain their Language before 1914" in Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch, vol. 6 (1981), pp. 42-

Saskatchewan Germans in the pre-World War I era, Tischler gives roughly equal treatment to Mennonites, Roman Catholics and Lutherans. His theme is that of German cultural survival and in dealing with this topic he emphasizes the integral role that religion had in the overall society of ethnic Germans: ". . . one can hardly over-emphasize the importance of the local church and its ministers to the success of the great majority of German settlements in Saskatchewan and to their efforts to organize themselves to retain the German language."<sup>90</sup>

Proceeding from consideration of the above literature, one should note that studies which have dealt with German Lutherans as such have been limited to the bounds of individual synod, locality and individual biography.<sup>91</sup> This material varies considerably in quality, ranging from earlier work which is almost autobiographical and thus

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<sup>90</sup> Jahrbuch edition, p. 59.

<sup>91</sup> However, an important pioneer attempt to break these bounds and deal with the pan-Lutheran phenomenon is the 1945 production of Lutherans in Canada by Valdimar Eylands. Winnipeg: The Icelandic Evangelical Lutheran Synod in North America, 1945. But this book is limited by the opposite extreme, namely, that it tries to cover all Lutherans in all of Canada and in doing so can deal only sketchily with German Lutherans in western Canada. Also, the book is quite uneven in treatment, giving longer treatment to the Icelandic Synod (about 7,000 members, including those in the United States) than to the entire Missouri Synod in Canada. (ca. 43,000 members) See pp. 229 and 327.

extremely valuable as a source,<sup>92</sup> to recent scholarly work which is well documented,<sup>93</sup> to other work which is unfortunately lacking in adequate documentation and which, therefore, must be used with great caution.

In summary, although various aspects of the German Lutheran phenomenon in the Prairie region have been dealt with from both the point of view of ethnic history and religious history, there has been no examination of the phenomenon in a comprehensive manner. This dissertation attempts to fill that gap.

Both Dr. Lehmann and Dr. Grenke, using secondary sources, give some attention to the background of Germans, in general, in their places of origin and their reasons for immigrating to western Canada. Grenke, especially, makes extensive use of government documents to delineate the

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<sup>92</sup> Examples are [Martin Ruccius], Denkschrift zum Silber-Jubilaem [etc.] and Arnold Fricke, Geschichtlicher Ueberblick des 20-jaehrigen Bestehens des Canada Distrikts der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Ohio und anderen Staaten (Regina: Western Printers, 1928). That Ruccius was author of the Denkschrift is not stated on the title page but is revealed by Ernst Goos in his Pioneering for Christ in Western Canada (Manitoba Synod, 1947), p. 104.

<sup>93</sup> Examples are Norman Threinen, "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada," Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 47 (Fall 1974): 110-117; George Evenson, Adventuring for Christ: The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada (Calgary: Foothills Lutheran Press, 1974); Klaus Burmeister, "Pioneer Missionary in the Northwest: The Schmieder Papers 1889-1893" (Essay Competition of the Association of Lutheran Archivists and Historians in Canada, 1983); and Walter Freitag, "'Mountain of Difficulties:' The Prehistory of Lutheran College and Seminary at Saskatoon," Consensus 14 (1988): 7-22.

immigration and settlement process for ethnic Germans in general and, in the case of individual settlements, identifies German Lutherans as such. However, in both of these cases, the church background of German Lutherans settling in the Prairie region is not dealt with as such.

Other works, without special emphasis on emigration to Canada, deal substantively with German Lutheran background in Eastern Europe in a more general context. Erik Amburger, in his Geschichte des Protestantismus in Russland<sup>94</sup> of necessity devotes a large part of his work to the study of German Lutherans. Adam Giesinger, From Catherine to Kruschev,<sup>95</sup> deals competently with Lutherans as a part of the whole Russia-German phenomenon. Edgar Duin, in his study, Lutheranism under the Tsars and the Soviets,<sup>96</sup> includes German Lutherans in a manner roughly proportionate to their actual numbers and influence. All three of these studies, although competent in their own right, are written in a general context; none are focussed especially on the church background of the German Lutherans in western Canada.

Beyond these three major works, there have been a number of studies on German minorities in various regions in Russia. Of these, however, most of the ones which are in

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<sup>94</sup> Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1961. Because of mechanical limitations, "sharp-s" is given as "ss."

<sup>95</sup> Subtitle: The Story of Russia's Germans (Battleford, Saskatchewan: Marian Press, 1974).

<sup>96</sup> Ann Arbor, Mich.: Xerox University Microfilm, 1976.

English and are readily available in Canada deal more with the Volga Germans and Germans in South Russia.<sup>97</sup> The area of Volhynia, which is of prime importance for the background of German Lutherans immigrating to Canada has been relatively neglected until very recent times.<sup>98</sup> Friedrich Rink has produced two works of importance for the reconstruction of the church and community life of Germans in Volhynia. These are his 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien<sup>99</sup> published in 1922 and his "Die Wolhyniendeutschen: Ihr Werk und ihr Schicksaal" in the Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland.<sup>100</sup> Even though this latter work was published rather late, both of Rink's works can be considered almost as primary sources since he is writing from personal

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<sup>97</sup> e.g., Joseph S. Height, Homesteaders on the Steppe: Cultural History of the Evangelical-Lutheran Colonies in the Region of Odessa. 1804-1945 (Bismarck, N. D.: North Dakota Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1975); Richard Sallet, Russian-German Settlements in the United States (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974); and Fred C. Koch, The Volga Germans: In Russia and the Americas from 1763 to the Present (Pennsylvania State University, 1977).

<sup>98</sup> In Giesinger's 57 page chapter entitled "The Empire They Built" only four pages are devoted to Volhynia. One reason for this could be the relatively short history of major German settlement in Volhynia.

Wandering Volhynians: a Magazine for the Descendents of Germans from Volhynia and Poland is of fairly recent vintage, the March 1990 issue being only volume 3. As its subtitle suggests, the focus of this publication is primarily genealogical.

<sup>99</sup> Berlin: Verein der Deutschen Wolhynier E. V..

<sup>100</sup> (Stuttgart: Landmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1959), pp. 39-51.

experience. A further work which contains valuable information on the life of German Lutherans from Volhynia is Kurt Vitt's, The Founding of the Moravian Church in Western Canada and the Andreas Lilge Story.<sup>101</sup> Using primary sources connected with the Lilge colonization venture, Vitt devotes a considerable portion of this 150 page book to the background of the Moravians in Volhynia and in doing so reveals something of the Moravian-Lutheran relationship there which was a very close one. The coming of the Moravians to western Canada forms an interesting parallel to the phenomenon which we are investigating because also here one finds the bulk of the people coming from eastern Europe with church leadership coming from Germany and the United States.<sup>102</sup>

The literature on German Lutherans in Galicia and the Bukovina is more rare. Almost nothing is available in English. Walter Kuhn, in his Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien<sup>103</sup> includes German Lutherans in his studies on ethnic Germans in Galicia. Julius Kraemer, editor of Heimat Galizien<sup>104</sup> provides articles by various

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<sup>101</sup> Edmonton: Canadian Moravian Historical Society, 1983.

<sup>102</sup> See Vitt, pp. 24ff. and 27ff..

<sup>103</sup> Muenster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1930.

<sup>104</sup> Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Hilfskomitee der Galiziendeutschen, 1965.

authors on the life of Lutherans in that area of the Danube monarchy. As well, there is some material on German Lutherans in Franz Lang, ed., Buchenland: Hundertfuenfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina.<sup>105</sup>

Although we are basing our reconstruction of the Lutheran Church background of the immigrants mostly on secondary sources (some of which, however, contemporary to the events under consideration), we shall also be including references to events and life in Eastern Europe included in the contemporary German church and secular press in the United States and Canada, especially Siloah, Der Lutheraner and Der Nordwesten.<sup>106</sup>

Finally, with respect to both Germany and the United States, our inquiry into the church background has a different focus from that of our interest in the church background in Eastern Europe. Whereas, in the latter case, we have a strong interest in the way of life of the average member living in his or her Gemeinde, for both Germany and the United States our interest is more in the larger church and in theology and mission practice. This is because of the enormous influence coming from Germany and the direct organizational ties of German Lutheran congregations to church bodies based in the United States.

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<sup>105</sup> Muenchen: Verlag des Suedostdeutschen Kulturwerks, 1961.

<sup>106</sup> For a description of these see Chapter III, note 18 and Chapter VIII, pp. 218ff..

For Germany, the literature on the Lutheran church in the last quarter of the 19th century is vast when compared to that on the minority eastern European Lutheran churches. In order to write a summary description of both Gemeindeleben and the larger church, we are relying on articles on a variety of topics in the standard reference, Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. As well, we use the contemporary J. N. Lenker, Lutherans in All Lands (1893). Lenker spent considerable time in Germany in the late 1880's<sup>107</sup> and takes special interest in the parish life of the people. As well, the German American church papers as well as the Nordwesten comment from time to time on church life in Germany.

For the church background in the United States as well, we are more concerned with the issues of theology and mission practice. The Lutherans in North America provides insight into this topic although, unfortunately, regarding the very people involved in immigration to western Canada, the author for the period 1875-1900 is sometimes misleading.<sup>108</sup> Since the Canadian missions were

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<sup>107</sup> See Siloah, July 1882.

<sup>108</sup> For example, in his statement indicating a trend away from heavy Lutheran immigration in the later part of the 19th century, the author says that a shift occurred from Northern and Western Europe to Southern and Eastern Europe. In the latter he includes Russia as a source of immigration but does not indicate that many people from Russia were German Lutherans! See Frevold, pp. 255-6. Also, his treatment of the (Canadian) Northwest mission is muddled since he states that "in the 1870's pastors of the Missouri

specifically tied to the United States church bodies, we will not be giving a separate chapter on this background but including it as a dominant theme as we go along. With respect to the Gemeindeleben of immigrants from the United States (not originally from Russia and moving for a second time), we will be taking a similar ad hoc approach. In this case, however, there is a problem which we discuss in Chapter II. This lies in the fact that the statistical category "German Lutherans from the United States" (not including those originally from Russia) is potentially such a varied group that their way of life is difficult to typify. Our sources only provide insight into characteristics of some of the people falling into this category.

To summarize, our study finds most of its information on the background of German Lutheran immigrants in secondary literature. However, what is new in our work is the presentation of this background in a form that relates directly to the people who immigrated to the Canadian Prairie region: in contrast to the immigration to the United States, mostly from Russia and Austria-Hungary, and of these, mostly from Volhynia and Galicia.

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and Norwegian synods made trips across the border, inaugurating the work of these two groups" but then simply lumps the General Council's major work in with the Iowa Synod and the Ohio Synod who "did likewise at a later date." p. 263.

D. The Integrity of the Prairie Provinces as an Entity for the Study of German Lutherans.

In the time period dealt with in this study, the Prairie Provinces provide a meaningful geographic unit for study. During this period, they were the organizational entity for two out of the three German Lutheran synods operating here, namely, the Manitoba Synod and the Ohio Synod.<sup>109</sup> An exception to this pattern was the Missouri Synod which continued its work in the Canadian Prairies as a part of its Minnesota District but then in 1922 and 1921 formed the Manitoba-Saskatchewan and Alberta-British Columbia Districts respectively.<sup>110</sup> But even here, Missouri, in the pre-war era, dealt with the Canadian Prairies as a unit, at least statistically;<sup>111</sup> and in 1913 the Missouri Synod pastors in the region founded a regional church paper.

Moreover, as numerous examples throughout this thesis

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<sup>109</sup> Each of them, however, did a small amount of work in areas bordering the region defined, namely, in British Columbia and in the Dakotas. See Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1910, pp. 3-33. Also C. Kleiner, ed., Jubilaeums Buechlein der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen (Manitoba Synode, 1947), p. 53.

<sup>110</sup> Norman J. Threinen, Fifty Years of Lutheran Convergence: The Canadian Case Study (St. Louis: Lutheran Historical Conference, 1983), p. 217.

<sup>111</sup> With a very small minority in British Columbia. See our pp. 322f. for a more thorough discussion.

will show, both pastors and lay people tended to move about, but still live and work within, an area from southern Manitoba to just west of Edmonton.<sup>112</sup> To this regional social unity, one exception, however, should be noted. This was the fact that many pastors tended to come from (or via) the United States and return there.<sup>113</sup> This latter phenomenon, however, is noted as an exception, albeit an important one.

#### E. Structure and Direction of this Thesis.

The thesis is naturally divided into two major parts. The first part has to do with the place origins of the immigrants, their church background in those origins of place, and then their reasons for emigrating. The immigrants and their places of origin will initially be identified by accounts from contemporaries who were in a position to give an overview of the origins of German Lutherans in the context of what they understood to be their mission field. These describe the influx of German-speaking Lutherans, and their statements will then be supported by

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<sup>112</sup> Some examples can be found on pages 4 and 5 of my essay "German Lutherans on the Prairies before the First World War: Some Concepts, Issues and Sources" found in For The Record 10 (August 1987): 3-29.

<sup>113</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 5.

data from the Dominion Census.

Once the place origins have been determined, we are in a position to investigate the church life, especially its local expression, the Gemeindeleben, which the immigrants had before emigrating. The life of the local German Lutheran community was carried out within the context of a territorial church-at-large which we shall also describe. Our first concern is Germany, even though it provided only a minority of German Lutheran immigrants to western Canada. However, Germany was the original source of immigration to Eastern Europe and the original and ongoing source of Mission work to ethnic Germans world-wide. Turning to Eastern Europe, in spite of numerous variations, we discover several characteristics common to nearly all of the German Lutherans immigrating from Eastern Europe. Firstly, they lived as members of minority groups, both in Russia and in Austria-Hungary. Secondly, as minorities, German Lutherans in Eastern Europe lived in cohesive settlements where religion, language and culture were distinctive. The major institutions of these communities were church and (confessional) school; indeed, the suppression or threat thereof to these institutions (especially the school) was a major cause for emigration.

Part Two deals with the settling of German Lutherans in the Canadian Prairies and the development of the Lutheran church ministry and of the Gemeinde there. The original

immigrants did not bring a pastor with them but requested a pastoral ministry through the Canada Synod. The response of this synod and the church body to which it belonged was to send a missionary, Pastor H. Schmieder who not only began the first lasting German Lutheran church, but who also took a leading role in the founding of the Nordwesten newspaper. In addition to Pastor Schmieder, the General Council sent other missionaries who by 1891 were serving German Lutherans in a territory ranging from Gretna, in southern Manitoba to Stony Plain, Alberta. The study attempts to provide some insight into the way of life in the early settlements so that the formidable task facing the early missionaries might be more easily understood.

Very quickly, the General Council received competition from the Missouri Synod. Our study attempts to show that this counter-mission had nearly collapsed by 1894 but quickly returned in the face of the inability (or unwillingness) of the General Council to provide adequate pastoral care for the large number of immigrants which arrived in the first half of the 1890's.

From 1895 on, the fact of a divided church was an unhappy characteristic of the German Lutheran ministry in Canada. The General Council missionaries founded the Manitoba Synod in 1897 but continued to lose ground to the Missouri Synod in terms of the percentage of German Lutherans served. 1905 saw the arrival of yet another

Synod, the Ohio Synod which gained in membership so quickly that by 1911, it had a larger membership than either of the other two. Our study inquires into the reasons for this rapid growth.

Only about one-half of those people of German ethnic origin and calling themselves Lutheran had joined Lutheran congregations by 1911. And only about one-half of these were in Gemeinden characterized by the presence of a Gemeindeschule although all three church bodies had declared their intention to establish parochial schools. Our study attempts to appreciate the efforts of those missionaries who worked at great personal sacrifice and yet must try to answer the question of why their success was so limited.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ORIGINS OF GERMAN LUTHERANS SETTLING IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

To understand the German Lutherans who came to the Canadian Prairies and the formation and development of German Lutheran Gemeinden, it is important to consider their backgrounds. This raises the complex question of the origins of German Lutherans; for investigation demonstrates that German-speaking Lutherans in western Canada were not, as one might initially expect, mostly from Germany.<sup>1</sup> This chapter attempts to determine the origins of German-speaking Lutherans immigrating into Canada. Later chapters will deal with the religion and way of life which immigrants from Germany and Eastern Europe had experienced in their places of origin. The treatment of German Lutheran experience in eastern Europe will be rather detailed, since for many

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<sup>1</sup> By definition they were all, generally, of a common "origin" in the linguistic sense of "German" origin, the category used in the census. But what is at issue here is the place origin of immigrants within the general category of "German origin."

immigrants, a determination to preserve their religion and culture was a motivation for emigration.

To the question: "Where did German Lutherans come from and in what proportions?" we are able to make an estimate. This estimate is at least accurate enough to enable us to study the backgrounds of a very large majority of the settlers.

#### A. Summary Statements by Missionaries.

Three descriptions of the origins of German Lutherans in the Prairie region are prominent in statements made by pastors who had worked in the area during the pre-World War I period. First, in 1922, Pastor Martin Ruccius, who had served in present day Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta<sup>2</sup> states that after the completion of the railroad in 1885 there were, in the ensuing immigration, "many German Lutherans from Galicia, the Bukovina, Rumania and the western provinces of Russia and some from the German Empire."<sup>3</sup>

Second, in 1928, Pastor Arnold Fricke summarized the situation in 1905 in the Prairie region with the words: "At

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<sup>2</sup> See C. Kleiner, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> "Denkschrift zum Silber-Jubilaem . . .," p. 5. The translation is mine.

that time Lutheran immigrants were coming to Canada from Russia and Austria by the thousands.<sup>4</sup> At a later place in his work, Fricke mentions immigrants coming from the United States, saying that some of them were not poor as was generally the case for immigrants from Eastern Europe.<sup>5</sup> Pastor Fricke was a founding member of the Ohio Synod's Canada Conference which began in 1906.<sup>6</sup>

Third, in 1965, Pastor Alfred Rehwinkel, who had begun his ministry in Alberta in 1910<sup>7</sup> and later taught at Concordia College, Edmonton,<sup>8</sup> wrote an autobiographic article entitled "Laying the Foundation of a New Church in Western Canada."<sup>9</sup> In the article he states that German Lutherans "came not primarily from Germany, but chiefly from

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<sup>4</sup> Geschichtlicher Ueberblick . . ., p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> "Laying the Foundation of a New Church in Western Canada" in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 28 (April 1965), p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Werner Entz, "Der Einfluss der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas auf die Organisationsbestrebungen des dortigen Deutschtums 1889-1939," Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch, vol. 2 (1975), p. 120.

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that Pastor Rehwinkel's ministry also extended into interior British Columbia. Rehwinkel, p. 6. However, the British Columbia ministry was only a small proportion of the work of the Synodical District to which he belonged (See Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Missouri, Ohio und andern Staaten, Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1911, pp. 78-86) and, with regard to immigrant background, can basically be considered an extension of the Prairie region.

Austria, Russia, and Southeastern European countries.<sup>10</sup>

Neither Ruccius nor Rehwinkel included German-Americans in their history of immigrant origins, but in both cases, the fact of German-American immigration is alluded to in another context. Ruccius mentions an early attempt at settlement in the 1870's by (Lutheran) Germans "from Ontario and the United States."<sup>11</sup> And Rehwinkel notes that the mass immigration to western Canada came after the Canadian Pacific Railroad had "sent their agents throughout the Eastern provinces of Canada, the United States and Europe, offering free homesteads . . . ."<sup>12</sup> And, although he does not specifically state it, the "we"<sup>13</sup> of which Rehwinkel himself was a part was itself an example of German-American immigration. Thus, all three contemporary sources, writing from a point of view extending from Winnipeg to Alberta agree that the bulk of German Lutheran immigration was from Russia and Austria-Hungary. Both Ruccius and Rehwinkel agree that Germans from the German Empire itself were

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<sup>10</sup> Rehwinkel, p. 3. In another place he is more specific with regard to the places involved (using post-World War I terminology) naming "Russia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Germany, Bessarabia, Yugoslavia, Rumania and other European countries." Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ruccius, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> Rehwinkel, p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> See *ibid.*

present but a minority.<sup>14</sup> And all three mention immigration from the United States although sometimes indirectly.

#### B. Statistical Analysis.

Still, regarding the statements of Ruccius, Fricke and Rehwinkel, it would be helpful to have estimates which are more specific. How large was the minority from the German Empire? How did the groups forming the majority compare to each other? Unfortunately, to this date no one has been able to publish any answer to these questions for German Lutherans.<sup>15</sup> However, there is published material from which a reasonably accurate estimate can be derived and that

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<sup>14</sup> Fricke, in his comments alluded to earlier, does not mention Germans from Germany specifically but talks about Central Europe (Mitteleuropa). p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> By Synod, both C. Kleiner (See pp. 7-16) and Ernst Goos (See pp. 5-7) of the Manitoba Synod do not expand upon the statements of Martin Ruccius upon whom they are likely dependent. George Evenson (Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada, a successor to the Canada District of the Ohio Synod) states simply that "Most of the German Lutheran immigrants came from Russia, Austria and Poland." Adventuring for Christ, p. 26.

Norman Threinen (Missouri Synod) in his 1982 history of the Manitoba and Saskatchewan District (A Sower Went Out) states that "A few of the German immigrants . . . came from Ontario. Others came from the western United States and from Germany. The overwhelming majority, however, came from areas of Russia and the Austria-Hungary Empire." p. 9. A further analysis of proportionate origins he does not attempt although he does continue with a description of some particulars regarding German Lutheran church traditions in Eastern Europe. p. 10.

is in Heinz Lehmann's Das Deutschtum in Westkanada.<sup>16</sup> In this work, Dr. Lehmann "dares"<sup>17</sup> an estimate of the origins, by percentage, of all Germans in western Canada. From these this writer will also "dare" to derive an estimation of the origin of German Lutherans.<sup>18</sup> This is done in Appendices IV

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<sup>16</sup> For Gerhard P. Bassler, writing in 1985: "To date these volumes on the Germans in eastern and western Canada [i.e., the Heinz Lehmann work of 1931 and 1939] constitute the most comprehensive account of the scope of German Canadian history. Their analysis of the background, course and distribution of the German-Canadian community still are the sine qua non for any serious inquiry into the subject." "Problems and Perspectives in German-Canadian Historiography," Deutschkanadische Studien, vol. 5 (Etudes allemandes, Université de Montréal, 1985), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> "Auf Grund des mir vorliegenden Materials moechte ich . . . folgende Schaetzung wagen." p. 93.

<sup>18</sup> Lehmann is relied upon by others writing more from an ethnic perspective. Arthur Grenke, in his dissertation on the Germans in Winnipeg, cites him in a summary statement estimating "that 2/3 of German origin settlers were from Russia, Austria-Hungary and Roumania. Most of the remaining 1/3 came from the Western United States. About 12% were from the Reich." p. 72.

A second writer which we mention is Edmund Heier, who uses Lehmann's percentages in his article "The Immigration of the Russo-German Catholics and Lutherans into Canada" (in Canadian Slavonic Papers 4 (1960): 165).

Also, Kurt Tischler (Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch edition), in citing Lehmann repeats these same published percentage conclusions in a footnote. p. 42.

As well, Alan Anderson, in his "German Settlements in Saskatchewan" (in Martin L. Kovacs, ed., Roots and Realities among Eastern and Central Europeans (Edmonton: Central and East European Studies Association of Canada, 1983.)) cites the above percentages; however, in another context he is critical of Lehmann, including his work in a caution against the generalizing of German immigrants as being "poor, [of] limited education, and [having] strong familial and religious ties." p. 180.

Most interesting in the matter of dependency on Lehmann is the unpublished Master's Thesis of Elizabeth Barbara Gerwin entitled "A Survey of the German-Speaking Population of Alberta" (Uni. of Alberta). Completed in 1938, this

thesis appears to have no dependency on Dr. Lehmann. (He is not mentioned in the "References Consulted," n.p.n..) However, Gerwin refers to table 62, vol. 14 of the 1931 Census (p. 5) and provides a breakdown of place origin (birth) for those having German as the mother tongue in Alberta. pp. 5-8. Although only for Alberta, and for the year 1931, of the foreign-born, Gerwin's table (p. 6) contains the following totals, somewhat rearranged and translated into percentages:

From Germany	7,789	(22%)
Austria and Hungary	2,002	(6%)
Poland	4,111	(12%)
Roumania	1,638	(5%)
Russia	10,129	(29%)
United States	7,586	(21%)
Other (not Canada, but including some countries formerly of the Austro-Hungarian Empire)	2,220	(6%)
	<u>35,475</u>	(ca. 101%).

Transposing back into pre-World War I categories, allowing for a reasonable proportion in the categories Roumania and the United States to be originally from Russia, and allowing for a particularly heavy post-World War I immigration directly from Germany (See Gerwin, p. 58), this writer derives the following modification:

From Russia (directly and indirectly)	ca. 40-54%
From Austria-Hungary	ca. 12-22%
From the Reich	ca. 18-20%
From the United States (not originally from Russia)	ca. 12-18%
Other (not former Austria-Hungary)	ca. 1-4%.

The result is remarkably close to Lehmann's estimate. Moreover, in the categories "From Russia" and "From the Reich," it seems closer to our own estimate of origins of German Lutherans which is not surprising since the large block of Manitoba Mennonites from Russia is left out and

and V; and from the conclusions reached at the end of Appendix V, the following statements can be made with a reasonable degree of certainty:

First, about half of German Lutherans were from Russia either directly or indirectly after a period of settlement in Rumania or the United States. (Persons simply "passing through" the United States are considered directly from Russia.)<sup>19</sup> There is also strong evidence that many of these Russia-Germans, likely a majority, were from Volhynia;<sup>20</sup>

Secondly, about one fifth of German Lutherans were from Austria-Hungary. As well, a large proportion of these were Galicians;<sup>21</sup>

Thirdly, about 15% of German Lutherans were from the German Empire with about the same number, likely slightly less, from the United States and not originally from Russia;

Finally, only a very small percentage of German Lutherans came from Ontario or areas other than those listed above, most certainly less than 5%.

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Alberta had a relatively high proportion of Lutherans among those of German origin. See Gerwin, p. 92 and Lehmann, p. 225. Although this study on Germans in Alberta can not, by itself, verify either Lehmann's estimate of Germans in general or our own, it does appear to lend support to both estimates.

<sup>19</sup> See Lehmann, p. 93.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 70 and Heier, pp. 173-75. Here Heier shows 24 out of 37 (Lutheran) Russia-German settlements as being of Volhynian origin.

<sup>21</sup> Lehmann, p. 75.

Based on the above general conclusions, a study of the origins of German Lutherans should emphasize the faith and life of German Lutherans in Russia. However, considerable attention should also be given to Austria-Hungary, especially Galicia. Further, one should not neglect the faith and life of Lutherans from Germany; for these were certainly more than "a sprinkling" as one writer has put it.<sup>22</sup> Together with German Lutherans from the United States (most of whom had their European origins in Germany proper),<sup>23</sup> this total could well have been as high as 25%.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Goos, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> See Lehmann, pp. 89-90. This is after the component "From Russia indirectly" has been removed.

<sup>24</sup> The relative neglect of this group by various Lutheran writers (the afore-mentioned Goos; Evenson, p. 26; Threinen, A Sower Went Out, pp. 9-11) could stem from three possible causes: First, there has been present a negative opinion of them regarding church participation in the Lutheran tradition in Canada. (e.g., Rehwinkel, pp. 10-13, who extends his negative view to those in the European state church system in general. Another example, a former Synod president, is known personally by this writer.)

Further, a second possible cause for the neglect could also be the fact that Lutherans may have been influenced in their perception of origins by the perspective of the far more extensive Mennonite studies, nearly all of whom came from Russia (See Lehmann, pp. 66-7) or, indeed, by studies of German immigrants to western Canada in general, who, because of the Mennonite element, would have a higher percentage "from Russia."

As a third possible factor for the neglect of this group, it may be the case that many Lutherans in the "from Germany" group did not join or stay in the church, thus causing those writing from a Lutheran perspective to discount them further. Putting the statement of Entz (p. 95) that in the Pre-War period the educated German-Canadians in western Canada were nearly all from Germany itself together with a general conclusion that a high percentage of the educated had only a loose relationship to

Furthermore, this group was influential socially,<sup>25</sup> and provided considerable lay leadership in the church,<sup>26</sup> to say nothing of the large number of pastors who were born in Germany.<sup>27</sup> As well, as we shall see, Lutherans in Germany continued to provide leadership and support to the diaspora of ethnic Germans: in Russia, in Austria and in the United States.

Finally, with respect to German Lutherans from the United States, we must proceed in a manner rather different from that of our treatment of German Lutherans from Europe. On the one hand, because of the organizational tie to German Lutherans in western Canada, the question of the larger church in the United States is a dominant one and runs in its varied aspects throughout this study. However, with

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the church (See Bergendoff, p. 204 and Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 3rd ed., s.v. "Deutschland I. Kirchengeschichte" by H. Bornkamm) this third factor gains in plausibility.

<sup>25</sup> See Entz, p. 95.

<sup>26</sup> Some examples, just in Chapter VIII alone, are as follows: William Wagner was a surveyor and immigration agent; Wilhelm Hespeler was an immigration agent, civic leader, and German Consul in Winnipeg; Gustav Koermann was a publisher who came to Winnipeg from Philadelphia but was born in Germany (See Entz, "Der Einfluss der deutschsprachigen Presse," p. 136); Juergen Harbs was a publisher with Koermann. All of these men were active in the Lutheran Church.

<sup>27</sup> Some of the most outstanding pastors in this period were: Heinrich Schmieder (Chapters VIII and IX); Martin Ruccius (Chapters IX-XI); Emil Eberhardt (Chapter IX); and Georg Gehrke (Chapter XI). These were all from Germany. (For the origin of Eberhardt, see Schwermann, p. 121.)

respect to the Gemeindeleben of the immigrants from the United States, we are only able to note some characteristics of some of them. This is because, as a statistical category, ethnic origin "Germans" calling themselves Lutheran and from the United States have the potential for being a varied and diffuse group. It can include people ranging from those coming from already existing congregations and forming the nucleus of a new congregation of the same synod in Canada to those individuals who may have been nearly assimilated into mainstream American society and had only weak ties to German culture and the Lutheran faith. However, an in depth study of the religious background of the census German Lutherans immigrating from the United States goes beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Although in this statistical category we want to note the possibility of variation from the typical minority German Lutheran Gemeindeleben which we are trying to portray (centering on church and parochial school), we also want to minimize its effect on this analysis by noting that:

a) our consideration here is of only a part of an already small group (about 12%); and

b) given the strength of the German Lutheran synods in the midwest United States, it seems most unlikely that large numbers of German background people calling themselves Lutheran could have escaped the influence of these synods by

the first decade of the 20th century.

All of this having been said, however, we are left with a somewhat inconclusive picture of the Gemeindeleben of about perhaps five, possibly even ten percent of German Lutheran immigrants to western Canada. However, for the overwhelming majority (90% or greater), we are able to give a coherent picture of their church background, way of life, and motivation for emigrating. This will be the task of the following five chapters.

## CHAPTER III

### THE FAITH AND LIFE OF LUTHERANS IN GERMANY IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Of the three areas of European origin noted in the previous section, Germany proper (Second Empire) will be studied first, even though only a minority of immigrants were from that place. This is because, as will be shown, even as late as the 1880's and 1890's, a good deal of energy for German Lutheranism world wide was emanating from the German Empire.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, German Lutheranism world wide can

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<sup>1</sup> The examples are more than numerous and we list some of them as follows:

1) Russia and Austria-Hungary: received deaconesses from Germany to aid in training their own. By 1890 there were diaconates in Mitau, Riga, Reval, Sarata and St. Petersburg. Lenker, pp. 146, 147, 439, and 441-444. The University at Dorpat (training for German Lutheran pastors in Russia), had a predominantly German educated faculty. (See our p. 91.) Further, in times of difficulty in Volhynia, the people sought counsel of Hermannsburg. See Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 45.

Further, since its inception in 1842, 29 congregations in Russia had received aid from the Gustavus Adolphus Society (Leipzig). Lenker, pp. 152 and 158. In Austria-Hungary, the total was over 1,000 (Ibid., p. 158) and especially in Galicia, at least at one point, congregations were greatly dependent on this support for survival. See our pp. 187-88. These totals, however, likely included some Reformed congregations. See Lenker, p. 162.

be viewed mostly as a diaspora phenomenon with its origin in Germany. German Lutherans in other parts of the world were dependent, in varying degrees, on Lutherans in Germany.<sup>2</sup> Thus, there is a logic in studying Germany first, almost, as it were, as an origin of origins.

#### A. Volkskirche.

Central to an understanding of German Lutheran faith and life in Germany proper is the concept of the

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In Stanislau (Galicia), the famous inner mission work was led by Pastor Theodor Zoekler whose father was teaching theology at the University at Greifswald. Also, the deaconesses at Stanislau came originally from Germany. See our p. 206. Finally, an examination of the bibliography of this dissertation can make it clear that much written material concerning Lutherans in Russia was printed in Germany.

2) In the United States: the Missouri Synod (largest in that country (Lenker, p. 767)) received much of its beginning clergy not only from the initial immigration from Germany but also from a later contribution from Germany. Ibid., p. 797.

Both the Ohio and the Iowa synods received their early beginning (and in the case of Iowa, continuing) support from the Wilhelm Loehe mission to the Diaspora. See Suelflow and Nelson, pp. 158-9 and 186f..

That the General Council's German Lutheran ministry was greatly dependent on its contacts in Germany is a major aspect of the entire second part of this study, and we note specifically that the German ministry of the General Council also received a great deal of inspiration from the work of W. Loehe as indicated by the republication in 1908 of his "Zuruf aus der Heimat an die deutsche lutherische Kirche Nord-Amerikas." See our pp. 362f..

<sup>2</sup> The Missouri Synod was one of the least dependent because of the fact that in 1890 the "Old Lutherans" in Germany were quite small compared to the membership of the Synod itself which numbered 320,000. (Lenker shows only 14,965 in 1880. p. 62.)

Volkskirche. This concept has as its basis the idea of peoples (ethnoi)<sup>3</sup> being incorporated into Christianity.<sup>4</sup> The idea (in this case) is that of the Germans being a Christian people; and, specifically, that the church express itself in public life.<sup>5</sup> Historically, this was indeed the case (at least in externals); and one remembers the conversion of the Franks, of the Saxons, and the thousand year Holy Roman Empire, sanctioned by the bishop of Rome. Thus, in a sense, people, generally, by virtue of being German had at least some sort of access to being a part of Christendom. Children were baptized as infants, for better or worse, almost as a matter of course. Religious education and catechetical instruction were a part of public education.<sup>6</sup> And the public (generally) supported the church through the tax system, as well as through benevolent offering.<sup>7</sup>

However, in the midst of this scheme of things, several factors had emerged which rendered the 19th century Volkskirche problematic. First was the fact that the Church

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<sup>3</sup> See Matt. 28:19.

<sup>4</sup> These are besides the original Jewish "people of God" (Gottesvolk).

<sup>5</sup> For a more thorough exposition of the basic concepts used in this paragraph, see the article by H.-R. Mueller-Schwefe, "Volkskirche" in Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Hereafter abbreviated as RGG.

<sup>6</sup> See Lenker, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 54 and 57-60.

in Germany since the Reformation had long been divided into different confessions: Roman Catholic (generally, southern Germany), Lutheran and Reformed (both, generally, central or northern) and, also, (in the 19th century) a number of "free churches."<sup>8</sup> This religious division was a constant problem for the political unity of Germany,<sup>9</sup> expressing itself in the problematic early 19th century Union movement in Prussia (the attempt to smooth over Lutheran and Reformed confessional differences and also in the Kulturkampf of the later 19th century as Bismarck and the 2nd Empire attempted to dominate a reinvigorated Catholicism in Germany.<sup>10</sup>

A second factor rendering problematic a unified Volkskirche in Germany was that of rationalism in the 18th century. Even though, by the first half of the 19th century, rationalism had shown its inadequacy as a life-philosophy and was held in contempt by many eminent figures in the German literary world,<sup>11</sup> many of these literary

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-2.

<sup>9</sup> Or, turned around, the heightened sense of nationalism in the 19th century sharpened the problem of Confessional disunity.

<sup>10</sup> See RGG, s.v. "Volkskirche." Also s.v. "Unionen im Protestantismus, I. Geschichtlich," by A. Adam and "Bismarck" and "Kulturkampf," both by K. Kupisch.

As this discussion of the German Volkskirche continues past 1806, it is intended to apply relative to the 2nd (and pre-2nd) German Empire.

<sup>11</sup> See J. G. Robertson and Edna Purdie, A History of German Literature (New York: British Book Centre Inc., 1966), pp. 214ff.. The turning point had actually occurred much earlier, in the 18th century, as the literary world had

figures themselves had already distanced themselves from the church.<sup>12</sup>

Although the 19th century did see a strong renaissance of Lutheran Reformation theology, the continuing scientific, critical spirit of the age, especially with its effect on understanding the Bible, made impossible a general return to simple pre-rationalistic Orthodoxy in the Volkskirche.<sup>13</sup> Historical-critical work with the Bible and "life of Jesus" studies vis-a-vis a renewed Lutheran Confessional theology remained in unresolved tension<sup>14</sup> in the German Volkskirche until the First World War. Of course, this tension was not confined to the Church in Germany but existed throughout the world and even today is present in many places.<sup>15</sup>

A third major factor making problematic the German Volkskirche of the 19th century was the unhappy fact of

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passed by the rationalist Gottsched.

<sup>12</sup> Bergendoff, p. 204.

<sup>13</sup> "Seitdem [die Aufklaerung und die Bibelkritik] geht ein Riss durch den deutschen Protestantismus, das Ringen zwischen dem Wahrheitsgewissen kritischer Geschichtsforschung und der Sorge um die Bewahrung der ungeschmaelerten Heilswahrheit." H. Bornkamm in RGG, s.v. "Deutschland I. Kirchengeschichte."

<sup>14</sup> A contribution toward resolving this tension, though only partially successful, was made by the Vermittlungstheologie whose adherents stood, generally, in the area of Confessionalism at the one side and Liberalism at the other. They understood as one of their tasks mediation between knowledge (scientific, critical) on the one hand and faith on the other. RGG, s.v. "Vermittlungstheologie" by E. Schott.

<sup>15</sup> See *ibid.*

dispossession and social dislocation occurring with the process of industrialization. Many in the new industrial proletariat, together with dispossessed farmers, felt themselves excluded from a Volkskirche which upheld establishment values. The message of Karl Marx was not without effect, and many of the working classes were alienated.<sup>16</sup>

However, the 19th century church was also not without attempts, only partially successful, to resolve the problems noted above. To the problem of differing Protestant confessions there was an attempt towards mutual respect without, however, destroying the confessional distinctiveness of both Lutheran and Reformed.<sup>17</sup> Less successful, it seems, were Protestant-Catholic relationships during this period; and much of German Lutheran literature of the time continues to reveal a strong anti-Catholicism.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> RGG, s.v. "Volksfroemigkeit II. Evangelische," by G. Holtz. Also, for a contemporary observation, see Der Lutheraner, 23 August 1898.

<sup>17</sup> Lenker's apparent attitude is an example of this (in describing the Society, "Der Lutherische Gotteskasten"): "The Lutheran Lord's Treasury . . . will not open the chasm between the Lutheran and Reformed for it has never been closed. . . . It does not work against the Reformed church, nor to convert them to Lutheranism . . . The aim of Lutheran striving is to have both confessions work always and everywhere with one another, and maintain their separate existence." p. 163.

<sup>18</sup> e.g., see Lenker, pp. 73 and 115. Also Siloah, August 1895, March 1896 and September 1896. Many examples are possible, but an impression from Der Lutheraner, Siloah, Lutherisches Kirchenblatt is that anti-Catholicism, especially after the developments of the 1870's, remained a

As a response to the prevailing rationalism of the time, the Lutheran confessional renaissance<sup>19</sup> turned out to be a significant movement involving large areas of the church and key figures in public life. It resulted in a strong and energetic missionary output, both inner and foreign.<sup>20</sup> The later 19th century was a time of considerable church building, care for the Diaspora of Lutherans from Germany, and missions to non-Christians.<sup>21</sup>

With respect to the problems of social dislocation, the efforts of Joh. H. Wichern and Theodor Fliedner are

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constant underlying attitude; but the German Lutheran press in North America seemed more concerned with other pressing issues. Der Lutheraner was a bi-weekly paper, begun in 1844, and published by the Faculty of Concordia Lutheran Seminary (Missouri Synod) in St. Louis. Lutherisches Kirchenblatt was a weekly paper, begun in 1884, and published in Philadelphia and Reading, Pennsylvania by a number of General Council pastors. Ibid., 12 January 1889 and Lenker, pp. 770-1.

<sup>19</sup> Commonly called "die Erweckung" which, however, was quite different from the American "Great Awakening" beginning in 1803. (To compare, see RGG, s.v. "Erweckung I. Erweckungsbewegung im 19. Jh.," by E. Beyreuter and Ahlstrom pp. 432ff..) The matter is put even more strongly by a leading writer in Siloah, a German-American inner mission periodical. According to Pastor E. Hoffmann, God, through Napoleon, had put a hard chastening rod upon the dead (erstorben) German people (Volk). When, however, in 1817, it was reminded from whence it had fallen, "a new breath of Christian life began to blow through the bones of the dead one (Todtengebeine), which brought new life to them and the bones began to be joined together." The writer then cites Ezekiel 37:7. (Translation mine.) Siloah, October 1884.

<sup>20</sup> RGG, s.v. "Erweckung I. Erweckungsbewegung im 19. Jh."

<sup>21</sup> Described in some detail in Lenker, pp. 186-207, pp. 151-185 and pp. 208-239.

important. Beginning in the 1830's, Wichern established in the area of Hamburg das rauhe Haus. Initially an attempt to care for orphans by placing them in Christian families, the rauhe Haus expanded in its functions to include an industrial training school, a boarding school and eventually a school training people to work in hospitals, mental institutions and prisons. These people graduated to go out and incorporate the Wichern philosophy in their own areas.<sup>22</sup> In the 1850's Wichern was called into the Consistory and Prussian government at Berlin but was not able to carry out the reforms which were intended.<sup>23</sup> Wichern is considered a pioneer developer of inner mission societies in Germany,<sup>24</sup> and by 1893 there were over ninety inner mission societies in Germany.<sup>25</sup>

A further specific response in the Church to social dislocation was the (re)establishment of the office of deaconess, this pioneered by Pastor Theodor Fliedner, also in the 1830's, in Kaiserswerth.<sup>26</sup> The Lutheran diaconate was open to unmarried women who would be prepared to serve

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<sup>22</sup> Described in *ibid.*, pp. 67-72. The daily routine of life in the rauhe Haus family is described for the German-American readership in a four part series in Siloah, October, November, December, 1884; also January, 1885.

<sup>23</sup> RGG, s.v. "Wichern," by K. Janssen.

<sup>24</sup> RGG, s.v. "Innere Mission" by W. Schuetz.

<sup>25</sup> Lenker, p. 110-111.

<sup>26</sup> The following paragraph is based on *ibid.*, pp. 121-149. See also the article in Siloah, January 1887.

in the capacity of teacher, parish worker or institutional (e.g., hospital, asylum for the mentally ill, orphanage, reformatory, etc.) worker, etc. and to do so only for subsistence salary.<sup>27</sup> Deaconesses were sent into both inner and foreign mission fields and into the German Lutheran diaspora. They were permitted to marry but upon doing so had to leave the diaconate. From beginnings in the 1830's, the deaconesses, by the 1890's, had grown to number over 8,000.<sup>28</sup>

To give a representative summary of the positive response of Lutherans in Germany to the major problems facing the Volkskirche in the 19th century, it is perhaps instructive to consider the work of Wilhelm Loehe (1808-1872) at Neuendettelsau, for here many of the above responses were combined.

Loehe himself appears as a quiet person, going through the University, obviously exposed to manifold expressions of the Zeitgeist; but, apparently, all the while reserving his own judgement.<sup>29</sup> Having received a call to a small parish in Bavaria, he began his life work, basing it on a strong, conscious confessional Lutheranism.<sup>30</sup> Under his guidance

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<sup>27</sup> "her dress and board, and a small sum of pocket-money to purchase such articles of clothing as are not included in the Deaconess dress," Lenker, p. 127.

<sup>28</sup> Lenker, p. 146.

<sup>29</sup> RGG, s.v. "Loehe," by G. Merz.

<sup>30</sup> Lenker, p. 183.

Neuendettelsau became a famous center of this confessional Lutheranism.<sup>31</sup> Loehe's attempt was to try to renew the church with this approach and to apply it to the liturgical and devotional life of the people.<sup>32</sup> Neuendettelsau became a training center for pastors and for deaconesses who served both in the German inner mission and in the diaspora, most notably in Russia, in the United States (especially the Iowa Synod), Australia, South America and East New Guinea.<sup>33</sup> Although the establishment at Neuendettelsau was only one among several operating in the above areas of work, and although some aspects of this work were relatively small,<sup>34</sup> it does, still, represent a bringing together of important elements in the confessional renewal and mission movements in the life of the German church.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., and Bergendoff, p. 227.

<sup>32</sup> See ibid. and RGG, s.v. "Loehe."

<sup>33</sup> See ibid.; Bergendoff, p. 227 and RGG, s.v. "Neuendettelsauer Missionsgesellschaft" by Hans Neumeyer. The missions to East New Guinea and South America were developed toward the close of the 19th century, after Loehe's death. Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> In foreign ("heathen") missions, in 1890, a budget apparently less than one-tenth the size of the venerable Leipzig Missionary Society. See Lenker, pp. 214 and 231. However, in the area of Diaspora Missions, Neuendettelsau was close to first alongside the Mission Institute of Basel, Switzerland. Ibid., p. 180.

As centres of "positive Lutheranism" in Germany, Bergendoff lists three major mission societies: Leipzig, Neuendettelsau, and Hermannsburg. For a view of Hermannsburg and its tension with the Prussian State Church in the 1880's see Siloah, January 1884.

B. Gemeindeleben and personal piety of German Lutherans in Germany.

Important, for our ultimate goal, the study of German Lutherans in western Canada, is an understanding of Gemeindeleben or parish life and the relationship of individuals to it. This is because, in the western Canadian context, there was no Canadian Volkskirche;<sup>35</sup> and, generally, the prime social relationship of an individual to the church was the Gemeinde, more specifically, for German Lutherans, the diaspora Gemeinde.<sup>36</sup>

For Germany, the evaluation of Gemeindeleben and the personal piety of Germans varies greatly. Adolf Stoecker, city missionary for Berlin, calls (1876) Germans the most unchurchly people in Protestantism.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, G. Warneck, chief editor of the Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift says (1888) that the popular view in England and

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<sup>35</sup> French Roman Catholicism mutatis mutandis could certainly be seen as parallel for French Canada, also the Anglican and United Church predecessor denominations (less official State support), vis-a-vis English Canada; but western Canada was even more complex than that.

<sup>36</sup> However, the idea of Germans in North America continuing as a part of the German Volk was certainly not lacking in the ideology of German Lutheran leadership in the United States and Canada. e.g., see the concepts of the writers of Kelle und Schwert and G. Koermann in our Chapter XII.

<sup>37</sup> RGG, s.v., "Volksfroemigkeit II. Evangelische." An article in Der Lutheraner would tend to support this point of view. The writer points out that in the Berlin area the usual church attendance was only 1-1 1/2%. 19 July 1892.

America of Germans as "half heathen and rationalistic" was grossly in error. Addressing the English-speaking world, his message was that "we know more about your missions than you about ours" (paraphrased), and that the idea that Germany itself was an area open for proselytizing was one which was resented.<sup>38</sup>

Considering, now, the situation in the Volkskirche, the above opinions can be at least better understood, if not reconciled. First, that there was strength (genuine piety, regular worship attendance) in many parishes in Germany should be obvious. The growth in the number of deaconesses, Christian social ministry, missionary work to the Diaspora, together with the financing of all of it--this did not come from nowhere. The emphases in the different associations and societies would not be consistent with a churchless Sunday morning. Moreover, there is evidence that most of the mission spirit, to say nothing of the renewed Confessional spirit, came "from below." The deaconess movement started with one pastor and one deaconess.<sup>39</sup> J. H. Wichern began his rauhes Haus institute in just that: a "rough house," an old farm house.<sup>40</sup> It was only years later, after his work had had considerable success, that he was invited to come into the Prussian State Ministry. The

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<sup>38</sup> Lenker, pp. 50-52. See also Siloah, October 1883.

<sup>39</sup> Lenker, pp. 123-4.

<sup>40</sup> Siloah, October, 1884.

situation with Loehe and Neuendettelsau has already been told. With regard to renewed Lutheran confessional consciousness, it should be noted that this was oftentimes a reaction of parish pastors (and presumably their congregations) to the unionism of the state and to which, then, later the state had to adapt itself.<sup>41</sup>

The fact of public Christian education in the Volkskirche, alluded to earlier, was experienced on the parish, local-school level. Typical would be two to three hours per week and dealing with such subjects as Bible, Church History, use of the Catechism and Hymnbook and understanding other religions.<sup>42</sup> Sunday morning worship was characterized by a repudiation, now, of the didacticism of rationalism and a return to the historic liturgy.<sup>43</sup> Considerable energy was being expended in the construction of new churches, especially to accommodate those moving into new suburbs.<sup>44</sup> German Lutheran worship, besides its emphasis on solid evangelical preaching, stressed the theme

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<sup>41</sup> See RGG, s.v. "Harms, l. Claus," by M. Schmidt; "Luthertum III B. Altlutheraner," by M. Kiunke and "Unionen im Protestantismus I. Geschichtlich."

<sup>42</sup> Lenker, p. 65.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 187-88.

<sup>44</sup> Lenker's section on church extension is instructive. pp. 186-207.

of humility before God.<sup>45</sup> Although many of the forms of folk piety had been lost in the time of rationalism,<sup>46</sup> the practice of family devotions (Hausandacht) continued.<sup>47</sup> All of this combined to present the picture of a strong Gemeindeleben in Germany. If one were to attempt to generalize as to the extent of active parish life for all of Germany, at least in Protestant Germany, one indication may be the percentage of theological students at the universities. In 1890 it was close to 20% for German universities taken together.<sup>48</sup>

However, there is also the other side of it. Many of the educated continued in a type of rationalism, others in a philosophic idealism which did not include the church.<sup>49</sup> And then there was the disaffection of the dispossessed. Apparently large numbers of the proletariat were inactive,

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<sup>45</sup> Lenker, pp. 61 and 187. Instructive, as well, may be the practice of Otto von Bismarck who, later in his career, received the Lord's Supper only in private circles because he did not want people gaping at him "as an animal in the zoo." RGG, s.v. "Bismarck," (Translation is mine.)

<sup>46</sup> Often the external effects were seen only later; e.g., "Zwischen 1800 und 1850 ist die evangelische Volksfroemigkeit zerbrochen." RGG, "Volksfroemigkeit II. Evangelische."

<sup>47</sup> RGG, s.v. "Hausandacht," by G. Hoffmann. However, by the 19th century, in Germany, people who held the Hausandachten were often called pietists.

<sup>48</sup> See Lenker, p. 65.

<sup>49</sup> E. F. Moldehnke points out the two sides of this in the life of the universities in a series of autobiographic articles in the 1899 issues of Siloah.

even hostile to the church in their respective parishes.<sup>50</sup>

Thus, from Adolf Stoecker's point of view (serving the working classes as city missionary in Berlin), the statement made sense that the Germans were the most unchurchly people in Protestantism. However, Warneck's point of view (as editor of a mission society paper) that Germany was heir to a respected Christian tradition and was active in mission: this, too, must be given credence. The study of typical Gemeindeleben in Germany is a study in contrasts and paradoxes. On the one hand, a strong piety and faithful observance on the part of many in the middle classes; on the other hand, skepticism on the part of many of the educated and downright alienation on the part of many of the dispossessed (farmers and proletariat). There also, to complicate the picture, is the possibility of certain people actively expressing their Christian faith, not primarily in the state ordered Gemeinde, but in family circle,<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> RGG, s.v. "Volksfroemdigkeit II. Evangelische." In 1898, Der Lutheraner voices its dismay at the strength of Socialism in Germany pointing to the fact that in Saxony the Socialists got almost one half of the votes. The writer traces the party to Karl Marx and explains his atheism saying that as the movement would gain strength "Gottes schreckliche Gerichte [werden] nicht ausbleiben." 23 August 1898.

<sup>51</sup> Kupisch, in explaining Bismarck's more independent attitude: "Man wird aber auch beruecksichtigen muessen, wie selten die restaurierte Kirche des 19. Jahrhunderts, vor allem in Ostelbien, sich als Gemeindekirche darstellte, was Bismarck schmerzlich empfunden hat." RGG, s.v. "Bismarck."

Christian societies,<sup>52</sup> and other extra-congregational ways in the Volkskirche.

This complex picture, then, indicates something of the variety of experience possible for the average parishioner in Germany, some of whom immigrated to western Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. With regard to the positive confessional movement, we see its results in the mission to the Diaspora and will encounter this influence over and over again as we consider German Lutherans in Russia, in Austria-Hungary, in the United States, and in western Canada.

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<sup>52</sup> A specific criticism from the side of confessional Lutheranism: "Es sah in der von Wichern so stark vertretenen Vereinsarbeit eine Unterhoehlung der Autoritaet des von Gott gesetzten geistlichen Amtes und die Gefahr der Aufloesung der geordneten Gemeinde . . ." W. Schuetz in RGG, s.v. "Innere Mission."

## CHAPTER IV

### GERMAN LUTHERAN SETTLEMENT IN RUSSIA AND DEVELOPMENT OF A CHURCH-AT-LARGE IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

Since a large majority of German Lutheran settlers in the Prairie Provinces emigrated from either Russia or Austria-Hungary, we will give extensive treatment to their way of life in those areas and then their motivation for emigrating. Our goal is to understand a fairly unified eastern European tradition which German Lutheran minorities had developed before they emigrated. This chapter will show the circumstances which brought German Lutherans to Russia and what structures developed to carry out a church ministry to them there.

#### A. The Beginning: Early Presence of German Lutherans in the Cities of Russia.

The existence of German Lutheran communities in late 19th century Russia came about as a result of: a) a complex

series of immigrations, most of which had been sponsored by the Russian government, b) the conquest of the Baltic lands where a territorial Lutheran Church was already in place, and then c) internal developments among Lutherans themselves in Russia. Our concern for this study is primarily German Lutherans in interior Russia, especially the agrarian settlements along the Volga River, in the Black Sea area, and in Volhynia, since all three of these areas provided immigrants to the Canadian Prairies. However, any understanding of these settlements must also take into account the Baltic German element, as well.

German Lutherans had come to Russia already in the 16th century when Ivan the Terrible conquered the city of Dorpat in Livonia and took a large number of citizens, including a pastor, hostage, in order to try to insure the obedience of the city. Ivan settled a substantial number of these in Moscow. In order to encourage them to stay voluntarily, he allowed them to settle together and build a church.<sup>1</sup> When, eventually, these people were permitted to return, many did stay on in Russia where they were valued especially for their administrative, military and artisan skills.<sup>2</sup> Others

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<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Roemmich, "Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Russland in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart" in Joseph Schnurr, ed., Die Kirchen und das Religiöse Leben der Russlanddeutschen: Evangelischer Teil, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: AER Verlag Landmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1978), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

came, bringing with them the above needed skills into the Russian Empire so that by the latter part of the 17th century a substantial "German quarter" had developed in Moscow. This quarter had two German Lutheran Churches and a German Reformed Church; and as well, a number of persons of other nationality, such as the Dutch, resided there.<sup>3</sup>

It was in this German quarter of Moscow that the youthful Peter I spent much of his time and received a good deal of his "western" orientation.<sup>4</sup> The churches there, over a period of years, had received support from Germany, in the earlier years from the Duke of Saxe-Gotha;<sup>5</sup> but, then, over the longer term, more from the Consistory at Hamburg, such that the Lutheran church in Moscow had come to be considered a "daughter church" of the church of Hamburg.<sup>6</sup> Thus, by the end of the 17th century German Lutherans were a very small, yet influential presence in Russia.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> See Edgar Duin, pp. 133-136. "He went in and out of the homes of the foreigners, took part in baptisms, weddings and funerals, stood as baptismal sponsor, and attended the church services of the non-Orthodox." Erik Amburger, p. 39. (Translation mine.) Although the Moscow "German" settlement contained other western Europeans, it appears that a large majority was German and that the pastoral leadership was German. See *ibid.*, pp. 31ff..

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35 and 41.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes Schleuning, "Die Stummen Reden" in Peter Schellenberg, ed., Und Siehe, Wir Leben (Erlangen: Martin Luther-Verlag, 1982), p. 23. Schleuning's work was published in 1954 and has been edited by Schellenberg for the 1982 publication.

A larger and even more influential presence came about during the reign of Peter the Great. Peter's annexation of the Baltic lands brought, basically intact, a Lutheran State Church.<sup>7</sup> The Baltic German nobility maintained their dominant social position as they transferred their allegiance from the Swedish to the Russian monarch.<sup>8</sup> Numerically, the Baltic Germans were a minority in the Baltics, the majority being the Estonians and Latvians; but these Germans remained the rulers here (now under the Tsar); and they had considerable influence at the imperial court.<sup>9</sup>

Further, more German Lutherans immigrated into Russia as Peter went about building his new capital on the Narva. Not only were there German Lutherans in the government and the military, but building the city brought in engineers and artisans.<sup>10</sup> Throughout the 18th century German Lutherans, especially of the Baltic nobility, provided loyal service in the imperial government.<sup>11</sup>

The German Lutheran presence in St. Petersburg remained small but continued to develop its influence. They founded

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<sup>7</sup> Roemmich calls it a recognized Landeskirche in these new provinces of the Russian Empire. p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Adam Giesinger, p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> Duin, p. 647; Roemmich, pp. 6-7 and 9; and Giesinger, pp. 139-140.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 155-6. Also Schleuning, p. 28.

<sup>11</sup> See Giesinger's entire chapter entitled "German Servants of the Tsar," pp. 139-153.

outstanding schools,<sup>12</sup> and their ideas influenced the development of the Russian schools.<sup>13</sup> By the latter part of the 19th century St. Petersburg had a sizeable Lutheran hospital, staffed by German deaconesses but serving people of various nationalities.<sup>14</sup> 1858 saw the founding of the St. Petersburger evangelisches Sonntagsblatt, which was the official publication of the Lutheran Church in Russia.<sup>15</sup> By the end of the 19th century about 40,000 German Lutherans lived in St. Petersburg, by this time only a small proportion of the total number of German Lutherans in interior Russia. But this was still about one half of those living in larger cities. These "city Germans" made up about 10% of the total.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> See Roemmich, pp. 7 and 9.

<sup>13</sup> See George Epp, "The Educational Policies of Catherine II" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Manitoba, 1976), p. 71. Epp notes that it was the German Aufklaerer who became the mediators of the Enlightenment to Russia. p. 204.

<sup>14</sup> Irmgard Stoldt, "Mittelpunkte russlanddeutscher Diakonissenarbeit," in Joseph Schnurr, ed., Die Kirchen und das religioese Leben der Russlanddeutschen: Evangelischer Teil, pp. 240-42.

<sup>15</sup> See Amburger, p. 86 and Duin, p. 906.

<sup>16</sup> Interpolated from Amburger, pp. 123-5. In round numbers, the German Lutheran population in the larger cities was as follows: St. Petersburg, ca. 40,000; Moscow, ca. 20,000; Saratov, ca. 10,000; Kiev, ca. 5,000; and Odessa, ca. 5,000.

## B. Larger Scale Settlement on the Volga.

The immigration and colonization plans of Catherine II formed a type of Magna Carta for subsequent German immigration into Russia and specifically brought forth the large scale agricultural settlement by Germans in the Volga area.<sup>17</sup> Issued in 1763, the Manifesto of Catherine invited Germans to come and settle undeveloped areas in the Russian Empire.<sup>18</sup> Besides permanent settlements the Russian government wanted the Germans for their agricultural<sup>19</sup> and artisan skills. Indeed, more generally, they were to bring "western culture" into Russia.<sup>20</sup> Thus, German immigrants, mostly from southwest Germany settled the area around Saratov on the Volga. About 55% of these were Lutheran;

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<sup>17</sup> Giesinger, pp. 1 and 5. Also Schleuning, pp. 32-33.

<sup>18</sup> The first manifesto was actually issued in 1762 but did not have the desired effect. The second version (1763) was the successful one. It promised a substantial allotment of land (for farmers), freedom from military service (for "forever"), an exemption from taxation for a certain length of time, government financial support for transportation and set up costs, freedom to practice their religion, and local self-government. Giesinger, pp. 5-6. As well, the colonists had been promised freedom to go where they wished in Russia; however, after they arrived, it turned out that for most of them it would be only the undeveloped areas, specifically, the Volga. Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> See Siloah, April 1887.

<sup>20</sup> Giesinger, pp. 1 and 5. In the area of religion, however, they were strictly forbidden to proselytize the Orthodox. They could not receive them, even in mixed marriages. See Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 43 and Duin, p. 187.

about 15%, Reformed; and ca. 30%, Roman Catholic.<sup>21</sup> Not too far distant from the major area of settlement was a Moravian colony, Sarepta.<sup>22</sup>

Right from the beginning, the German villages along the Volga were settled by confession; i.e., Roman Catholic and Lutheran villages were kept distinct. Those of Reformed confession sometimes had their own villages; sometimes they were together with Lutherans; but over time, in this region, they were generally absorbed by the Lutheran majority.<sup>23</sup>

In the early days, life for the colonists along the Volga was indescribably difficult. They suffered not only from the primitive conditions typical to pioneering ventures but also from government mismanagement and the attacks of Kirghiz and Kalmuck tribesmen.<sup>24</sup> The difficult beginning circumstances brought about a population decline in the early days and the destruction (and, then, abandonment) of more than one village.<sup>25</sup> However, the colonies did

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<sup>21</sup> Of 104 villages, 72 were Protestant and 32 were Catholic. About 80% of the Protestants were Lutheran and the rest Reformed. Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>22</sup> Bruedergemeinde in German. This was to the east, in the province of Astrachan near Tsaritsyn (later Stalingrad, then Volgograd). George J. Eisenach, Pietism and the Russian German in the United States (Berne, Indiana: The Berne Publishers, 1948), pp. 37-39. Also Giesinger, pp. 92-93 and Schleuning, pp. 37-38.

<sup>23</sup> Giesinger, pp. 156ff..

<sup>24</sup> Schleuning, pp. 38 and 41. Also Eisenach, pp. 26ff..

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 28 and Giesinger, p. 19.

eventually take hold and grew from an initial settlement of about 20,000<sup>26</sup> to about 300,000 towards the end of the 19th century.<sup>27</sup>

### C. Settlement of the Black Sea Area, Especially Bessarabia.

With the victory of the Russians over the Turks in the late 18th century, attention for colonization shifted to the south, to the Black Sea area. The Russian government made beginnings under the energetic governor Potemkin; but with his death the effort went slack.<sup>28</sup> Immigration picked up again under the reign of Alexander I who based his efforts on the Manifesto of Catherine II. This time, however, the government tried to screen prospective immigrants more closely.<sup>29</sup> One rule was to restrict them to agriculturalists and to those artisans whose skills could be useful in agricultural villages, but this rule was not always followed.<sup>30</sup> Again, here, as in the Volga settlement,

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<sup>26</sup> Eisenach gives the population for all 104 colonies in 1768 as 23,019 and in 1773 as 25,781. p. 22.

<sup>27</sup> Giesinger cites the 1897 census in showing 313,000 "Protestants of the Lutheran faith." p. 153.

<sup>28</sup> Eisenach, pp. 37-8.

<sup>29</sup> Josef A. Malinowsky, Die Planerkolonien am Asowischen Meer (Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft, 1928), pp. 24-25.

<sup>30</sup> Giesinger, pp. 24-25.

the authorities settled the villages by confession although, again, some mixture of Lutherans and Reformed occurred.<sup>31</sup> Further, as with the bulk of the Volga settlement, the majority of the settlers came from the southwest area of Germany.<sup>32</sup> As well, one should note that in the case of the Black Sea settlement, several nationalities colonized the region. Besides a Russian and Ukrainian population, sizeable numbers of Bulgarians and Jews from Poland moved into the area.<sup>33</sup>

Bessarabia forms a later chapter in the story of Black Sea settlement. Ceded to Russia in 1812, in some ways the settlement appears to have proceeded in a manner similar to that of the rest of the area. Indeed, it was generally under the same governmental administration.<sup>34</sup>

Still, there were some variations. The Bessarabian settlement received a large number of German Lutherans from Poland who were moving, now, a second time, apparently because of a negative experience of Polonization.<sup>35</sup> Many of

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<sup>31</sup> See Malinowsky, pp. 37 and 88-92. Also, Height, pp. 349, 352 and 356-7.

<sup>32</sup> See Giesinger, p. 35. Also Schleuning, p. 63.

<sup>33</sup> Malinowsky, p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> See Giesinger, pp. 37 and 50-1.

<sup>35</sup> See Giesinger, p. 37 and Albert Kern, ed., Heimatbuch der Bessarabiendeutschen (Hannover: Selbstverlag des Hilfkomitees der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche aus Bessarabien e. V., 1976), p. 11. However, one should also note that under Tsar Alexander numerous German colonists immigrated into Congress Poland and that an immigration law

these, however, by their dialect, showed that they also were originally from southwest Germany.<sup>36</sup>

Others came directly from that area. Notable in this regard are the Wuerttemberg separatists. Inspired by the apocalyptic interpretations of Jung-Stilling and others, these, beginning with a small group in 1816, set out to travel to the Transcaucasia region, to the "original cradle of the human race" where they expected the millienium to begin.<sup>37</sup> Encouragement for this scheme had come from Frau von Kruedener, the "Lady of the Holy Alliance," a pietist of the Baltic German nobility who had become a close associate of the Tsar.<sup>38</sup> The trip was filled with terrible hardships and many died. As their journey led them down the Danube and to the Black Sea area, many of them stopped and decided to stay there, both in Bessarabia (which had just opened for

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in 1820 granted them certain privileges. Gotthold Rhode, Kleine Geschichte Polens (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), p. 347.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> See Giesinger, pp. 39-40. Also Eisenach, pp. 50-5.

<sup>38</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 52-3 and RGG, s.v. "Kruedener" by D. Carter. "It was during Alexander's sojourn at the Wuerttemberg capital, Heilbronn, that he met for the first time the Baroness Juliana Kruedener. 'From the first he was strangely drawn to the German mystic and her curious religion.'" Eisenach, p. 52, also citing E. J. Knapton, The Lady of the Holy Alliance (New York, 1929), pp. 192-4. Sometime later, however, when Frau von Kruedener began doing her prophesies in Petersburg, the Tsar directed her to return to her estates. Amburger, p. 75.

settlement) and in other parts of the Black sea area.<sup>39</sup>

Nor should the general religious atmosphere surrounding the entire Bessarabian settlement be disregarded. Occurring in the era immediately after the War of Liberation meant that it was taking place in a context where an awareness of the concept of Christendom as a prime social category had been heightened. This was immediate and personal for Alexander I who saw himself and the Russian people as being the bulwark and defence of Christendom in the face of Napoleon.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, Alexander was favourably disposed to an evangelical, somewhat pietistic variety of Christianity.<sup>41</sup> This had immediate consequences for the settlement of Bessarabia. The colonists had a strong affinity to Alexander as a Christian ruler, and a sense of this new land as being "the promised land" was part of the

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<sup>39</sup> Schleuning, pp. 68-69. Also Giesinger, p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> See Amburger, pp. 66f. and Nicholas V. Riasnovsky, A History of Russia (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 310.

<sup>41</sup> In 1810 Alexander Golitsyn was placed in the highest office for the governance of "foreign confessions." Golitsyn was "a deeply believing man of the greatest integrity . . . the closest associate of the Tsar . . . [He was a person] who had moved away from rationalism and the enlightenment." Amburger, p. 66. (translation mine) Even before Napoleon had been defeated, the Tsar gave permission to found the Russian Bible Society with Golitsyn as its first president. In 1817 he ordered a celebration of the Reformation festival in all of the Protestant churches of the Empire. Ibid., pp. 67-8. However, in the 1820's, Alexander I removed Golitsyn from his post after his piety had degenerated into piosity and intolerance. ("Froemmelei und Unduldsamkeit") Ibid., p. 75.

vision of the settlers.<sup>42</sup> Still, even given the strong religious aspect to immigration, one can not rule out the factor of economic motivation both on the part of the Russian government nor on the part of the colonists.

#### D. Settlement in Volhynia.

The third area of agrarian settlement, most important for supplying immigrants to Canada is Volhynia. Here the German immigration was nearly all Lutheran<sup>43</sup> and in several ways contrasts to settlements in the Volga and the Black Sea areas. However, in connection with the Volhynian settlement something should also be said about Lutherans in Congress Poland.

According to the Russian census of 1897, there were about 400,000 Germans (nearly all Lutheran) living in Congress Poland. They were a strong minority in each of four areas: a) six districts (Bezirke) bordering on Prussian Poland, b) the new industrial city of Lodz and the surrounding countryside, c) one district in the Lithuanian area, and d) the district of Chelm which bordered directly

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<sup>42</sup> Kern, p. 14.

<sup>43</sup> But Giesinger notes that by the end of the 19th century a number of Germans in Volhynia were Baptist. The emergence of this denomination had occurred against the background of "religiously neglected Lutherans." p. 179. See also Schleuning, p. 72.

on Volhynia.<sup>44</sup> In the latter part of the 19th century, German Lutherans in Poland seemed to be under considerable pressure to be Polonized. Although there was a Polish-speaking element in the Lutheran church, it was small, about 10% of the total, and becoming Polonized often involved also being assimilated into the Roman Catholic church, or at least there was the strong possibility of that.<sup>45</sup> As indicated above, the threat of Polonization had earlier provided impetus for emigration into Bessarabia, in the early part of the 19th century. As time went on, developing political events provided further impetus for emigration; this time, to Volhynia. First was the revolt of 1830-1. Germans, generally, were unsympathetic to this revolt and apparently the lack of support led to at least a feeling of insecurity in many cases. The result was a small emigration over the border into Volhynia.<sup>46</sup> Much more serious was the revolt of 1863-4. Germans were again unsympathetic to the revolt, but this time the consequences were more far-reaching. The Russians responded to the revolution with

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<sup>44</sup> In addition to the city of Lodz, there were all together eleven districts where Germans as a minority ranged from 10.2% to 26.2%. See Andreas Mueckler, Das Deutschtum Kongresspolens (Leipzig: Franz Deuticke, 1927), pp. 6-9.

<sup>45</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 4. Also RGG, s.v. "Polen. I. Kirchengeschichte" by A. Rhode.

<sup>46</sup> The first permanent German colonies in Volhynia had been founded already in 1816. However, even by 1838 there were still less than 2,000 Germans in the province. Giesinger, p. 129.

hard measures: executions, deportations to Siberia, expropriation of lands, Russification.<sup>47</sup> As well, within the Lutheran church itself, there is evidence to suggest that this era brought an energetic attempt to Polonize German Lutherans.<sup>48</sup> And again, among the Poles themselves Germans would not be in a comfortable position because of their lack of support for the revolution. Thus, Germans were apparently caught between assimilation or hostility on the one hand and Russification on the other. A consequence of this situation was a strong emigration into Volhynia which, indeed, had a sizeable Polish population but which had not participated in the revolt to a great extent and was

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<sup>47</sup> Gotthold Rhode, Kleine Geschichte Polens (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), p. 400.

<sup>48</sup> See Eduard Kneifel, Die evangelisch-augsburgischen Gemeinden in Polen: 1555-1939 (8061 Vieskirche ueber Muenchen, Selbstverlag des Verfassers), p. 18. The impetus behind this policy appears to have come from within the Lutheran Church itself (Warschauer Evangelisch-Augsburgisches Konsistorium). See also RGG, s.v. "Polen. I. Kirchengeschichte" by A. Rhode.

It seems that during the 19th century there had arisen a philosophy within the Lutheran Church (not without opposition) which was intended for the "evangelization of the Poles:" German Lutherans were to effect this by themselves assimilating to Polish culture. However, instead of evangelizing the Poles, the mixed marriages resulting from linguistic assimilation had the effect of Catholicizing a large number of the children of such marriages. By the 1930's the ratio of German to Polish Lutherans was still 9 to 1. See the Rhode article in RGG and Kneifel, pp. 16-17 and 20. Kneifel estimates the ratio in 1938 to be 8 to 2; this, however, after the Church Law of 1936 which subordinated the Lutheran Church to the Polish government.

not placed under the same punishment as Congress Poland.<sup>49</sup> As well, 1861 had brought the Emancipation of the Serfs in Russia. As a result of this, landlords, also in Volhynia, were eager to find tenants (or buyers) who would be able to get their land into agricultural production.<sup>50</sup> Thus one finds the classic push-pull situation which brought German Lutheran settlers into Volhynia.

The Volhynian German settlement appears somewhat exceptional compared to the Volga and Black Sea settlements. First, sponsorship was more by landowners, and not by the crown. Taken as a whole, it does not appear to have been particularly organized--at least compared to the other two.<sup>51</sup> The pattern of farm settlement was also different. These colonists settled, not especially by village, but more according to the Einzelhofsystem (family farms).<sup>52</sup> Even for

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<sup>49</sup> Rhode, Kleine Geschichte Polens, p. 401. See also Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 November 1889.

<sup>50</sup> Rink, p. 44. Before leaving the topic of immigration into Volhynia, one should also note that some immigration was from Galicia where Polonization was also an issue. Sepp Mueller, "Das Zusammenleben von Deutschen und Nichtdeutschen in Galizien" in Julius Kraemer, ed., Heimat Galizien, p. 253. Also Walter Kuhn, "Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Galizien," in Heimat Galizien, p. 77. And, as well, there was some internal migration of German Lutherans within Congress Poland in response to new land ownership conditions after the revolt and the emancipation of the serfs. See Rhode, Kleine Geschichte Polens, p. 404.

<sup>51</sup> Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," pp. 41 and 44.

<sup>52</sup> Friedrich Rink, 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien (Berlin: Verein der Deutschen Wolhynier E. V., 1922), [p. 13.] (Page number assigned.)

those leasing land, the goal was to become "master on one's own land." ("Herr auf eigener Scholle.")<sup>53</sup> Still, there was enough contiguity in the settlement to establish Gemeinden whose institutional structure rested upon church and school.<sup>54</sup>

Numerically, Volhynian settlement was smaller in comparison to the Volga settlement but about the same as that in the Black Sea region. The 1897 census lists 170,000 (German) Lutherans in Volhynia compared to 313,000 and 163,000 in the Volga and Black Sea areas respectively.<sup>55</sup> Also, cultural peace turned out to be short lived; for by the 1880's the colonists were again experiencing renewed pressure.<sup>56</sup> This meant, for many, that their future in Volhynia would be a short one since with this pressure emigration would be beginning again. This we discuss in Chapter VI.

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<sup>53</sup> Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," pp. 45-6.

<sup>54</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 41 and 44. Also Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 November 1889. Schleuning says that the school was the first building to be erected and often that had to also serve as the church. p. 71.

<sup>55</sup> Giesinger, p. 155.

<sup>56</sup> Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 47.

E. Development of a Lutheran Church-at-Large in the Russian Empire.

The existence of German Lutheran settlements in interior Russia presented a formidable challenge for church ministry. In the early years of the 19th century these had been grouped between the older, established communities in St. Petersburg and Moscow and the newer settlements in the Volga and Black Sea areas. As indicated above, Lutherans in the Baltic area had come into Russia with a church which was already highly developed. Not so, the Lutheran congregations in the interior. Here there was wide variety in the ecclesiastical state of things and, with regard to legal status, unclarity, as would manifest itself later in the 19th century when the government failed to keep promises made during the time of colonization.<sup>57</sup> As noted earlier, the congregations in Moscow and St. Petersburg were relatively well off. Not only did they develop their own schools, but they took some responsibility for parish schools in the surrounding area.<sup>58</sup> As indicated earlier, over the years they had developed various arrangements to receive pastors from the church in the German lands. Indeed, at one point, under A. H. Francke, the pietists at Halle had begun doing extensive work in Russia, but this was

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<sup>57</sup> See chapter VI, pp. 153f..

<sup>58</sup> Amburger, p. 164.

later reversed as the Russian government came to react against German influence.<sup>59</sup>

Along the Volga, Lutheran communities were served by Moravians and then by missionaries of the Baseler Missionsgesellschaft.<sup>60</sup> These latter also served communities in the Black Sea area in relatively large numbers. However, in the 19th century, the immigration of foreign clergy almost ceased. This was partially on account of a growing number of native clergy, but it was also partially because of the police control of Nicholas I against foreigners.<sup>61</sup> These situations indicate something of the problem for Lutherans as they sought to function in Russia. Although some congregations were well served and had stable traditions, much of policy was on an ad hoc basis. Lutherans in Russia were legally unprotected in a land where religion was generally regulated. Even the Baltic Germans were not unaffected. In the latter part of the 18th century, in order to stifle the spread of revolutionary ideas, Tsar Paul forbade university study abroad.<sup>62</sup> This immediately affected the development of

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<sup>59</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 41-48. The reversal, however, did not come until after Franke's men had rendered a meaningful service to Swedish prisoners of war who had been taken to Siberia.

<sup>60</sup> Roemmich, pp. 11 and 14.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14 and Duin, p. 315.

<sup>62</sup> Amburger, p. 63.

theological candidates who were used to studying in Germany. One result of this policy was the (re)founding, in 1802, of the German-speaking University of Dorpat in Livonia.<sup>63</sup>

As the 19th century approached, a further problem had developed among Lutherans in Russia, a problem which can be seen as a problem for Lutherans world-wide. This was the problem of confessional dilution. Large numbers of educated Lutherans were under the spell of rationalism which sought to expunge christological content from the liturgy, the hymnbook and the practical teaching of the church.<sup>64</sup>

Another, contrasting movement was pietism, which emphasized

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<sup>63</sup> "German-speaking" was for this second beginning, in 1802. Earlier, the university had been Latin and Swedish; and most of the Baltic Germans had studied in Germany. But the promise of a Lutheran university had been given already with the capitulation of the Baltic nobility to Peter I in 1710. The university became reality under the rule of Alexander I. A site was donated for the institution, and he signed the statute on his birthday, on December 12, 1802. Harry Anderson, "Die Universitaetsgemeinde in Dorpat und ihre Kirche" in Joseph Schnurr, ed., Die Kirchen und das religioese Leben der Russlanddeutschen: Evangelischer Teil, p. 310.

<sup>64</sup> See Hermann Dalton, Beitraege zur Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Russland, vol. 1: Verfassungsgeschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche in Russland (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1887), pp. 218-19. Dalton reproduces part of an officially proposed prayer "which God [would have been] asked to hear every Sunday" which prays for virtue, good citizenship, blessings on the Tsar and the Tsar's mother, which prayer, however, had no place for sin, forgiveness from God, or the name of Christ. The composers of this prayer, however, were afraid that it would have been difficult if not impossible to translate such a prayer so that Estonians and Latvians would take it to heart. pp. 225-6.

personal religious experience;<sup>65</sup> and, in some other circles, there remained a conservative confessional faith.<sup>66</sup> In Russia, relations between Lutherans and the Reformed were sometimes peaceful; sometimes, not.<sup>67</sup> As the 19th century progressed past the Napoleonic era, the positive Lutheran confessional movement which had occurred in Germany also extended its influence into Russia.<sup>68</sup> We have already noted the powerful apocalyptic movement which had come to influence South Russia. At the same time the problematic Stundist movement<sup>69</sup> and the separatist movement had asserted themselves.<sup>70</sup> All in all, the situation called for a legal

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<sup>65</sup> The work of the Moravians on the Volga and the Halle Pietists has already been noted. Moravians also operated in the Baltics until steps were taken against them in the mid-18th century. Alexander I returned toleration again in 1817. Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>66</sup> Out of a four member theological faculty, Amburger names only one who was confessionally conservative as Dorpat opened in 1802. p. 65.

<sup>67</sup> See Giesinger, p. 160 and Amburger, p. 54.

<sup>68</sup> The type of religious awakening in Russia which was represented by Golitsyn and the Tsar initially seemed to express itself in a Protestantism that partially reminded of Prussian Unionism. The 1817 Reformation festival in Petersburg was held as a Reformed-Lutheran event. Amburger, p. 68. In 1818, in Archangelsk, there was a union of the Reformed and Lutheran congregations. Ibid. However, the trend turned more and more positively confessional as will be detailed below.

<sup>69</sup> An import from Wuerttemberg, Stundism began in the Black Sea German colonies but was also picked up by the Russians. Eisenach, p. 48.

<sup>70</sup> Some millennialists from Wuerttemberg had settled as separatist Gemeinden. Roemmich, pp. 12-13.

standing for the Lutheran Church in Russia and an authoritative magisterium to insure "purity of teaching"<sup>71</sup> and consistency in church practice.

Ironically, it was the rationalistic movement which gave impetus to the movement for unity and legal recognition.<sup>72</sup> Part of the rationalist programme was a reductionism in religion to the concepts of God, virtue, and immortality.<sup>73</sup> Rationalism was concerned with the "useful," and one tendency of the movement was to interpret that usefulness in terms of contribution to the civil order.<sup>74</sup> Thus, it is ironic but also understandable that a movement for unity should come from that camp.

However, the rationalist attempt was not successful. By the time proposals had been worked out, the movement itself

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<sup>71</sup> The reference is to the Augsburg Confession, Article VII, where the Church is defined as ". . . the assembly of all believers among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity . . . ."

<sup>72</sup> Dalton, pp. 218ff.. Also Schleuning, p. 78.

<sup>73</sup> See Otto Heick, A History of Christian Thought, vol. 2, p. 328. A later 19th century formulation is "the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the supreme value of the human soul." Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> In the specific case here in Russia: "The Protestant Church was [viewed as being] only a public institution with the purpose of keeping its members in truth, morality and satisfaction with complete freedom of conscience." (translation mine) Amburger, p. 66. The new unified liturgy was one in which the name of Jesus almost never occurs. Ibid., p. 65.

had been overwhelmed by the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>75</sup> Rationalism in many circles had been discredited, and Lutherans were again rediscovering their theological identity, also in Russia.<sup>76</sup> Thus the movement for unity developed with a positive, confessional character, and indeed, as it turned out, with the "Old Lutheran" stance (adherence to the entire Book of Concord) which the Baltic lands had inherited out of the Swedish order.<sup>77</sup> This was often much to the discomfort of Lutheran and Reformed who had sometimes settled in some proximity to each other in the interior and had developed arrangements for working together.<sup>78</sup> Important in the development of the final Church Law was a Baltic German, influential at court: Karl von Lieven.<sup>79</sup> In 1823 he was

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<sup>75</sup> Reference has already been made to the personal position of the Tsar and of Alexander Golitsyn. Let it also be said that the relationship between the confessional revival and the demise of Napoleon was more general: "During the first half of the nineteenth century there was a revival of religion throughout Germany. This religious movement was intimately connected with the romantic school in literature and the rebirth of German patriotism during the years of the Napoleonic oppression." Heick, A History of Christian Thought, vol. 2, p. 199.

<sup>76</sup> Another attempt at a rationalistic revision of a hymnal this time led to the pastor's dismissal and the search by the Tsar for a bishop for the Lutherans. The well known Claus Harms was approached for the post, but he declined it. Finally the Bishop of Borga in Finland also became the Bishop of Petersburg. Amburger, p. 71.

<sup>77</sup> See Dalton, pp. 312 and 319.

<sup>78</sup> Roemmich, p. 17.

<sup>79</sup> "Typical of the best among the Livonian aristocracy, Lieven was both loyal to the Tsar and to his Lutheran Church. His patriotism as well as his profound devotion to

made Curator of the University of Dorpat and moved against the rationalistic elements there, "retiring" faculty members of that persuasion and replacing them with exponents of the new confessionalism from Germany.<sup>80</sup>

The movement toward legal status survived both the later reactionary period of Alexander and the new reaction of Nicholas I. In 1828 von Lieven was made Minister of Public Enlightenment.<sup>81</sup> After over 100 meetings on the subject, a law was passed in 1832 as "The Law [or Ordinance] for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Russia."<sup>82</sup>

Under this ordinance, Lutherans in Russia were to be governed by a number of consistories which in turn were under an Imperial General Consistory at St. Petersburg. The Baltic lands were divided into geographically smaller areas with relatively large populations. The interior was under (1) the Moscow Consistory, which also contained the Volga settlements and stretched eastward through Central Asia and Siberia to the Pacific, and (2) the St. Petersburg (regional) Consistory which included the area around the Black Sea and Volhynia.<sup>83</sup> Congress Poland was administered

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the Church made him well-suited to undertake the difficult problem of church organization." Duin, p. 275.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 68.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 288.

<sup>82</sup> "Gesetz fuer die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Russland." Amburger, p. 76.

<sup>83</sup> Dalton, pp. 322-5.

separately, under a Warsaw consistory, but later in the century this consistory was placed under the St. Petersburg Ministry of Interior.<sup>84</sup>

The organization of the Lutheran church-at-large in Russia had both positive and negative features. Negatively, congregations, apparently, could take little initiative in the overall workings of the church.<sup>85</sup> Many of the parishes were so large as to be unmanageable, and government protection often meant government control: e.g., it was often quite difficult if not impossible to divide a parish into more manageable units within a reasonable length of time.<sup>86</sup> Also, at the time of Russification in the latter part of the 19th century, there had to be acquiescence on the part of the clergy who had supervision over the Gemeindeschulen.<sup>87</sup> Yet, in spite of its negative features,

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<sup>84</sup> See Amburger, p. 85 and Kneifel, p. 14.

<sup>85</sup> Dalton, pp. 322-5.

<sup>86</sup> See Duin, pp. 389, 390 and 398ff.. Also Giesinger, p. 173. Apparently an additional cause for the slow increase in the numbers of parishes was the reluctance of the colonists themselves to take on new taxes. Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 519f. and 544f.. Duin indicates, however, that a more liberal minded clergy promoted Russian as a language of instruction before the colonists wanted it and before the government required it. p. 530. Eventually, however, the schools were put under Russian control. In the period 1890-92 in interior Russia "custody of the schools which had heretofore been in the hands of German congregations and ministers was now wholly taken over by the Russian public school inspectors . . . From 1892 on, the name 'church school' no longer had validity in the Lutheran communities of Russia. . . . the clergy retained only the limited right of supervising religious instruction." *Ibid.*,

one must ask: What would have been the alternative, especially for the relatively isolated colonies and especially given the restrictions that the Russian government was habitually imposing on a number of its minority peoples? And there was good evidence that the voice of the church-at-large was able to preserve something at the time of Russification, namely classes in German (as a subject) and religious instruction in German.<sup>88</sup> This maintained a sense of identity until more progressive developments were possible after the Revolution of 1905.<sup>89</sup>

And there were many positive things to come out of the 19th century church organization. The University of Dorpat developed into a first class German Lutheran institution until it fell victim to Russification in 1890.<sup>90</sup> Communication links were established between distant areas of the church. For example, by the end of the 19th century, nearly all of the pastors serving along the Volga were from

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p. 546.

<sup>88</sup> Amburger, p. 163 and Giesinger, p. 181. And one should note as well that the "limited right of supervising religious instruction" cited in the above footnote was still considerable. In 1897 the Imperial Government allowed twelve hours a week for German and religion. Duin, p. 543.

<sup>89</sup> Giesinger, p. 179 and Roemmich, p. 26. See also Height, p. 330. In connection with the period 1900 to 1914, Height quotes Karl Stumpp: "Then came the flourishing of the colonies, unexpected like a miracle."

<sup>90</sup> See Giesinger, p. 149 and Amburger, p. 99.

the Baltic lands,<sup>91</sup> and gifted sons of colonists had the opportunity to attend the University of Dorpat and enter the pastoral ministry.<sup>92</sup> The St. Petersburger evangelisches Sonntagsblatt served as a medium of communication within the church in Russia and also with Lutherans in other countries.<sup>93</sup>

Further, the spirit of the German Inner Mission movement, pioneered by the work of J. H. Wichern in north Germany, also made its way into the Russia of the mid- and later 19th century. The movement first influenced the Baltic Provinces and St. Petersburg and then the interior.<sup>94</sup>

A strongly positive development for the church was the establishment, in 1859, of the Unterstuetzungskasse (Church Welfare Fund) which gave opportunity to support beginning congregations; new church buildings; the building of parsonages; support for widows; and disaster relief, as for example, the famines of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.<sup>95</sup> Especially in the situation of Lutherans in

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<sup>91</sup> Duin, p. 315.

<sup>92</sup> Schleuning, p. 76. Also Amburger, p. 149.

<sup>93</sup> Examples are Lutherisches Kirchenblatt (Reading-Philadelphia) and Der Lutheraner (St. Louis) which used it for news from Russia. See 23 August 1890 and 10 May 1892, respectively. Also, J. N. Lenker has it for a source in his work of 1893, Lutherans in All Lands.

<sup>94</sup> Schleuning, pp. 83-4.

<sup>95</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 84-85, Amburger, pp. 81-2 and Duin, pp. 334-5.

the Russian Empire with its extremes of rich and poor, well-established and barely surviving, it was important to provide a well-publicized and trustworthy means of charity and mission support. Lutherans in Russia even provided mission support for Lutherans in North America.<sup>96</sup>

Not to be omitted are the numerous institutions of mercy which developed in the latter part of the 19th century. Operated mostly by deaconesses who were first being trained in Germany and then later in Russia as well, mention can be made of the Lutheran Hospitals in St. Petersburg,<sup>97</sup> Moscow, and Odessa; the Alexanderasyll (for the mentally ill and physically handicapped) in Sarata, Bessarabia; the Orphanages in St. Petersburg and Odessa; and asylums for the poor in Kiev and Saratov.<sup>98</sup> The diaconate originally began through contacts in Germany; and, as the century progressed, young women in Russia offered themselves in considerable numbers to this work. From one notable community, that of Hoffnungstal, Cherson, (just north of Odessa) there came at least 20 women who took training for

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<sup>96</sup> Duin, p. 357. During the American Civil War and thereafter, support was given to the Missouri, Wisconsin and Iowa Synods.

<sup>97</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 25 May 1889.

<sup>98</sup> See Amburger, pp. 167-6; Kern, pp. 29-30; and Stoldt, pp. 240-42.

the diaconate.<sup>99</sup>

Finally, the Lutheran church in Russia, on occasion, took up advocacy with the government on the part of the powerless in society. A case in point in the mid-century was that of Lutheran deportees in Siberia. Originally scattered in Siberia, the church advocated and supported a resettlement plan according to nationality ("Volkszugehoerigkeit")--this out of practical and humanitarian reasons. The result was several communities for Finnish, Estonians, and Latvians.<sup>100</sup> This concern for national as well as Lutheran community, itself, was an expression of the general philosophy of the church-at-large in Russia; namely, to

set up an edifice with as protective as possible maintenance of church ethos, custom, and national individuality ("Volkseigentuemlichkeit") in which companions in the faith, although separated by distance, [could] live together in a brotherly way under the same roof of the same mother church.<sup>101</sup>

This was the official Lutheran Church in the Russian Empire which lasted until the time of the Bolshevik Revolution.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 243. Hoffnungstal was a colony founded in 1818 by the Wuerttemberg Separatists. Giesinger, pp. 38 and 41. It maintained a separatist position until 1888. Amburger, p. 92.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>101</sup> Dalton, p. 335. The translation is mine.

<sup>102</sup> Giesinger, p. 169.

F. German Lutherans and Lutherans of Other Nationality  
within the Empire.

At this point a word of explanation is necessary to indicate the relationship of German Lutherans to Lutherans in general within the Russian Empire. Before Russia annexed the Baltic lands, early in the 18th century, German Lutherans appear to have been clearly in the majority, at least with respect to numbers of established congregations.<sup>103</sup> Yet even before the Baltics had been annexed, there had been a number of different linguistic groups in the Empire who were Lutheran. In addition to the German artisans, and military and administrative personnel, there were Scandinavian Lutherans, especially Finns and Swedes, who had come to be living in Russia for various reasons, oftentimes as a consequence of war.<sup>104</sup> As indicated above, the annexation of the Baltic lands brought in large numbers of people whose mother tongue was Latvian or Estonian. Now, with the Baltic lands included, German Lutherans had become a numerical minority even in the empire

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<sup>103</sup> See Duin, pp. 105, 108, 116-7, 126-7, 130 and 145.

<sup>104</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 123 for the origin of Swedish and Finnish Lutherans in the area around Petersburg. Roemmich (pp. 9-10) indicates the settlement of a large number of Swedish war prisoners.

as a whole.<sup>105</sup> Yet even in this early period, before the beginning of large scale colonies in the interior, the clergy remained predominantly German and Germans were also dominant in the lay governance.<sup>106</sup>

There were several reasons for this, the most obvious being the high social position of the Germans, in general, both in the Baltic lands and in the interior cities.<sup>107</sup> Along with this went a higher educational level.<sup>108</sup> Also, especially in the earlier days, support for the church had come from Germany.<sup>109</sup>

One problem connected with the German predominance in the clergy was the difficulty in communicating with Estonian or Latvian parishioners. German mastery of Estonian or Latvian was sometimes successful, sometimes not.<sup>110</sup> A rather extreme case was in St. Petersburg where the Latvians had to wait thirty years for a pastor to serve them in their

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<sup>105</sup> In the 1897 Census they were only about a third or a fourth, of which a large majority were of the later immigration to the Volga and Black Sea areas. See Duin, pp. 647-49.

<sup>106</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 128, 152-4, 316 and 633. Also Schleuning, p. 58.

<sup>107</sup> See Duin, pp. 326f..

<sup>108</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 498-99. Also see *ibid.*, pp. 489-492 for attempts to improve peasant education and p. 495 for resistance to improvement.

<sup>109</sup> Schleuning, pp. 22-23.

<sup>110</sup> See Duin, pp. 316-17 and 325f.. One church, near St. Petersburg had five services each Sunday: in German, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Swedish.

mother tongue.<sup>111</sup> Sometimes the problems were compounded by the necessity to minister in more than two languages.<sup>112</sup> Added to this was the difficulty posed when German background youth in certain situations (e.g., small minorities in the cities of the interior) lost their mother tongue in favor of Russian.<sup>113</sup>

Membership in the Lutheran clergy, however, was not closed to Estonians and Latvians. Rather, it offered an opportunity for social advancement and enhanced vocational service to ambitious young men since after 1800 educational costs were modest.<sup>114</sup> And a goodly number of these made use of the opportunity. Before 1850 they were brought almost totally to a "German outlook."<sup>115</sup> However, by the latter half of the 19th century, a strong movement arose for Baltic peoples to have a more indigenous ministry; indeed, Latvian and Estonian pastors provided pioneer leadership to the national movement in the Baltics.<sup>116</sup> Thus, by the end of the century a much larger proportion of Estonians and

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<sup>111</sup> Amburger, p. 64.

<sup>112</sup> Duin, pp. 316-17.

<sup>113</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 308-9 and 316-17.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 315 and 324f..

<sup>115</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 324 and 329. See also Reinhard Wittram, Das Nationale als europaeisches Problem (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1954), p. 156.

<sup>116</sup> See Duin, pp. 325-330 and Hugh Seton-Watson, The Decline of Imperial Russia: 1855-1914 (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1953), p. 150.

Latvians were being ordained, some returning to work within their own nationality in the Baltic lands, others being sent to the interior of Russia sometimes to work mostly (if not exclusively) in German.<sup>117</sup>

All of that having been said, however, the emphasis should not rest on the question of social class and dominance. Especially with respect to work in interior Russia, the life of a clergyman was filled with hardships. The parishes were sometimes overwhelmingly large, both in numbers and area.<sup>118</sup> Salaries were often barely adequate.<sup>119</sup> Pastors had the responsibility for guiding their flocks in the often difficult situation of minority-status in the face of a hostile anti-German Russian-majority rule.<sup>120</sup> The cases of physical and sometimes mental breakdown among clergy of interior Russia were unusually high. In the 19th century there was a chronic manpower shortage and high vacancy rate. Under these conditions it was difficult to persuade younger people to become pastors, thus creating a vicious cycle.<sup>121</sup> Many parishioners in "out-of-the-way" places had little contact with the church for years on end. Without a doubt numerous others drifted

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<sup>117</sup> Duin, pp. 324, 329 and 330.

<sup>118</sup> Schleuning, pp. 71-72.

<sup>119</sup> Duin, p. 319.

<sup>120</sup> See especially chapter VI, pp. 158ff..

<sup>121</sup> Duin, pp. 322-23.

into unbelief or apathy or joined other denominations.<sup>122</sup>

Even in the Baltic lands, where conditions were usually better, the clergy, toward the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, had to courageously face violence from below (i.e., from the Latvian and Estonian revolutionary spirit) and imprisonment or exile from above (Russification and state-driven discrimination against the non-Orthodox).<sup>123</sup> Throughout, the life of the Lutheran clergy in 19th century Russia "called for men of profound faith and a dedicated sense of social and spiritual responsibility."<sup>124</sup> Despite their limitations,

they persisted in their task of rendering spiritual service despite incalculable frustration and hardships. It is a credit to their tenacity of purpose and to the devotion which they applied to their faith that they attempted and accomplished as much as they did.<sup>125</sup>

Returning now to the question of Lutheran population in the interior of Russia, as it was mentioned above, before the annexation of the Baltic lands in the early 18th century, German Lutherans appear to have been in the majority. After the settlement of the agricultural colonies in the 18th and 19th century, this was clearly the case. By the end of the 19th century, there appears to have been

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 324 and Schleuning, p. 72.

<sup>123</sup> Duin, pp. 330, 591 and 601f.. Also, Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 March 1889, p. 94.

<sup>124</sup> Duin, p. 323.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 314.

about 800,000 German Lutherans out of slightly over one million total. The remainder consisted of other nationalities among whom the Finns, Estonians, and Latvians were the largest.<sup>126</sup>

From the above, a certain composite picture emerges. With the annexation of the Baltic lands, the Lutheran population of the Russian Empire increases many-fold. Although the bulk of this increase is due to a large number of Estonian and Latvian peasants, the clergy in the empire as a whole is greatly augmented by the Baltic Germans. By the end of the 19th century, German Lutheran parishioners in the interior are a large majority and are served mostly by the German Lutheran clergy although by this time a number of Latvians and Estonians had come into the clergy and were serving not only among persons of their own nationality but also in German Lutheran communities.

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<sup>126</sup> Ibid., pp. 648-9.

## CHAPTER V

### GEMEINDELEBEN IN INTERIOR RUSSIA IN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The foregoing pages have indicated how German Lutheran Gemeinden came to be established in interior Russia beginning with the city congregations of the 17th and 18th centuries. Then came the more populous Volga colonization<sup>1</sup> later in the 18th century followed by large scale settlement of the Black Sea area; and finally, German settlement in Volhynia.<sup>1</sup> By 1875, the original Gemeinde had undergone some development (less, in the case of Volhynia since these settlers had just arrived) so that by that time one can discern a distinct Gemeinde-ethos, a relatively stable, established form although there were some significant variations. This is not to imply fossilization occurring about 1875. Indeed, after 1875 forces both internal and external to the Gemeinde were making for both emigration from Russia and the founding of new (daughter) Gemeinden in

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<sup>1</sup> Giesinger says that this immigration continued until "about 1875." p. 131.

Russia itself, and while this was going on the Gemeinden themselves continued to develop internally. Yet the period beginning with 1875 and extending into the early 20th century does give a point of reference for understanding what those German Lutherans had been a part of before they emigrated from Russia.

The following pages will attempt to portray the life of the German Lutheran Gemeinde by means of three major categories: church, school, and vocation or work, these latter under the title "culture and agriculture," attempting to understand work<sup>2</sup> in a broad sense. The intent of this

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<sup>2</sup> Martin Luther's basic teaching of justification by faith alone (without the aid of good works) is well known. However, Luther still had much to say about good works, as well. Good work (intentionally collectivized now) is what a Christian would want to do, not to gain favor with God, but out of profound gratitude to God.(a) It is the way that the "new man" living by faith would serve God in service to neighbour.(b) The old, fallen man (born in sin) was basically lazy and did not want to work. (Luther: "Der alte Esell ist flaisch und blut, der dazu gezwungen und gedrunge wirt, das er arbeit, und dennoch faul ist.")(c)

If doing good work(s) was a more general response to the grace of God grasped in faith, then calling or Beruf was a specific, ordered expression of that response.(d) A person could have more than one Beruf and they could certainly be related. For example, a shoemaker could serve his neighbour through his Beruf as a shoemaker and also help fulfill his Beruf as husband and father by caring for his family with money earned as a shoemaker.(e)

Thus, one must conclude that work, within the Lutheran tradition, certainly had a religious aspect to it. What it was not, however, was (1) a way of earning merit with God or (2) normally there primarily for the purpose of "making money."(f)

The above interpretation is based on two sources: (1) Karl Holl, "Die Kulturbedeutung der Reformation" (1911) in Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, vol. 1 (Luther) (Tuebingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr, 1932) and (2) Robert H. Fischer, Luther (Philadelphia: Lutheran Church Press, 1960),

pattern is to give structural expression to that German Lutheran dictum, explicit in Russia: "pray and work."<sup>3</sup>

#### A. The Centrality of the Faith within the Community.

As already indicated, German Lutherans, on the surface, were invited to Russia, not because of, but in spite of, their religion. The invitation was not only to Lutherans, but to Germans in general,<sup>4</sup> also Roman Catholics and

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this latter containing "A Martin Luther Sampler," excerpts from Luther's own writings translated into English. Specifically, the above is dependent on these two sources as follows: (a) Fischer, pp. 180-1; (b) Holl, pp. 445-6; (c) Holl, p. 474; (d) Holl, p. 475; (e) Fischer, pp. 186-7; and (f) Fischer, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> "Bete und arbeite!" or ora et labora. Its Latin form indicates that it goes back beyond the German Lutheran tradition. See Walter Luger, Stifte in Oberoesterreich (Linz: Oberoesterreichischer Landesverlag, 1969), p. 17. Also Leodegar Hunkeler, It Began With Benedict, trans. Luke Eberle, (Saint Benedict, Oregon: Mount Angel Abbey, inc., 1978), p. 66. But the fact that it was a dominant theme in the 19th century German Lutheran tradition can be seen in J. N. Lenker's Lutherans in All Lands (1893), especially as it appears in the inner mission work of J. H. Wichern. (Specifically, see p. 69.) In the J. Goos edition of Luther's Kleiner Katechismus (Winnipeg: Verlag der Ev. Luth. Synode von Manitoba und andern Provinzen, 1926), the expression appears in the section explaining Luther's Explanation to the First Article of the Creed. p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Adam Giesinger notes one French village in the original Volga settlement. p. 13. As well, J. Malinowsky notes the immigration of Bulgarians and Jews from Poland into southern Russia. p. 26. P. Conrad Keller says that in the Balkans there were "no cultured, or only poorly cultured people;" and that the Russian government had planned to "colon[ize] . . . South Russia with energetic German culture." The German Colonies in South Russia: 1804-1904,

Mennonites. They had been invited because of their reputation as effective workers and generally were settled in specific areas of Russia and although a minority within these areas, did generally form solidly German villages or agricultural neighbourhoods.<sup>5</sup> Although invited more simply as Germans and not with regard to religion, the settlement by village was by religion or confession. Lutherans and Reformed were sometimes mixed, but their communities were generally distinct from Mennonite or Roman Catholic communities.<sup>6</sup> Thus, in a given colony, a commonality with regard to confession for Lutherans was usually there right from the beginning. This appeared to facilitate (but not insure) a close relationship between the place-community and the church-community or congregation. The Lutheran community in interior Russia was generally both; and, as we

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trans., A. Becker (Odessa: Verlag von Stadelmeier, 1905), pp. 23 and 28.

<sup>5</sup> See Malinowsky, pp. 19 and 21. Also Giesinger, p. 81.

It was not all done willingly. In the settling of the Volga area, the colonists had thought that they would be free to go where they liked in Russia. Instead, they were settled according to the wish of the government. Ibid., p. 11. Many had had occupations other than farming (e.g., professionals, artisans or merchants). However, they were told that they would all be expected to farm. Schleuning, pp. 33 and 40. When South Russia came to be settled, the occupational restriction was there at the time of immigration. In this instance, only farmers and artisans useful in the agrarian villages would be accepted. However, in the process of immigration, not all of the rules were followed. Malinowsky, pp. 24-5 and 28.

<sup>6</sup> See above pp. 75ff..

will show, the Christian faith was closely intertwined with the day-to-day life of the people. Concrete evidence of the centrality of the faith in the life of the community was the fact that, typically, the church was located in the center of the village,<sup>7</sup> was typically the largest building in that village,<sup>8</sup> and next to it was the community's school,<sup>9</sup> which school was, in the formative years (before Russification), under the supervision of the clergy.<sup>10</sup> Centrality, however, did not guarantee health. And in this regard there appears to be a good deal of variation.

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<sup>7</sup> See Lavern J. Ripplly, "An Introduction to Richard Sallet's Russian-German Settlements in the United States," in Richard Sallet, Russian-German Settlements in the United States (Fargo: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> See Height, pp. 340-6, 349-53, and 361. Also see Kern, pp. 139 and 156. One notes in both of the above works a few exceptions. In Height (p. 337), it is a village where the church was built away from the center because of flooding. In Kern, it is a town in Bessarabia where Germans were but a small minority. pp. 413-14. A situation similar to this latter would also exist wherever German Lutherans were a minority in the cities.

Although not exclusively so, the style of these churches appears to be mostly either 19th century Gothic or in the "historical style." At least in southern Russia they were typically enhanced with a pipe organ, sometimes imported from Germany. See Height, pp. 331-353, passim. In Volhynia, most of them were simple, built from wood; and they typically had a bell, an organ, and an altar painting. Rink, 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien, [pp. 4-6 and 8]. (Page numbers assigned.)

<sup>9</sup> Ripplly, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Duin, pp. 517.

B. The Pastoral Office and the Liturgical Life of the Community.

To begin negatively, a profound and chronic problem, from beginning to end, was, as noted above,<sup>11</sup> the shortage of pastors. In this matter the colonists were partially responsible as contributions (or levies) for pastors' salaries (and also school teachers' salaries) depended to a degree on the colonists' willingness to support them and the state of agricultural development.<sup>12</sup> Although some of the farmers were strikingly successful, others found it difficult to keep their operations viable and develop them sufficiently for their children; and there were numerous instances, especially along the Volga, of little more than subsistence. On the other hand, especially in the latter decades of the 19th century, an increase of clergy was limited by the restrictive policy of the Russian government, which was attempting to weaken German culture throughout the empire.<sup>13</sup> As a result of the shortage of clergy, the confessional unity of many of the villages was threatened. A pastor in the Lutheran church was, besides his religious calling, an official in the Russian government. Since there were so few for the large numbers of parishioners, attention

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<sup>11</sup> See pp. 100ff..

<sup>12</sup> See Duin, pp. 318f. and Height, pp. 245f..

<sup>13</sup> See Duin pp. 570, 600, and 604f..

to individuals was often but scanty.<sup>14</sup> The pastor may have been able to visit and preach in a given community only a few times during the year.<sup>15</sup> The neglect of parishioners, combined with the customary religiosity of the Russia-Germans, sometimes led to sub-groups being formed within the community.<sup>16</sup> Of note are the Moravians, active, but not legally recognized in Volhynia;<sup>17</sup> the Stundists<sup>18</sup> in southern Russia, and the "Brotherhood" in southern Russia and the Volga area.<sup>19</sup> These groups appeared, generally, to have stayed within the Lutheran congregations, sometimes giving added vitality to the congregational life in general.<sup>20</sup> Other groups, however, such as the Baptists and various millennialist groups,<sup>21</sup> formed separate Gemeinden

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<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 318 and 322.

<sup>15</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 307-8 and 322. Also Siloah, August 1895.

<sup>16</sup> *Duin*, pp. 389-95. "The Baptists made little or no progress in the Lutheran colonies where there were pastors. They did however work effectively in places where the pastorates were vacant." p. 395.

<sup>17</sup> *Vitt*, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> *Height*, p. 250. See also Siloah, March 1897, where the editor reproduces parts of a lecture on Stundism held by H. Dalton in the summer of 1896.

<sup>19</sup> *Eisenach*, pp. 71-2.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50 and 71-5.

<sup>21</sup> The millennialist groups seemed to spring up quickly and then disappear, some of their number at times ending up in the more stable German Baptist Church. See *ibid.*, pp. 58-68. *Eisenach* notes the existence in 19th century Russia of the following: Sabbatarians (influenced by Jewish

(congregations) within the otherwise confessionally unified place-community.<sup>22</sup> One method that the colonists used to counter religious confusion was to seek contact with well-known and trusted Lutheran pastors in Germany. Some of these were Pastor Harms of the Hermannsbürger Mission Society, and Pastor Johannes Gossner,<sup>23</sup> who was the founder of the Gossner Mission House near Berlin. Besides these, Pastor Wilhelm Loehe is important for having trained deaconesses to serve in interior Russia.<sup>24</sup>

To aid in alleviating the ill effects of the pastoral shortage, the Lutheran church in Russia instituted a further ministerial office, that of the Kuester-Lehrer<sup>25</sup> (sacristan-teacher). This was a local office which, in broadest terms, gave the Kuester-Lehrer responsibility for teaching religion

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observation of the Sabbath); the Tanzbrueder (led by a self-proclaimed Messiah and characterized by a dancing ritual); the Pfingstbrueder (Pentecostal emphasis); and the Weissagungsbrueder (emphasizing Old Testament prophesy).

<sup>22</sup> We have already noted the absorption of the Reformed in the Volga area. Above p. 75. This was, however, not complete throughout Russia; and in some situations, Lutherans and Reformed shared the same place-community. Amburger, pp. 88f..

<sup>23</sup> Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 45 and Amburger, p. 94.

<sup>24</sup> Stoldt, pp. 239f..

<sup>25</sup> Can be spelled this way but most often as one word: Kuesterlehrer. See Rink, 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien, [pp. 10 and 15]. Also Eugen Bachmann, "Das Leben evangelischer Christen in der Sowjetunion, dargestellt an der Gemeinde Zelinograd/Kasachstan," in Joseph Schnurr, ed., Die Kirchen und das religioese Leben der Russlanddeutschen: Evangelischer Teil, pp. 112-14.

and often other subjects in the parochial school, as well as responsibility for the church in the absence of the pastor.

Although this office was institutionalized and promoted by the church (it was involved in training and examining them),<sup>26</sup> the work of the Kuester-Lehrer can be seen as deriving logically from an original pastorless order of things (relatively speaking) right from the beginning.<sup>27</sup> The colonists, typically, had arrived on the Volga; later, in the Black Sea area; and still later, in Volhynia; with the Bible, Luther's Small Catechism and a Hymnbook.<sup>28</sup> Of these three, the Small Catechism may be considered "a schoolbook." It is the short, concise work based on and repeatedly referring to the Bible. In seven of the nine sections (The Ten Commandments, The Creed, The Lord's Prayer, The Sacrament of Holy Baptism, The Sacrament of the Altar, Morning and Evening Prayers, Grace at Table), the section is introduced with reference to the head of the

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<sup>26</sup> Amburger, pp. 162ff. and Duin, p. 526. In an exception proving the rule, the Wernerschule (a normal school) received complaints because it was "too secular" and many of its graduates were supposed to become Kuester-Lehrer. Duin, p. 510.

<sup>27</sup> Note, however, that appointments of Kuester-Lehrer, in this case Germans among the Baltic peasantry, occurred in the Baltic lands as early as the Swedish period. Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>28</sup> Schleuning, p. 46; and Koch, p. 320; and Kern, p. 33. See also Roemmich, p. 25.

family,<sup>29</sup> teaching. (e. g., The Ten Commandments: "in the plain form in which the head of the family shall teach them to his household;" The Creed: "in the plain form in which the head of the family shall teach it to his household;" Grace at Table: "How the head of the family shall teach his household to offer blessing and thanksgiving at table," etc.)<sup>30</sup>

Most likely, the colonists, in many instances, were following this practice literally since at the beginning the Catechism was one of the few books that they had. It was natural, then, as families got together, especially where the question of teaching children to read was involved, to choose one from their number to take on these duties for

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<sup>29</sup> German, "Hausvater." See Christliches Concordien-Buch, das ist: Symbolische Buecher der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche, 6. ed. (New-York: H. Ludwig, 1871), pp. 343-351. Unless otherwise noted, our English translation is that of Theodore G. Tappert et al., ed. and trans., The Book of Concord (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959).

One should here note that Luther's Small Catechism has gone through many editions over the years. In many of them the publisher includes some hymns and an expansion on Luther's own explanations along with additional Biblical references. Used over a period of years by thousands of children, these particular editions themselves become famous.

Unfortunately, at the present time, this writer does not have any of the editions in use in 19th century Russia. However, it is interesting to note that of the various editions in hand, both of the 19th century editions include the statements referring to the teaching by the head of the house (Philadelphia, 1817 and 1877) whereas in the 20th century editions there is variety, some including it and some omitting it. (Winnipeg, 1926; Gladbeck/Westf., 1970; Philadelphia, 1960 and 1979; Hannover, 1984.)

<sup>30</sup> Book of Concord, pp. 342-46.

more than one family. For example, in the Volga region, some teachers were among the original settlers; but where a teacher was lacking, the task was assumed by the "leading men of the settlement."<sup>31</sup> We can note, as well, that this process (of transferring the teaching function from the head of a family to a community teacher) was already well established in the Lutheran tradition; for, in the Book of Concord, the Latin edition replaces the references to the "head of the family" and "household" with "schoolmaster" and "pupils."<sup>32</sup> Thus the emergence of the teaching function of the Kuester-Lehrer can be viewed as a logical development from the Catechism itself. That the custodian aspect of the office developed to include some pastoral aspects can be understood as a logical development, as well, given the prolonged absence of the pastor in many communities.<sup>33</sup>

The Kuester-Lehrer, would, in the absence of the pastor, hold Sunday Services in which written sermons, prepared for his reading, were the norm. He would often lead the singing for the services. Sometimes he played the organ. He would hold baptisms, funerals, and sometimes,

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<sup>31</sup> Schleuning, pp. 46-7.

<sup>32</sup> Book of Concord, p. 342.

<sup>33</sup> Kern (p. 169) indicates that the custom of having the school teacher read a sermon was already present in Wuerttemberg in Germany. In 1845, Wilhelm Loehe (also influential in Russia) recommended the same practice for the German Lutheran dispersion in North America. See Siloah, March 1908.

weddings.<sup>34</sup> In his person, a vital link was forged between church and school. There he was responsible for catechetical instruction, and the extent of his responsibility for other subjects would vary according to the nature (and size) of the parish school.<sup>35</sup>

Reserved for the visit of the pastor himself was the celebration of the Lord's Supper and the Rite of Confirmation itself.<sup>36</sup> Of course, larger congregations were more able to have a pastor full-time, but in the mostly agrarian colonies of interior Russia, this was the exception rather than the rule.<sup>37</sup> Pastors, as well, had supervision over the curriculum of the parochial schools and, of course, over the work of the Kuester-Lehrer in general.<sup>38</sup> As might be expected in a situation where pastors were remote from their congregations, instances of conflict between distant pastoral authority and local Kuester-Lehrer authority did occur, but generally the system appears to have worked

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<sup>34</sup> See Bachmann, p. 112. Bachmann indicates that only a pastor could solemnize a marriage. Thus, also, Rink. "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 5. However, Duin modifies this by saying that the Kuester-Lehrer would on occasion marry, the final legality of it being completed by the pastor. p. 531. Regarding the aspect of leading the singing, one can note that in Congress Poland the office (apparently virtually the same) was called a Kantorat. Kneifel, pp. 17-18.

<sup>35</sup> Duin, pp. 528ff..

<sup>36</sup> Duin, p. 531 and Bachmann, p. 112.

<sup>37</sup> Amburger, p. 153.

<sup>38</sup> Duin, p. 530.

surprisingly well.<sup>39</sup>

With respect to their liturgical life, in the early days, along the Volga and in the Black Sea region, the colonists had brought a variety of different hymnals, reflecting their points of origin.<sup>40</sup> The early attempts of Lutheran church authorities to unify the liturgy along the lines of rationalism did not succeed in interior, rural Russia.<sup>41</sup> Rather, people had clung to their own ways and, at this time, along the Volga, were influenced by the Moravians who, ironically, were offering a more orthodox Lutheran approach than that of the official Lutheran church itself.<sup>42</sup> Later, as the confessional awakening was occurring in the church, there were more successful attempts to unify the liturgy. One of the more notable proponents of liturgical consistency was Dr. Ignatius Fessler, Superintendent of the Saratov Consistory (Volga) in the 1820's. Fessler worked untiringly in the milieu of the new confessional awakening to improve the religious life of the communities along the Volga.<sup>43</sup> Coming at a time when the church was freeing itself from rationalism, Fessler was able to introduce an order of worship and a hymnbook, the famous

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 532-3.

<sup>40</sup> Dalton, p. 184 and Kern, p. 54.

<sup>41</sup> See Dalton, p. 184 and Kern, p. 54.

<sup>42</sup> See Eisenach, pp. 38ff..

<sup>43</sup> Duin, pp. 235ff. and Schleuning, pp. 57ff..

Wolga Gesangbuch, both relatively consistent confessionally, which found widespread acceptance.<sup>44</sup> But perhaps his strongest passion was for improvement in the schools and his work produced the beginnings of a strong parochial system along the Volga.<sup>45</sup> In connection with both liturgy and education, Fessler is also known as having promoted the so-called "Brautexamen." This was the policy where a couple had to show a basic school knowledge of religious literature before being married in the Lutheran church.<sup>46</sup>

Local development of the Lutheran liturgy and Lutheran hymnody occurred in other areas as well. Notable is that of

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<sup>44</sup> Duin, p. 241. Giesinger, p. 163. Also Schleuning, p. 58. Over the years there had been some question about the use of the Wolga Gesangbuch in the Lutheran Church. When the Volga Germans came to Canada, some Lutheran pastors objected to the use of this hymnal. See Threinen, A Sower Went Out, p. 30. Also, C. M. Cherland, p. 55. Part of the reason may be that the hymnal was originally set up to serve both Lutheran and Reformed. With regard to the liturgy, Fessler gave different options so as to make it palatable to people of each heritage. Giesinger, p. 163. Another reason for the objection may have to do with the possibility of influence from the Moravians. Fessler, born in Hungary and ordained a Roman Catholic priest, became a Lutheran later in life. According to Giesinger, "he spent . . . four years with the Brethren at Sarepta, where, according to his own story, he became a genuine Christian for the first time." p. 161. One may well note that Moravian influence was already strong in the Volga colonies, since several of their pastors had come from Sarepta. Amburger, p. 62. Further, Amburger implies that the hymnal itself is based on the Moravian "Astrachaner Gesangbuch." p. 172.

<sup>45</sup> Schleuning, pp. 59f. and Giesinger, pp. 163ff..

<sup>46</sup> Schleuning, pp. 60-1.

South Russia in 1835 and then again in 1862.<sup>47</sup> Of this latter work, one historian has said, many years later, in the 20th century: "[it] has been our faithful companion and . . . still is [today]<sup>48</sup> with our dear older people."<sup>49</sup>

Finally, one should note the publication in 1879 of the common Agende for the Russian Empire.<sup>50</sup> This Agende contains a one year cycle of readings for the Church Year, an order for Holy Communion, and orders for certain shorter services. The form of the Communion Service is in the classic manner of Luther's revision of the Latin Mass. The music appears to be based on the classic German chorales of the 16th and 17th century, but in places the melodies reveal

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<sup>47</sup> In 1835, at a synodical meeting in South Russia, a commission was set up to root out the spirit of rationalism from the hymnal then current and to see that the "true Biblical, original evangelical spirit . . . should be expressed in this collection of hymns. The colonists favour most all of the hymns of Luther, Paul Gerhardt, Hiller, Teerstegen, Kramer, Klopstock, etc." Further, the committee was assigned the task of including someone "who [knew] well the character and mentality and the strict tenacity of the German farmers (Bauern) toward the customary hymns which have become sacred to them." The hymnal arising from this effort was apparently a great improvement but needed still another revision which occurred in the 1862 edition. The title of this edition was Christliches Gesangbuch fuer die evangelischen Gemeinden im suedlichen Russland. Neue, mit urspruenglichen Liedertexten versehene Ausgabe. Kern, pp. 54-55.

<sup>48</sup> i.e., ca. 1965.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>50</sup> My copy of this Agende has the date 1879. Agende fuer die Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinden im Russischen Reich (St. Petersburg: R. Golicke). It is not impossible that this may be a later edition of a basic Agende in use earlier.

what appears to be Russian or Ukrainian musical influence.

In the Agende, three additional items appear as especially noteworthy for the purposes of this article. One is the recognition that much of the liturgy had been memorized by the people and that in introducing the standard liturgy, pastors were admonished to respect local variation in custom, especially that which had been memorized.<sup>51</sup> Secondly, from a section on repentance, it is evident that for certain reasons people were excluded from Holy Communion and then readmitted through a public rite. The instructions say that the Agende shall give no fixed verbiage, only principles, since the individual nature of such cases would require the pastor's formulations in his own words.<sup>52</sup> Finally, it is striking to the North American reader the degree to which the Tsar and his family was venerated.<sup>53</sup> One would expect that this would prove a profound liability in the years after 1917.

We have already noted the introduction of the Volga Gesangbuch by Dr. Fessler in the first part of the 19th century. This book came to be held in great respect and was used with great devotion by the Volga Germans and was

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<sup>51</sup> p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> pp. 84-5.

<sup>53</sup> See pp. 32-34.

reprinted by them in an American edition in the new world.<sup>54</sup> One example from this work can show how the liturgy of the church closely integrated itself with the daily life of the people in the community. In the Volga Gesangbuch there is a special liturgy for the ending of the year.<sup>55</sup> Basically, it involves a liturgical alteration between choir and congregation using melodies of classical German chorales. Within the liturgy, the congregation is brought to remember the shortness of time, and questions itself as to the possibility of having wasted the past year: Was it lived for nothing? Did one strive to do good with all seriousness? Did "I . . . live only for myself and not for my duty?" Did one live as God's creature and as his child?

The congregation is reminded of the shortness of life, of the accountability that death would demand, and then it confesses the inability to hide anything from God, the weakness of the soul, and asks the forgiveness of God through the blood of Christ.

After a reading of a list of those born, married, and having died during the previous year, the congregation asks for the gift of the Holy Spirit and hopes for God's blessing in the New Year.

To the question: Did people indeed attend church

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<sup>54</sup> The 1928 edition, printed in Chicago, Illinois, presents itself as the 25th edition. Chicago: Wolga Book Company, 1928.

<sup>55</sup> pp. 607-610.

regularly? The answer has to be: "Most generally, yes." In the earlier days, both in the Volga area and in South Russia, a person could be punished or fined for missing church without excuse.<sup>56</sup> And a description from a later time in Volhynia indicates that observation of quiet on Sunday was "strict."<sup>57</sup>

### C. Christian Charity.

Turning now to the topic of Christian charity, as the 19th century progressed, the Lutheran Church in Russia developed numerous institutions of mercy; and the wealthier congregations and individuals were able to assist their

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<sup>56</sup> See Schleuning, pp. 51-2 and Malinowsky, p. 56. However, that there had to be fines at all indicates a situation which was in some respects less than perfect.

<sup>57</sup> Rink, 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien, [p. 5]. Indeed, it was so strict for some who immigrated from Russia that they reacted against their pastor in Canada whom they felt was not strict enough. See Siloah, April 1896. This would be understandable when one considers the seriousness with which some Gemeinden took the Third Commandment:

In der Sonntagsfruehe herrschte im Dorf Stille und feierliche Stimmung. Die Arbeit ruhte vollkommen. Es war undenkbar, dass die Frauen am Sonntag etwa naechten, stopften, strickten oder sonst irgend eine Frauenarbeit taten; auch sah man nirgends einen Mann etwa am Wagen oder einer Maschine hantieren . . . .

Quoted from Karl Stumpp, "Sonntag in den deutschen Kolonien in Russland," Heimatbuch der Deutschen aus Russland, (Stuttgart: Landmannschaft der Deutschen aus Russland, 1956), p. 113.

poorer brethren through the Church Welfare Fund (Unterstützungskasse). This aspect of church life has been more appropriately described in Chapter IV since the nature of these institutions often required an approach involving more than one community.

Still, in a discussion of Christian charity, the local community should not be omitted: Firstly, because many of these had their own charitable institutions<sup>58</sup> and then, secondly, because the willingness to sacrifice and contribute on the local level was necessary in order for the supra-congregational institutions to function well. As well, it appears that many of the institutions began on a community level, sometimes with the donation of a single inspired individual. This, in turn, brought about more general support.<sup>59</sup> Attention to the District of Liebental, in south Russia, indicates that the large villages (pop. 2-4,000) often had institutions such as a hospital, a home for the poor or the aged, a home for orphans, or even a school for deaf-mutes.<sup>60</sup> These were often started on individual initiative, especially that of the local pastor, and came to serve, not only the community where it was located, but also

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<sup>58</sup> See Height, pp. 331-351, passim. Also Schleuning, pp. 84-5.

<sup>59</sup> For examples, see Height, p. 335.

<sup>60</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 331-357, passim.

neighboring communities.<sup>61</sup> The spirit of charity in the German Lutheran communities did, however, not occur automatically. For a long time, little was done:

A man of the earth and fields here must live in his field, so to speak, along with all of his children who are able to work. Only his overburdened wife is left at home--and at harvest time even she can not be there--and so under these circumstances it is easy to see what is the lot of the sick people, those left behind. . . . I was not there very long before becoming aware of the terrible situation in our community: What a huge number of neglected people!--the sick and infirm, the blind and the deaf-mute . . . and a great deal of misery of all kinds.<sup>62</sup>

In South Russia, the years following the mid-century had proved to be years of "religious indifference and moral decline. . . . Many . . . became estranged from the church. . . . Many of the farmers became involved in dishonest dealings and drunkenness." Often the pastors were met by a "spirit of egotism and factionalism."<sup>63</sup>

However,

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<sup>61</sup> See Stoldt, pp. 242-3. But note as well that the government "Instruction" on the administration of the colonies in South Russia "required" poorhouses: "The Privy Councillors and mayors are charged with seeing to it that poor and infirm colonists do not loiter about or take to begging. . . . if they have neither relatives nor the strength to work, then the community must have a poorhouse of two compartments built near the church, one for men and the other for women, in which their poor people are provided with food, fuel and needed clothing." Keller, p. 56.

<sup>62</sup> Pastor Gustav Becker to Wilhelm Loehe, Neuendettelsau. Quoted in Stoldt, pp. 239-40. (Translation mine.)

<sup>63</sup> Height, p. 252.

. . . in the face of these obstacles, the . . . pastors laboured with heroic constancy and indefatigable zeal . . . . In due course they succeeded in influencing the minds of judicious, noble-hearted men and women who responded generously in word and deed. It was the beginning of a renaissance in religion and morality. . . . Self-centeredness and particularism was replaced by a pervasive sense of social concern. . . . Religion was no longer simply a matter of personal salvation, but a spiritual force that evoked a practical concern for the social welfare of all people. The Evangelical pastors, with few exceptions, have been justly designated as heroes of that spirit.<sup>64</sup>

A major way that German Lutherans helped their own needy was in the famine relief effort in the late 19th century. Famine struck the Volga area in 1879-80 and again in 1891-92. South Russia was hit in 1899-1900.<sup>65</sup> Aid for those affected by the famine came from Lutherans in Russia and in the United States as well as from England and Germany.<sup>66</sup> The Volga area, apparently, lagged somewhat behind south Russia in developing charitable institutions. Duin notes that until the 1880's there was only one small

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid. Schleuning gives a similar picture of moral weakness and then recovery in his treatment of the Volga settlements. However, he emphasizes the fact that order in many communities came through the leading lay people. pp. 45-47.

<sup>65</sup> Duin, pp. 403-6. A description of the famine is given by a pastor in the Volga area in an article from the St. Petersburgisches evangelisches Sonntagsblatt: "eine Unmasse von Bettlern, Grosz und Klein, Alt und Jung, Maenner und Weiber ziehen mit dem Bettelsack, in elenden Lumpen, von Dorf zu Dorf, von Haus zu Haus und bitten um alles Moegliche, um Geld, Brot, Kleidungsstuecke, Schuhwerk . . ." Der Lutheraner, 10 May 1892.

<sup>66</sup> Duin, pp. 403-6.

orphanage for a regional population of 300,000.<sup>67</sup> Only after the famine did the attitude of the people move toward providing more charity.<sup>68</sup> However, in noting this, one should also remember that the Black Sea colonists were much wealthier than those on the Volga.<sup>69</sup> Further, the Volga Germans were, generally, grouped into large extended families.<sup>70</sup>

The mir system of land division has been much criticized as a major cause of the famine. (See pp. 133f.) Yet, even with all of its problems, this system can still be seen as functioning, at least in one way, in the interests of social welfare. For at least one observer, writing after the Stolypin Reform (which extended private ownership), the consequence of the Reform was, certainly, for those who were able to acquire more land, a better existence. But for others, less competent, the result was to lose what they had. Further, this same observer saw the mir system as (unintentionally) protecting the colonists--their language, culture, and religion--from being overwhelmed by foreign (to them) influence (Ueberfremdung).<sup>71</sup> By the end of the

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<sup>67</sup> p. 343.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 344.

<sup>69</sup> See p. 134 for a comparison of land ownership.

<sup>70</sup> Rippley, p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> See Karl Cramer, "Das kirchliche Leben an der Wolga," in Joseph Schnurr, ed., Die Kirchen und das religioese Leben der Russlanddeutschen: Evangelischer Teil,

century, a strong social concern had developed among German Lutherans throughout the Empire, but different regions appear to have expressed this in different ways.

#### D. The Gemeindeschule.

The Gemeindeschule was a parochial school in a fundamental sense of the term: i.e., full-time and closely related to the church.<sup>72</sup> As indicated above, it was personally linked to the church by the Kuester-Lehrer. It was under the supervision of the pastor, who, in many instances, however, did not have much time for the supervision. In the traditional school role of perpetuating and influencing the culture of a given community, the Gemeindeschule specifically served to relate the church to the cultural life of the people.

That each German Lutheran community of any appreciable size would have a school was simply "self-understood."<sup>73</sup> Typically, in the primitive stages, before a church proper

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pp. 247-8.

<sup>72</sup> Note in the case of Bessarabia: "Die Schulen in den deutschen Kolonien Bessarabiens waren von allem Anfang an 'Kirchenschulen' im Sinne der lutherischen Schrift: 'An die Ratsherren aller Staedte deutschen Landes, dass sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen.'" Kern, p. 32.

<sup>73</sup> Roemmich, p. 25. For Schleuning: "Keine Kirche ohne Kirchenschule--das war die Losung aller." p. 83.

could be built, the community would build a Bethaus (lit., prayer-house) which would function both as a place for holding services and also a school.<sup>74</sup> From a modern perspective, a considerable degree of criticism has been leveled at these schools. Proper financial support was often lacking and the Kuester-Lehrer was underpaid.<sup>75</sup> Teaching qualifications were not strict and often the work went to "the low bidder."<sup>76</sup> However, as one considers the history of this institution in the context of the Russian Empire, it becomes clear that it was essential to the survival and growth of the Lutheran Church.<sup>77</sup> Further, development of a Lutheran school system was repeatedly hindered by the Russian government since it went contrary to its wish to see the colonists assimilated.<sup>78</sup>

One major accomplishment of the schools was the high degree of literacy among German Lutherans, especially in comparison to the Russian population.<sup>79</sup> Certainly, the

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<sup>74</sup> See Roemmich., pp. 20 and 25 and also Schleuning, p. 71.

<sup>75</sup> Duin, p. 523. See also Bachmann, pp. 113-14.

<sup>76</sup> Duin, p. 523.

<sup>77</sup> The "heavy load resting on the shoulders of the local pastors made the assistance of a sacristan-teacher imperative. Without his help church life would have all but ceased." Ibid., p. 514.

<sup>78</sup> See Amburger, pp. 162f..

<sup>79</sup> See Roemmich, p. 25 and Riasanovsky, p. 438.

members of the community were Biblically literate.<sup>80</sup> Typically, the schools emphasized the "4 R's:" reading, writing, arithmetic and religion.<sup>81</sup> The primary textbooks were an ABC primer, the Bible, and the Small Catechism.<sup>82</sup> This, along with the hymnal (or certain hymns from it), remained at the heart of the curriculum.<sup>83</sup> Further, the schools themselves show considerable development--from the primitive days of early settlement to a stronger dedication to schooling which came in the latter half of the 19th century.<sup>84</sup> And, although some of the schools in the smaller villages of interior Russia may have appeared to be limited in scope, there were opportunities for higher education, namely, the outstanding German Lutheran schools in places of larger population (Odessa, St. Petersburg, and Moscow, for

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<sup>80</sup> Duin, p. 528 and Bachmann, p. 112.

<sup>81</sup> Duin, p. 529.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 528. These were the basic elements of the curriculum; however, schools were not limited to them by any means. For example, some pastors introduced Russian long before it was required. Ibid., p. 530. Instead of the Bible, Height has it as a "Bible History." Also, he maintains that "apart from some elementary arithmetic and a bit of singing, the only subject that was really taught was religion." p. 254. However, this writer must hasten to add that a look at the religious periodicals for that day indicates an interest in geography, politics, history, and poetry, all in a religious periodical. (e.g., see Siloah and Lutherisches Kirchenblatt (both Philadelphia-Reading).)

<sup>83</sup> See Bachmann, p. 113. Also Schleuning (p. 60) has the foundation as "Bibel, Gesangbuch und Katechismus."

<sup>84</sup> See Height, pp. 255-66. Also Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," pp. 43-4.

example) and the normal schools (Zentralschulen) which were set up for the teaching of (among others) future Kuester-Lehrer.<sup>85</sup> In exceptional cases, the very talented and ambitious would eventually make their way to the German Lutheran University at Dorpat. Over the years, a number of young men from the Volga area did just that and were ordained as pastors.<sup>86</sup>

Further, the Lutheran parochial school proved to be a stabilizing factor in times of religious confusion. We have already noted that a major cause for sectarianism in the Lutheran community was the scarcity of pastors and that the colonists sometimes contacted well-known pastors in Germany when concerned about questions of church teaching and practice. However, in time of proselytizing, the school more than once showed its value as it continued its Lutheran teaching, held the community together, and, in most cases, prevailed.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> See Amburger, p. 162ff.. Obviously, at least some of the Kuester-Lehrer had the opportunity to learn to play the organ. Note can also be made of one Christian Beutelspacher who grew up in South Russia, studied architecture in Dresden, and then returned to build churches in the villages and several large buildings in Odessa. Height, pp. 337-42.

<sup>86</sup> Schleuning, p. 76 and Roemmich, p. 14.

<sup>87</sup> Cramer emphasizes the Catechism itself as the "inviolable foundation." (unantastbaren Fundament) p. 252. For Bachmann it is the Kuester-Lehrer himself as the actual central point of the Lutheran Gemeinde. p. 112. For Duin, the function of the schools was to propogate "the national ethos and religious faith" and in this they were "by and large successful" (p. 485); however, not always. p. 252.

Although the Lutheran school had, as a major purpose, the upholding of religious and cultural identity, they should not be viewed as agents of exclusivity. On the contrary, their existence served an important function in being able to acquaint persons of other faiths and nationalities with Lutheran teaching. Indeed, in an environment which strictly limited missionary work, the school served to bring a number of non-Christians into the Lutheran community. Among non-Lutherans, Jews especially availed themselves of this opportunity; and, although the number actually converted was relatively small, a goodly number of these went on to enter the Lutheran clergy.<sup>88</sup> Especially in cases where the German Lutheran community was a minority in a city, one finds the percentage of non-Lutherans in the school to be large. (e.g., Odessa, St. Petersburg.)<sup>89</sup> For Russian students, where conversion was forbidden, these latter were still given access to German scholarship and the opportunity to become more familiar with Lutheran teaching.

The village Lutheran schools were set up so as to work in harmony with the church year and the farm work. The

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Further, the schools were "the . . . strongest weapon against the encroachment of Orthodoxy on its youth." p. 542.

<sup>88</sup> Duin, pp. 303-5.

<sup>89</sup> See Amburger, pp. 163ff. and Duin, p. 371. Duin notes that in 1889 nearly half of the enrollment of the Odessa congregation's boys' school was Jewish.

first aspect follows simply from the function of the school, the role of the Kuester-Lehrer, and the attendance expectations made on the members of the community. Special religious days, besides the usual Sundays, Christmas, and Easter were Maundy Thursday, Good Friday and Pentecost. Confirmation Day was usually on Palm Sunday. As well, New Year's Eve or Day was marked by a religious observance.<sup>90</sup> With respect to farm work, the school began somewhat late--in October--and went until preparation for seeding time, normally until Eastertime. A child normally went to school from age seven to age fifteen.<sup>91</sup>

This whole system of Lutheran schools seemed to showing considerable progress as one began the last quarter of the 19th century (especially since several Normal Schools had gotten established), but just at that point there came a time of disruption as the period of Russification began. This we will deal with in some detail in the chapter on emigration and its causes.

#### E. Culture and Agriculture.

As the title of this study indicates, our major concern is the church background of German Lutherans from Russia.

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<sup>90</sup> Height, pp. 297ff..

<sup>91</sup> Duin, p. 528-9.

Further, we have concentrated, specifically, on that point in a formal sense, in both Chapter IV and Part A of this chapter. Still, it is also important to consider the daily lives of German Lutherans in Russia, to consider also the labora part of the churchly dictum ora et labora. This kind of consideration is one which, to a degree, examines the question of the meaningfulness<sup>92</sup> of the church life for the average member. It considers the question of how the church did in fact relate to the "distinct society" that German Lutherans formed in Russia. It considers what German Lutherans in Russia were able to build, culturally speaking. Thus, we are including this subsection, "Culture and Agriculture," with "culture" standing almost for "way of life" and agriculture, then, as a special emphasis with that way of life.

We shall begin with a consideration of types of settlement, opening with the following two statements:

- a. The centre was the church and the school.
- b. They lived as Germanic islands in the midst of a mostly Slavic sea, whether as agrarian villagers on the steppe, or as homesteaders in the forest, or as artisans or professionals in a given neighbourhood of a city.

These statements cover, in general, nearly all of the German Lutheran Gemeinden in interior Russia.

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<sup>92</sup> Not that worship in itself is not meaningful. Also, part of the labora aspect is there in the charitable work of the church. But this study wants to move beyond the formal churchly aspect of the community and into the rest of the day-to-day lives of Christians.

At this point, however, as one begins discussing cultural characteristics, a number of distinctions can be made. First, nearly all of German Lutheran communities were rural. Even if they were villages, they were agrarian villages. Although extremely important socially, the number of people in the cities were small (about 10%)<sup>93</sup> and, one suspects, many of these were not at all far from the land, if for no other reason than the large involvement of their fellow Russo-Germans with agriculture.

Second, one notes that each of the three major settlement areas for German Lutherans in interior Russia had its own distinct characteristics. The Volga region had been settled earliest and in village form. The people lived together in the village and went out to work in the fields during the day.<sup>94</sup> The same was basically true in the Black Sea area, settled some fifty years later. In that region, the houses were typically built along a long main street, separated from that street by a wall the length of the street. The reason for the wall would become apparent as it was not an uncommon sight to see a herd of cattle running down the street, heading out to the fields to graze. Behind the wall was the house and the Bauernhof (farmyard) of the individual families whence the various herds of cattle had

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<sup>93</sup> See Ch. IV, note 16.

<sup>94</sup> See Giesinger, p. 53.

come.<sup>95</sup>

Although settlement in agrarian villages was common to both the Volga and Black Sea areas, the two areas differed greatly in their system of land ownership. In the Volga area the mir system was in effect. This meant community ownership and a new redistribution every several years.<sup>96</sup> The land was allocated according to family with each family's portion being in accord with the number of male members in that family. Apparently the system worked fairly well in the earlier years;<sup>97</sup> but with the increase in population and correspondingly smaller plots of land, some colonies found it difficult to rise above subsistence. Towards the end of the 19th century and into the early 20th century, a vicious cycle had been created where the plots, having gotten smaller, required more and more intensive cultivation and this, along with the periodic land redistribution, led to soil degradation and lower productivity.<sup>98</sup> The Volga colonists, although from one

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<sup>95</sup> See Height, pp. 313-15.

<sup>96</sup> Rippley (p. 3) indicates that a redistribution was occurring "approximately every ten years." Duin indicates that the land was reallocated "every four years." p. 402. Giesinger indicates that adopting the mir system was a gradual one occurring in the late 18th and early 19th century and that the redividing was not everywhere the same. p. 53.

<sup>97</sup> Duin, p. 402.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., pp. 402-3. Besides the weather, Der Lutheraner blamed the mir system for the famine in 1892. The paper said it would be better to keep the land divided

point of view successful in colonizing and populating the area, did, however, experience a good deal of poverty and even famine.<sup>99</sup> In the Black Sea area, the mir system was not adopted. Colonies did do some subdividing; but to care for their landless sons, they generally bought land from Russian landowners and formed daughter colonies.<sup>100</sup> There was a good deal more prosperity in the Black Sea area than on the Volga, and the Black Sea colonists were able to buy up large tracts of land (through various arrangements) and found daughter colonies. An indication of the difference in relative wealth between the two can be gained by comparing the amount of land owned in the two regions. In the Volga area it was less than three million acres for a (total German) population of about 400,000. In the Black Sea area it was over eleven million acres for a population of about 340,000.<sup>101</sup> It would be simplistic to see the land ownership system as the only cause: there is evidence that an exemplary colonial government in the Black Sea area also

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according to families as in South Russia. 10 May 1892.

<sup>99</sup> See Cramer, p. 247, Duin, pp. 403-6 and Der Lutheraner, 10 May 1892.

<sup>100</sup> Giesinger, p. 55.

<sup>101</sup> Rippley, p. 4 and Seton-Watson, p. 34. Although the totals are not with regard to German Lutherans only and although the South Russia total includes 20% Mennonites, still, the difference is so great as to indicate a dramatic difference in the fortunes of the two groups.

contributed to their success.<sup>102</sup> However, the land distribution system can be seen as one very important if not the most important factor.

Lutheran colonies in Volhynia were different, yet again, from both those on the Volga and those in the Black Sea area. As already noted in Chapter IV, the Gemeinde here was generally not in village form, rather, settlement was more by family farm (Einzelhofsystem).

#### F. Legal Status.

A primary concept for understanding German Lutherans in interior Russia has been the Gemeinde, both the church-community or congregation (Kirchengemeinde) and the place-community (village or neighbourhood), which we have said were most often coterminous. To these concepts we wish to add now a third dimension, that of legal status. Place-communities with formal legal status were the norm for the German Lutheran Gemeinden in the Volga and the Black Sea

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<sup>102</sup> See Giesinger, p. 50. Further, the example of the Mennonites in South Russia should not be overlooked. An Ordinance of 1841 declares: "Since the Mennonite colonies have proved effectual, they are to serve as examples to the remaining colonies and colonists, in farming and management; therefore the colonies are to set up an economic committee modeled after the Mennonites." Keller, pp. 60-1.

areas.<sup>103</sup> This went together with the special colonist legal status (Kolonistenstand) which the settlers as individuals enjoyed until this status was abolished in 1871.<sup>104</sup>

Originally formed as agrarian villages, they were given certain privileges of self-government and were, in turn, subject to higher authority.<sup>105</sup> For example, in South Russia, the villagers elected their own assemblymen and mayor and were able to collect taxes, impose punishments for misdemeanors and engage in tax-financed public works. In turn, they were subject to higher authority: the district colonial government for more serious crimes and the regional Colonist Welfare Committee and its President who had responsibility for the governing of the colonies in the whole Black Sea region. This Committee, in turn, was responsible to the Ministry of the Interior and ultimately to the Tsar.<sup>106</sup> In principle, the Volga colonists were a part of a similar system although, apparently, they did not enjoy the benefit of the outstanding benevolence and competence which the South Russia colonists had experienced

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<sup>103</sup> Malinowsky uses the term Dorfgemeinde to stand for the legal entity. p. 54. Of course, the Kirchengemeinde itself had a certain legal aspect, but this was something quite different from the legal aspect of a village as we will attempt to illustrate in the following pages.

<sup>104</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 50ff. and Kern, p. 19.

<sup>105</sup> Giesinger, pp. 48f..

<sup>106</sup> See Malinowsky, pp. 5205. Also Height, pp. 228-9.

from their Welfare Committee.<sup>107</sup> The South Russia Welfare Committee was generally led by capable members of the German nobility or other high standing personages.<sup>108</sup>

In Volhynia, as might be expected, the situation was quite different. Since the settlement was more by family farm, the Lutheran place-community was more a neighbourhood of Lutherans rather than a village with formal legal status. One reason for this is because Volhynia colonization occurred at a time when the formal colonization effort was coming to an end. (The South Russia Welfare Committee itself was disbanded in 1871).<sup>109</sup> These facts, however, did not preclude German Lutheran participation in the legal administration to which Volhynian colonists were subject; but a formal special status relationship, as it had been set up in the Black Sea area, was lacking. In Volhynia, formal Gemeinde organization appears, generally, to have been limited to the functions of the church: worship (and preaching) and education.<sup>110</sup> Still, in Volhynia, one continues to speak of Lutheran colonies or settlements since

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<sup>107</sup> See Giesinger, pp. 49-50. Also Schleuning, pp. 41f..

<sup>108</sup> Height, pp. 227-8.

<sup>109</sup> Malinowsky, p. 52.

<sup>110</sup> For Rink, the charitable aspect of church work in Volhynia appears, generally, not to be institutionalized but occurred in a more informal way. "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 46. This situation, however, should not be understood as precluding work with institutions in other regions. (e.g., in the Black Sea area.)

the people lived in the same neighbourhoods.

G. Life in the Village: the Church, Civil Government, and Culture.

Returning, now, to communities with legal status,<sup>111</sup> although the church-community often involved the same people as its place-community, the result was, however, not a theocracy. In their most highly developed form, in the Black Sea area, there appears to have been a delicate balance between church and "state" in the village. The head of the church in a Gemeinde would be the pastor, or his local representative, the Kuester-Lehrer. The head of the local government in the village was the mayor who governed with elected assemblymen. These were, then, responsible, on the one hand, to the villagers who elected them; on the other, to various other levels of government.<sup>112</sup> The pastor and the Kuester-Lehrer, a part of the larger church, were responsible for the care of the church, the school, and, with other officials and church workers (notably,

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<sup>111</sup> The following discussion of the interaction of church and local government in the place community does not apply to life in Volhynia in the way that it does to the Black Sea and the Volga areas. However, the preceding discussion of church and school and then, finally, Lutheran agrarianism applies to all three regions.

<sup>112</sup> Keller, p. 54.

deaconesses), charitable institutions.<sup>113</sup> The mayor and his staff were responsible for the collection of taxes, for public works, and for punishment of misbehavior. Loafing, squandering money, spreading malicious slander, and drunkenness could all be punished.<sup>114</sup> Corporal punishment was common. For example, one colonist was given the sentence of 15 lashes with a cane for holding a dance on Easter Sunday where a fight broke out.<sup>115</sup> Cases of stealing could also receive corporal punishment;<sup>116</sup> or, when the theft was especially serious, a long prison sentence.<sup>117</sup>

The village mayor and his assembly had local authority, but in giving punishment they were limited to one night in jail. More serious crimes were transferred to the District Colonist Judiciary.<sup>118</sup> Disputes between Germans and persons of other nationality were referred to a Russian judiciary.<sup>119</sup>

Although generally functionally separate, the church

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<sup>113</sup> A common pattern in the institutions of mercy was for a pastor to be the rector and for one of the deaconesses to be head of the other deaconesses. Sometimes a medical doctor had a position in the institutional structure. See Stoldt, pp. 235-43 and Kern, p. 32.

<sup>114</sup> Height, p. 230.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 229.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

and the government did intermingle at times on the village level. Here, the government could punish people for not attending church on Sunday without excuse and for working on Sunday. Also, parents could be punished for not sending their children to school. However, it appears that in these instances of "church offenses," the punishment was confined to money fines.<sup>120</sup> Thus, it can be said that the church and the government in a given Gemeinde were generally kept distinct, although it is true that the same people were obviously a part of both.

German culture, as it was maintained and developed further in the Gemeinde also shows an interesting relationship to the church. Basically distinct were the Volkslieder sung on the streets and in the tavern<sup>121</sup> and the Kirchenlieder, sung at church and in home devotions. And yet, church attitudes influenced the former. While the German Volkslieder were legion--"they enjoyed singing on every suitable occasion"<sup>122</sup>--and most of this was learned by oral tradition, the influence of pietism put a limit on some

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 230. In the "Instruction" for the colonies in South Russia, these are specified. However, for repeated infractions (almost amounting to contempt), the colonist could be sentenced to a day of work for the community. Keller, pp. 52-3.

<sup>121</sup> The specific reference here is to South Russia. In Volhynia, it was not the custom in the German colonies to have a tavern. Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 44.

<sup>122</sup> Height, p. 280. Kern indicates that an evening of Volkslieder among the families in Bessarabia was common. p. 169.

of it.<sup>123</sup> Dancing was also popular, and here church and state cooperated to approve or not approve as the case might be.<sup>124</sup> Still another expression of the colonists' musical nature was the brass band (or choir) which sometimes played on secular as well as religious occasions.<sup>125</sup>

An interesting mix of the church, the cultural, and the state is to be found in the custom surrounding the beginning of the New Year. New Year's Eve brought the traditional Service in the church. Then, just before midnight, those staying up to celebrate would sing a chorale such as Nun danket alle Gott. Midnight itself brought a special ringing of the church bell. Then followed a special custom inherited from southwest Germany: the shooting in of the New Year. Basically, this involved a number of young men of the community who would take the opportunity to let go with their shotguns. This continued in a somewhat orderly way on into the day. The group would make the rounds to houses of various personages in the village, recite for them one or more lengthy poems for the occasion, blast away with their shotguns, and then be invited in for food and drink. Obviously, various limits were put upon this custom at

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<sup>123</sup> Height notes that folksongs did not flourish in the Protestant colonies as well as they did in the Catholic ones. However, the Lutherans had a larger repertoire of church music. p. 281.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., pp. 301ff..

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., pp. 335-9. Also see Kern, p. 118.

different times and places; and so the merriment quite often came to an end as some limit was eventually infringed upon (e.g., too much to drink).<sup>126</sup>

Life in the German Lutheran community, as it developed, was explicitly religious; it was rich in music and poetry;<sup>127</sup> and it was obviously agrarian. We see a strict law and discipline in the earlier days under the Welfare Committee so that no "wild west" was allowed to occur.<sup>128</sup>

But moral and cultural development was not, by any means, an even process. In one example, in the Liebental District of South Russia, the colony developed from a point of hardship, moral laxity, and cynicism in the early days to

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<sup>126</sup> Height, pp. 297-9.

<sup>127</sup> Cramer notes the documented case of one woman in the Volga region who could sing more than 300 Volkslieder, some reaching 15 to 20 stanzas, all of this apparently coming by way of oral tradition. p. 251.

<sup>128</sup> Height, p. 232. Not that any of it came easily. In Volhynia, Pastor Rink notes the high standard of personal morality: "Die geschlechtliche Unberuehrtheit vor der Ehe war gleich strenges Gebot wie fuer junge Maedchen, so auch fuer junge Maenner." "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 44. In the village of Hoffnungstal (Black Sea region), however, laws had to be passed against "illicit relations" together with the following admonition: "In order to guard against and prevent such misconduct, it shall be the solemn duty of every father and his family to foster a moral, chaste, and virtuous way of life according to the word of God, and to carefully protect his family from all dissolute acts, so that the aforementioned deterrent penalties may not be invoked to their and our common disgrace . . ." Height, pp. 366-7.

Just as illicitness was held in low esteem, even so was the married state (Ehstand) held in high. This is evident by the traditional May Day Festival and the customs and traditions surrounding courtship and marriage. See *ibid.*, pp. 301-8.

a position of some cultural standing and even affluence by mid-century. But the period after 1860 brought economic, cultural, and moral decline.<sup>129</sup> One writer reports that in the years after the termination of the Welfare Committee: "as soon as winter [set] in, all vices [were] indulged in through idleness, by large and small, by young and old."<sup>130</sup> Voices now warned of soil depletion and the possibility of impending bankruptcy.<sup>131</sup> There was conflict over Russian in the community schools.<sup>132</sup> When, at the very end of the 19th century, a new cultural flourishing began, it came "unexpected, like a miracle."<sup>133</sup> The First World War, of course, brought an end also to this.<sup>134</sup>

H. Russo-German Society: Agrarian, Patriarchal, and Biologically Vital.

Our discussion of German Lutherans in Russia and their way of life can not be complete without some attention to certain aspects which have been striking to many observers,

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid., pp. 236-248.

<sup>130</sup> Keller, p. 60.

<sup>131</sup> Height, p. 244 and Keller, p. 91.

<sup>132</sup> Height, pp. 259ff..

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 330. Here Height is quoting Karl Stumpp.

<sup>134</sup> Height., p. 330.

namely: their pronounced agrarianism, the patriarchal nature of their society, and their high birth rate.

The high birth rate has evoked comment from many quarters.<sup>135</sup> In Volhynia, the claim has been made that it was the highest in Europe.<sup>136</sup> In the Liebental District of South Russia, it was six children per family.<sup>137</sup> When it was a question of bringing new land under cultivation, the high birth rate proved an advantage, providing the energy for expansion. On the other hand, an increasing population on a limited land base (as occurred in the Volga area) often led to problems. Still, the expansion of the German Lutheran colonies on the steppe led to the establishment of a Christian culture on land where there was none before.

A second striking characteristic of German Lutheran society in Russia was its patriarchal nature.<sup>138</sup> This was, in one way, common to an era where even in democracies women did not have the vote;<sup>139</sup> but it was even more pronounced in

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<sup>135</sup> See Lehmann, p. 71. Also Heier, p. 160.

<sup>136</sup> See Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 45.

<sup>137</sup> Height, p. 243.

<sup>138</sup> See Richard Sallet, pp. 80-1. Also Paul E. Wiegner, The Origin and Development of the Manitoba-Saskatchewan District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (1957), p. 8.

<sup>139</sup> In South Russia, village officials were elected from among "those householders who, already of legal age, have their own housekeeping and sensible judgement, who lead an irreproachable life, who think and behave honestly, are good husbands, and so distinguish themselves in agriculture, horticulture and cattle raising that they can serve as an

the Volga area where land was distributed on the basis of the number of male members in the family.<sup>140</sup>

As we have indicated in different contexts earlier, German Lutherans were, in the main, connected with agriculture. One may find cause for this in the fact that these were the type of people sought by the Crown in the original invitations and then later by landlords in Volhynia. Further, the government continued to play a positive role in the development of agriculture, especially in the Black Sea area. This occurred through the efforts of the Colonist Welfare Committee which was responsible to the Ministry of the Interior for the oversight of the German colonies (Lutheran, Catholic, and Mennonite) in that area. Especially under the leadership of Staatsrat Eugen von Hahn,<sup>141</sup> the committee encouraged experimental farming, efficient crop rotation, and the planting of hardy varieties

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example to others. Keller, p. 54.

<sup>140</sup> Cramer, p. 249. Cramer says the patriarchal way of life was based on Luther's Small Catechism. We have already given specific examples of the patriarchal assumptions in our discussion of the Catechism in connection with the office of Kuester-Lehrer. Above, pp. 111-112.

At the same time, we do not wish to imply that this social phenomenon was unique to German Lutherans in Russia. Ernst Troeltsch maintains that it was through the Catechism that Luther's patriarchal conception of things was put into the social mentality of the Lutheran faithful in general. Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen (Scientia Aalen, 1961), p. 552.

<sup>141</sup> "Eugen von Hahn, a Baltic German, . . . was an exceptionally effective leader who revitalized local government, promoted better farming practices, and initiated improvements in the school systems." Giesinger, p. 52.

of trees.<sup>142</sup> The Committee also had oversight over various colonist banks which were helpful in the expansion of agriculture and the development of daughter colonies.<sup>143</sup> Although the Committee was disbanded in 1871 as the Crown began to view the colonies under different concepts, by this time a viable religious, social, and economic structure was already in place.

Agriculture, however, was not only a government encouraged preference. For the colonists themselves, relative to commerce and industry, it was nearly exclusively preferred. In Volhynia, commerce as an occupation among German Lutherans was generally not desired.<sup>144</sup> Also, land speculation was rare. Indeed, it appears that moving into these latter activities generally meant moving out of the German cultural group and into the sphere of the Russian or the Pole.<sup>145</sup> Better known was small scale, self-sufficient, home artisanship, practical on the family farm or in the agrarian village. There is an example of a colonist who manufactured a honey extractor in the farm workshop and even the case of a pipe organ being assembled by the local organist himself. Apparently, this person also built the

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<sup>142</sup> Height, pp. 241-2.

<sup>143</sup> Height, p. 322. Notable, not just as a bank but for their social welfare function, are the Orphans' Savings and Loan Banks. See Height, pp. 336, 345, and 348.

<sup>144</sup> Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 46.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

parts himself.<sup>146</sup>

The percentage of German Lutherans involved in agrarian pursuits astounds. Even in southern Russia, the most culturally sophisticated of our three areas, where some industry did take place, the numbers of people engaged in this was small. In Bessarabia, as late as 1940, only 3% were engaged in industry and commerce as contrasted with 82% in agriculture and 12% in artisan type work.<sup>147</sup>

One might want to understand this tendency towards the agrarian and artisanship as something beginning with the original immigrants and then inherited mostly through the natural order, the family; and yet a reading of various interpreters gives the impression that religion itself had a strong influence on this preference.

Pastor Rink's dictum in introducing his article on the Volhynian Germans<sup>148</sup> is indicative of this fact. "Fill the earth and subdue it" (Gen. 1:28b) harks both forth to an agrarian way of life in the succeeding narrative (1:29-30; 2:8, 15) and back to another trait which we have noted, namely, the extremely high birthrate (1:28a): "Be fruitful and multiply."

Further, the interpretation of Pastor Kneifel in this regard (relating to the settlements in both Congress Poland

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Kern, p. 16.

<sup>148</sup> Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 39.

and Volhynia) echoes a similar sentiment:

. . . German settlers with axe and spade opened about 400,000 hectares of land to (agri)culture and civilization and [were able to] bring sandy and swampy areas under the plow . . .

German workmen, through their diligence and competence, their labour and accomplishments served the well-being of Poland and furthered its development. They expected no recognition or even thanks, because they fulfilled their duty for the sake of the matter itself. (Translation and italics mine.)<sup>149</sup>

In understanding productive labour (agrarian and otherwise) as being "for the sake of the matter itself" it is almost as if the German Lutheran saw himself as related to creation (directly) in a manner which would strive toward the second Eden.<sup>150</sup> Rink, in his booklet of 1922, 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien, begins his section of "The Churches" with the statement of "Pray and work." ("Bete und arbeite!"):

That has always been our motto. On weekdays hard work in woods and field and in the workshop and then on Sundays strict rest from work and worship of God with

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<sup>149</sup> Kneifel, p. 17.

<sup>150</sup> For Luther, whereas the old Adam was lazy and did not want to work (Above note 2); the new man, a child of the heavenly Father, would be active [i.e., creative] even as God was active. "The advantage for the [genuine] Christian is . . . that he works with inner desire. With this Luther raises 'work for the sake of [the] work' to a basic Christian principle." Holl, p. 474. (Translation mine.)

Further, in the midst of early capitalism and its problems, Luther emphasized the significance and moral (sittlich) value of agricultural work, seeing in the work of the Bauer something natural. Ibid., p. 500. With regard to Luther's concept of the "new man" (or Adam), one should note that this concept is explicit in the Small Catechism (Part IV) and is also developed in the Large Catechism (also Part IV).

the sound of German chorales in all five hundred colonies in the whole country. (Translation mine.)<sup>151</sup>

Further, Karl Cramer, who grew up in the Volga region and became a pastor there, ponders the fact that 27,000 emigrants from Germany, left almost entirely to their own devices, in a hostile wilderness, could develop in 150 years to a population of 750,000 and asks the question: How was that possible? And he answers that question by saying that for their spiritual and intellectual life, the Bible in the mother tongue, the hymnbook, the catechism, and their practice of confirmation provided the foundation.

One can scarcely comprehend what Luther's Catechism meant for the collective life of a lost-to-the-world island: it laid a solid foundation on which an uncomplicated way of life could be built. Thereupon a patriarchal life could grow and blossom forth, one which was distant from the Enlightenment which had come forth in the old homeland (with all of its stormy consequences).<sup>152</sup>

Part and parcel of this way of life, built on the Catechism, was its agrarianism; and Cramer explores this aspect and the consequences of an individual venturing forth from one of the colonies:

Where and how could the individual, cut loose from the group (Gemeinschaft) which was supporting him, how could he still unfold the depth and character of his native culture if he could no longer say: "House and yard (Hof), wife and child, field (Acker), livestock,

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<sup>151</sup> Rink, 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien, [p. 5.]

<sup>152</sup> p. 249.

and all possessions,<sup>153</sup> in short, if he was no longer a tiller of the soil? If he became a merchant, technician, doctor, engineer, teacher or even professor, he would prove himself true to the Volga colonist even in these vocations by showing the self-understood tenacity and purpose (Zielstrebigkeit) of the farmer (Bauer).<sup>154</sup> If you look at these characters more closely, then you will understand me.<sup>155</sup>  
(Translation mine.)

In emphasizing the Zielstrebigkeit of the Bauer, Cramer is expressing a characteristic of the Russia-German similar to that of Kneifel in the latter's understanding of their ability to work "for the sake of the matter itself."

Finally, a fourth example of the dominant agrarian character of the German Lutheran social ethos in Russia is to be found by returning to the work of Rink. In his exilic 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien the closing poem seems almost to express a "paradise lost" as he combines the themes of nature, family, agrarianism and trust in God--almost in a mystical manner--ending with the hope of seeing, once again,

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153 A more literal translation of Luther (and Cramer's) original German. Note that the agrarianism is missing in the standard English "translation:" "house and home, family and property . . ." Book of Concord, p. 345.

154 "Farmer" does not really capture the meaning of Bauer (lit., "builder") since German has imported the English word "Farmer," and it is not used here. Neither is peasant appropriate since Prof. Giesinger has an entire chapter entitled "Colonists, Not Peasants." p. 45. At the same time we note that in Galicia and Volhynia the colonists did not like being called Bauer but rather (Land)wirt or Kolonist. Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galizien, p. 135.

155 p. 253.

this homeland.156

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Wolhynien, ich gruesse dich  
 Aus weiter, weiter Ferne!  
 O Heimatland, wie weilte ich  
 Auf deinen Fluren gerne.

Mir liegt im Sinn bei Tag und Nacht  
 Das Wogen deiner Felder,  
 Der Wiesen satte gruene Pracht,  
 Das Rauschen deiner Waelder.

Dort hat sein Feld mit frischer Kraft  
 Mein Ahn gepfluegt, bebauet,  
 Sein Haus gebaut, gewirkt, geschafft,  
 Gehofft und Gott vertrauet.

Dort had das Wiegenlied so traut  
 Die Mutter mir gesungen.  
 Dort hat im Felde hell und laut  
 Des Vaters Senf' geklungen.

Geraubt hat uns der Feinde Neid,  
 Was Gott uns einst gegeben.  
 Mein Heimatland ist nun so weit,  
 Und schwer und hart das Leben.

Wir stehen, Gott, in deiner Hand,  
 Du fuehrst uns auf und nieder.  
 Wolhynien, mein Heimatland,  
 Wann sehe ich dich wieder?

F. Rink's "Mein Heimatland" in his 32 Bilder aus Wolhynien,  
 [p. 17].

## CHAPTER VI

### EMIGRATION FROM RUSSIA

#### A. Alexander II and 1871.

Many colonists, although closely attached to the land in Russia, did leave it and, cut off by the First World War, never returned. The reason was large scale emigration which occurred late in the 19th century and early in the 20th.

A prime cause for this emigration was a shift in the attitude of the imperial government regarding ethnic Germans within its borders. The last sizeable immigration into Russia was but a generation past<sup>1</sup> and, indeed, in the case of Volhynia, was not yet complete, when this shift began in the 1870's.

On the surface of it, a major change occurred in 1871

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<sup>1</sup> Kern shows the group settlement of Bessarabia as occurring from 1814 up to 1842. pp. 12-13.

under Tsar Alexander II.<sup>2</sup> One factor affecting the attitude of the Russian government was the unification of Germany and the rise of the Second Empire.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the proclamation of 1871 came as a blow to the model colonists who for years had shown their loyalty to the imperial crown. "The century [since Catherine] has come to an end, and there is to be a new order." Thus Russian officialdom declared as they interpreted "for eternal time" as also meaning in Russian "for one hundred years."<sup>4</sup> With the proclamation of Alexander came an end to the fundamental legal basis which had governed the life of Germans in Russia. From a position of legal privilege (Kolonistenstand), Germans of all

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<sup>2</sup> The date is chosen because that is the time when the Imperial government abolished the Kolonistenstand, disbanded the South Russia Colonial Welfare Committee, and integrated the colonies into the Zemstvo organization legislated in 1864. Giesinger, p. 225. However, the activity of the Welfare Committee had been diminishing over the preceding years and discrimination against Lutherans (and others not Russian Orthodox) had already been occurring, especially in the Baltics, even as a part of the reaction of Nicholas I. Amburger, p. 100. As early as 1832, the same year that the Church Ordinance for Lutherans came into effect, Serge Uvarov had formulated his thesis of Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality. Ibid. The ideas here put forth took greater effect when Uvarov became Minister for Public Enlightenment and had full force in 1881 under Constantine Pobedonostsev, closest advisor to Tsar Alexander III. Ibid., pp. 100 and 103. See also Riasanovsky, pp. 391-2.

<sup>3</sup> See Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada: 1786-1920 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), p. 176f.. Also Giesinger (p. 223) where this is seen as one among a number of factors.

<sup>4</sup> Adapted from Eisenach (p. 89) who has as his source Gerhard Bonwetsch, Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien an der Wolga (Stuttgart, 1919), p. 56. See also Giesinger, pp. 224-228.

religious types, Lutheran, Catholic and Mennonite, were perhaps technically equal before the law;<sup>5</sup> but now, within the context of Russian institutions and the Russian masses, disadvantaged.

The promulgation of 1871 did several things, some immediately, some unfolding consequentially later. German colonists now had to pay taxes, just like the Russians; serve in the army,<sup>6</sup> just like the Russians; and were generally put under more direct Russian administration, just like the Russians.<sup>7</sup> The German colonists were left their "freedom of religion,"<sup>8</sup> but the Gemeindeschulen were eventually to come under Russian administration. Thus began the struggle to preserve what could be preserved of German

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<sup>5</sup> The abrogation of the Kolonistenstand has, as part of its context, the Great Reforms of Alexander II. The emancipation of the serfs did not affect the German colonists directly as these were not serfs to begin with. However, their emancipation did now create a large class of free Russian peasants into which the German colonists could conceivably be assimilated. See *ibid.*, p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> In January 1874, the government brought in the law respecting military service, but rumors regarding this law had begun much earlier. See *ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

<sup>7</sup> "In a legal sense, the colonist had now become a Russian." Malinowsky, p. 57. Translation mine.

<sup>8</sup> Here, again, it was a freedom with various restrictions which were often severe, especially in the Baltic provinces. For example, in cases of religiously mixed marriages, Alexander II had allowed freedom of choice for the parents to choose the baptism and religious upbringing of their children, but after 1885 the children could be baptized and reared in the Orthodox faith only. Duin, p. 585.

language and culture, to maintain the integrity of the Gemeinde itself in the totality of the lives of its members, also the young.

B. The Mennonites as Forerunners in the Emigration to Canada.

Immediate reaction to the new order of things came from the Mennonites. The article on military service directly challenged their pacifistic stance. Thus some Mennonites<sup>9</sup> made immediate plans to emigrate and prime candidates for immigration at this time were the United States and Canada.<sup>10</sup> For the United States, the 1870's found a steadily westward moving frontier in a country now recovering from the War Between the States.

Canada found itself in a unique and problematic situation. Federation had just recently created the Dominion of Canada--from sea to sea. This was, in part, a response to American expansionist notions free to look northward just after the conclusion of the Civil War.

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<sup>9</sup> Some German Lutherans, as well. But the number going directly to Canada, if any at all, was not significant. They should be noted, however, because a secondary emigration of Russia-Germans from the United States into western Canada occurred in the early part of the 20th century. Sallet, p. 32f.. See also our note 32.

<sup>10</sup> Giesinger, pp. 193-4 and 227.

However, Canadian unity and viability were still quite fragile. The dream was to build a country tied together by rail from one end to the other. But critical to this enterprise was the peopling and economic development of the Prairies.<sup>11</sup> Thus the beginning of troubles for Germans in interior Russia in 1871 came just at that moment when Canada was confronted with the twin challenge of populating and proving the agricultural viability of the Prairies.

The stage had been set for this moment by the ceding of the Hudson's Bay Company lands to Canada in 1870 and the agreement creating the Province of Manitoba that same year.<sup>12</sup> In 1872 the Dominion passed a Homesteading Law which would provide the legal basis for agricultural settlement up into the 20th century.<sup>13</sup> And yet the critical question remained: Was agriculture commercially viable on the Canadian Prairies? Thus the government of Canada had a strong interest in encouraging Mennonites from Russia to immigrate into Manitoba and competed with the United States

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<sup>11</sup> A helpful evaluation of these elements in the founding of the Dominion of Canada can be found in Edgar McInnis, Canada: A Political and Social History (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1982), pp. 342-62.

<sup>12</sup> Actually, the Hudson's Bay Company ceded its lands to the British government in 1869 and these were to be transferred to Canada when the Dominion would be in a position to take effective possession. This occurred after the Red River difficulties had diminished and Manitoba was able to come in as a province. *Ibid.*, pp. 363 and 368.

<sup>13</sup> See Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 183.

when Mennonite delegations appeared in 1873 seeking possibilities for a new home.<sup>14</sup>

The result was that Mennonites went both places, some groups to Manitoba and others to the American Midwest.<sup>15</sup> Two factors which drew the former to Manitoba were the guarantees of conscientious objector status and the possibility of greater cultural freedom as the Federal Government also promised the Mennonites control over their own schools.<sup>16</sup> However, in later years, it turned out that this promise would not be kept as education was under provincial jurisdiction.

Only very few, if any, German Lutherans from Russia emigrated to Canada in the 1870's,<sup>17</sup> although it should be noted that Wilhelm Hespeler, immigration agent for southern Germany, did visit several German Lutheran communities in South Russia at the time that he was negotiating with the

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<sup>14</sup> See Epp, pp. 185ff..

<sup>15</sup> Giesinger, pp. 193-4.

<sup>16</sup> Epp, p. 195.

<sup>17</sup> Martin Ruccius (Denkschrift, p. 5) writes of the first German [Lutheran] settlers coming into the Canadian west as early as 1872 from Ontario and the United States. He notes that there were not enough to establish a viable congregation and that most of them left. Could some of these have been Germans from Russia? Richard Sallet documents a settlement of Black Sea Germans beginning in North Dakota in 1884. These, he says, had first started in Canada (north of Winnipeg) and had decided to resettle. pp. 26-7.

Mennonites.<sup>18</sup> Yet the Mennonite beginning is important for the history of German Lutherans since these were the forerunners of the larger Lutheran immigration; and later, when German Lutherans did begin immigrating to Canada in greater numbers, the Mennonites provided a critical service in helping them survive the first difficult years.<sup>19</sup>

### C. Alexander III and Russification.

Russian discrimination against Germans living in the empire intensified after the assassination of Alexander II and the accession to the throne by Alexander III in 1881. This came about ten years after the Kolonistenstand and

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<sup>18</sup> See Grenke, pp. 16-17 and 52. Hespeler, himself, was a German Lutheran. He was instrumental in settling both Mennonites and German Lutherans and was a strong support for founding the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde in Winnipeg. See Werner Entz, "William Hespeler, Manitoba's First German Consul" (Daniel A. Rinck, trans.) in Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch, vol. 1 (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada Inc., 1973), pp. 150-1. Also Norman Threinen, "Eastern Canadians and Lutheran Beginnings in Western Canada," For the Record, 11, (October 1988), p. 10. For further discussion of the career of Hespeler, see below, pp. 213ff..

<sup>19</sup> Martin Ruccius acknowledges this service at the beginning of his publication of 1922. p. 5. For a public expression of gratitude from drought stricken colonists resettling from the Dunmore to the Grenfell district, Assiniboia, see the Nordwesten, 12 June 1891. A further example of the profound, even life-saving, assistance of Mennonites to a new colony of Moravians (and Lutherans) at Bruederheim, Alberta in the 1890's is to be found in Vitt, pp. 64ff..

draft exemption had been abolished. By this time, besides the Mennonites, German Lutherans felt the pressure. With Alexander III came the reactionary Constantine Pobedonostsev who applied the doctrine of Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality with full force.<sup>20</sup> Now came Russification of the schools. Although more liberal-minded clergy had early encouraged the learning of Russian voluntarily in order to help Germans in relating to the majority<sup>21</sup> culture around them,<sup>22</sup> the issue now was language of instruction and school control.

The initial attempts to Russify were relatively subtle. They began by the building of free (Russian) schools in certain German villages.<sup>23</sup> However, attendance in these schools was not overwhelming so the government moved to more direct methods.<sup>24</sup> In 1890 a decree of Alexander III required Russian as a language of instruction in the German schools. This decree was restated again in 1897 by a Ukase

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<sup>20</sup> In 1880 Pobedonostsev had become the Ober-Procurator of the Russian Orthodox Holy Synod. He was "the chief theoretician as well as the leading practitioner of reaction in Russia in the last decades of the nineteenth century." Riasanovsky, p. 392.

<sup>21</sup> "Majority" in the sense of dominant culture, not necessarily a numerical majority in some situations.

<sup>22</sup> See Duin, p. 530.

<sup>23</sup> Giesinger, p. 231.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

of Nicholas II.<sup>25</sup> In 1892 the colonist schools were placed under Russian school inspectors.<sup>26</sup> Besides the traditional German teacher, the government now appointed a Russian senior teacher (Hauptlehrer).<sup>27</sup>

Administrative battles in the schools were often bitter. One notes disagreements between appointed Russian overseers and teachers, for example, oftentimes a quick turnover in the former, and a coming and going of the more or less "German-oriented" teachers.<sup>28</sup> Giesinger notes the gradual loss of control of schools in South Russia, for example, until the only privilege left the colonists was the privilege of paying for them.<sup>29</sup> Duin notes that after 1892 the concept of German "parochial school" in Russia ceased to have any validity.<sup>30</sup> The University of Dorpat, crucial in the education of both clergy and the German educated class

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<sup>25</sup> Sallet, pp. 64-5 and Kern, p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> Giesinger, p. 231.

<sup>27</sup> See Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 47.

<sup>28</sup> An involved example of this is to be found in Height, pp. 261ff..

<sup>29</sup> p. 231.

<sup>30</sup> p. 541. Not only was the school itself affected, but at least in some areas home schooling ("haeuslicher Unterricht der Kinder") was controlled. Reports from Kiev, Volhynia and Podolia indicate an entering of houses and confiscation of material. Nordwesten, 27 February 1891.

in general was Russified and then, in 1893, closed.<sup>31</sup>

The question of military service, although having the greatest initial effect on the Mennonites, did not fail to affect German Lutherans also.<sup>32</sup> Lutherans were not generally pacifists: they were not averse to policing their own villages, nor to defending themselves against resistance

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<sup>31</sup> Duin, p. 546. As we have noted before (note 2), oppression of the Lutheran church in the Baltic Provinces was often severe. Many Lutheran pastors found themselves imprisoned or exiled as they attempted to minister to their members in the face of opposing government policy. Ibid., p. 591. See also Lutherisches Kirchenblatt (16 March 1889) where approximately 60 pastors are under indictment. This situation had, apparently, a paradoxical effect on German Lutherans in the interior. On the one hand, it tended to send a number of talented Germans out of the Baltic and into the interior (Duin, p. 584); but then, secondly, the persecution in the Baltic provinces was obviously there as a threat for others in the empire to see. Amburger, p. 104.

Another way that the regime of Alexander III sought to undermine the Lutheran Church was in the stipulation which now encouraged Lutheran material to be printed in Russian but restricted it in German. This forms an interesting contrast to the policy of previous Tsars which tolerated the Lutheran Church but sought to prevent proselytizing by forbidding Lutheran publications in Russian. Duin, p. 593ff..

<sup>32</sup> In the 1870's, a goodly number of German Lutherans had also reacted quickly to the threat of their military exemption being abolished. For example, in that decade, some immigration to the United States from the Volga and Black Sea regions took place. See Sallet, pp. 22 and 63. As well, the 1870's saw a number of German Lutherans from Bessarabia emigrating, some to the New World, some to areas just over the Russian border. See Kern, p. 19.

At this point, one should also note that many of the early Volga German emigrants were members of the Conference of the Brotherhood, a pietistic offshoot of Protestantism in Russia. It seems that these were often at odds with the Evangelical (Lutheran) clergy. Sallet, p. 63. However, as noted previously, early non-Mennonite emigration did not form a significant part of emigration to Canada except later, as secondary emigration from the United States.

to their settlements by indigenous peoples.<sup>33</sup> Also, German Lutherans had supported the imperial cause during the Crimean War.<sup>34</sup> Further, the Baltic German nobility had served the imperial crown with distinction ever since the time of Peter.<sup>35</sup>

Yet for Germans the problem with compulsory military service lay in the nature of this tour of duty. Service in the Imperial Army for the average soldier was extremely rigorous and for such a lengthy duration<sup>36</sup> that it was scarcely compatible with the task of managing a farm. As well, for German Lutherans, service in the Russian army had to be viewed in the context of the government's constant religious and cultural harassment. Erik Amburger notes that not infrequently Lutheran soldiers would be listed (without their knowledge) as belonging to the Orthodox Church after having received communion with their military division. As well, the Russian Orthodox were using this tactic for

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<sup>33</sup> See Giesinger, pp. 18ff..

<sup>34</sup> See Stoldt, p. 235 and Giesinger, p. 56.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 139f..

<sup>36</sup> Actually, the military service law of 1874 was a move toward fairness in the matter of conscription. The law made all male Russian subjects over age 20 subject to the draft, granting exemptions in certain situations. Ibid., p. 227. Yet the term of service was long (up to six years) and the policy came on the back of a harsh policy where serfs had often had to serve 25 years, under harsh discipline. This latter had been, in the words of Giesinger, a "fate . . . worse than a term in the penitentiary." p. 226.

"conversion" (which was not reversible) in cases of communing half-conscious sick people.<sup>37</sup> Small wonder, then, that many young men chose to emigrate rather than serve in the military. In one village (along the Volga) every draft-age male was gone when the officials came for recruits!<sup>38</sup>

Along with cultural restrictions and the disruption from the military, German colonists also found themselves at economic disadvantage. Especially in Volhynia was the discrimination harsh as the Russian government enacted policies which severely restricted and, in some cases, forbade the purchase of land by ethnic Germans.<sup>39</sup> This not only served to limit expansion of the colonies but also damaged the market for those wishing to sell and leave.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, both cultural and economic discrimination provided the push for emigration out of Russia. Both of these, as well, impacted in the area of religion as well since they served directly (in themselves) to weaken especially the school aspect of the Gemeinde and then indirectly, as well, to weaken it by virtue of the

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<sup>37</sup> pp. 98-99. A further avenue of conversion was, of course, in the cases of mixed marriages where the children were legally required to become Orthodox. p. 98.

<sup>38</sup> Eisenach, p. 89.

<sup>39</sup> Duin, pp. 597-99. See also the Nordwesten, 28 November 1890.

<sup>40</sup> A pastor in Hamburg, writing in 1887 of emigration from Volhynia, says that the market under the circumstances of Russification got so low that many colonists simply walked away. Siloah, May 1887.

emigration that took place as a result.

However, it would be remiss not to point out that a strong pressure for emigration was present even without the policies of the Russian government. This pressure came from the rise in population and the resulting "land hunger." We have noted previously that the birth rate of the Volhynian Germans was one of the highest in Europe.<sup>41</sup> In the Volga area, the rise in population was aggravated by the communal system of land ownership and the continued division of land into smaller and smaller parcels, with the consequence that the area sometimes experienced famine.<sup>42</sup> The result was that the German colonies in Russia were constantly attempting to expand, often by forming daughter colonies, sometimes locally, sometimes further away.<sup>43</sup> Thus, emigrating from a village was one way of alleviating a population pressure present even without a change in government policy.

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41 p. 144.

42 Duin, p. 19.

43 Giesinger (pp. 57ff.) details this phenomenon in his chapter entitled "Land Hunger." An example of how the economic and the cultural were inextricably tied can be found in the mentality being expressed by the Russians that "the German colonists were taking all of the best land." See the Nordwesten, 31 December 1890.

D. The Response of Emigration.

Our attention is directed primarily to German Lutheran emigration from Russia into Canada, beginning en masse at the end of the 1880's and continuing until the First World War. This immigration into Canada took place from all three major colonist regions in interior Russia: the Black Sea area, the Volga area, and Volhynia.<sup>44</sup> The regional origin of the immigrants, however, was not evenly divided since it was disproportionately heavy from Volhynia.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, immigration into Canada was only a part of a general emigration response which included not only emigration to the United States and South America but also internal migration to the eastern parts of the Russian Empire.<sup>46</sup>

In the case of the German Lutherans who did immigrate to Canada, it is difficult, in general, to say why they chose Canada over other options. It may be that the Mennonite experience was an influence. Also, it may be that they had heard of difficulties encountered by Volga Germans who had tried to form group settlements in the United States.<sup>47</sup> Or, it may be that at this particular time,

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<sup>44</sup> See Lehmann, pp. 64, 67, 70, 71-2. Also Giesinger, p. 362.

<sup>45</sup> See chapter II of this study, page 48.

<sup>46</sup> Duin, p. 416.

<sup>47</sup> See Sallet, pp. 71f..

Canada was able to provide the type of land suitable for their settlement whereas in the United States such land had already been spoken for.<sup>48</sup> Whatever the particular attraction of Canada might have been, the immigration took place just at that time when hard Russification, not just the loss of military exemption, was providing the motivation for leaving Russia.

Stating this, however, does not negate the factor of economic motivation in the decision to leave Russia; for throughout the emigration process out of the colonies, the dual factors of religious/cultural freedom and economic necessity interact. Heinz Lehmann in his Deutschtum in West Kanada notes the factor of economic opportunity as appearing to be dominant in the motivation of individuals who emigrated. However, he notes that in point of fact, the larger scale emigration did occur just at those times when cultural discrimination became severe.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps a

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<sup>48</sup> For an example of this, see Vitt, pp. 31ff..

<sup>49</sup> p. 59. Joseph Height (p. 323) states: "what drove the Germans into these underdeveloped areas was not economic distress nor Russian oppression, but the deep-rooted urge to independence, the irrepressible desire for private property, and the quest of large areas of low-priced land. Eventually, this Drang drove them overseas into the New World." Height's statement, however, appears to be mainly impressionistic, not taking into account the low-priced land available to persons willing to conform to the majority religion, Orthodoxy. See following page. See also Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 November 1889, p. 372. Ironically, the writer in this latter church publication emphasizes the aspect of social rather than religious assimilation as a condition for purchasing land in Volhynia.

realistic way of looking at the phenomenon would be to see the economic motivation as being always there in the background, but producing emigration mostly at times when religio-cultural disadvantage reached a high level.

One factor which leads us to emphasize the aspect of cultural freedom in the case of emigration to Canada is the continued presence of colonist possibilities in other areas of the Russian Empire itself. For example, the Russians were persistent in trying to colonize vast areas in the eastern part of the empire. The enterprise of building the trans-Siberian railroad eastward to the Pacific and then colonizing with European peoples the vast area that this opened up makes an amazing parallel to the similar enterprises in the United States and Canada.<sup>50</sup> As part of this endeavour, a substantial number of German colonists chose to migrate to other areas within the Russian Empire.<sup>51</sup> Thus, emigrants who came to Canada must be viewed as those people choosing to leave the Russian Empire altogether even though opportunities for economic development by itself were still present with internal migration. Actually, in Volhynia, there would have been a simple solution (which some did take). German Lutheran colonists could have avoided laws which prohibited their purchase of land simply

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<sup>50</sup> See Duin, p. 409.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 426.

by joining the Orthodox Church.<sup>52</sup> For these reasons, it seems appropriate to give some special emphasis to the cultural motivation when talking about immigration to Canada even though the immigrants did not negotiate the same kind of agreement which the Mennonites did in the 1870's.<sup>53</sup> As emigration developed into second and third waves, a number of other, more diffuse factors came into play such as family ties and specific work opportunities.

#### E. The Continuum of Emigration until World War I.

As German Lutherans in Russia approached and then passed into the 20th century, their position in the empire did undergo some improvement. At the same time those who had emigrated to Canada and elsewhere had become more established in their new countries and were now able to offer their friends and relatives still in Russia better support should they decide to emigrate. Thus emigration continued amidst a background both of long standing problems and improvement in some areas.

For the colonies in South Russia, the turn of the

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<sup>52</sup> See the Nordwesten, 29 April 1892 and Duin, p. 599.

<sup>53</sup> Note, however, that the question of colonist rights in education did arise in negotiations with the Federal government which led to the founding of the Bruederheim colony (Alberta) in 1894. Vitt, pp. 38f..

century brought an economic and cultural flourishing.<sup>54</sup> In Volhynia, in spite of adverse circumstances, Lutherans, in 1904, were able to open a Normal School to educate their Kuester-Lehrer.<sup>55</sup> 1905 brought the Revolution and some betterment of conditions as the Baltic German nobility once again showed the imperial crown that it was indeed loyal.<sup>56</sup> The Revolution also brought for the Volga colonies an alternative to the mir communal system of ownership with the Stolypin Land Reform.<sup>57</sup>

A good example of the mixture of old problems and new progress can be seen in the founding of an advanced agricultural school in South Russia in the first decade of the 20th century. This was to be an "ecumenical venture" involving both Lutheran and Roman Catholic communities in the Black Sea region.<sup>58</sup> A Lutheran pastor, Jakob Stach, and a Roman Catholic priest, Conrad Keller, were two of the prime promoters of the project.<sup>59</sup> However, the colonists apparently required considerable prodding to give support to the idea. They had, it seems, been too successful for too

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<sup>54</sup> See our chapter V, p. 143.

<sup>55</sup> Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 47.

<sup>56</sup> Giesinger, p. 238.

<sup>57</sup> Cramer, p. 250. These reforms began in 1906 and were enacted in the Land Law of 1910. Duin, p. 410.

<sup>58</sup> Duin, p. 557.

<sup>59</sup> See Keller, p. 88 and Duin, p. 559.

long and were getting self-satisfied.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the economic base was not solid. One bad year had been able to bring some of these "richly praised colonists to the beggar's staff." In this situation, some were predicting ruin;<sup>61</sup> and it appeared that the formerly successful agriculture was slipping into a self-satisfied backwardness.

The foot-dragging colonists were admonished to give strong support for the new school. They were told to look to their neighbours, the Jews. These were starting such a school for themselves, and the colonists were urged to consider the disgrace to themselves if, in the near future, they would have to go to the Jews to relearn how to farm.<sup>62</sup>

Finally, after some contention, the school was begun in 1907.<sup>63</sup> At its head was Pastor Jakob Stach.<sup>64</sup> By 1908, the school had over 100 students who came from as far away as Siberia. However, after only three years, the language of

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 558.

<sup>61</sup> See Keller, pp. 90-1.

<sup>62</sup> From Keller's own proposal of 1904. "Would you not crawl into the ground from shame, you German colonists?" p. 91. Conrad Keller was the Roman Catholic priest who published Die deutschen Kolonien in Suedrussland in Odessa in 1905. (From original title page of the work.)

<sup>63</sup> Duin, pp. 558-9.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 559. Jakob Stach, a Lutheran pastor in Siberia and then South Russia, was one of the major early historians of German Lutherans in Russia. See *ibid.*, pp. 425f.. Also Giesinger, p. 381.

instruction for the school changed from German to Russian.<sup>65</sup> With the arrival of the First World War and its consequences, the school came to an end.<sup>66</sup>

This, then, is something of the complex background of German Lutherans who emigrated out of Russia to Canada before World War I. 1912 and 1913 appear to have been very heavy years for immigration<sup>67</sup> amid fears that Russia and Germany would go to war.<sup>68</sup> They did, and in 1914 the immigration to Canada came to an end.

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<sup>65</sup> Duin, p. 559.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 560.

<sup>67</sup> Rippley, p. 15. Also, Canada Distrikt (Ohio Synode), Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 14 and Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1914, p. 11.

<sup>68</sup> Giesinger, p. 246. Even in the 1890's the Nordwesten noted the tension and troop movements taking place in Volhynia. See 3 October 1890 and 24 April 1891.

## CHAPTER VII

### FAITH AND LIFE OF GERMAN LUTHERANS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

#### A. German Lutheran Experience in Austria-Hungary: Viewed as a Part of a Broader Eastern European Phenomenon.

The preceding three chapters have described the experience of German Lutherans in interior Russia. From this experience we can discern some salient characteristics of their tradition as it had developed up to the end of the 19th century.

First, they were a part of a unified, legally recognized church which was confessionally conservative and strongly influenced by Lutherans in Germany, yet distinct, having its own university (only recently closed) at Dorpat.

Second, the clergy was generally of strongly Baltic German character; but the people in the interior were typically of southwest German origin; and, although using classical Lutheran hymnody and the classical liturgy, they sometimes showed an inclination to pietism--expressed by the phenomena of Moravian fellowship and the Brotherhood

movement.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes tension with Lutheran teaching became so extreme as to cause a break with the Lutheran Church, producing a variety of German Protestant groups, most notably the German Baptists which formed a significant minority of the Germans in Volhynia.<sup>2</sup>

Third, we note a chronic shortage of clergy in the interior. Pastors received strong assistance in their work from persons exercising the office of Kuester-Lehrer. Fourthly, it becomes clear that church community and place community were generally coterminous and that an effective Lutheran Gemeindeschule was considered essential to the health of the Gemeinde. Further, the large majority of German Lutherans lived close to the land and this vocational preference was encouraged by a Lutheran concept of work where the transformed inner man would want to work for the sake of the task itself, out of gratitude to and in imitation of his Creator. Here, agricultural work was seen as something natural. The colonist also favoured artisan work but tended to avoid commerce.

Still further, we indicated that Lutheran society was patriarchal and biologically vital, these traits being

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<sup>1</sup> The Brotherhood publication lists itself as Ein Gemeinschaftsblatt fuer die kirchlichen Brueder in den deutschen Kolonien an der Wolga und in Suedrussland. Eisenach, pp. 72-3.

<sup>2</sup> For the complex relationship of Baptists to Lutherans in Volhynia see Amburger, p. 95; Duin, pp. 397-8 and Rink, "Die Wolhyniendeutschen," p. 44.

encouraged by Luther's teaching and Lutheran interpretation of the natural order expressed in the Book of Genesis.

Finally, we have noted that German Lutherans lived as a minority in Russia, their Gemeinden forming, as it were, Germanic islands in a Slavic sea. However, the people living in these Gemeinden related not only to an official Church-at-large but also to various extra-congregational charitable institutions such as Lutheran hospitals and orphanages and institutions of higher education such as the Normal Schools for the Kuester-Lehrer.

If one is to speak of an Eastern European minority Lutheran tradition, interior Russia provides the dominant example by sheer weight of numbers.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, an examination of German Lutheran experience in Galicia and the Bukovina shows, with minor variations, a quite similar experience and tradition to that of minority Lutherans in Russia. Together, immigrants from Russia and Austria-Hungary formed a substantial majority of German Lutherans immigrating into western Canada and, in spite of some regional differences, brought with them a fairly unified tradition of German Lutheran Gemeindeleben in a minority situation. The following portrayal of German Lutheran

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<sup>3</sup> Lenker, in the early 1890's, shows over 400,000 members (presumably including a small number of non-Germans) compared to less than 300,000 in Congress Poland and less than 50,000 in Galicia. Estonian and Latvian Lutherans in the Baltic lands themselves should be considered in different category since they formed a regional majority. pp. 424, 433 and 460.

experience in Galicia and the Bukovina<sup>4</sup> will show some strong parallels to that in Russia as well as some obvious variations because of different geographic and political contexts.

#### B. German Lutheran Settlement in Galicia and the Bukovina.

Next to Russia, the northeastern provinces of Austria-Hungary provided the largest group of German Lutheran immigrants to western Canada. Here also, as in the case of Russia, the presence of German Lutheran communities in the 19th century was the result of a complex series of ecclesiastical-political events and immigration and settlement policies. Our concern for church background in

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<sup>4</sup> For the purposes of this study, Galicia and the Bukovina will be taken together with the major emphasis on Galicia. Galicia had a far larger number of German Lutherans and certainly appears to have produced a larger number immigrating to Canada. See Lehmann, pp. 73-77. Galicia and the Bukovina were together politically until the mid-19th century and, ecclesiastically, into the 20th century. Further, German Lutherans in the Bukovina were basically of the same immigrant origin as those in Galicia. All of this argues for treatment of these people together. However, there is one exception which we should note, namely, that German Lutherans in the Bukovina were not subject to the same sort of Polonization as those in Galicia. See pp. 188ff.. However, in numerous situations where Germans found themselves as a minority in a village, an analogous situation in the schools sometimes occurred with the Ruthenians and especially the Rumanians. See Raimund Friedrich Kaindl, Geschichte der Deutschen in der Karpathenlaendern, vol. 3 (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1911), pp. 400-1.

Austria-Hungary will be mainly in the areas of Galicia and the Bukovina since these were the areas in the Dual Monarchy supplying immigrants to the Canadian West. In the pre-World War I era, very few German Lutherans came from Hungary or from other Austrian lands.<sup>5</sup>

Some Lutheran groups in 19th century Austro-Hungarian territory date back to the time of the Reformation itself.<sup>6</sup> Large areas of Austria, at that time, embraced the reform movement. The Counter Reformation, however, expelled or drove underground Lutheran people, Catholic stability being achieved for over 100 years with the end of the Thirty Years War.<sup>7</sup> Lutherans existing after that time were the tiny exception and on into the 18th century were still being persecuted--witness the expulsion of the Salzburger, emigrating in 1731 and following.<sup>8</sup> This, then, was still the basic ecclesiastical state of things reaching up to the time when Protestants were again allowed (or invited) to emigrate into the domains of Austria in the latter part of

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<sup>5</sup> See Lehmann, pp. 73-75, 77, 81-82. At issue here would be the possibility of Lutheran Siebenbuergen Sachsen immigrants. Lehmann says there does not appear to have been any significant number in Canada in the period before the First World War. This writer concurs, not having found any substantial place origins for immigrants from Austria-Hungary in Lutheran mission reports except for Galicia and the Bukovina.

<sup>6</sup> See Bergendoff, pp. 88-9, 196-7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 144 and 150.

<sup>8</sup> RGG, s.v. "Oesterreich," by H. Zimmermann.

the 18th century and beyond. The 18th century settlement programme, beginning again under the reign of Maria Theresa<sup>9</sup> and coming into full swing under Kaiser Joseph, shows a striking parallel to that in Russia under Catherine the Great.

Catherine's attempt had begun in 1762 but only began finding success with the revised Manifesto of 1763. Maria Theresa began her attempt to colonize with greater effort in those same years, the opportunity being the close of the Seven Years' War.<sup>10</sup> In this instance, both Catherine and Maria Theresa were concerned to settle undeveloped land and to bring it under cultivation. Whereas for Catherine it was land along the Volga, for Maria Theresa, it was land in eastern Hungary,<sup>11</sup> which had earlier been vacated by the Turks.<sup>12</sup> And, in both cases, the primary area providing the

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<sup>9</sup> One should note that significant settlement of immigrants from southwest Germany had already begun under Charles VI. However, the decade 1762-72 featured a special government programme for the immigrants and a relatively large number responded. See G.C. Paikert, The Danube Swabians (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), pp. 14 and 25.

<sup>10</sup> Kaendl, pp. 187f..

<sup>11</sup> Colonization occurred in the Banat, as well, which at that time was still separate from Hungary. Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>12</sup> "From the German viewpoint, the new settlers [in Hungary] were pioneers in the wilderness of practically a no man's land . . ." However, later Magyar nationalists emphasized "not the economic but the political aspect of the colonization which to them had been a disruption, clearly planned by Vienna, of the Magyar character of post-Ottoman Hungary." Ibid., p. 27.

immigrants was southwest Germany.<sup>13</sup>

Once the Seven Years War had been concluded, Maria Theresa could turn her attention to colonizing her vacant areas in Hungary and the Banat. Soldiers returning from the war could settle in this area with land grants. Others, from all over the empire could come into the villages which were just then being laid out.<sup>14</sup> At this time, the government actively sought artisans and farmers in an attempt to build up a viable Christian civilization in the eastern border areas.<sup>15</sup> Although southwest Germany provided the bulk of the immigrants, some response came from all over the empire.<sup>16</sup> But under Maria Theresa, only Catholics could settle in Hungary and the Banat.<sup>17</sup> If restricted Protestants did arrive, the government usually redirected

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<sup>13</sup> According to studies by Walter Kuhn, it was actually the Palatines, not the Swabians, who were the majority. Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln in Galicja, pp. 44-6.

<sup>14</sup> Kaindl, pp. 188-9.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., pp. 189-193.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 193 and Adolf Rieth, Die geographische Verbreitung des Deutschtums in Rumpf-Ungarn in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft, 1927), p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> After 1765 Protestants could be accepted but only in certain districts. However, a few years later, as the number of immigrants became sufficient, Protestants were again restricted. Kaindl, pp. 208-212.

them to the Siebenbuergen area.<sup>18</sup>

Even as colonization was progressing in eastern Hungary, the year 1772 brought a second region which would be colonized. This occurred with the first partition of Poland and the annexation of Galicia to the Austrian Empire. In this case, however, the issue was not that of colonizing an uninhabited area. Rather, Galicia was one of the more densely populated areas of Europe.<sup>19</sup> However, as Galicia came under Austrian authority, an inspection by the crown revealed a general condition of abject poverty and economic misery.<sup>20</sup>

Galicia, at the time of Austrian annexation was inhabited by two groups, the Poles in the western part and the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) in the east. Along with these were a considerable number of Jews.<sup>21</sup> Of the first two, the Poles apparently had the more technologically advanced culture,<sup>22</sup> although with both peoples stark primitivity was common. (e.g., the necessity of walking to a river for

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 268.

<sup>19</sup> The density in 1772 was 33/sq.km compared to 27/sq.km in Prussia (1781) and 48/sq.km (1771) in more industrialized England (without Scotland). By 1807 the density had increased to 46/sq.km while Prussia's in that year was only 31/sq.km. Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 26.

<sup>20</sup> Kaindl, pp. 3-5.

<sup>21</sup> Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, pp. 10-11 and 21.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp. 11-20.

water rather than having a well or seeding grain into land just barely worked. It has also been noted that when the new German farmers came to haul away manure piles, they were laughed at, the native inhabitants not realizing the value of fertilizer!)<sup>23</sup>

Although colonization began under Maria Theresa, the number of German Lutherans arriving in Galicia was small. Only a few came and these were severely restricted in the practice of their religion.<sup>24</sup> Maria Theresa's immediate concern was to bring certain skills into the Galician economy.<sup>25</sup> Also, she wished to have Christians represented in certain occupations which were basically controlled by the Jews, for example, inns, post offices, and much of commerce.<sup>26</sup> Thus a small number of Protestants came, working in the areas of commerce and manufacture.<sup>27</sup> However, they were only allowed to settle in certain areas and were restricted to having private services.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Kaindl, pp. 150-1 and 154.

<sup>24</sup> Rudolf Walloschke, "Die evangelischen Gemeinden in Galizien und ihre kirchliche Entwicklung von 1772 bis 1918" in Julius Kraemer, ed., Heimat Galizien (Stuttgart: Hilfskomitee der Galiziendeutschen, 1965), p. 109.

<sup>25</sup> Among others, the need was for foresters, agricultural officials, brewers, yarn spinners, beekeepers, builders of mills and skilled construction workers. Kaindl, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 4 and 6.

<sup>27</sup> See Walloschke, p. 110.

<sup>28</sup> Kaindl, pp. 6 and 8.

The most significant immigration of German Lutherans occurred under the more tolerant Kaiser Joseph II. From the beginning, he had wanted to improve the economy of Galicia with the settling of Germans. They were to have the function of being a model for the Poles and Ukrainians.<sup>29</sup> But essential to the enterprise of colonizing was religious toleration for Protestants from southwest Germany. This occurred with the Toleration Edikt of 1781.<sup>30</sup> Thus, after Joseph became sole ruler, immigration became heavy.<sup>31</sup> Hapsburg agents actively began seeking prospective immigrants in the Palatinate.<sup>32</sup> Again and again one notes a sense of urgency as these agents were competing with agents from Prussia who were trying to attract the Palatines into Prussian Poland.<sup>33</sup> However, after the immigration process had picked up momentum, the number of immigrants suddenly became too many for the limited resettlement programme and

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<sup>29</sup> In the words of the chancellory: "the village [would] be set up as a model of enlightenment (Aufklaerung) and agriculture for the lethargic people of nationality (das traeege Nationalvolk)." Kaindl, p. 60.

<sup>30</sup> Actually, the immigration patent for Galicia contained such an edict and this was issued just before the general Edict for Austria. See Walloschke, p. 110.

<sup>31</sup> Walter Kuhn, "Das deutsche Siedlungswerk in Galizien in der oesterreichischen Zeit" in Heimat Galizien, p. 35. Kaindl, p. 19.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 23f..

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 23 and 27-29.

land base.<sup>34</sup> Rather quickly, the government turned to restricting immigrants.<sup>35</sup> The Bukovina, which came to Austria in 1775<sup>36</sup> and which had a lower population density,<sup>37</sup> became a type of spill over area for immigrants who could not be accommodated in Galicia.<sup>38</sup> Other immigrants who could not meet the stricter requirements for settling in Galicia were now directed to Hungary,<sup>39</sup> an area which they considered to be undesirable because of their perception that disease was more likely there.<sup>40</sup>

The result was that by the end of the 1780's the bulk of German settlement in Galicia was complete, the top years being 1782 through 1786.<sup>41</sup> The Bukovina received not only its beginning settlers during this period but also became a

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Hugo Weczerka, "Die Bukowina" in Franz Lang, ed., Buchenland. Hundertfuenfzig Jahre Deutschtum in der Bukowina (Muenchen: Verlag des Suedostdeutschen Kulturwerkes, 1961), p. 11. In 1786 the Bukowina became a district of Galicia. Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Hugo Weczerka, "Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums" in Buchenland, pp. 28-9.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp. 32-33.

<sup>39</sup> Kaendl, p. 73.

<sup>40</sup> "They were shying away from the Hungarian climate and air according to the saying current in the Empire: Hungary is the graveyard of its Germans." Ibid., p. 50. (Translation mine.)

<sup>41</sup> Fritz Braun, "Die Herkunft der josefinischen Siedler Galiziens" in Heimat Galizien, p. 52.

place for daughter colonies from Galicia as the population increased and the settlers moved during the 19th century.<sup>42</sup>

The 1790's brought Austria to a preoccupation with the phenomenon of Republican France and then Napoleon. During the rule of Francis II, the Hapsburgs' effort to colonize diminished; yet the phenomenon of Napoleon did bring about a minor second wave.<sup>43</sup> In this case cause for emigration was the disturbance caused by the war and the new Napoleonic order along the left bank of the Rhine. Also here Prussia was a strong candidate for immigration. Under these circumstances the government again accepted immigration into Galicia.<sup>44</sup>

With completion of the major immigration into Galicia, the percentage of German Lutherans relative to the total population was still extremely small. Germans as a whole were only from about 1/2 to 1%.<sup>45</sup> Lutherans and Reformed

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<sup>42</sup> Weczerka, "Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums," p. 39.

<sup>43</sup> Kaendl, pp. 83ff..

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 85f. and Kuhn, "Das deutsche Siedlungswerk in Galizien in der oesterreichischen Zeit," p. 44.

<sup>45</sup> See Walloschke, p. 111 and Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 26. Note that immigrants from southwest Germany were Lutheran, German Reformed and Roman Catholic. Bohemian Germans (Deutschboehmen) were a much smaller percentage of total Germans, came later under different circumstances, and were Roman Catholic. See also ibid., pp. 38-41. Lutherisches Kirchenblatt (23 March 1889) indicates that the percentage remained fairly constant up to the time of emigration to Canada (just under 1%).

made up about 2/3 of this total,<sup>46</sup> and of these Lutherans were a majority.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, they were spread throughout east and west Galicia and were not strongly represented in any particular region as was the case in Russia although one does note a larger number of settlements in the eastern half.<sup>48</sup> In spite of the fact that German was one of the official languages of Galicia, the situation of low percentage and relative dispersal throughout the country would prove difficult obstacles when German Lutherans had to struggle to preserve language and religion in the latter half of the 19th century.

### C. The Church-at-Large in Galicia and the Bukovina.

Although some Lutherans had had legal toleration in the Austrian empire, this was only in special situations and their numbers were relatively few. Ironically, it was the Aufklaerung and its proponent Kaiser Joseph with his Toleration Edict which made it possible to develop a Lutheran Church-at-large in Austria. The Toleration Edict only tolerated Protestants' practice of their faith. It did

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<sup>46</sup> Walloschke, p. 111.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>48</sup> See *ibid.* and Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, pp. 34-5.

not allow services in a public place, bells or towers, nor for the Protestant churches to have an entrance on a main street. As well, although the Protestants did have their own superintendents,<sup>49</sup> the operation of the church was under government oversight. Protestants could not call themselves evangelical, but simply non-Catholic (akatholisch).<sup>50</sup>

This, then, was the legal situation which continued up until the years 1848-9. With a new constitution for Austria, Protestants received new freedoms which brought them closer to equality with Catholics. Protestants could now have towers and bells. People could enter their churches from the street and the Church could now be called Evangelical.<sup>51</sup> This was basically a union church. However, it did not do away with the Lutheran and Reformed confessions but recognized each within the same church even as its title declared: Evangelical Church of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confession.<sup>52</sup>

The principles enunciated in 1849 led to a new Protestantenpatent in 1861.<sup>53</sup> Although by now the Bukovina

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<sup>49</sup> Galicia and the Bukovina received their common superintendent in 1804. Walloschke, p. 112.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., pp. 110-11.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>52</sup> "Evangelische Kirche Augsburgischen und Helvetischen Bekenntnisses." Johann Strohal, "Das innere Leben der Evangelischen Kirche in Galizien" in Heimat Galizien, p. 139.

<sup>53</sup> Walloschke, p. 113.

had become a crownland separate from Galicia,<sup>54</sup> the two crownlands continued to be in the same superintendency (roughly equivalent to a diocese) up until the First World War.<sup>55</sup> This superintendency was, in turn, divided into four districts (Seniorate), each under the supervision of a senior pastor. In Galicia and the Bukovina, three of the districts were of the Augsburg Confession and divided geographically. The fourth was of the Helvetic Confession and was for the whole area.<sup>56</sup> The structure of the Austrian church, then, was that of pastor, senior pastor, superintendent, and consistory, in Galicia the confessional consistency being kept at the first two levels. In practice, however, the confessional distinction even at these two levels was not always maintained, especially since in Galicia the Protestants were scattered over a large area. A goodly number of adherents to the Reformed confession could be in a Lutheran Seniorat, and on the Gemeinde level altar fellowship with concessions to the minority group was common.<sup>57</sup> Apparently, in Galicia, relations between Lutherans and the Reformed were fairly non-contentious which

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<sup>54</sup> Weczerka, "Die Bukowina," p. 11.

<sup>55</sup> Walloschke, p. 112.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. Note that here was an exception for Austria. The other Superintendencies in Austria were either Lutheran or Reformed. Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

was not always the case in other areas of Austria.<sup>58</sup>

1861 brought Protestants a provisional constitution which was finally completed in 1891. In this regard, one important development was the authority given to the Gemeinde itself. They were given a good deal of freedom to make decisions. Pastors were called by the congregational meeting (Gemeindeversammlung) itself which granted the vote to all adult males. The school teachers were chosen by the congregational council (Presbyterium).<sup>59</sup> This element of congregational authority contrasts to the system in Russia. Also contrasting is the fact that Lutherans in Galicia had little difficulty with sectarianism.<sup>60</sup>

With its new constitution, the church could now better operate in public. It now had the freedom to call pastors from other countries. Further, the church could claim various government subsidies for church work and could set up its own societies to promote its work in the Gemeinde.<sup>61</sup> Most significant in this regard was the relationship that developed with the Gustav Adolf Verein in Germany. Galicia became an area of special concern for this society and received strong support. Nearly every Gemeinde in Galicia

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid.. Kuhn (Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln) says that in the mid-nineteenth century there was still some quarreling, but eventually contention died out. p. 133.

<sup>59</sup> Walloschke, p. 114.

<sup>60</sup> Kuhn, "Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln," p. 134.

<sup>61</sup> Walloschke, pp. 113-4.

received some support at some time from the Society, which support helped in building projects and in subsidizing the salaries of pastors and teachers.<sup>62</sup>

A strong connection with Germany was just in time for the chronically poor evangelical church in Galicia<sup>63</sup> because just after the constitution opened the door to positive development, German Lutherans in Galicia suffered a serious setback and test of their ability to survive. This was the creation of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, a result of which was to turn Galicia over to Polish administration.<sup>64</sup>

1867 and following brought an energetic attempt by the Poles to assimilate Germans in Galicia. German Catholics (especially those from southwest Germany) were among the most vulnerable since their children normally attended the Catholic public schools.<sup>65</sup> German Lutheran (and Reformed) fared better since in 1869 they were able to have their schools designated as private schools. Thus they were, in

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>63</sup> See Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 16 March 1889; Walloschke, p. 115 and Hoehn, p. 184.

<sup>64</sup> Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 23. This change did not directly affect the small number of German Lutherans in the Bukovina and they fared much better. Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 177 and 191. With regard to the Protestants, the goal of the public schools was assimilation. "Interkonfessionelle Schulen sind in Galizien nur ein Mittel, um die deutschen Elemente zu polonisieren und der roemischen Kirche zu gewinnen." Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 16 March 1889.

most cases, able to resist rapid assimilation but were burdened with double payment for education--paying taxes for the public system and also having to support their own private schools.<sup>66</sup> Already known as generally poor, Lutheran Gemeinden in Galicia received life sustaining support for their religion and culture by means of societies such as the Gustav Adolf Verein.<sup>67</sup>

Structurally and legally, the above described held until the First World War. If one were to compare to the Lutheran Church in Russia, one finds a similar type of structure, the Consistory at Vienna<sup>68</sup> parallel to the Imperial General Consistory at St. Petersburg and the Superintendencies parallel to the regional Consistories. However, a major difference was the Lutheran-Reformed relationship. The Church-at-large in Russia was a more

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., p. 190 and Leopold Hoehn, "Das deutsch-evangelische Privatvolksschulwesen in Galizien," in Heimat Galizien, pp. 182f..

<sup>67</sup> Life was sustained, but by the late 1880's a strong negative trend was obvious. The number of evangelical schools (for all of Austria) had apparently fallen in twenty years from 375 to 236 and Lutherisches Kirchenblatt reports that many of the school teachers were old and the poverty of the Gemeinden, in many cases, precluded the calling of younger, better educated teachers. 23 March 1889.

We also note that the Gustav Adolf Verein in the Austrian context was not only a strong supporter of the Gemeindeschule, it made its support to a Gemeinde conditional upon that Gemeinde having a parochial school. Ibid., 16 March 1889.

<sup>68</sup> In 1784 the consistory moved from Teschen to Vienna. Walloschke, p. 111.

strict Lutheran Church whereas the Evangelical Church in Galicia and the Bukowina included congregations and districts containing both Lutheran and Reformed. Another major difference was the fact that Protestants in the latter half of 19th century Austria had a basic equality before the law although in practice, especially in Galicia, Lutherans found themselves disadvantaged by Polish Catholics even as Lutherans in Russia were disadvantaged by the Russian Orthodox. As in Russia, Lutherans in Galicia developed their charitable and educational institutions, but this occurred mostly after considerable emigration had taken place, and indeed, after a coordinated Galician German effort to slow the rate of emigration had begun. Thus we will describe the development of these institutions in that later context.

#### D. Faith and Life in the Gemeinde and Emigration.

The post-1867 era saw considerable emigration out of Galicia and the Bukovina. This was not at all a simple affair. Indeed, not only did this emigration result from events affecting the Gemeinde in Galicia and the Bukovina itself, but the direction of emigration depended on events in Russia in the latter part of the 19th century which we have described in the previous chapter. What follows is a

description of how German Lutherans in Galicia<sup>69</sup> struggled to maintain the viability of their Gemeinden in the post-1867 era, suffered a severe drop in numbers around the turn of the century, came to the point of questioning their ability to survive, and then took concerted measures to try to build up their communities. In this they were successful, slowing the rate of emigration such that not only did they basically halt their population loss, but their church blossomed forth in a expression of Christian charity which helped not only their own communities but those of other nationalities and provided inspiration far beyond the borders of Galicia.

One of the main differences between setting up communities during the settlement period in Galicia from that in Russia was the kind of space available in each case. Whereas Russia had large areas of land available, Galicia did not. In both east and west Galicia and in the Bukovina, one of the main sources of land available was the church

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<sup>69</sup> The Galician experience is our main concern here because of the numbers of people emigrating. See note 4. The Bukovina did not experience the hard post-1867 Polonization but did have an analogous problem for German minorities in Ruthenian and Rumanian villages. In these situations it was often the case that a group of German Lutherans was too weak to form a (private) Schulgemeinde. Kaindl, p. 401. Further, regarding our concern for emigration, a contemporary authority indicates that one of the causes of emigration to the New World from the Bukovina was the emigration movement itself in Galicia. Ibid., p. 404.

estate lands, wherever they were available.<sup>70</sup> Another source was the estates of the Polish nobility where German immigrants would be desired.<sup>71</sup> Thus Lutheran communities were set up in a "variety of shapes and sizes," but very few were of large size.<sup>72</sup> By 1810, one finds in the Superintendency of Galicia and the Bukovina, a population of 12,000 Protestants scattered throughout the area. There were 19 pastorates,<sup>73</sup> two of them Reformed and 17 Lutheran. When one considers the daughter colonies which soon arose, these 19 pastorates came to include 184 colonies, most of which consisted of 10 or 12 families.<sup>74</sup>

The original policy had been to settle Protestants and Catholics separately and for these to be place-communities

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<sup>70</sup> Kuhn, "Das deutsche Siedlungswerk in Galizien," p. 36 and Weczerka, "Siedlungsgeschichte des Bukowiner Deutschtums," p. 29.

<sup>71</sup> Kaindl, p. 26. They were sometimes overly desired. The government had to pass a regulation preventing landlords from chasing off their own peasants in order to get German colonists. Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>72</sup> They were not to be settled as individuals but with eight to ten families in a village otherwise "instead of bringing the native population to their way of doing things [Sitten], they themselves would become wild [selbst verwildern wuerden]." Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>73</sup> Walloschke's term (p. 111) is Gemeinde, but this is broader than our normal use. It must be in the sense of Lenker's "Parish Congregation" since the latter shows 27 of them for the year 1893. p. 460. Walloschke distinguishes four types of ecclesiastical Gemeinden named in the literature of that time. See Walloschke, p. 117.

<sup>74</sup> Walloschke, p. 111.

of people with the same religion.<sup>75</sup> There was to be an area in the middle of the village for church, school, a market and government buildings.<sup>76</sup> However, the small size of the colonies presented problems for the practice of religion. Sometimes a Lutheran Gemeinde would be attached to a Polish or Ukrainian village.<sup>77</sup> Sometimes there were only enough people to maintain the basic institution of an elementary school. Sometimes groups were so small that they could not manage that. Eventually, many would-be German Gemeinden died out.<sup>78</sup>

In Lenker's work of 1893, he lists for Galicia and the Bukovina: 27 Pastors and "Parish Congregations," 95 "Missions in Schools &c" and 97 schools.<sup>79</sup> In a report from another source, one can notice the terminology of Muttergemeinde (presumably a larger German Lutheran center), together with a number of Filialgemeinden, a number of

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<sup>75</sup> Kaindl, p. 64 and Kuhn, "Das deutsche Siedlungswerk in Galizien," p. 40.

<sup>76</sup> Kaindl, p. 130. An anomaly here? The Toleration Edict of 1781 had only allowed Protestants private exercise of their faith. Walloschke notes, however, that the Ansiedlungspatent for Galicia allowed somewhat more freedom than the general Toleration Edict of 1781. p. 111.

<sup>77</sup> Kuhn, "Das deutsche Siedlungswerk in Galizien," p. 41.

<sup>78</sup> "It also happened that many of the settlers ended up in small scattered settlements, where, without church and school, they were dominated by demoralizing influences." (entsittlichenden Einflüssen) Kaindl, p. 146.

<sup>79</sup> p. 460.

Schulgemeinden (presumably these are the smaller ones)<sup>80</sup> and then that of the Friedhofsgemeinden<sup>81</sup> (cemetery communities) as the Lutheran congregation or community was able to fulfill more or less of its churchly and, analogously, one assumes, its civic functions. Thus, in Galicia and the Bukovina one may also speak of Germanic islands in a Slavic sea, but in many cases the distinction was blurred and the social completeness which one finds in the Gemeinden in the Volga and South Russia areas appears to be generally diminished.<sup>82</sup> Of course, in the early days, when German along with Latin was an official language, the minority German need for more homogeneity in order to manage civic affairs was not acute, but after 1867 the situation changed greatly. Still, minimally, one can say of the German Lutheran Gemeinde, that it did have a definite sense of place although not utterly distinct, and that its minimal local institution was the German Lutheran school even though

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<sup>80</sup> Lenker shows the ratio of schools to church buildings ("chapels") as about 4 to 3. For interior Russia it was about 4 to 5. The parochial school teacher to church member ratio in Galicia and the Bukovina was 1:565. In Russia it was 1:676. The pastor to church member ratio in Galicia was 1:2,155. In Russia it was 1:2,678. pp. 433 and 460.

<sup>81</sup> Walloschke, p. 117.

<sup>82</sup> Whereas in Russia one finds churches and about four/fifths of the time also a school, the difference likely the result of Russification, in Galicia one finds schools and about three/fourths of the time churches (or chapels), the difference likely due to the small size of the Gemeinde. See pp. 192f..

people from different Schulgemeinden might be a part of a larger Muttergemeinde (what Lenker translates as "parish congregation.")

Although, as we have noted, the early request from the government (in the 1770's) was for people with specialized skills and for Christians to replace Jews in some non-agricultural work, by the time large numbers of Lutherans were able to immigrate, the desire of the government now included agriculture.<sup>83</sup> As in Russia, German Lutherans in Galicia and the Bukovina were mostly farmers followed in number by artisans.<sup>84</sup> Indeed, many people were both.<sup>85</sup> Further, we find in Galicia, as in Russia, the furtherance of agriculture by church officials.<sup>86</sup> Regarding nationality, although we indicated earlier that the percentage of Germans in Galicia was very small (less than 1%),<sup>87</sup> in the Bukovina it was a good deal larger (in 1910 about 9%,<sup>88</sup> of whom, however, only about one-fourth were

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<sup>83</sup> See Kuhn, "Das deutsche Siedlungswerk in Galizien," p. 39.

<sup>84</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 42; also Kaindl, p. 49. Kaindl says that many were artisans when they immigrated and only became farmers after arriving. p. 145.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, and Kaindl, p. 375.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>87</sup> For the period 1846 to 1890, the percentage climbed to just over 1% but then dropped back. Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 124.

<sup>88</sup> Weczerka, "Die Bukowina," p. 13.

Lutheran).<sup>89</sup>

Coming and settling in small groups, the immigrants from southwest Germany carried the Lutheran faith to Galicia within their family circles and by means of the religious literature which they brought with them.<sup>90</sup> Primarily, this literature consisted of the Bible, Luther's Small Catechism, a Hymn Book, and a Prayer Book.<sup>91</sup> A common form of worship was the Hausandacht<sup>92</sup> (where normally the head of the family led the others in a daily devotional). This family form of worship dates back to the Reformation itself<sup>93</sup> and continued even after the Gemeinde became more established.<sup>94</sup> Another type of religious expression which was common in Galicia was the Bibelstunde where people from different families would

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<sup>89</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 13 and 16. Also Ekkehart Lebouton, "Der evangelische Anteil am deutschen Leben in der Bukowina" in Buchenland, p. 262.

<sup>90</sup> But apparently many among them underwent a period of religious disorientation. The visitation of the Superintendent in the period around 1810 revealed superstition, drunkenness and contention. As well, some pastors and teachers were less than exemplary in their behaviour. Walloschke, p. 112. Kuhn cites later reports from pastors which indicate a return to a more positive Christian way of life. Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 129.

<sup>91</sup> See Strohal, p. 130; Hoehn, p. 179; and Walloschke, p. 112.

<sup>92</sup> Strohal, p. 130.

<sup>93</sup> Luther's Small Catechism refers not only to the Hausvater teaching the Catechism, but also teaching various prayers, etc.

<sup>94</sup> Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 129.

get together to study the Bible.<sup>95</sup> Another element of Lutheran piety in Galicia was Sunday observance. As in Volhynia, Sunday observance was strict.<sup>96</sup>

Very early on, the school teacher had an important function in the religious life of the people. In the literature dealing with religious life in Galicia, he seems to be called simply "the teacher" (Lehrer), but his functions often appear to be quite similar to the Kuester-Lehrer in Russia or the Kantor in Poland.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, besides teaching school, he would baptize, where necessary, in the absence of the pastor. He often had the cantor function where he led the singing in the service. Often he played the organ, and he officiated at funerals in the absence of the pastor.<sup>98</sup>

The curriculum of the schools in Galicia shows the high priority which religion had in the education of the young. One example from 1823 shows the following:

Praying; Singing; Reading [German]; Arithmetic (from the head and on the board); Bible History from the Old

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<sup>95</sup> See Walloschke, p. 117.

<sup>96</sup> "Die Sonntagsruhe und der Kirchenbesuch [waren] nicht Sache des einzelnen, sondern der Dorfgemeinschaft und [wurden] von dieser ueberwacht. Am Sonntag zu arbeiten duerfte niemand wagen." Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> See Strohal, passim and Walloschke, pp. 113-118, passim. They are also characterized as Stellvertreter der Pfarrer or Filialpastoren. Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>98</sup> Strohal, p. 131 and Walloschke, p. 113. See also Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 March 1889, for a contemporary description of the Lehrer.

and New Testaments; . . . some 'Natural History' and Agriculture to counteract the grasping evil of harmful superstition; grafting of trees; then, how one should hurry in cases of emergency to help a person who was frozen, drowned or choked.<sup>99</sup>

Pastors in Galicia were in chronically short supply<sup>100</sup> and almost never came from Galicia itself until the 20th century. Rather, most originated in Germany or other parts of Austria.<sup>101</sup> The opposite was true with the Lehrer. Most of them originated in Galicia, and some from Galicia practiced their vocation in other places.<sup>102</sup>

We have assumed that for Lutherans Gemeindeleben in the Bukovina was generally the same as that in Galicia since the people were basically part of the same immigration; both crownlands remained in the same Superintendency; and, indeed, eastern Galicia was in the same Seniorat.<sup>103</sup> Of their community life one commentator has summarized it as being based on church, school and agriculture.<sup>104</sup> These emphases are basically the same as we have seen among German Lutherans in Russia, the major differences being the size

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<sup>99</sup> Hoehn, p. 179.

<sup>100</sup> See note 80 which indicates that the situation was only somewhat better than that in Russia.

<sup>101</sup> Walloschke, p. 116.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. See also Hoehn, p. 183.

<sup>103</sup> Walloschke, p. 117.

<sup>104</sup> Lebouton, p. 263: ". . . ein solides Bauertum, eine gute Schule und eine treue Kirche sind die Fundamente einer blühenden Gemeinschaft."

and distinctness of the Gemeinden and the fact that Galician Lutherans seemed to give a greater priority to their schools. This latter, of course, makes sense in the political context because, as we have noted, German Lutherans in Galicia were able to guard their schools against Polonization by declaring them private, whereas the schools in Russia underwent Russification.

For German Lutherans, the vulnerability deriving from small Gemeinde size and dispersion became evident after the Poles were given the administration of Galicia in 1867. As noted earlier, German Lutherans gained some protection by having their schools designated as private, although this presented an extra financial burden on an already poor people.<sup>105</sup> Discrimination took other forms as well. The German language in the civil service was put down to a minimum. The German theatres in Krakau and Lemberg were shut down as well as the only German newspaper.<sup>106</sup> As well, the Polish press often took it upon themselves to make the Germans feel unwelcome, sometimes calling them the personification of the devil and a danger for Polish culture.<sup>107</sup> At the same time, the Poles were suppressing

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<sup>105</sup> Walloschke, p. 115; Hoehn, p. 184 and Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 190-93.

<sup>106</sup> Sepp Mueller, "Der Volkstumskampf" in Heimat Galizien, p. 264.

<sup>107</sup> Kaindl, p. 168.

the Ukrainians in East Galicia;<sup>108</sup> and thus Germans and Ukrainians found themselves allied together.<sup>109</sup>

This new political state of things occurred at a time when a general economic shift was already bringing about some emigration. About 1850 purchasable land in Galicia became scarce.<sup>110</sup> Coupled with a population expansion among the Germans,<sup>111</sup> this meant that there was now both population and political pressure in Galicia.

The response to this new state of things was manifold. Some people emigrated from Galicia to the Bukovina.<sup>112</sup> Still others went into Russia.<sup>113</sup> We have already noted a significant immigration into Volhynia,<sup>114</sup> but others had

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<sup>108</sup> Oscar Jaszi, The Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 109. See also Sepp Mueller, "Das Zusammenleben von Deutschen und Nichtdeutschen in Galizien," p. 257.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Kuhn, "Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln," p. 112.

<sup>111</sup> Along with the increase in population, there was also a strong desire not to divide the farms. Kuhn, "Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Galizien," in Heimat Galizien, p. 78.

Germans, as a percentage of the total Galician population roughly doubled from 1812 to 1857. Then it leveled off and by 1910 had dropped by a third. See Kuhn, "Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln," p. 124.

<sup>112</sup> Kuhn, "Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Galizien," p. 77.

<sup>113</sup> Kaindl, p. 174.

<sup>114</sup> See above p. 83.

gone to the Black Sea area.<sup>115</sup> However, when events in Russia eventually turned so that German Lutherans began moving out, the stream leaving Galicia also turned to the New World. Thus, the first immigrants from Galicia appear in Canada at about the same time that the first immigrants from Russia arrived, the latter part of the 1880's.<sup>116</sup>

Toward the beginning of the 20th century, a part of the emigration stream turned toward Prussian Poland. This was a large movement and was actively solicited by agents of the Prussian government which was attempting to build up the German element, especially in Posen and West Prussia.<sup>117</sup> The motivation on the part of Prussia was not only to Germanize that area but also to help save the individuals involved from Polonization since Prussia felt maintaining their German identity in the Galician context was a lost cause.<sup>118</sup>

Finally, another group from Galicia emigrated to Bosnia in the 1890's. This was the last attempt at German colonization in the Hapsburg Empire.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Kuhn, "Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Galizien," p. 76.

<sup>116</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79 and Kaindl, p. 174.

<sup>118</sup> Kuhn, "Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Galizien," p. 79. Note that the Prussian perception was based on their impressions from West Galicia where the situation for Germans was more disadvantageous.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

E. The Will to Survive and Development of the Zoeckler  
Institutes.

By the early years of the 20th century, the effect of Polish assimilation efforts and emigration (especially to Prussia) had a strongly negative effect on the larger German community in Galicia. Many Gemeinden were so diminished in numbers that it was doubtful that they would survive; others had already disappeared.<sup>120</sup> German culture in Galicia as a whole appeared greatly threatened.<sup>121</sup>

Because of this situation, in 1903, the Evangelical Superintendent called pastors, teachers and other community representatives to Lemberg and determined to reverse the downward trend, if possible.<sup>122</sup> The group took various measures including the founding of a church newspaper: Evangelisches Gemeindeblatt fuer Galizien und die Bukowina.<sup>123</sup> A few years later, in 1907, Germans in Galicia formed the Bund der christlichen Deutschen in Galizien.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Kaindl (p. 175) points to unscrupulous methods used by immigration agents, including scheming with non-German institutions to finance the quick purchase of land from prospective emigrants.

<sup>121</sup> Kuhn, "Die Auswanderung aus Galizien," p. 80. See also Kaindl, p. 174.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 175-6.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>124</sup> Kuhn, "Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Galizien," p. 80 and Kaindl, p. 174.

The Bund made remarkable progress. It succeeded in convincing Prussia that her agents were harming German culture in Galicia, and in 1907 they were recalled.<sup>125</sup>

The concerted effort to save German culture in Galicia had considerable success. In spite of a continuing emigration, the German population in Galicia halted its drop until the First World War brought further losses.<sup>126</sup>

One of those persons who met in 1903 to attempt reversing the decline of German culture was a relatively new arrival in the area, Pastor Theodor Zoekler.<sup>127</sup> Zoekler, although a pastor, did not eschew certain political activity on behalf of the German minority in Galicia while at the same time attempting to foster an appreciation of the Slavic cultures.<sup>128</sup> He provided leadership for the committee

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<sup>125</sup> Kuhn, "Die deutsche Auswanderung aus Galizien," p. 80 and Kaindl, pp. 176-7. Kaindl says that the soliciting ceased as soon as the immigration commission received word that the Bund had been formed. A letter from the Bukowina, published in the Alberta Herald in 1907 indicated that the desire to come to America and Canada was ebbing and that Germans were turning to Posen to live under a German government. However, the date of this letter was early in the year, likely before the change in policy had been felt. 15 February 1907.

<sup>126</sup> See Kuhn, Die jungen deutschen Sprachinseln, p. 124.

<sup>127</sup> See Kaindl, p. 176.

<sup>128</sup> He worked at learning Polish and Ukrainian and also studied the history and mission of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Zoekler had no time for a nationalism "which sees in its own people only the good and in other peoples only the bad." Wilfried Lempp, "Leben und Werk von Theodor Zoekler," in Heimat Galizien, p. 154.

responsible for building up German culture in the face of the Prussian emigration programme<sup>129</sup> and led the Deutschen Volksrat fuer Galizien.<sup>130</sup> For Zoeckler, cultural nationality (Volkstum) was a gift of God and as such was to be defended.<sup>131</sup> He felt that staying out of this problem would be like the man in the story of the Good Samaritan who walked by on the other side of the road. For him the Gospel was there for the healing of people and peoples.<sup>132</sup>

Zoeckler had come from Germany, where his father was a theology professor at the University of Greifswald.<sup>133</sup> In 1891 he had come to Stanislau in East Galicia where his intent had been to do missionary work among the Jews.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Kaindl, p. 176.

<sup>130</sup> Sepp Mueller, "Der Volkstumskampf," in Heimat Galizien, p. 267. The Volksrat had basically two functions. First, it represented Galician German interests before government bodies, not, however, attaching itself to any specific political party. Second, it attempted to coordinate the work of the church, the schools, political organizations and agricultural organizations. *Ibid.*, pp. 267-8.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269.

<sup>132</sup> "Die Menschen und die Voelker" Lempp, "Leben und Werk von Theodor Zoeckler," p. 153. Zoeckler has been compared to the Old Testament prophets who struggled for the soul of their people. ("die Seele ihres Volkes") *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151. Lenker in his work of 1893 includes Prof. Zoeckler's picture in his section entitled "Emigrant Mission Work." p. 179. Martin Ruccius, one of the fathers of the Manitoba Synod, had studied at Greifswald just a few years earlier. See Kleiner, p. 21.

<sup>134</sup> Apparently Zoeckler had come in 1891 as a substitute for a friend, and he and his wife together began in 1893. Lempp, "Das Leben und Werk von Theodor Zoeckler,"

(Stanislau was two-thirds Jewish.)<sup>135</sup> After he had arrived, however, Zoeckler came to realize the dire situation of German Lutherans in Galicia and resolved to work among his own people.<sup>136</sup>

The Gemeinde at Stanislau was not in a promising situation. Only a small part of Stanislau, the German Lutheran community basically amounted to a neighbourhood, the so-called "German Colony," of about 300 to 500 persons on the outskirts of the town. The Gemeinde was still a Filialgemeinde, and the children could not yet attend a German School.<sup>137</sup>

But here Zoeckler decided to work. His wife and co-worker Lillie had received a sizeable inheritance from her grandfather who had died in Bremen, and the work began quietly. The Zoecklers bought three older buildings in Stanislau and began setting up both a home for children and a German school.<sup>138</sup> One thing led to another, and Pastor Zoeckler's work became known in wider Lutheran circles. The result was that additional institutions of mercy and

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p. 152 and Lillie Zoeckler, "Kirchliche Maedchen- und Frauenarbeit in Galizien," in Heimat Galizien, p. 149.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Wilfrid Lempp, "Die Zoecklerschen Anstalten in Stanislau," in Heimat Galizien, p. 143.

<sup>137</sup> Zoeckler, pp. 149-50.

<sup>138</sup> Lempp, "Die Zoecklerschen Anstalten in Stanislau," p. 143.

education were built in Stanislau--a better school, a mission training institute, and a home for retarded children.<sup>139</sup> Finally, Zoeckler's effort was crowned by the establishment of a deaconess Motherhouse and training school to serve the institutions in the town as well as people in other areas of Galicia.<sup>140</sup> Eventually, a whole row of buildings was there and filled with the feeble of all ages: "cripples, mentally retarded, the blind or whoever suffered from something with which the family or community was incapable of coping."<sup>141</sup>

Zoeckler's work became known both throughout Galicia and the Bukowina and among Lutherans in other countries.<sup>142</sup> In Vienna, he was instrumental in founding a central authority (Zentralverein) for Inner Mission in Austria.<sup>143</sup> The work at Stanislau was disturbed during the First World War but then continued and flourished up to the time of Resettlement in 1940.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., pp. 143-4.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> See Strohal, p. 134 and Walloschke, p. 116.

<sup>143</sup> Lempp, "Leben und Werk von Theodor Zoeckler," p. 152. Zoeckler obviously saw his own work as following in the lineage of the Inner Mission work of Johann Hinrich Wichern. In 1908 he dedicated one of the buildings on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Kaiser Franz Josef's reign and the 100th anniversary of Wichern's birth. Lempp, "Die Zoecklerschen Anstalten in Stanislau," pp. 143-44.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., pp. 145-48.

Here, then, is the development of both the Gemeinde and the larger church and its institutions in Galicia and the Bukovina up to the First World War. As in Russia, German Lutherans in the early 20th century made progress amidst a variety of difficult circumstances and continuing emigration.

## CHAPTER VIII

### GERMAN LUTHERANS IN WESTERN CANADA: EARLY IMMIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND CHURCH MINISTRY

#### A. Beginning Immigration and Settlement on the Prairies.

The Canadian Prairie region came open for large scale settlement in a legal sense after 1870; but in a practical sense, only after 1885 and the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. To the earlier period belongs the immigration of the Mennonites which we have already noted as an important forerunner to the larger German Lutheran immigration. Also to this earlier period belongs a very small immigration of German Lutherans which took place in the 1870's. A number of these latter settlers came from Ontario, although some of them were born in the area which became the Second German Empire.<sup>1</sup> These people were a part of a settlement attempt sponsored by the German Society of

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<sup>1</sup> See Norman J. Threinen, "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada" in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly, 47 (Fall 1978), pp. 112 and 115.

Montreal; and they formed the community of Ossowa<sup>2</sup> near Poplar Point, just east of Portage la Prairie.<sup>3</sup> They had been led by one William Wagner, who had been president of the Society from 1867 to 1870<sup>4</sup> and who had had a great deal of experience in the field of immigration and settlement.<sup>5</sup> By the end of the 1870's this group was receiving a Lutheran

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<sup>2</sup> Variousy spelled "Ossowa," "Ossowo" or "Ossawa." Ibid., pp. 113-4. See also Karin R. Guerttler, Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft zu Montreal. 1835-1985 (Deutsche Gesellschaft zu Montreal, 1985), pp. 27-8 and 32-3.

<sup>3</sup> See map in Threinen, "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada," p. 115. Threinen notes that sometimes the settlement has been referred to as "Town Berlin" (because of the Berlin township directly to the north) but indicates that Ossowa is likely more correct. Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Guerttler, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Wagner had worked as a Dominion land surveyor in Manitoba in 1872, and set up his own homestead in 1873. Threinen, "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada," pp. 111-13.

He had come from a prominent family in Germany; but having been involved with the Revolution of 1848, he emigrated to Canada in 1850. Ibid., p. 112. In the 1860's he had gone back to Germany in the service of the Canadian government for the purpose of attracting immigrants. His work had been vital to the settling of Germans in the Ottawa Valley, although in doing so he often misrepresented the agricultural potential of that area. For examples, see Peter Hessel, Destination: Ottawa Valley (Ottawa: The Runge Press, 1984), pp. 35ff..

In the 1870's, Wagner had involved himself in an immigration scheme with the Canadian government and the German Society of Montreal. He wrote a description of his travel to Manitoba which was printed in the Berliner Journal (Ontario) and then reprinted for distribution in Germany. Guerttler, p. 27. The government reserved more than a whole township for German settlement; (Threinen, "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada," p. 111.) and the Society, for its part, was to produce fifty immigrants the first year and one hundred in each additional year. However, the required number of immigrants was not forthcoming, and in 1874 the township reservation was ended. Guerttler, p. 28.

ministry from the United States.<sup>6</sup> They formed a congregation in 1880, but this organization was only short-lived.<sup>7</sup> Rather quickly, most of the settlers moved to different places although a few families remained in the area. Years later some of these attended services held from time to time by Lutheran missionaries.<sup>8</sup>

The above settlement of German Lutherans can be seen as a part of internal expansion within the Dominion, involving German-Canadians from the East. In this respect it was roughly analogous to the 1870's English-Canadian settlement in Manitoba which combined elements from Ontario and Great Britain although in this case the German settlement was very small.<sup>9</sup>

With the completion of the railroad, however, we see

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<sup>6</sup> This ministry came from Minnesota which was a part of the Northwestern District of the Missouri Synod. Threinen, "Early Lutheranism in Western Canada," p. 116.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. See also Siloah, December 1890. Threinen maintains that only two families remained in the area, Neumann and Wagner; that 'Father Neumann conducted reading services,' and that William Wagner appears not to have been further involved with the Lutheran Church. Ibid., pp. 116-7. However, an early subscription list from Winnipeg indicates that both Wagner and Neumann were supportive in the effort to begin the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde at the end of the 1880's. See H. C. Schmieder, "Ein Wort und Bitte an alle Deutschen!" [1889f.] This document contains a "Subscription- u. Geberliste" whose signatures, however, continue to at least 1891. Located in the Archives of Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church, 265 Flora Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

<sup>9</sup> For the concept of "British-Ontarian community" see Friesen, p. 195ff..

the beginnings of larger scale German Lutheran immigration. This immigration, moreover, did not occur in isolation but was only a part, although not insignificant, of a larger stream that came in from Europe and eastern Canada. Roughly, about one-third of the new settlers were from Great Britain; one-tenth, from the European continent; about one-half, from eastern Canada; and the remainder from somewhere else, mostly the United States.<sup>10</sup> We have no direct census figures for the number of German Lutherans who immigrated. However, by means of the 1891 census, a contemporary study by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and reports of missionaries, we are able to determine that by this time German Lutherans had come to represent 1-2% of the total population of Manitoba and the (organized territories).<sup>11</sup> This brought the total German element to about 7-8%.<sup>12</sup>

Protagonists in the effort to attract immigrants to the Northwest were the Dominion Government and the Canadian Pacific Railroad. The federal government wished to settle former native lands with Europeans and hold them against the possible encroachment of Americans. As well, they had a

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<sup>10</sup> From "Places of Birth" in 1891 Census, vol. 1, p. 363.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix VII for details of the estimation which calculates to ca. 1.2%.

<sup>12</sup> The Canadian Pacific study gives the total number of Mennonite and non-Mennonite Germans as 15,700. Nordwesten, 31 October 1890. Divided by the total population of 219,305, this gives 7.2%.

"National Policy" to pursue which included commerce with and investment from eastern Canada. The Railroad, for its part, had land to sell and, for the future, goods to transport: manufactured goods in one direction and grain in the other.<sup>13</sup> Steamships were set up to transport the immigrants; and encouragement to immigrate came from government agents who recruited throughout Europe and, later, in the United States.<sup>14</sup>

Seen in a still larger context, the peopling of the Canadian Northwest had the purpose of helping to provide a market for manufactured goods and of producing large quantities of food within the British Empire. This writer has as of yet no substantial evidence that German Lutherans were sought especially to teach other people to farm, although in the earlier period, the Mennonites certainly fulfilled that function for the whole region, at least indirectly.<sup>15</sup> Rather, the primary function for German

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<sup>13</sup> See Friesen, p. 162.

<sup>14</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 248-50 and 252-254 and Norman Macdonald, Canada: Immigration and Colonization. 1841-1903 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1966), pp. 108, 146, and 148-9. A good, contemporary, one page overview of the immigration scheme involving the Dominion Government, the C.P.R., the steamship lines, immigration agents and land policy can be found in H. Schmieder's article "Die Besiedlung des grossen canadischen Westen" in Siloah, November 1890.

<sup>15</sup> To the Mennonites belongs "the distinction of having been the first to demonstrate that agriculture could be successfully followed on the higher lands of the prairie [and] that wheat-growing and mixed farming were both possible." Macdonald, pp. 202-3.

Lutherans was to open the land to agriculture and produce the food itself.

As noted earlier, Wilhelm Hespeler<sup>16</sup> was instrumental in bringing the Mennonites to Manitoba. In the 1880's he himself was residing in Winnipeg, since 1882<sup>17</sup> as Consul of the German Empire.<sup>18</sup> Hespeler had had wide experience in the field of Canadian immigration. He had earlier had responsibility for the southern part of Germany (whence he himself had originated) and in that capacity had visited Lutheran communities in southern Russia.<sup>19</sup> As well, he had connections with the German community in Ontario since he had lived there and been successful in business.<sup>20</sup>

Hespeler had been "Commissioner for Agriculture and

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<sup>16</sup> Hespeler appears to be called "Wilhelm" in the German-Canadian context; "William," in the English. See Entz, "Der Einfluss der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas auf die Organisationsbestrebungen des dortigen Deutschtums 1889-1939," p. 96 and Werner Entz, "William Hespeler, Manitoba's First German Consul" (Daniel A. Rinck, trans.), p. 149. In his signature to a subscription list for building the church of the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde it is simply "Wm.". H. C. Schmieder, "Ein Wort und Bitte an alle Deutschen!" [1889f.]

<sup>17</sup> Thus Entz, "William Hespeler, Manitoba's First German Consul" p. 151. Who's Who and Why (1912) gives the date of appointment as 1883. C. W. Parker, ed., vol. 2, (Canadian Press Association), p. 243.

<sup>18</sup> In his own notice "Konsul des Deutschen Reiches." Nordwesten, 29 August 1890.

<sup>19</sup> Grenke, pp. 17-18 and 52. Also Entz, "William Hespeler, Manitoba's First German Consul," p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 149.

Immigration"<sup>21</sup> (for Manitoba) so with the completion of the railroad it is not surprising to see a second beginning for German settlement (besides Mennonite) taking place. We note here the colonies of Langenburg, Strassburg (Neu-Elsass),<sup>22</sup> Neu Toulcha,<sup>23</sup> and Balgonie, all beginning in the mid-1880's. These involved some Lutherans from South Russia (Langenburg), Roman Catholics from South Russia (Balgonie), German Baptists from Rumania (Neu Toulcha), and a substantial number of Lutherans from the German Empire (Langenburg and Strassburg).<sup>24</sup> As well, a number of non-Mennonite German settlers were dispersed among the Mennonite colonies;<sup>25</sup> and, of course, a number of non-Mennonite Germans were present in Winnipeg.<sup>26</sup> All of these early settlements appear to have occurred without Lutheran church participation.

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<sup>21</sup> See Who's Who and Why (1912), p. 243.

<sup>22</sup> For the name see Lehmann, p. 86.

<sup>23</sup> Also spelled "Neu-Tulcea." See *ibid.*, p. 84 and Grenke, p. 26.

<sup>24</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 67, 74, 83-4 and 86. Also, Anthony Becker, "The Germans from Russia in Saskatchewan and Alberta," in Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch, vol. 3 (Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada Inc., 1976), p. 107.

<sup>25</sup> See Ruccius, pp. 5 and 7. Also the Nordwesten, 4. Juli 1890 and Siloah, December 1890.

<sup>26</sup> See Census of Canada: 1880-81, vol. 1, (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1882), pp. 196-7 and 296-7.

B. The Call of Heinrich Schmieder and his Beginning Ministry.

However, by the year 1888, at least in Winnipeg, German Lutherans indicated that they felt a strong, even desperate, need for a Lutheran church ministry. The people at Langenburg had been settled without a pastoral ministry for several years and in Winnipeg a German Baptist preacher from the United States had been having considerable success in making proselytes.<sup>27</sup> However, the immediate cause for requesting a pastoral ministry appears to be the arrival that year, in Winnipeg, of a large number of immigrants from Galicia and South Russia.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the immigrants turned to the German Lutheran Canada Synod<sup>29</sup> whose membership was

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<sup>27</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 12 January 1889. In a hand-written "Chronik:" "Ein deutscher Baptisten-Missionar namens Petereit was schon ein paar Jahre hie[r] und suchte die Seelen zu fangen." This "Chronik" is a document included with the original record book of the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde (Trinity Lutheran Church) in Winnipeg and is located in their Archives. A transcription of the document was made by the author in 1975.

<sup>28</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt (23 March 1889) reports that 20 to 30 families from Galicia had arrived in the fall and were waiting in Winnipeg before making their way west in the spring. "Among them was also a teacher . . . Over there he had to substitute for the pastor, . . . read a sermon each Sunday and give confirmation instruction."

In "Chronik," note is made of "40-60 deutsche Familien aus Galizien und Suedrussland." See also Schmieder's report in Siloah, April 1890.

<sup>29</sup> Officially, "Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Canada." Taken from title page of 1910 Verhandlungen. The beginning of this mission is recounted in 1911 by Pastor Heinrich Schmieder. Siloah, February 1911.

concentrated mostly in the area of Berlin,<sup>30</sup> Ontario although a substantial number were also in the Ottawa Valley.<sup>31</sup> The Canada Synod was itself a member of a larger church body, the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America.<sup>32</sup>

The heads of forty families signed a petition, circulated by an immigration agent, D. W. Riedle, and his wife. This petition implored the Synod to send them a pastor: "The Lutherans in this city and province are . . . like sheep who have no shepherd and . . . are going astray."<sup>33</sup> The Canada Synod responded in the person of its president, Pastor F. Veit, who arrived in December of 1888 and organized the people into a congregation, the Evangelische Lutherische Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde.<sup>34</sup> Pastor Veit wanted to visit the colony at Langenburg, but time did not permit this.<sup>35</sup> A few days later he returned to Ontario promising to send the new congregation a full-time pastor-

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<sup>30</sup> Today, Kitchener.

<sup>31</sup> See Canada Synode, Verhandlungen, 1910, pp. 3, 42, 44, and 46.

<sup>32</sup> For a description of the General Council as a church body see above pp. 17-20.

<sup>33</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 March 1889 and Siloah, February 1911. The connection of Riedle with the petition is made by the "Chronik" which states that the petition had been set up by "D. W. Riedle (Einwanderungsagent) aus Langenburg und seine Frau."

<sup>34</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 12 January 1889.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

missionary.<sup>36</sup>

The person that the Canada Synod called to be its first missionary in the Northwest was Heinrich Coelestin Schmieder who at the time was serving as an assistant pastor at the German St. Paulus Gemeinde in Philadelphia.<sup>37</sup>

Schmieder was the descendent of a Lutheran clergy family which reached far back into the history of the church in Germany.<sup>38</sup> He had attended the Gymnasium in Halle<sup>39</sup> and then completed his preparation at the Lutheran Seminary at

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<sup>36</sup> See Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 March 1889 and Ruccius, p. 9.

<sup>37</sup> See Ruccius, p. 10 and Klaus H. Burmeister, pp. 2-3.

<sup>38</sup> See Siloah, May 1886.

<sup>39</sup> This was a part of the famous "Franckesche Stiftungen" founded by August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). Siloah, May 1895.

The influence of A. H. Francke and the Halle Institutes which he founded extended far and wide. We have already noted the ministry of Halle for Swedish prisoners of war early in the life of the Lutheran Church in Russia and the thwarted attempt of Halle to do missionary work in Russia later in the 18th century. See above pp. 85-6. As well, Count Zinzendorf, founder of the Moravian (or Herrnhueter) Brethren had been educated at Halle. Further, H. M. Muehlenberg, leader of the Lutheran Ministerium in the American colonies (and who challenged Zinzendorf there), had been a teacher at Halle and continued to report back to Halle on his ministry in the colonies. See Bergendoff, pp. 165 and 191-2.

In 1891, the editor of Siloah noted that letters concerning the mission in the Northwest reminded of the reports in the Halleschen Nachrichten about the missionary work of the pastors in the days of Muehlenberg. July 1891. In 1892, Siloah was advertising a recent edition of Hallesche Nachrichten sponsored by the Pennsylvania Synod. September 1892.

Kropp in the Province of Schleswig, Germany.<sup>40</sup> This seminary and the relationship to it of the General Council was to play a critical role in the development of the German Lutheran ministry in western Canada.<sup>41</sup> The seminary had only recently been founded (1882) and had the express purpose of supplying pastors for North America.<sup>42</sup> Schmieder was one of its first graduates, had come first to Philadelphia, and had had approximately three years experience in a strong German Lutheran Gemeinde there.<sup>43</sup>

Schmieder's call, as it turned out, had consequences reaching far beyond a usual congregational pastoral ministry since it eventuated in an arrangement intended to further the immigration of Germans into western Canada, facilitate the colonizing of it, and by implication, bring large areas of the Prairies under Christianity and German culture.<sup>44</sup> This is because Schmieder not only took major responsibility for the Lutheran church ministry throughout the Prairie region, but he also had a leading role in the founding of the Nordwesten newspaper which was destined to become the

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<sup>40</sup> Ruccius, pp. 9-10.

<sup>41</sup> See below p. 303ff..

<sup>42</sup> See Siloah, December 1882 and October 1883.

<sup>43</sup> See ibid., May 1886.

<sup>44</sup> We show the intention of the General Council mission enterprise in broader terms (explicitly) in chapter XII. This chapter also explores the relationship of Deutschtum and Christentum.

leading German newspaper in western Canada during the pre-1914 era.<sup>45</sup>

Heinrich Schmieder arrived in Winnipeg in February, 1889.<sup>46</sup> Immediately he began his ministry to German Lutherans in the city and the surrounding area, visiting Langenburg by the month of May.<sup>47</sup> However, concurrently we also find him and Hespeler working together to promote German and Lutheran interests.<sup>48</sup> These two, together with a local merchant, F. Osenbrugge, collaborated to found the Nordwesten newspaper which began in the April of that same year.<sup>49</sup> Pastor Schmieder sent for an associate, experienced

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<sup>45</sup> See Entz, "Der Einfluss der deutschsprachigen Presse Westkanadas," pp. 98-99.

<sup>46</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 9 March 1889.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*, 18 May 1889, and Siloah, April 1890. On the trip to Langenburg, he organized the "deutsche ev.-luth. St. Paulus Gemeinde" with 27 heads of families on May 16th. *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> "Der deutsche Konsul in Winnipeg, ein Lutheraner, steht P. Schmieder mit Rat und That zur Seite." Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 6 April 1889.

<sup>49</sup> Nordwesten, 29 April 1914. This issue of the Nordwesten contains an account of a Jubilaeumsfeier celebrating the founding of the paper. In this article, an account of the founding is given by Consul Hugo Carstens who had formerly owned the paper. His account is supplemented by material in a letter which Pastor Schmieder sent to the paper on the occasion of the anniversary.

F. Osenbrugge was a well-known Winnipeg trader in furs, woolens and cotton goods. *Ibid.*, 20 June 1890 and 29 August 1890. He, also, was an active member in the new Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde. See *ibid.*, 3. Juli 1891.

The Nordwesten was founded in April of 1889, and the first issue appeared in May of that year. *Ibid.*, 29 April 1914.

in publishing, to come from Philadelphia. This was Heinrich Bruegmann<sup>50</sup> who became the first editor of the Nordwesten.<sup>51</sup> Bruegmann was then joined by Pastor Schmieder's brother-in-law, Gustav Koermann.<sup>52</sup> These two were then joined in 1890 by Mr. Juergen Harbs, a book printer from Schleswig-Holstein, and in 1891 they made it a three-way partnership of Bruegmann, Koermann and Harbs.<sup>53</sup> Pastor Schmieder wrote

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<sup>50</sup> Bruegmann had been associated with the Philadelphia Demokrat and was skilled in the technical aspects of publishing. Siloah, January 1892 and Nordwesten, 29 April 1914.

<sup>51</sup> The actual first owner of the newspaper was a relative of Wm. Hespeler, Mr. Theim-White. He bought the first German type and rented the space for the operation but after several months sold the paper to Heinrich Bruegmann and became a school inspector among the Mennonites. The Carstens account says that Schmieder sent for his "brother-in-law" (Schwager), Heinrich Bruegmann from Philadelphia, and then Bruegmann sent for his brother-in-law (Schwager), Gustav Koermann, also from Philadelphia. This is likely a projection of a present relationship back onto the historical account. Gustav Koermann would have been Schmieder's brother-in-law at the time since the latter had married the former Elfriede Koermann in Philadelphia in 1887. Martin Jordan, Heinrich Eduard Schmieder: Seine Vorfahren und Nachkommen (Heidelberg: fuerfter, erweiterter und bis Mai 1968 fortgefuehrter Abdruck), p. 6. However, H. Bruegmann became the brother-in-law of both Gustav Koermann and Heinrich Schmieder in 1892 through his marriage to Lydia Koermann, the sister of Gustav Koermann and Elfriede (Koermann) Schmieder. See the Nordwesten, 11 March 1892 and Siloah, September 1892.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Hespeler, Bruegmann, Koermann and Harbs were all active members in the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde. See Schmieder, "Ein Wort und Bitte an alle Deutschen!" and the Nordwesten, 3 July 1891 and 12 February 1892.

Further, the Schmieder Dairies (in the "Schmieder Papers," PAC) give evidence of the close relationship of Schmieder, Koermann, Bruegmann, Harbs and Hespeler at a time in May of 1890 when Bruegmann was sick:

for the paper, did literary editing and carried out the business part for the first year, without remuneration. In the year 1890, he was paid a modest amount for contributing a major article every week.<sup>54</sup>

The Nordwesten was not a church paper, although church issues play a significant role in its news content. Nor was the paper identifiably Lutheran, indeed, locally, Mennonite news appears to have been dominant. However, the paper did have a broader purpose, that of furthering German culture and an ecumenical Christianity.<sup>55</sup>

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4. Mai "Harbs & Gustav [almost certainly Koermann] mit mir nach d. Hospital, wo ich jedoch nur allein Mr. Bruegm. sehen durfte. . . . Auch Hespeler b[e]suchte ihn."
5. Mai "Ich besuchte Mr. Bruegmann, d[e]r z. 7. Male ausser Bett war. Nchm. waren Gustav & Harbs bei ihm."
9. Mai "Gustav und Harbs b[e]suchte Mr. Bruegmann u. fanden ihn wohlauf."

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 29 April 1914.

<sup>55</sup> Apparently some copies of the paper had been sent to Siloah whose critique (July 1889) indicates something of the paper's relationship to Christianity. (For a description of Siloah and its relationship to the Northwest mission, see below pp. 225f..)

The Nordwesten had declared itself as desiring to contribute to the positive development (Hebung) of the Canadian Northwest. It would therefore take on its role as an organ of German culture. ("Organ fuer das Deuschtum") Siloah notes, moreover, that the Nordwesten did not fall into the category of so many German newspapers which with great zeal "declare war against the church and faithful Christianity (dem glaeubigen Christentum), and with bitter anger (grimmigen Zorn), little intelligence (Witz) and great self-satisfaction attack it. The novel which the Nordwesten

Thus, already by May of 1889, an institutional structure had been created to facilitate the settlement of large areas of the Prairies with people of German culture and especially of Lutheran faith. This would be in addition to the large areas already settled by Mennonite Germans.

Wilhelm Hespeler provided reliable representation for the Imperial German government and experienced contact with the Canadian government. Also, he provided financing for the settlers.<sup>56</sup> He was an important support for the Nordwesten. As well, he provided support for the German Lutheran Dreieinigkeitskirche both materially and by

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was beginning to run in series was known to the editors of Siloah and was decidedly Christian (entschieden christlich). Further, Siloah reprints the Nordwesten's information that Germans could work by "our settlers on the [Mennonite] east and west reserves." And the quote continues:

Our compatriots (Landesleute) on those reserves have shown themselves to be very charitable (wohlthaetig) to new settlers without respect to the difference in faith (ohne Unterschied des Glaubens) and . . . thus have deserved a true reward of God (einen wahren Gotteslohn).

For a further confirmation of this ecumenical Christian point of view, see a second critique of the Nordwesten in Siloah, this time, of the Nordwesten Christmas edition of 1889. February 1890.

Finally, we note the charitable function which the Nordwesten carried out. One example is in the September 25th, 1891 edition where F. Osenbrugge is collecting money through the Nordwesten to help a very poor woman to seek her husband. Another example found in the following year, where the Nordwesten helped collect money for a family which had suffered fire loss. 20 May 1892.

<sup>56</sup> See the Nordwesten, 29 August 1890.

example.<sup>57</sup>

Heinrich Bruegmann and the Nordwesten provided news from the outside world, helpful articles on agriculture, news between the settlements and reliable information for people in Europe considering immigration. Further, the Nordwesten gave up-to-date, first hand reports for immigrants choosing a place to settle or for settlers wishing to resettle.<sup>58</sup> Finally, we note, as well, Bruegmann's special support for the church. Not only was he one of a three man committee for building the Dreieinigkeitskirche,<sup>59</sup> but repeatedly, through his church articles in the Nordwesten, he acted, in effect, as a correspondent for Siloah.<sup>60</sup> Bruegmann's considerable theological competence is evident especially in his article

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<sup>57</sup> See Schmieder, "Ein Wort und Bitte!" Hespeler's is the first name on the subscription. He was an active member in the Dreieinigkeitskirche and was a subscriber to Siloah. See Siloah, May 1896.

<sup>58</sup> Examples are found throughout the Nordwesten. Note that the Nordwesten was sent to Russia, Germany and Austria. The people already in the Northwest would be ordering it to send to their relatives in Russia, and the C.P.R. would give out copies to immigrants. See 10 October 1890.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 2 July 1891.

<sup>60</sup> For examples of Siloah using material from the Nordwesten, see July 1889, February 1890, January 1892, February 1892, March 1892, July 1892, August 1892, September 1892, October 1892, May 1893, September 1893, July 1894, September 1894, December 1894, February 1895, June 1895, August 1895, October 1895, December 1895, February 1896, May 1896 and December 1896.

on the dedication of the Dreieinigkeitskirche.<sup>61</sup>

Heinrich Schmieder, besides his own Evangelical Lutheran ministry, provided contact with a substantial church body, relatively well connected in Europe,<sup>62</sup> indeed, in communion with the Lutheran State Churches in Germany and Russia.<sup>63</sup> By virtue of his office, he had the responsibility for gathering people and forming German Lutheran Gemeinden. His participation in the Nordwesten could also help in this function. As well, he would be in a position to oversee the Gemeindeschulen which could be

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<sup>61</sup> See *ibid.*, January 1892.

<sup>62</sup> Here "relative" must be emphasized. That it was not as well connected as it could have been is a major issue in Chapter X.

<sup>63</sup> What the formal relationship was with regard to pulpit and altar fellowship is not totally clear, but apparently cases had come up in the negative with respect to the Missouri Synod. For example, in 1888, the Inner Mission Verein of Bremen (responsible for Auswanderermission) would not direct emigrants to the Missouri Synod immigrant house in New York City because that Synod "exclude[d] all the German Landeskirchen, even the Lutheran ones, from their fellowship of chancel and altar, and thereby separate[d] relatives coming to them from those left behind in the most holy of things; whereas it is our most zealous intent (Bestreben) to, as much as possible, cultivate and maintain the inner bond of the distant family members with that of the ones staying here." *Ibid.*, September 1888. In another situation the Missouri Synod notes that the Auswanderer-Mission in Hamburg was directing emigrants "partly to the Pilgerhaus [Missouri Synod], partly to the Emigrantenhaus [General Council] [both in New York City]." Der Lutheraner, 3 February 1891.

The issue appears to have quickly come to the fore in the western Canada as well. See Der Nordwesten 23 January 1891 where the General Council pastor states publicly that his church body had the same basis of teaching and faith as the evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany and Russia.

formed within his jurisdiction.

These three men, representing their respective institutions,<sup>64</sup> were thus set up to further the immigration, guide the settlement, and form the Gemeinden of those people wishing to emigrate from Europe.

### C. The Mission in the Northwest.

Heinrich Schmieder had a dual responsibility as pastor of the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde in Winnipeg. He not only had direct responsibility for his young congregation in the city and the Seelsorge for its individual members, he also had responsibility for the immigrants passing through Winnipeg<sup>65</sup> and oversight over the whole Prairie region.<sup>66</sup> As well, he was the key link from the mission to the church-at-large in the east. The church-at-large had its connection to the Northwest Mission through the German Home Mission Committee

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<sup>64</sup> To the personal cross-over between institutions we add the fact that in 1896, when Wm. Hespeler left Winnipeg for an extended trip to Europe, the German Foreign office made Heinrich Bruegmann acting Consul in Hespeler's absence. Siloah, May 1896.

<sup>65</sup> A typical pattern was that immigrants would often stay for several months, earn some money and get familiar with conditions on the Prairies, and then head west. See Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 March 1889, 30 March 1889 and 6 September 1890.

<sup>66</sup> See Siloah, February 1911.

of the General Council.<sup>67</sup> Schmieder wrote reports about the Northwest and his ministry to Siloah<sup>68</sup> which was an eight page monthly mission periodical, published by the Home Mission Committee.<sup>69</sup> As well, Schmieder was reported in Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, a larger and more general church paper which appeared weekly.<sup>70</sup> For its part, the German Home Mission Committee supported Schmieder and the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde materially, morally, and spiritually. The Committee, of course, did not operate on its own but tied the Northwest Mission to the Church-at-large and especially to the well-established German Lutheran congregations in New York and Pennsylvania.<sup>71</sup> Siloah and Lutherisches Kirchenblatt publicized different aspects of the mission such as the building of a church for the

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<sup>67</sup> Officially, Schmieder and his colleagues who came later were a part of the Canada Synod which was a member synod of the General Council. But the financial support and connection to the larger church was through the German Home Mission Committee. See Siloah, December 1889. Please note that even officially it is sometimes "Mission," sometimes "Missions." See General Council, Minutes, 1889, pp. 20 and 25.

<sup>68</sup> This, however, only in 1890 and years following. The reports of 1889 went to Lutherisches Kirchenblatt. See below, note 70 and Siloah, March 1890. We will attempt to explain this phenomenon in chapter X under the theme of a divided church-at-large.

<sup>69</sup> The size went from four to eight pages in January of 1886.

<sup>70</sup> e.g., see 9 March 1889, 16 March 1889, 23 March 1889, 2 August 1890, 15 November 1890 and 27 December 1890.

<sup>71</sup> e.g., see Siloah, April 1890 and July 1890.

Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde, and individuals and congregations made donations.<sup>72</sup> These donations for the work of the Northwest mission came from both great and small and were often noted as such.<sup>73</sup>

Although some German-origin people in Winnipeg had a degree of wealth, the frontier conditions and rapid growth coming with immigration made heavy demands on whatever capital was available. Again and again, Schmieder, and later also his associates, made clear the general poverty and financial difficulties facing the first settlers.<sup>74</sup> And

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<sup>72</sup> See ibid., and Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 16 March 1889, 23 March 1889 as examples.

<sup>73</sup> In Lutherisches Kirchenblatt Schmieder reprints a letter from a Dienstmaedchen who contributed \$1.00 to the mission and he comments:

Wie ruehrend und erhebend mir das war, kann ich nicht sagen. Ein einfaches Dienstmaedchen, das nicht einmal seinen Namen nennt, hatte zuerst meinen Notruf gehoert, und ihre Segenswuensche begleiteten die Gabe. Der zweite Baustein kam von einem lieben Freunde. Das Scherflein kam aus meinem lieben Philadelphia, auch ohne Namen des Gebers. Das dritte aus Buffalo, das vierte aus Newark. 20 April 1889.

See also Siloah, July 1890 and passim.

<sup>74</sup> In a report appearing on March 30th, 1889, they are "the poorest of the poor." Lutherisches Kirchenblatt. In 1911, looking back, Schmieder writes: "Aber sie hatten weniger als nichts, naemlich hohe Schulden und nicht mal ordentliche Haeuser zum Wohnen, sondern nur erbaermliche Erdhuetten. Siloah, February 1911. See also Siloah, May 1890 and September 1890.

Further, with respect to the settlement in Edenwald:

Arm, sehr arm sind sie alle und bei vielen besteht die Hauptmahlzeit nur aus trocken Brot und Thee, zu dem sie nicht einmal immer Zucker nehmen. Auch die, welche etliche Kuehe haben, wuerden meistens den

not only did the settlers face the necessity of getting their own work into operation, they were often called upon to help those who met personal tragedy in the new land:

There is much sickness and misery even in beautiful and healthy Manitoba, and a missionary pastor must, of course, concern himself especially with the poor and the wretched. Only last week I was told of a German family who lives outside the city in a miserable, dirty wooden shack. The mother has been deathly ill for weeks, needing an operation desperately. The husband is out of work. There are also four hungry children. The man who told me about them gave me \$2.50 for these people. I approached several of my parishioners and finally came up with \$6.00. I found these people close to despair. They owed for medicine at the pharmacy and had nothing to eat. They were in desperate need of physical and spiritual assistance. I was fortunate in getting some work for the man and some nourishment for the woman. Now she has had her operation and is improving a little.<sup>75</sup>

In a remark, obviously cognizant of the European Auswanderermission, Schmieder notes that his ministry in Winnipeg was also a type of Auswanderermission; for from

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Gebrauch fetter Milch im Hause fuer Verschwendung halten. Sie benutzen nur die abgerahmte Milch, um desto mehr Butter verkaufen zu koennen und langsam die Schulden abzahlen zu koennen. Siloah, March 1891.

<sup>75</sup> Quote is from Burmeister (p. 9.) who has, in turn, translated from a clipping in the Schmieder Papers, PAC. In a bibliographic note, Burmeister indicates that his essay is based upon a clipping file which is ordered simply as the pages have been collated in the Public Archives (not chronologically). Burmeister does not indicate the source of each individual clipping, saying that the file "consists of letters and reports sent by Schmieder to Lutherisches Kirchenblatt . . . and to Siloah" and that "the holdings of these publications are incomplete." p. 21. The present author is able to identify all Schmieder source material used in this study from its published or manuscript source with the exception of this particular item which at this time can not be traced beyond the clipping file in the "Schmieder Papers."

Winnipeg the immigrants would again emigrate, this time to their future homesteads in the west.<sup>76</sup> The function of the Auswanderermission, besides helping those who had met misfortune, was to provide reliable information, direct emigrants to trustworthy people and to give them clear advice especially regarding their settling in a Gemeinde where they could practice their faith.<sup>77</sup> Schmieder did all of this on at least an informal level. He had considerable involvement in the immigration process. At one point he notes his acquaintance with a C.P.R. official, Mr. Jacobsen:

Mr. Jacobsen . . . has his office here by the depot of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and there represents 'the foreign office' in six different languages. [He] is a native of Schleswig-Holstein, a much traveled, very educated and experienced man, who takes special care of the Germans with an admirable zeal and is successful in guarding their interests. Mr. Jacobsen, who himself is from a Lutheran home, has worked things so that in the richly blessed and not so cold region<sup>78</sup> of Assiniboia four complete townships are reserved for German Lutherans only.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Generally, but some homesteads were also taken up in the Brokenhead district. See Siloah, September 1897.

<sup>77</sup> See Siloah, June 1889. Part of the function of the Auswanderermission was to direct the immigrant to an Einwanderermission, in the case of the United States, in New York City. The relationship was so close that immigrants could deposit their German money in the Auswanderermission and, with their receipt, receive it in American dollars at the Einwanderermission. Ibid. All of this was well publicized in church circles and is the specific background to Schmieder's ministry.

<sup>78</sup> Schmieder uses the word Provinz.

<sup>79</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 March 1889. Translation mine.

Schmieder, however, refrained from doing the work of an immigration agent himself. He said that he had considered it, but his official duties required too much time and he was concerned that in that kind of work one could quite easily get "the fingers dirty;" also, that the business all too often reminded of an African "trade in human beings."<sup>80</sup> Still, recognition for the service which Schmieder did for colonization in general is shown by the fact that the C.P.R. gave him free passage for rail travel on longer trips and half-fare for shorter trips.<sup>81</sup> We can also note that some years later, Schmieder provided the major contact for Andreas Lilge to look to Canada for the founding of his Moravian colony.<sup>82</sup> In this example, Schmieder's shows his advice to be balanced, since he gives both the positive and the negative aspects of farming in western Canada.<sup>83</sup>

Concerned for a happy settlement of German Lutherans into viable Gemeinden, Schmieder also felt it important to pull together and rightly order whatever local ministry

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<sup>80</sup> See Siloah, November 1890.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., April 1890.

<sup>82</sup> See Vitt, p. 29.

<sup>83</sup> On the one hand, "Meistens wird Weizen gezogen, der haeufig sehr grosse Ertraeage liefert u. von bester Qualitaet ist." On the other hand, "Haeufig leidet er aber durch Augustfroeste oder im Sommer durch Trockenheit. Es ist eben hier auch kein Paradies." H. C. Schmieder to A. Lilge, 17 May 1893 in Andreas Lilge Collection, Provincial Archives of Alberta.

could be developed in the already begun Gemeinden themselves. Thus, early on he composed and sent out into the province<sup>84</sup> a pastoral letter (Pastorales Sendschreiben).<sup>85</sup> In this letter he introduces himself, his calling,<sup>86</sup> and then the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde as the first and oldest orthodox [rechtgläubige] German Gemeinde of the Province. These "comrades in the faith" (Glaubensgenossen) are now invited to help with "the energetic building up of the Kingdom of God in our province."<sup>87</sup>

To this end he presented guidelines designed to promote the orderly development of the German-speaking Lutheran Church in Manitoba (and by implication also the rest of the Prairie region). These included the following:

1. Positive support for the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde in Winnipeg so that from her new congregations with their own pastors could be organized.
2. For spiritual counsel and official pastoral acts, the people in the colonies could turn to him. Also through Pastor Schmieder the colonies had access to Bibles, hymnbooks and catechisms.
3. Most essential was the continuation of the Hausandachten, recommended in families and also in larger circles, this until regular pastoral church

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<sup>84</sup> The letter is directed to German Lutherans in the Province of Manitoba, but Schmieder sent it into the Territories as well. Siloah, April 1890.

<sup>85</sup> "Pastorales Sendschreiben an die deutschen Glaubensgenossen in der Provinz Manitoba" in the Schmieder Papers, PAC.

<sup>86</sup> Reprinting the appeal of F. Veit in Lutherisches Kirchenblatt (12 January 1889) and then his own response.

<sup>87</sup> Underlining is Schmieder's.

services could be arranged.

4. Any groups wishing to have communion services should get together and report the same in writing to him.

5. Any individual willing to work at seeking out and gathering his dispersed co-religionists so as to form a mission-station was urged to make contact with Pastor Schmieder and remain in contact with him.

Finally, Schmieder felt compelled by conscience to warn:

our dear comrades in the faith (Glaubensgenossen) against such people, posing either as pastors or laypersons, who were seeking booty for alien church bodies ("uns fremde Kirchengemeinschaften"). Unfortunately, it often happens that sectarians, who want to have nothing to do with the pure teaching ("dem reinen Glauben") of our dear church, portray themselves as sometimes "evangelical," sometimes Lutheran, sometimes united, only for the purpose of gathering a lot of members, which members find out, unfortunately, only too late, that they have fallen victim to a Baptist or a Methodist or other false teachers. (Irrlehrern)<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Translation mine; Underlining in original. Lutheran relations with Mennonites and German Baptists seem to be as contrasting as day and night. See p. 158 for an appreciation of Mennonites. Besides the above, the Lutheran disgust for Baptist "conversions" can be found in "Chronik," and Siloah, April 1890.

Ludwig Streich, writing in 1891, says that he had had several discussions with the Baptists who "appear to be possessed with a true conversion fury." (Bekehrungswut) Siloah, Februar 1891. Again Schmieder, also in 1891, writes that the Baptists around Edenwald were working "with great might and cunning" ("mit gross Macht und viel List"), but the members of his Gemeinde were showing themselves more closely bound to God's word than those people who were "boasting about their conversion." Siloah, December 1891.

Lutheran relations to the German Reformed were mostly peaceful but not always the most pleasant. In Winnipeg, Schmieder notes that the Reformed came regularly to the church services but, "of course, held themselves back from the Lord's Supper." Siloah, April 1890. With regard to the Reformed in the Dunmore area, he calls them "very stubborn." (sehr hartnaeckig) Siloah, May 1890. Later, when F. Pempeit came to Dunmore, he wrote to the Missions Committee that the Reformed had tried but failed to get their own pastor from the United States. He said that they

Schmieder concludes his Sendbrief with the appeal to

remain faithful (treu) to the faith of your fathers, even in a strange place and do not forget that we can not let go of the best thing for which we can thank our old homeland namely the faith of our fathers with which they lived cheerfully and in which they died a blessed death.

Even as Pastor Schmieder had arrived and was just beginning his ministry in Winnipeg, we see the continuation of the migration to the settlements in the west. Especially significant is the movement of the Galician Germans from Winnipeg to the Dunmore (Assiniboia) area in the spring of 1889.<sup>89</sup> These Galicians had with them a Lehrer who had given confirmation instruction and substituted for the pastor back in Galicia. Pastor Schmieder notes with appreciation his assistance in Winnipeg, and the relationship must have continued since we note that later on the Galicians requested Pastor Schmieder to send a sermon

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were insisting that they be given the Lord's Supper according to Reformed custom (auf reformierte Weise). How should he respond? The Committee answered that he "should deal with the Reformed with all consideration and friendliness, yet still not get involved in concessions. He should explain to the people, freely and openly, that he was a Lutheran pastor and that he could only exercise his office in that manner. In the meantime these people, cut off from their co-religionists, could [still] receive services from [him]. They [could] turn to him [for counsel] in spiritual matters, attend his services, send their children to his school, have their little ones baptized by him and have him bury their dead; but a Lutheran pastor could not administer the Lord's Supper according to Reformed custom." Siloah, February 1891.

<sup>89</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 18 May 1889.

(to be read).<sup>90</sup>

After he had visited Langenburg and the diaspora toward the northwest in Manitoba, Schmieder undertook a trip along the southern route west, visiting the area around Balgonie and Regina and then further west, to the settlers who had gone to Dunmore.<sup>91</sup> Nearly overwhelmed by the size of the field, he appealed to the German Home Mission Committee for more pastors to establish the Gemeinden in western Canada. Reports of this trip were presented in Siloah.<sup>92</sup> In Siloah, Schmieder had pointed out the immensity of the field and the fact that the colonies were widely scattered. However, he did say that this time the Lutheran church<sup>93</sup> had come into the field at the right time rather than too late as was so often the case in the past. But he said that the response of the Church for more missionaries would be critical. At stake, he said, would be the holding together and building up of what was begun or, alternatively, its breaking apart (zerbroekeln).<sup>94</sup>

Along with the appeal for more workers, Schmieder also

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<sup>90</sup> See Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 23 March 1889, 16 March 1889 and 18 May 1890. For the identity of "Lehrer Wendel" as being the teacher from Galicia, see "Chronik."

<sup>91</sup> Siloah, April 1890.

<sup>92</sup> See *ibid.*, and Siloah, May 1890.

<sup>93</sup> Specifically, his own church body, the General Council.

<sup>94</sup> Siloah, April 1890.

requested permission to relocate himself to southern Assiniboia so that he might be more in the centre of the mission field.<sup>95</sup> The Missions Committee approved this request; and, in May of 1890, Schmieder, together with his wife and infant son, arrived in Neu-Toulcha where a number of German Lutherans had recently settled.<sup>96</sup> Together with the colonists, he renamed the place Edenwald;<sup>97</sup> and from here Schmieder supplied a pastoral ministry to Strassburg<sup>98</sup> (to the north), Josephsberg<sup>99</sup> to the east and Dunmore to the west.<sup>100</sup> In the Dunmore area, Schmieder organized the "deutsche evang.-luth. St. Matthaues-Gemeinde in Josefsburg."<sup>101</sup>

The German Home Mission Committee gave a positive response to the appeal for more missionaries and soon after

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., May 1890.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., May 1911.

<sup>97</sup> This was at the time when the post office was being set up. Ibid., May 1890.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., August 1890.

<sup>99</sup> Josephsberg was near Grenfell and was settled beginning in 1889 by some families from South Russia and some from Galicia who had been working for the Mennonites in the Gretna area. See Burmeister, p. 12 and the Nordwesten, 4 July 1890.

<sup>100</sup> Actually, there were four settlements in the Dunmore area: Dunmore itself, Josephsburg, Seven Persons and Rosenthal. Siloah, September 1890. Josephsburg is sometimes given as "Josephsburg bei Medicine Hat." Ibid., May 1890.

<sup>101</sup> See Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 2 August 1890.

Pastor Schmieder had removed to Edenwald, he was replaced in Winnipeg by Pastor Ludwig Streich.<sup>102</sup> Streich was also a graduate of Kropp seminary; indeed, he was a classmate of Pastor Schmieder and had come to America in the same year.<sup>103</sup> He had been a Kuester-Lehrer in Russia and had had five years of experience as a pastor at Farnham, New York.<sup>104</sup> Under Streich, the Manitoba mission continued. Streich visited Lutherans in southern Manitoba where they had been living dispersed among the Mennonites. Especially around Gretna, Morden and Plum Coulee there seemed to be considerable numbers. As well, Streich continued his ministry to the dispersion toward the northwest of Manitoba and on into the distant colonies in the Langenburg area.<sup>105</sup>

Schmieder had called for a third missionary since the settlements around Dunmore were too far away from Edenwald to permit an effective ministry.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, the colony there was under extreme stress from drought in the area and was at the point of giving up. They had expected to be able to pay part of a missionary's salary, but with the drought

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<sup>102</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 15 November 1890.

<sup>103</sup> See Siloah, June 1891 and Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 13 December 1890.

<sup>104</sup> Siloah, June 1891.

<sup>105</sup> See *ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> See the Nordwesten, 25. Juli 1890. Also, Siloah, September 1890.

they could not.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, the Mission Committee was able to send a third man, Pastor Ferdinand Pempeit.<sup>108</sup> Like Streich, Pempeit was also from Russia, in his case, from the Baltic area.<sup>109</sup> He, however, had had his seminary training in Berlin.<sup>110</sup> Pempeit arrived in September of 1890.<sup>111</sup> When the Dunmore area colonists finally gave up and decided to move elsewhere, Pempeit moved with his Gemeinde.<sup>112</sup> In the spring of 1891 the settlers made the trek northward to the Edmonton area where the government had reserved land for them.<sup>113</sup> This reserved land, however, was not enough; and so some found themselves in a position of having to move to another place. This, then, brought about a separation in the group: out of one Gemeinde,<sup>114</sup> confessionally mixed, there now was created two Gemeinden confessionally distinct.

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<sup>107</sup> See ibid., Siloah, November 1890 and Siloah, Mai 1891.

<sup>108</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 20 September 1890 and Siloah, November 1890.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Namely, in the "Berliner Missionshaus." Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Nordwesten, 12 June 1891. Although Pempeit actually arrived shortly after the colonists, his move had been planned well in advance since he had earlier sought permission from the Home Mission Committee to relocate with the colonists. See Siloah, January 1891, July 1891 and August 1891.

<sup>113</sup> Siloah, June 1891.

<sup>114</sup> Now in a "place" sense, although on the move.

The German Reformed, numbering about 25 families, went to the Beaver Hills area.<sup>115</sup> The German Lutherans, also numbering about 25 families, went west to the area of Stony Plain.<sup>116</sup> Their new colony received the cheerful name, Hoffnungsaus.<sup>117</sup> At this point, one should note that not all of the settlers left the Dunmore area. Some stayed, and a number of them went east, settling in the Grenfell District, Assiniboia.<sup>118</sup>

Thus, by 1891 German Lutheran settlements extended, roughly following the railroads, from southern Manitoba (Gretna), through Winnipeg and southern Assiniboia, up to the area just west of Edmonton. As well, a number of people lived along the Manitoba and Northwest line up to the major concentration in the Langenburg-Beresina area.

To cover this territory, the General Council had now

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<sup>115</sup> The early Nordwesten account has the location as "Horse Hill Ebene." 22 May 1891. Later, the location of the Reformed is consistently noted as "Beaver Hills." See the Nordwesten 15 July 1892 and Siloah, August and October 1892. An 1892 report on the former Dunsmore colonists indicates a "Rabbit Hill," "Beaver Hills," and "Peace Hills," but no "Horse Hill Plains." Nordwesten, 17 June 1892. Another report on the Edmonton area indicates that the only strongly Reformed community was at "Beaver Hills." Ibid., 15 July 1892.

<sup>116</sup> One should also note that at this point a few Catholic families which were in the group went to St. Albert. There were also a few Baptists and these apparently went to an area south of Edmonton. Ibid., 29 May 1891.

<sup>117</sup> Siloah, February 1892.

<sup>118</sup> See the Nordwesten, 31 October 1890 and 12 December 1890. Also Siloah, January 1891 and Siloah, June 1891.

three men, one of whom had originated in Germany, indeed, from the historic center of the Reformation. The other two had had experience in the Lutheran Church in Russia and had recently been placed in a pastoral status. The pastoral ministry had advanced quickly, from one pastor in 1889 to three in 1891. However, even given this substantial response on the part of the church, it was still not enough to adequately cover the territory. Still lacking was a resident pastor for the large Langenburg settlement. In the coming years this settlement would be the focal point for a number of difficult problems.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE EARLY GEMEINDEN AND LOSS OF LUTHERAN CHURCH UNITY: 1891-1896.

By the summer of 1891, German Lutherans had generally achieved a degree of stability in their first Gemeinden, which stretched from Winnipeg to Stony Plain. After the move from Dunmore, all of post-1885 settlements which we have mentioned (in the last chapter) were destined to be permanent, at least for the pre-World War I period.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter we will describe life in the Gemeinden in the first half of the 1890's, showing how progress in a material and ecclesiastical sense occurred amid hardship, conflict and heavy immigration. Within this context, a second church body, the Missouri Synod, entered the field. This church body could not establish a viable position in its first attempt, but, in the face of General Council stagnation, renewed its efforts and, by the middle of the decade, did achieve success in establishing itself in the

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<sup>1</sup> See Die Deutsche Evangelisch-Lutherische Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 24 and 26, and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, p. 81.

prairie region.

A. Early Development of the Gemeinde: 1891-94.

By the summer of 1891, older German Lutheran (and mixed) settlements were showing a considerable degree of stability. Although most of the Gemeinden had gotten firmly established by that time, two of them still had major obstacles to overcome before reaching that goal. The first one was the Hoffnungsau Gemeinde because it had just recently moved from the Dunmore area. Here, however, a religious stability appears to have been achieved (for the time being) since the St. Matthaues Gemeinde seems to have remained basically intact in the move from Josephsburg to Hoffnungsau. Indeed, the physical separation of the Reformed from the Lutherans "solved" that particular problem although likely not in the most desirable manner.<sup>2</sup>

A second exception was in the afore-mentioned Langenburg-Beresina parish. Here, the settlers had achieved a relative material stability since the colony had started in 1885,<sup>3</sup> but ecclesiastically things were far from ordered.

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<sup>2</sup> Pastor Pempeit complains that when the Reformed withdrew, it was not in a friendly manner although he had taught their children for a year. Siloah, August 1891.

<sup>3</sup> This does not mean that they were well off; indeed, they still had considerable poverty and debt; but economically things were functioning. See Siloah, September

Although Langenburg, with Land Agent Riedle, had been among the first communities petitioning for a Lutheran ministry in the Northwest, it was being served only on a part time basis from Winnipeg.<sup>4</sup> Of the four earliest areas of German Lutheran concentration (Winnipeg, Edenwald, Dunmore-Stony Plain and Langenburg), Langenburg was the only settlement still left without a pastor.

A fifth, more recent area<sup>5</sup> of German Lutheran settlement, the Grenfell District, which had the two Gemeinden, Neudorf and Josephsberg,<sup>6</sup> was also without a resident pastor but appears to have achieved some stability anyway. These settlements were under the pastorate of Heinrich Schmieder in Edenwald, but they had a layman to

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1891. One indication of the stability of the colony was the fact that in December of 1890 they were building a creamery. Nordwesten, 24 December.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, February 1891.

<sup>5</sup> A report from the first settlers can be found in the July 4th, 1890 issue of the Nordwesten. The writer indicates that he came in early 1889 from Galicia, worked for a while among the Mennonites, and then, along with others in his group, settled in the Grenfell area. Sessional Papers, 1895, (vol. 9, #13, Part I, pp. 17) has the much smaller Josephsburg (*sic.*) beginning in 1887 and more significant Newdorf (*sic.*) beginning in 1890.

<sup>6</sup> In a summary report appearing in the June 1891 issue of Siloah only the Josephsberg Gemeinde is listed. In his quarterly report appearing in August of that year, Schmieder speaks of two settlements "of which one is called Josephsberg." In the October issue of Siloah he notes the formation of the Zionsgemeinde in Neudorf.

lead services much in the manner of the Lehrer in Galicia<sup>7</sup> which was consistent with the people's custom since they were mostly from Galicia or South Russia. Pastor Schmieder gave this person<sup>8</sup> a Predigtbuch for reading the sermons; further, Pastor Schmieder and the Gemeinde gave him authority to "admonish" people in the colony so that "the Germans "[wouldn't have to] go to the English judge with every little complaint."<sup>9</sup>

Although at this point relatively stable generally, all of these Gemeinden had considerable poverty. Winnipeg did have a number of people with means; but, as indicated earlier, capital demands were high in the developing Northwest. As well, Winnipeg had only a relatively small number of people who were permanent members of the Gemeinde. Many others were recent arrivals: most of these were poor and most of them also moved on after some months or a year or two of work.<sup>10</sup> As well, the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde needed to build a substantial church to serve as a Lutheran home for both the permanent residents and the recent arrivals who would pass on to the west. All of this put a

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<sup>7</sup> Siloah, May 1891 and June 1891. See also the Nordwesten, 31 December 1890.

<sup>8</sup> Here, actually designated as an "elder" (Aeltester). Ibid. and Siloah, June 1891.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> See Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 30 March 1889 and Siloah, April 1890 and November 1890.

financial strain on the congregation. Thus, in 1891, the Winnipeg Gemeinde was under strain, and most Gemeinden outside Winnipeg were poor. Strassburg was possibly not as much so,<sup>11</sup> since Strassburg, too, had been settled for some time; yet Strassburg remained small in numbers of members.<sup>12</sup>

Besides the primitive conditions, the farmers generally were living under the pressure of a relatively heavy debt load. Although they may have received their land for little more than residence and a filing fee, they had bought farm equipment, generally on credit.<sup>13</sup> The interest rate was normally about 8%,<sup>14</sup> and Heinrich Schmieder notes that the smaller farmers often had about \$300 in debt and the larger ones about \$800.<sup>15</sup> This was at a time when oats were selling at about \$.45-.50/bushel; wheat, at about \$.70-.80;

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<sup>11</sup> In January of 1891, the Nordwesten notes a fine ball that the colonists had with their own orchestra and "auch ein guter Trunk fehlte nicht." 16 January 1891. Also, in the spring of 1891, the Nordwesten notes some "signs of prosperity." 15 May 1891.

<sup>12</sup> H. Schmieder: "Strassburg ist nun von den bedeutenderen deutschen Ansiedlungen des canadischen Westens zwar die aelteste, aber auch die kleinste." Siloah, August 1891. Sessional Papers gives both Hohenlohe (Langenburg) and Strassburg as beginning in 1885. 1895, vol. 9, #13, Part I, pp. 17-18.

<sup>13</sup> See Siloah, February 1911 and the Nordwesten, 12 February 1892. The Nordwesten had published an article warning of the dangers of credit (26 June 1891) but admitted that without it only one-third of the population of farmers would have been able to start up. 12 February 1892.

<sup>14</sup> See Siloah, November 1890.

<sup>15</sup> Siloah, March 1891.

and cattle, at about \$.03-.04/lb. live weight.<sup>16</sup>

The missionaries were sensitive to the people's financial problems in this beginning time and tried to pass an understanding on to supporters in the eastern United States. For example, Heinrich Schmieder in Edenwald went over a year before taking an offering to help pay for his salary.<sup>17</sup> F. Pempeit in Hoffnungsau did basically the same.<sup>18</sup> In Strassburg, the situation was somewhat different as these people were somewhat better settled; but according to Schmieder, since they were from the Empire,<sup>19</sup> it was difficult to get them to see the necessity of their own

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<sup>16</sup> The example is from the Nordwesten, 10 July 1891.

<sup>17</sup> For the May 1891 issue of Siloah Schmieder writes: "Beitraege fuer Kirche und Schule sind jetzt noch nicht zu erlangen, da Geld in den Haeusern ueberhaupt nicht existiert."

On an early missionary trip from Winnipeg (1890), Schmieder explains that he did not admonish people to give in order that he "not seek the fruit of faith where the root had not yet taken hold." Siloah, May 1890.

<sup>18</sup> See Siloah, April 1893. Pempeit writes in the spring of 1893: "In the face of our great poverty the offering brought in only \$3.95. This was the first offering which was taken here in this congregation."

General Lutheran policy in North America was to practice weekly free-will giving. See The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, ed., Kirchenbuch fuer Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden (Philadelphia: The United Lutheran Publication House, 1877), p. 9. But apparently in the early years in the Northwest the missionaries refrained from "passing the plate" in the worship services to keep from embarrassing people who had nothing. Winnipeg, with a \$.50/mo. membership fee, had a somewhat different arrangement. See "Chronik."

<sup>19</sup> Schmieder's terminology is from the "Prussian provinces." See Siloah, September 1890 and October 1890.

financial responsibility. Schmieder says that (at least at the beginning of his ministry) they usually did little more than pay his travel expenses because they operated with the mentality that the government supported the pastor since that was the way things were in Germany.<sup>20</sup> More problematic was the state of things in Langenburg, which had been settled for a relatively long time. Here, when the people finally got a pastor, they not only did not pay the pastor but were not even conscientious in giving him meals.<sup>21</sup>

Although poverty seems to have been dominant in the settlements, this does not mean that there was no material progress. The Josephsberg-Neudorf area in southeastern Assiniboia seemed to be doing fairly well. In the winter of 1891 people were building frame houses,<sup>22</sup> and in the spring of 1892 Pastor Schmieder calls these the "most promising" of the colonies.<sup>23</sup> Shortly thereafter, the people were

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<sup>20</sup> See Siloah, December 1891. Schmieder says that of all the preaching stations, none were able to contribute to the maintenance of a missionary except Strassburg and the people of the Grenfell District; and this was only enough to cover travel expenses.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. At one point, their newly arrived pastor, who personally underwent considerable financial and physical stress, candidly remarked that for these people, having a pastor was viewed as a burden. Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Der Nordwesten, 25 December 1891.

<sup>23</sup> "Diese beiden Ansiedlungen, besonders aber das schnell wachsende meist aus deutsch-lutherischen und einigen sich zu uns haltenden reformierten Galiziern bestehende Neudorf sind bis jetzt wohl die vielversprechendsten Kolonien . . ." Siloah, May 1892.

apparently able to pay at least a part of their pastor's salary.<sup>24</sup> In the Stony Plain area, in spite of the extreme need deriving from a second beginning,<sup>25</sup> the people had good harvests and by 1894 were well on their feet.<sup>26</sup>

In the 1891-1894 period, throughout the Northwest, difficult times occurred at different places; but even in such cases there was often opportunity to "work out" on harvest gangs or, in other cases, to do domestic work in the beginning towns and cities.<sup>27</sup> In the beginning settlements, probably Langenburg (and its northwest extension of settlement) and Edenwald suffered the most: the former, from summer frosts which caused a large number of people to move away; and with the latter, a series of dry years after the good harvest of 1891.<sup>28</sup> All in all, although most of the settlements did make some material progress, there was little left beyond the basic necessities of food and shelter and the debt servicing necessary for a basic farmstead.

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<sup>24</sup> See ibid., June 1894.

<sup>25</sup> Many of the settlers, however, were not without property but brought livestock with them from Dunmore and some had money from their work in the coal mines. Der Nordwesten, 23 May 1892.

<sup>26</sup> See Siloah, November 1893 and October 1894.

<sup>27</sup> See the Nordwesten, 11 September 1891; and Siloah, October 1893, May 1894 and October 1894. By the same token, when economic conditions were such that this work was lacking, the result was considerable worry and hardship for the immigrants. See ibid., January 1894 and October 1894.

<sup>28</sup> See Siloah, June 1892, February 1894 and September 1894.

These problems were difficult enough for the families who were settled in by the early 1890's. From the point of view of Gemeinde-formation, this trying tight financial situation was made much more difficult by the arrival in the 1891-94 period of a large number of immigrants, many of whom had next to nothing,<sup>29</sup> and who had to start back where the original settlers had been in the 1880's.

Given the stressful condition in the colonies, it is not difficult to understand how quarreling could develop in the same. We note, for example, a reference to arguing in Langenburg over the question of the public school.<sup>30</sup> The same issue arose in Landshut (near Langenburg) but appears to have been put to rest by the intervention of a school inspector.<sup>31</sup>

Unhappy quarreling occurred as well in the Grenfell district over the question of where to locate church, school and cemetery. Pastor Schmieder visited the colony from Edenwald, said he would not make such decisions for them, but urged them as individuals to think first of the needs of their neighbours.<sup>32</sup> To the readers of Siloah he remarks

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<sup>29</sup> See *ibid.*, December 1891, October 1892 and January 1894. A report in the Minnesota-Dakota District minutes of the Missouri Synod said that almost all were "blutarm." Synodal-Bericht, 1892, p. 65.

<sup>30</sup> See Siloah, May 1890.

<sup>31</sup> See the Nordwesten, 19 June 1891.

<sup>32</sup> Siloah, September 1891.

that these people had not failed to bring the "old Adam" along with them from Galicia.<sup>33</sup>

Another example of contention involved argument between colonies. Apparently both the Langenburg-Beresina and the Neudorf-Josephsberg areas were trying to get more settlers from Galicia and through the medium of the Nordwesten a heated controversy arose as to what the agricultural conditions actually were in the Grenfell district. Amid the repeated cries of "liar" the Nordwesten finally declared at the bottom of the last letter that this would end the argument as far as the Nordwesten was concerned.<sup>34</sup>

In Langenburg, quarreling erupted between the land agent, who was also a Justice of the Peace, and an individual who had felt that he was fined too heavily for removing wood from the school lands. The former was accused of wanting to be a lord (Herrscher) over the colonies, and the latter responded that he could have fined him more.<sup>35</sup> All in all, although many people did seem to be making good progress toward a (relatively) independent agrarian way of life,<sup>36</sup> the Gemeinden as a whole, in the early 1890's,

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> See 27 March and 8 May 1891.

<sup>35</sup> See the Nordwesten, 23 January 1891.

<sup>36</sup> In western Canada, the dominant agrarian pattern was the family farm (Einzelhofsystem) and the Volhynian ideal of "Herr auf eigener Scholle" (above, pp. 83-4) seems to have lost none of its force. The Nordwesten gave expression to this in an article in the May 20th, 1892 issue saying that

appear to have continued in a relatively cash poor, stressful and sometimes contentious state.

Lamentable as was the quarreling between the colonists, what caused even more damage was the contention which broke out within the German Lutheran leadership in the Northwest. In early 1891, both Siloah and the Nordwesten indicate that a problem had developed between Pastor Streich at the Dreieinigkeitskirche and Land Agent D. W. Riedle who had a home in Winnipeg but who was dealing in land in the area around Langenburg and its northwest extension. For Streich's part, Riedle was accused of "sins against the immigrants"<sup>37</sup> (presumably a misrepresentation of the land he was getting them to buy or settle on.)<sup>38</sup> Concurrently, Mr. Riedle is found advising the immigrants not to involve their budding congregation with membership in the General Council.<sup>39</sup> Streich responded publicly in Siloah and the Nordwesten, attempting to discredit Riedle and to refute a number of statements which Riedle had made concerning the

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what a lot of the immigrants wanted was "eine selbststaendige Existenz."

<sup>37</sup> Siloah, March 1891.

<sup>38</sup> This is the specific problem cited by the German Home Mission Committee: that the land agents were leading naive immigrants to settle on land without mentioning its negative features. *Ibid.*, November 1892.

<sup>39</sup> Der Nordwesten, 23 January 1891.

polity of the General Council.<sup>40</sup> Riedle replied decorously enough in the Nordwesten, saying that he was only answering the questions which had been put to him,<sup>41</sup> but at the same time Siloah reports the exploratory moves of the Missouri Synod.<sup>42</sup>

The General Council did, finally, place a missionary in the Langenburg area. He was Pastor Emil Gustav Berthold, a classmate of Pastor Pempeit, from the Missionshaus in Berlin and born in Saxony, Germany.<sup>43</sup> Berthold arrived in July of 1891,<sup>44</sup> but it appears that by then the Missouri Synod had already committed itself to the sending of a missionary to the Northwest since the Rev. H. F. Buegel was ordained in

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<sup>40</sup> Siloah, March 1891 and Der Nordwesten, 23 January 1891.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 30 January 1891.

<sup>42</sup> See February 1891.

<sup>43</sup> Siloah, August and October 1891. According to Berthold, the ministry in both Langenburg and Beresina was "hard" (schwer). In Langenburg it was because there were many "so-called enlightened Germans" (sogenannte aufgeklarte Deutsche). In Beresina it was because of the poverty. Berthold notes that the older Langenburg settlement was made up of people from different parts of Germany. The people in Beresina were from Galicia. Ibid.

Note, however, that in a later report Berthold says that "Beresina was founded by Germans coming from South Russia." Ibid., February 1892. It may be that also in Beresina the same phenomenon had taken place as had occurred with the people in the Grenfell district, namely, that some were originally Galicians and had moved from Galicia to South Russia (or Volhynia) and then again to Canada. See note 59.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., August 1891.

August of that year and arrived in early September.<sup>45</sup> Buegel began at the house of Mr. Riedle in Winnipeg.<sup>46</sup> The Minnesota and Dakota District of the Missouri Synod had given him responsibility as "missionary to Manitoba and surrounding territory."<sup>47</sup>

The contention between Streich and Riedle intensified.<sup>48</sup> He and Riedle clashed publicly, for example, at the train station.<sup>49</sup> Within the General Council, matters came to a head in December of 1891. The occasion was the completion of the Dreieinigkeitskirche in Winnipeg and its dedication. The event was attended by the other General Council missionaries in the Northwest, Schmieder, Pempeit, and Berthold, along with the Rev. J. Nicum, of Rochester, New York, who was both Secretary of the German Home Missions Committee and Editor of Siloah.<sup>50</sup> After the dedication, the

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<sup>45</sup> See Minnesota und Dakota-Distrikt, Synodal-Bericht, 1892, p. 65 and Threinen, A Sower Went Out, p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> See Threinen, A Sower Went Out, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> An example of the nature of the problem can be found in Streich's report to Siloah: "Es ist mir gelungen, die deutsche Immigration von Langenburg abzulenken. Selbst sieben galizische Familien, deren Freunde und Bekannte in Landestreu wohnen, wurden dieser Tage nach Edmonton und Grenfell dirigiert. Aus Russland wohnen seit einem Jahre etwa 3 Familien in Langenburg, die ihren ersten Niederlassungsort wieder verlassen werden. Der Land-Agent und seine Eisenbahn-Kompanie sind wuetend darueber." July 1892.

<sup>49</sup> Siloah, January 1893.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., December 1891 and January 1892.

ministerium met to discuss a number of issues present in the Northwest mission, among them the case of Streich-Riedle.<sup>51</sup> The other pastors agreed that it was good for Streich to be advising immigrants in matters of settlement.<sup>52</sup> However, they admonished him to cease the public arguing with Riedle. Streich refused to stop the contention, was threatened with the "most extreme of measures," and resigned, taking a call to the Neudorf-Josephsberg parish and in the process moving over to the unionistic General Synod.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., January 1893.

<sup>52</sup> They even requested a special person to serve as Emigranten-Missionar to do just that and noted that the pastor of the Winnipeg congregation had been doing the work de facto but that it was too much for one man. Ibid., November 1892. The request was supported in some detail by an article in Siloah by Langenburg Missionary Berthold who wanted something similar to the ministry which the General Council had to immigrants which was based in New York City. Ibid., July 1892. Berthold thought it important that immigrants be guided to settle in areas according to common language and confession. Informally, the pastor in Winnipeg already had that function. As well, the Nordwesten provided a source of information as to the confessional make up of the colonies, but Berthold's point was that the situation needed considerable improvement.

Berthold said that such a specialized ministry, at this point, was more important than the filling of any individual open parish. Apparently, the German Home Mission Committee, as well, saw the importance of a Lutheran pastor guiding the people into the Northwest but preferred to seek the support of the General Council. Ibid., November 1892. The situation, however, appears to have been left as is, i.e., as an additional duty of the pastor of the Dreieinigkeitskirche although this person's load was lightened somewhat by the calling of a pastor for southern Manitoba. Below, p. 259.

<sup>53</sup> See *ibid.* and April 1892. For a description of the General Synod, see our Chapter I, pp. 6 and 13f..

The German Home Mission Committee had originally called Streich to the Grenfell District in order to move him out of

In the meantime, C.P.R. official Jacobsen, who had been instrumental in reserving land for German Lutherans, resigned his post, without explanation, apparently moving to Minnesota.<sup>54</sup> The Missouri Synod continued to back Riedle (and vice-versa), recommending him as "conscientious" (gewissenhaft).<sup>55</sup> The General Council missionaries, apparently agreeing with Streich's assessment but not his public quarreling, referred to Riedle as "without conscience." (gewissenslos)<sup>56</sup> Missouri Pastor Buegel now

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Winnipeg. Ibid., January 1893. However, after resigning from the General Council, Streich continued his ministry in the Grenfell District anyway. Ibid., May 1893. Besides the matter of the land agent, a part of Streich's differences with the General Council was the latter's disapproval of his accommodation of the Reformed in the administration of the Lord's Supper. See *ibid.*, April 1894 and May 1894. This explains, now, Streich's movement over to the General Synod. The General Synod's German paper took the occasion of Streich's defection to criticize the strict Lutheranism of the General Council. Ibid., May 1893. Later, when Streich did not receive the hoped for financial support from the General Synod, he returned to the General Council, becoming a member of the Canada Synod (as were the other missionaries) but not receiving financial support from the German Home Mission Committee. Siloah, May 1894 and November 1895. Later, he left the Lutheran ministry altogether, and the President of the Canada Synod sent public notice that he was not to be recognized as a Lutheran pastor in congregations within the discipline of the Canada Synod. Ibid., February 1897.

<sup>54</sup> See the Nordwesten, 16 October 1891 which noted that Mr. Jacobsen was leaving the city "jedenfalls fuer immer . . . Die Ursache seiner so ploetzlichen Abreise ist unbekannt."

<sup>55</sup> Siloah, February 1893.

<sup>56</sup> All of the General Council missionaries considered Riedle to be a "gewissenslose[r] Landagent," who had brought in the Missouri Synod for his own interests. Siloah, March 1893.

began work in the Langenburg area, the people apparently having been promised church and school without cost to themselves<sup>57</sup>; and he established congregations at Landestreu and Hoffenthal.<sup>58</sup>

#### B. Heavy Immigration.

Even as the German Lutheran Gemeinden were struggling toward achieving a satisfactory degree of spiritual and material stability, the years 1891 through 1894 saw a very heavy immigration of German Lutherans, predominantly from Russia.<sup>59</sup> There the government was making felt the heavy hand of Russification, now also in the interior. The pages

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<sup>57</sup> See *ibid.*, January 1891.

<sup>58</sup> See *ibid.* and Threinen, A Sower Went Out, p. 18.

<sup>59</sup> See the Nordwesten, 8 May 1891, 15 May 1891, 30 October 1891; and Siloah, August 1892, June 1893, January 1894 and May 1894.

The sources, in general, emphasize the immigration from Russia although one can not say for certain that the actual number during this particular period was higher than that of immigrants coming from Galicia and all other points of origin. Indeed, there is evidence that some immigrants immediately "from Russia" originated in Galicia. In the Grenfell District, note is made of Germans from Russia, originally from Galicia, who had moved again because they felt in Russia they could not maintain their German nationality. Der Nordwesten, 8 July 1892. The Rev. H. Heinemann (Drayton Valley, Alberta), whose great-grandfather functioned as a Lehrer in the Grenfell District (See Siloah, September 1891) notes that his ancestor was born in southwest Germany; moved to Galicia as a young man; moved then later to Russia; and finally, in the late 1880's, immigrated to Canada. Interview, March 1, 1991.

of the Nordwesten indicate again and again the restriction of German in the schools, the violation of civil rights,<sup>60</sup> and the building up of military tension between Russia and Germany.<sup>61</sup> As well, both the Nordwesten and the church papers frequently carried articles on the famine which was occurring in Russia and sometimes combined the themes of famine and hatred against the Germans as, for example, in one story where the Nordwesten reports concerning a mob which held the Germans morally responsible for the famine and attacked a settlement, killing several people and burning several houses.<sup>62</sup> In the face of these conditions, immigration into Winnipeg was heavy and was reported to be mostly on account of discrimination against religion and nationality.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> At least what would be considered normal in the United States and Canada. See 27 February 1891 for Russian controls over home-schooling and the entering of houses to confiscate material.

In January of 1892 the Nordwesten stated that the situation was such that it appeared that the Russian treatment of the Jews was soon to be carried out on the Germans. 29 January. We note, as well, articles on banishment to Siberia, life in a Russian prison, and the dangers of speaking one's mind on subjects such as the Tsar, his government, or the Russian Orthodox Church. See 24 June 1892 and 8 July 1892.

<sup>61</sup> 24 April 1891 and 12 February 1892.

<sup>62</sup> 15 January 1891.

<sup>63</sup> From M. Ruccius in the spring of 1893: "Die deutsche Einwanderung im Monat April was sehr stark, die meisten kamen aus Russland. Kaum einer von diesen hat dasselbe um wirtschaftlichen Missstandes verlassen, sondern alle nur um der Bedraengnisse willen, die sie wegen ihrer Religion und Nationalitaet zu erleiden haben." Siloah, June 1893. Also,

A conservative estimate for the number of German Lutherans immigrating into the Prairies during the years 1891-94 is about 5,000.<sup>64</sup> This would bring the total to about triple the number present at the end of 1890.<sup>65</sup>

In general terms, these immigrants tended to expand the existing Gemeinden, and, then, when the land there was spoken for, to form new ones, often only a short distance away in places which had recent access to rail transportation.<sup>66</sup> In the years 1891-4, they settled in the following areas: The Brokenhead and Gladstone-Tupper areas in Manitoba;<sup>67</sup> a further extension of the northwest of Langenburg in the direction of the Prince Albert;<sup>68</sup> the area around Rosthern, Saskatchewan;<sup>69</sup> Calgary, Alberta;<sup>70</sup> the area just south of Edmonton; and Wetaskiwin and south to the

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from Pastor Ruccius in the January issue of Siloah, "Die Lage unserer deutschen Glaubensgenossen in Russland scheint immer trauriger zu werden. Wollen sie nicht ihren Glauben und ihre deutsche Nationalitaet aufgeben oder verleugnen, so ist die Auswanderung nach Amerika die einzige Rettung."

<sup>64</sup> See Appendix VIII.

<sup>65</sup> See also Appendix VII.

<sup>66</sup> See Siloah, May 1892 and November 1892.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., October 1894.

<sup>68</sup> See the Nordwesten, 15 April 1892 and 6 May 1892. However, one should note that many people were also moving out of the northeastern Assiniboia area. See Siloah, July 1893 and January 1894.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., April 1896.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., July 1891 and May 1896.

Battle River, also in Alberta.<sup>71</sup> By the summer of 1894, the new Moravian colony at Bruederheim, Alberta was also well underway although under difficult circumstances.<sup>72</sup> We mention the Moravian colony because many in the colony were Lutherans from Volhynia; it was served for a time by Pastor Pempeit; its founder, Andreas Lilge, became a Lutheran pastor; and a Lutheran congregation was eventually formed there along with the Moravian one.<sup>73</sup>

In the face of such heavy immigration, the constant appeal from the missionaries in the field was for more help. And the German Home Mission Committee responded with what appears to be the limits of its ability. The major limitation was financial; for again and again the cry went out from Siloah that the treasury was empty.<sup>74</sup> The Committee was only barely able to pay their missionaries on time.<sup>75</sup> Further, the Committee reported that a substantial number of persons had reported in for service in the Northwest but the Committee was not able to place them for lack of funds.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., October 1892 and November 1892 and the Nordwesten, 13 May 1892.

<sup>72</sup> Vitt, pp. 60f..

<sup>73</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 56 and 115-16.

<sup>74</sup> Siloah, June 1891, March 1894, May 1894 and June 1894.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., June 1891, May 1894 and February 1895.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., April 1895.

Thus, by 1894, the General Council had made only modest progress in providing a Lutheran ministry for the Northwest. By 1891, Pastor Emil Berthold had finally filled the Langenburg vacancy. The following year, Pastor Martin Ruccius, also from the Missionshaus in Berlin came to the Dreieinigkeitskirche in Winnipeg.<sup>77</sup> And in the year 1893 Pastor Wilhelm Willing from the Breklum Seminary (also in the Province of Schleswig) began his ministry in Gretna, taking on responsibility for the whole area of southern Manitoba.<sup>78</sup> Yet, although the number of clergy had doubled, the number of members in congregations had more than doubled.<sup>79</sup> Further, by 1894, the number of German Lutherans in the Northwest (including those not gathered into

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<sup>77</sup> See *ibid.*, September 1892 and April 1893.

<sup>78</sup> See *ibid.*, July 1893.

<sup>79</sup> A report in the May 1891 issue of Siloah indicates that in early 1891, 1,198 persons had been gathered into German Lutheran congregations. This was about one-half of the German Lutherans in the Prairie region. (See our estimate of this latter in Appendix VII.) By 1894, those listed as members of Lutheran congregations totaled 2,549. *Ibid.*, July 1894.

In the early years, Siloah carried an interesting statistical form which appears to have been discontinued after 1892. The first two categories were: a) "Seelenzahl der deutsch-luth. Ansiedler," followed by b) "Wie viele derselben halten sich zur Gemeinde resp. Predigt?" Early reports from two of the three missionaries (apparently these are the two who filed the form) indicate that in the very first years the missionaries were able to gather about 75-80% of the German Lutheran settlers into their (Kirchen)gemeinden. See December 1891 and November 1892. The discrepancy between this figure and our estimate of one-half for the Prairie region is easily explained by the fact that there were only three missionaries for the whole region and some areas were not covered at all.

congregations) was about 7,500, far more than double the number in 1891.<sup>80</sup>

### C. The Missouri Synod's Lack of Success.

Still, the period 1891 to 1894 did not see any pronounced success on the part of the Missouri Synod. The congregation in Winnipeg remained tiny.<sup>81</sup> Although the Minnesota-Dakota District did place a second man in the Langenburg area, establishing a congregational presence in Hoffenthal and Landestreu, the pastor did not stay long. In the midst of a substantial exodus of settlers from this area (because of devastating frosts), this pastor also left, pronouncing that area of northeastern Assiniboia as being fit "only for wolves and bears."<sup>82</sup> When he left, his congregation returned to Pastor Berthold for pastoral services.<sup>83</sup> About that time, too, Land Agent Riedle also

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<sup>80</sup> The estimated number of immigrants, 5,000, added to the number of German Lutherans present in early 1891, 2,500. See Appendix VII.

<sup>81</sup> Siloah reports that after two years work, Pastor Buegel's congregation only counted some seven members. May 1893.

<sup>82</sup> Quote is from Wiegner, p. 33.

<sup>83</sup> Berthold's account: "Der 'Missouri' Prediger hatte die Leute der neu gebildeten 'Missouri' Gemeinde ueberredet, in eine neue waermere Gegend ueberzusiedeln. Der Grund dazu war wohl sein eigener Plan, nicht hier zu bleiben, dieweil es ihm auf der einsamen Prairie nicht zu gefallen schien.

left Canada for the state of Washington.<sup>84</sup> When, then, Pastor Buegel departed from Winnipeg,<sup>85</sup> the Missouri Synod was left, in early 1894, without any clergy presence in the Northwest at all.<sup>86</sup>

Thus by the spring of 1894, the General Council had expanded its Lutheran presence in the Northwest. The year before, Heinrich Schmieder had made a successful trip to congregations in the east, helping to finance church building and raise people's interest for the far-away Northwest mission.<sup>87</sup> Many of the more settled congregations now had Gemeindeschulen, notably Winnipeg, Langenburg, Stony Plain, and Gretna.<sup>88</sup> Also, Strassburg had developed an ad hoc arrangement with the public school which allowed for

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Nachdem er von den Leuten das Wort hatte: 'Wir gehen!' berichtete er an seine Synode: Die Leute gehen alle, was soll ich hier? Darauf folgte seine Abberufung. Nun bleiben aber die Leute doch hier. Nun sehen sie sich verlassen und kommen wieder zu uns." Siloah, October 1893.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., June 1893.

<sup>85</sup> The report of his leaving is in the January 1894 issue of Siloah.

<sup>86</sup> Minnesota und Dakota-Distrikt, Synodal-Bericht, 1894, p. 66.

<sup>87</sup> See Siloah, April 1893 und May 1893. Also Der Nordwesten, 20 January 1893 and 27 January 1893.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., April 1893, July 1893, November 1893 and May 1894. Also smaller places such as Rosenthal, Alberta; Friedensfeld, Manitoba; and Beresina und Landestreu, Saskatchewan. Ibid., July 1893, December 1893, May 1894 and April 1894.

German and religious schooling.<sup>89</sup>

Yet, although the whole of the Northwest was covered, from Gretna, Manitoba to Stony Plain, Alberta, it was but thinly covered. In three years, the number of clergy compared to German Lutheran settlers had actually decreased. Several areas were "open," that is, had only a bare minimum of pastoral service: Wetaskiwin, Calgary, Rosthern, and the whole area northward of Langenburg-Beresina. As well, all of southern Manitoba was too much for just one pastor in Gretna. Even though there was good will and a sincere effort on the part of a number of people in the General Council and even though the Lutheran church in the Northwest was still basically united (the influence of the Missouri Synod being present but minimal), the German Home Mission Committee was still not able to keep up with the large number of German Lutherans who had arrived by the mid-1890's.

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<sup>89</sup> H. Schmieder: "Eine besondere Freude ist es mir, dass auch in Strassburg fuer die Public School . . . ein Deutscher als Lehrer angestellt ist, der die Kinder ausser den Schulstunden im deutschen Lesen, Bibl. Geschichte und Katechismus unterrichtet." Ibid.

In 1895, Hugo Carstens was the German Officer for the Dominion Immigration Office in Winnipeg. In this report of the German "colonies" (outside the Mennonite Reserves of southern Manitoba and omitting people living in cities), he says that the public schools were well attended and that the colonists appeared eager for their children to learn English. However, he reports that there was "a general desire" that the children also "fully acquire their mother tongue," and he expresses the hope that the government would make the appropriate arrangements. In this report, Carstens does not mention the question of religion. Sessional Papers, 1896, vol. 10, #13, Part IV, p. 116.

D. The General Council Loses Control: 1894-96.

The inability of the General Council to provide adequate pastoral service to the new arrivals in western Canada proved fatal to Lutheran church unity in the region. The initial attempt of the Missouri Synod to establish an alternate Lutheran Church had never been a factor outside of Winnipeg and eastern Assiniboia. With the departure of Land Agent Riedle and the crop failures in northeastern Assiniboia, this ministry had all but collapsed. Still, church unity plus an ecclesiastical vacuum did not equal success for the General Council either. In the period from the spring of 1894 to the end of 1896, the German Home Missions was not able to increase the number of clergy at all. In fact, the only real improvement which it was able to make was to bring one irregular situation (that of Neudorf, Saskatchewan, served by Pastor Streich, now of the Canada Synod, but not under the support of the Committee) into some at least temporary order.<sup>90</sup> A resident pastoral ministry was added for the Wetaskiwin area in Alberta but was lost in the Langenburg area.<sup>91</sup> Beyond this, what occurred was mostly a shifting of personnel.

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<sup>90</sup> This occurred in 1896 when Pastor Streich was followed by Pastor Ewald Herrmann who worked under the authority of the Committee. See *ibid.*, October 1896 and November 1896.

<sup>91</sup> See *ibid.*, June 1895, January 1897 and June 1897.

Given the loose ecclesiastical situation, the variety of religious backgrounds of the immigrants, and the hardship and personal instability experienced by them and the chronic potential for conflict in the settlements, it was not long before the Missouri Synod was able to return, this time to establish an enduring presence.

In Winnipeg, Pastor Buegel was replaced by the Reverend Ernst Stark.<sup>92</sup> In the Langenburg area, the Missouri ministry was rebegun by Pastor Carl Geith.<sup>93</sup> In the Stony Plain area, serious quarreling occurred in the parish of the overburdened Pastor Pempeit. In an argument over where to relocate the new schoolhouse-church, the contention became so serious that the losing side found themselves excommunicated.<sup>94</sup> They apparently appealed to higher officials of the General Council; but, given the distance

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<sup>92</sup> Threinen, A Sower Went Out, p. 19.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>94</sup> See Albert H. Schwermann, "The Life and Times of Emil E. Eberhardt, Pioneer Missionary of Alberta and British Columbia" in Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly 34 (January 1962), p. 99.

A report prior to the controversy and printed in the March 1893 issue of Siloah, is interesting. Here Pempeit writes: "Es ist naemlich hier in der Kolonie ein Mann, der in St. Louis Hausdiener gewesen sein soll. Im Fruehjahr 1891 kam er hierher. Hoechstwahrscheinlich wurde er von den Missouriern hergesandt; denn er versucht auf jede Weise mich und die Leute den Missouriern zuzufuehren. Es kam so weit, dass er aus der Gemeinde ausgeschlossen werden musste. . . .

Der Mann aus St. Louis steht ganz allein. . . . Bis jetzt hat er gottlob der Gemeinde keinen Schaden thun koennen. . . . Es scheint, als sei der Mann als Spion hierhergesandt worden; doch habe ich das natuerlich nicht erfahren koennen."

involved, received, not surprisingly, little satisfaction.<sup>95</sup> Thus, through a contact in Edmonton, they turned to the Missouri Synod which responded in the person of the Rev. F. H. Eggers, stationed in Montana.<sup>96</sup> This gentleman, after also talking with Pastor Pempeit, found, also not surprisingly, the excommunicated party to be unjustly excommunicated, and he promised to send them a pastor.<sup>97</sup> Thus arrived in the summer of 1894 the Reverend Emil Eberhardt who was to have one of the most outstanding Lutheran ministries in western Canada.<sup>98</sup> In this unwished for manner, Reverend Pempeit was relieved of a portion of his pastoral responsibility and yet was saddled with overwhelming distances for what remained. This latter problem was alleviated considerably by the arrival in March of 1895 of Pastor Friedrich Bredlow who had been an experienced member of the confessionally conservative Wisconsin Synod<sup>99</sup> but who had presented himself to the

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<sup>95</sup> Schwermann, pp. 99-100.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>98</sup> This is the general theme of the Schwermann article. The St. Matthaues Gemeinde, Stony Plain produced a well-known parochial school which survived an Alberta government attempt to close it in the early 1920's. Ibid., pp. 114f.. Later, Eberhardt was a key figure in the founding of Concordia College, Edmonton. Ibid., pp. 117ff..

<sup>99</sup> Siloah, June 1895. The Wisconsin Synod had been a member of the General Council in its early days but had withdrawn and by 1895 was with the Missouri Synod in the Synodical Conference. See Suelflow and Nelson, "Following

German Home Mission Committee and since together they found themselves in agreement on matters of doctrine and practice, Bredlow was sent to work in the Northwest, in the Wetaskiwin area.<sup>100</sup>

In the meantime, ecclesiastical competition was coming from still another quarter. In Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Moravian<sup>101</sup> officials were working in 1895 and 1896 to reclaim the loyalty of the inhabitants of the Moravian colony at Bruederheim which had begun under Elder Andreas Lilje in 1894 as well as a substantial settlement of Moravians in a recently opened Indian Reserve just south of Edmonton.<sup>102</sup> Bredlow had barely gotten a good start in the area south of Edmonton when he came into conflict with the Moravian pastor. They had a face to face confrontation in front of the congregation where the Moravian missionary was accused of intruding into an area without call and of lacking confessional integrity.<sup>103</sup> This latter the Moravian

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the Frontier," p. 248 and Fevold, pp. 321 and 346ff..

<sup>100</sup> Siloah, June 1895. Bredlow had come from Germany and had originally received training as a deacon at the Rauhe Haus in Hamburg. Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> The Moravians' congregation in German is called a Bruedergemeinde which should not be confused with the Bruederschaft from Russia. The distinction (and relationship) is made clear in Eisenach, pp. 37ff. and 69ff..

<sup>102</sup> See Vitt, pp. 46, 77 and 94.

<sup>103</sup> The complaint of the Lutherans, indeed, since the days of Muehlenberg and Zinzendorf in Pennsylvania, was that the Moravians posed as Lutherans to the Lutherans and as

missionary apparently admitted saying that he would not concern himself with the confession; his ministry sought to have ties with "all of God's children."<sup>104</sup> Pastor Bredlow stated that those who wished to leave the Lutheran Church and his service were, of course, free to do so; and apparently some did.<sup>105</sup>

For the Missouri Synod, the period of 1894-96 was one of slow but solid growth. Basically, Pastor Eberhardt developed and cultivated the centre at Stony Plain, giving careful attention to setting up a Gemeindeschule.<sup>106</sup> By 1896, his Gemeinde there numbered well over 100 persons.<sup>107</sup> He also tried working in the surrounding area: in Edmonton, Beaver Hills and on down south of Edmonton; and in 1896 received help in the form of a pastor assigned to work these points outside of Stony Plain. This person, however, only stayed for a year.<sup>108</sup>

Further east, both Pastors Geith and Stark in the

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Reformed to the Reformed. The editor of Siloah is not slow to compare the ecclesiastical situation in the Northwest to that at the time of Muehlenberg. April 1896.

104 Ibid.

105 Ibid., June 1896 and September 1896.

106 Schwermann, p. 103.

107 Ibid., p. 105.

108 Ibid., and John E. Herzer, Homesteading for God. A Story of the Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) in Alberta and British Columbia. 1894-1946 (Edmonton: 1946), pp. 16-17.

Langenburg area<sup>109</sup> and Winnipeg had began a solid building, both putting considerable effort into their Gemeindeschulen.<sup>110</sup> Both were to stay at their posts for a meaningful length of time, Stark until 1898, and Geith, until 1902.<sup>111</sup> A fifth Missouri Synod pastor entered the field in the Neudorf area, making, however, only a small beginning with fourteen families.<sup>112</sup> By the year 1896, the Missouri Synod in western Canada had recovered from a low point of not even 100 persons at the end of 1893 to a total membership of about 800 in 1896.<sup>113</sup>

One can speak of only limited progress on the part of the General Council in the years 1894-96. In Alberta, Pastors Pempeit and Bredlow had (together) 8-900 persons under their pastoral care at the end of 1896 compared to

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<sup>109</sup> Now, in addition to Landestreu and Hoffenthal, also Beresina.

<sup>110</sup> See Threinen, "A Sower Went Out," p. 24. The Missouri Synod considered that the establishment of a Gemeindeschule was essential to a healthy Gemeindeleben. Der Lutheraner, 9 June 1891. The necessity of Gemeindeschulen was repeated as a theme for the Minnesota and Dakota District meeting in 1895. See Synodal-Bericht, p. 9.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-31.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>113</sup> The figure of 800 is interpolated from Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1897, pp. 48-49, together with N. Threinen's statement in A Sower Went Out regarding the Neudorf (Mo. Synod) congregation which he says had 14 families in 1896. p. 21. For 1897, the total in Statistisches Jahrbuch is 1,008 with the Neudorf mission at 184 members.

Pempeit's total (alone) of 650 in 1894.<sup>114</sup> Pastor Willing's situation in Gretna, Manitoba improved somewhat, but progress was tempered by the development of the new town of Altona and the transfer of some of his members there.<sup>115</sup> Also, the good southern Manitoba harvests of 1894 and 1895 did not benefit his members too much since they were mostly farm workers and not land owners.<sup>116</sup> Pastor Berthold left Langenburg for the east for the purpose of raising funds; however, he ended up in the German Hospital in Philadelphia for treatment of an eye ailment, and not much was said later about his success in fund raising.<sup>117</sup>

Of all the Gemeinden, the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde in Winnipeg seems to show the most steady progress toward viability. Pastor Ruccius repeatedly reports a quiet time and gives thanks for "golden [and] noble peace."<sup>118</sup> He notes with some satisfaction the reduction of debt on the church building which appeared to be coming to within manageable proportions.<sup>119</sup> In 1896 he notes that over half of the school age children in his congregation are attending

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<sup>114</sup> Siloah, January 1897 and July 1894.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, October 1895 and April 1896.

<sup>116</sup> See Siloah, October 1894, October 1895, and October 1896.

<sup>117</sup> See *ibid.*, March 1896, May 1896 and July 1896.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1896 and January 1897.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, February 1896 and January 1897.

the Gemeindeschule and that the congregation<sup>120</sup> had employed a German teacher from Russia to do this work so that he could be freed to do the normal day-to-day pastoral work.<sup>121</sup>

But perhaps the hardest blow, psychologically, to the General Council's mission work occurred later in 1896. This was in the stable, but poor Edenwald Gemeinde<sup>122</sup> where finally, after living through three failed harvests and then experiencing two decent ones, Pastor Schmieder resigned his pastorate there.<sup>123</sup> Schmieder did not fully give his reasons for resigning, mentioning the need for pastoral collegiality, the future education of his sons, and "other still more weighty matters."<sup>124</sup> He carefully saw to his successor, installing Pastor Willing himself.<sup>125</sup> On his last Sunday in Edenwald, he preached on Philippians 1:3-11, and the congregation, greatly moved, presented him with a monetary gift which they had gathered.<sup>126</sup>

Schmieder returned temporarily to Winnipeg.<sup>127</sup> His

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., January 1897. Actually, it was a special group of the fathers in the Gemeinde. Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., December 1896 and January 1897.

<sup>122</sup> In 1890 Edenwald had been the largest German colony outside of Manitoba. Der Nordwesten, 21 November 1890.

<sup>123</sup> Siloah, October 1896.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., October 1896. See also below note 129.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., January 1897.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., December 1896.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid., January 1897.

family joined the family of Heinrich Bruegmann who resigned as the editor of the Nordwesten, selling his part to Hugo Carstens, who had been active in directing the settlement of the colonies.<sup>128</sup> Together, Schmieder and Bruegmann headed west and south ending up in southern California where together they purchased the Sued-California Deutsche Zeitung.<sup>129</sup> Two years later, Juergen Harbs joined the two, selling his share of the Nordwesten and leaving Gustav Koermann and Hugo Carstens as joint owners.<sup>130</sup>

In their 1896 report on the German Missions, the Home Mission Committee went to great lengths to:

- a. note the problems in the Northwest mission and trace much of their cause back to resistance from "certain parties" within the General Council itself
- and b. defend the "success" of the mission in a basic Christian sense, pointing out the large number of people who were being served by the sacrifice of a relative few.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Der Nordwesten, 29 April 1914. Carstens had taken over the post of H. Jacobsen in 1892. Ibid., 19 February 1892.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 29 April 1914. At the time, Bruegmann was apparently suffering from ill-health (ibid.), and this may have been one of the "weighty matters" to which Schmieder alludes as a cause for his leaving.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., Actually, Harbs was joining Bruegmann as he bought Pastor Schmieder's part of the California paper. Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Siloah, January 1897. One example of worthwhile work in an area where, seen only externally, one might consider there to be a failure is in the Langenburg area. From the diary of the long-suffering Pastor Berthold, December of 1891 and reprinted in the February 1892 issue of Siloah: "Mehr und mehr finden sich manche, welche bisher unsrer lieben Kirche entfremdet waren und in den Stricken

The German Home Mission Committee, at the same time, warned of the coming trial because of the great responsibility which they had to both missionaries and the members of the Gemeinden. It had not been possible to pay all of the missionaries for the last quarter of 1896.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, of all the six congregations with resident pastors, only one was able to make a substantial contribution to its pastor's salary and that only partially.<sup>133</sup>

The departure of Heinrich Schmieder and Heinrich Bruegmann marks the end of an important era, albeit a short one, in the history of German Lutherans in western Canada. The attempt to set up a sound, workable structure to encourage and guide German Lutherans into potentially viable Gemeinden (and to develop the same) had only limited success. Schmieder himself, beginning at the spot crucial for guiding the immigration, Winnipeg, and early relocating to a large (and promising) German colony in the centre of the region, found himself and his Gemeinde severely limited by the consequences of initial poverty and prolonged

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des Materialismus und Atheismus gefangen lagen, wieder zu den Gottesdiensten ein."

<sup>132</sup> Ibid., January 1897.

<sup>133</sup> The report of the Home Mission Committee says "to our knowledge" only one. Ibid. From comments in various reports this most likely was the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde (See *ibid.*, February 1896, April 1896, and September 1896.) although another possibility might have been the Neudorf Gemeinde. See *ibid.*, December 1896.

drought.

For profound underlying reasons which we shall explore in the next chapter, the General Council had found itself unable to keep pace with the immigration as it had developed in the decade of the 1890's. As well, by 1890, the Missouri Synod (for related reasons which we also discuss in the next chapter) had become strongly competitive with the General Council. Thus, given the ecclesiastical vacuum, the Missouri Synod had remained persistent in its attempt to work in the Canadian Prairie region. In this it was finally successful, and by 1896 had a minority but firmly established presence, literally from one end of the region to the other. This divided church situation was now a fact of life and would be a dominant feature in the development of the Lutheran Church and German Lutheran Gemeinden up to the First World War.

## CHAPTER X

### A DIVIDED CHURCH IN WESTERN CANADA: 1897-1904.

The period of 1897-1904 saw a resumption of heavy immigration into western Canada. In this context, the Missouri Synod continued to build on its solid congregational base; and the General Council, although increasing in absolute numbers, continued to lose its former position of ecclesiastical dominance in the region. This chapter describes these phenomena and then analyzes the underlying causes of the General Council's chronic weakness in western Canada.

The departure of Heinrich Schmieder and Heinrich Bruegmann and the firm establishment of the Missouri Synod marks a new period in German Lutheran development in the Northwest. Now, the fact of Lutheran competition, an utterly foreign notion to immigrants from Russia and Austria-Hungary,<sup>1</sup> had become a permanent feature of German<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> But perhaps to a lesser extent to Lutherans from Germany. Here, the vast majority of Gemeinden appear to have been ordered within the State system with theological

Lutheran life on the Prairies. With the stable ministries of Eberhardt (Stony Plain),<sup>3</sup> Geith (Langenburg),<sup>4</sup> and Stark (Winnipeg),<sup>5</sup> several Gemeinden became Missouri Synod strongholds.<sup>6</sup> Other areas remained firmly with the General

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controversy occurring at the university level. However, there was a free church alternative developing in some areas. e.g., see Der Lutheraner, 30 August 1892; Siloah, January 1884 and March 1895, and February 1899.

In the United States, synodical competition and doctrinal controversy had been rampant since the early 19th century. However, the Lutheran church had developed in such a manner that some synods had a relative dominance in a specific area and cooperated with synods in other areas, thus preserving a degree of peace on a congregational level. See Fevold, pp. 258ff. and examples in Siloah, February 1899 and May 1911.

<sup>2</sup> And not only German Lutheran. Among the Icelanders in Manitoba, the religious controversy in New Iceland (1877ff.) mirrored issues faced by German Lutherans as the Missouri Synod affiliated Thorlakson contended with the more liberal, Icelandic State-church oriented Bjarnason. See W. Kristjanson, The Icelandic People in Manitoba (Winnipeg: Wallingford Press, 1965), pp. 64ff..

<sup>3</sup> See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1897, pp. 48-9. By 1903, the name Hoffnungsau is no longer in the Minutes, and the General Council "Stony Plain" has become "Spruce Grove." Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1900, p. 10 and 1903 (typescript), p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Specifically, in the Langenburg area, the Missouri Synod Gemeinden were Beresina, Hoffental and Landestreu. Minnesota und Dakota Distrikt, Synodal-Bericht, 1894, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Because of its larger size and cosmopolitan character, city is a different concept than a place-Gemeinde and in the context of this discussion is not considered "split" because it contains two competing church communities. However, in fact, a strong Gemeindeschule in Winnipeg was split by ecclesiastical competition. See Chapter XI, p. 332 and note 54.

<sup>6</sup> In 1906 the Langenburg area Gemeinden and the Winnipeg Gemeinde were listed as "zur Synode gehoerend." These were 4 out of 6 with that status. At that time 30 were listed as "noch nicht zur Synode gehoerend."

Council.<sup>7</sup> Still others became utterly split: the place-community being not only mixed between Lutheran and perhaps another denomination (Moravian or Baptist) but also split between two German Lutheran congregations.<sup>8</sup>

With this profound change in the shape of church ministry, our treatment of the topic shall also change. Whereas the Gemeinde-formation in the pre-1896 period can be seen as determined by a few notable individuals either working together (or, contrary-wise, working against each other), the period after 1896 and up to the First World War came to be characterized, not only by permanent division on the territory, but also by a much larger number of people: by masses of immigrants and also by a much larger number of clergy. Most of these clergy, however, had relatively brief periods of ministry in western Canada. With regard to the clergy, the whole period was marked by a profound

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Statistisches Jahrbuch, pp. 74-76. Stony Plain appears to have achieved Synod Gemeinde status only in 1913, in spite of the fact that in 1906, it shows the largest membership total of any congregation for that year. See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1906, pp. 74-5; 1912, p. 82; and 1913, p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> e.g., communities such as Friedensfeld and Gretna, Manitoba and Lutherhort (Ellerslie), Alberta, and until 1905, the city congregation in Winnipeg. See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1900, pp. 9-11.

<sup>8</sup> For 1900, in Edenwald: "die Haelfte der Gemeindeglieder [haben sich] der Missouri-Synode angeschlossen." Another example is in Neudorf. See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1900, pp. 10-11 and Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1900, p. 51.

instability and a constant shifting of persons.<sup>9</sup>

There were exceptions, the most outstanding of these for the 1897-1914 era being Pastor Georg Gehrke. Gehrke came to Winnipeg in 1905 and was without question the force behind the phenomenal growth of the Ohio Synod. He remained in the region up to the close of our period of study, since he died in 1915.<sup>10</sup>

The second individual who was a significant force in shaping events among German Lutherans was Pastor Martin Ruccius. Ruccius was not in the first group of pioneer clergy; but, his arrival was still quite early, in 1892, when he replaced Pastor Streich in Winnipeg. Ruccius' colleague, Juergen Goos, arrived later, in 1903;<sup>11</sup> and, with Ruccius, he founded the first Lutheran Seminary on the territory (1913).<sup>12</sup> He also remained on into the First World War.<sup>13</sup> Yet the case of Ruccius as influential personality is, indeed, the exception proving the rule. Of the seven missionaries serving in the Canadian Prairie region in 1892, only two, Ruccius and Pempeit, were still

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<sup>9</sup> Below, pp. 293ff..

<sup>10</sup> Fricke, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1903 (typescript), p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Known thus, because it became a seminary, the institution was originally a only a College and belonged to the Manitoba Synod. Details are in the following chapter.

<sup>13</sup> Ruccius, p. 18.

there in 1914.<sup>14</sup> Of the ten missionaries serving in that field in 1897,<sup>15</sup> only three, Ruccius, Pempeit and Eberhardt (of Stony Plain), were still there seventeen years later, in 1914.<sup>16</sup> This is out of a clergy presence in all synods at that latter date of more than one hundred persons.<sup>17</sup>

Another way of viewing the unstable nature of the clergy presence is to note the fact that of the thirteen clergymen serving in the year 1900 only four would still be in the same parish in 1904.<sup>18</sup>

Given this constant shifting of clergy personnel in the territory and that large mass of recent immigrants, one must, not neglecting the few persons who were influential,

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<sup>14</sup> For the pastors present on the territory in 1892, see our Chapter IX and Wiegner, p. 16. For those still there in 1914, see Ruccius, pp. 24 and 30 and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 81-87.

<sup>15</sup> For the General Council missionaries present in 1897, see below, pp. 283f.. For the Missouri Synod pastors, see Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1897, pp. 48-9.

<sup>16</sup> See Ruccius, pp. 24 and 30 and Schwermann, p. 113.

<sup>17</sup> Added from parochial reports. Ohio Synod: 46 less one in North Dakota. Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1914, pp. 3-4. Missouri Synod: 55 less one (Sillak working mostly with Estonians and Latvians). Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 81-87. Manitoba Synod: 31 less one in North Dakota. Manitoba Synod, Verhandlungen, 1913. pp. 24-28.

<sup>18</sup> Missouri was more stable than Manitoba in this regard. Here it was three out of five. See Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, pp. 62ff.; and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1901, p. 59 and 1904, pp. 62-3.

Of the eight Manitoba Synod parishes in 1900, only one, that of Bruederheim, Alberta, still had the same pastor in 1904. See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1900, pp. 9-10; 1901 (typescript), p. 26; 1903 (typescript), pp. 40 and 42; 1904 (typescript), p. 57; and 1905 (typescript), p. 71.

still look beyond them to doctrine, church policy, demographic trends and ideology in accounting for the development of the Gemeinde in western Canada.

#### A. The Return of Heavy Immigration.

Without any apparent causal connection, it turns out that Pastor Schmieder and Heinrich Bruegmann left just at that very time when the Northwest was about to undergo intensive development. The year was 1896 and the occasion was the election of Wilfrid Laurier as Prime Minister. Shortly after his election, Laurier appointed Clifford Sifton to be Minister of the Interior. Sifton pursued an aggressive policy of encouraging the immigration of farmers from eastern Europe. At the same time, the government of Canada actively sought to recruit farmers from the United States, where good land appeared to be getting more scarce, to come to Prairie Canada, "the last, best, West." This new policy, together with the specific economic factors of low interest rates and a rise in world grain prices, had an effect on German Lutheran immigration, along with its effect on other groups in Eastern Europe and the United States.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See Vernon C. Fowke, The National Policy and the Wheat Economy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 70ff.. Also, Robert Craig Brown and Ramsey Cook, Canada: 1896-1921 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 51. For an indication of the many-fold increase in immigration

By this time, German Lutheran communities, together with other German religious groups, had been established from one end of the Prairies to the other.<sup>20</sup> Although many people had a degree of poverty, by now, a considerable number of others were fairly well established, even well off.<sup>21</sup>

Political conditions in Russia had improved somewhat by 1897 since the rule of Nicholas II was initially somewhat more friendly to Russia-Germans;<sup>22</sup> yet discrimination was certainly not gone.<sup>23</sup> The continuing negative attitude toward Germans in Russia and Galicia,<sup>24</sup> together with the renewed recruitment effort and the fact that a substantial

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both from the United States and also Slavic immigration during the period 1900-1913, see *ibid.*, pp. 61 and 63.

<sup>20</sup> Calgary, however, did not receive a resident pastor until after the turn of the century. See Minnesota and Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1901, pp. 65-6 and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1901, pp. 58-9.

<sup>21</sup> For examples of the contrast, see Siloah, July and October 1896 and March 1897 where some members in the Prairies badly needed the second-hand clothing donated from Lutherans in the eastern United States. But in Siloah, November 1898 one also finds the example of members who had come to considerable affluence and who were able to make their Gemeinde self-supporting.

<sup>22</sup> See Giesinger, p. 152.

<sup>23</sup> For an expression of hope for better conditions under the new Tsar, see Siloah, October 1897. However, for a caution that this hope might not be realized, see Der Lutheraner, 6 April 1897.

<sup>24</sup> In Galicia, the negative attitude continued, but by the first decade of the 20th century the desire to immigrate into Canada had diminished somewhat because of competition from Prussia and the special efforts of Germans in Galicia to defend their own culture. See Alberta Herold, 15 February 1907 and our pp. 202ff..

number of relatives had now settled in Canada meant that the strong tide of immigration in the Sifton years would also bring in a substantial number of German Lutherans.

The "tide" began only slowly. 1897 itself was one of the weakest years for German immigration in general.<sup>25</sup> Yet 1898 shows a rise; and by 1901, German immigration was as high as in the heavy years of 1892-1894.<sup>26</sup> By 1902, the numbers had far surpassed those of the 1892-94 era.<sup>27</sup>

The census figures for 1901 (interpolated) show about 13,500 people of German ethnic origin calling themselves Lutheran.<sup>28</sup> This is an increase of over 5-fold from the number in 1891.<sup>29</sup> Relative to the total Prairie population,

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<sup>25</sup> The number of Germans for 1897 (Winnipeg office) was only 520 persons. Sessional Papers, vol. 10, # 13, Part IV, p. 169. Siloah, in 1896, reported a mid-century "congress" of representatives from the Northwest which met with Interior Minister Daly to try to increase the number of immigrants. At this conference, Daly declared the German and Scandinavians to be highly desired among the immigrants. Wilhelm Hespeler was a leading promotor of the congress which had as one of its goals the freeing up of additional land for homesteading which the railroads had tied up. May 1896.

<sup>26</sup> See Sessional Papers, 1899, vol. 11, #13, p. 211 where the number for 1898 had risen to 998. For the year 1901, see Sessional Papers, 1902, vol. 10, #25, Part II, p. 112 and 1903, vol. 10, #25, Part II, p. 102.

<sup>27</sup> See *ibid.*, and Sessional Papers, 1904, vol. 10, #25, Part II, p. 117.

<sup>28</sup> Our actual calculations in Appendix II shows "ca. 13,403.

<sup>29</sup> See below, p. 394.

the number went from something over 1% to over 3%.<sup>30</sup> Within this context, both the Manitoba Synod and the Missouri Synod continued their (unfortunately, competitive) work in gathering people into and building up their German Lutheran communities, increasing their clergy by four-fold.<sup>31</sup> By 1901, after the considerable effort on the part of both church bodies, the percentage of German Lutheran immigrants (census) who had been integrated into German Lutheran (church) Gemeinden had improved, but still remained, by Eastern European German standards, fairly low, about 60%.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendices VII and II.

<sup>31</sup> The number of German Lutheran pastors serving in the territory (both synods) moved from five (late 1891, see pp. 239 and 251) to nineteen, thirteen of the General Council and six of the Missouri Synod. See General Council, Minutes, 1901, p. 170 and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1901, pp. 58-9. One of the missionaries listed in Statistisches Jahrbuch was part-time with respect to German Lutherans in the Prairie region but another pastor not listed under "Canada" in Statistisches Jahrbuch worked in the Calgary area out of Montana. Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1901, pp. 65-66.

<sup>32</sup> The report in the General Council Minutes, 1901, p. 170 indicates a total of 6-7000, apparently including a small number of people in North Dakota. The Missouri Synod indicates a membership of ca. 1,900. Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1901, pp. 58-9. However, it is possible that even by this time a significant number of German Lutheran immigrants were no longer even "census Lutherans" but may have gone over to German Baptist or other denominations.

## B. The Somber Founding of the Manitoba Synod.

The year 1897 as a beginning point for a new period in the history of German Lutherans is significant not only as the first year of the post-Schmieder era but because it also marks the beginning of the Manitoba Synod, officially the "Deutsche evangelisch lutherische Synode von Manitoba und den Nordwest Territorien."<sup>33</sup> The founding of a synod, and thus taking on certain ecclesiastical functions (especially the ordering and discipline of the pastoral ministry), would seem to indicate considerable progress in the mission field. However, the emergence of the Manitoba Synod occurred under rather different circumstances. The synod was born in profound weakness with only four pastors in attendance at its first meeting, namely Ruccius, Berthold, Pempeit and Willing.<sup>34</sup> Pastor Bredlow, who could not attend the meeting, joined as soon as contacted making the charter

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<sup>33</sup> In 1907 changed to "und anderen Provinzen." Title page of Verhandlungen, 1907 (typescript), and p. 12. (Page number assigned.) One should note that some slight variation occurs in the various title pages. e.g., two hyphens occur in 1900 ("evangelisch-lutherisch" and "Nordwest Territorien"). As well, we note that in 1898, the Committee's Report on the President's Report requested Synod President Ruccius to not simply call the Synod the Manitoba Synod as he was in the habit of doing, but include the part "Northwest Territories" so that "irritabilities not be aroused." (typescript), p. 12. However, with the above understandings, for the sake of brevity, we shall continue to call this ecclesiastical entity simply the "Manitoba Synod."

<sup>34</sup> Nord-West-Konferenz der ev. luth. Synode von Canada, Protokoll, 1897 (typescript), p. 4.

membership five.<sup>35</sup> But Pastor Herrmann declined membership.<sup>36</sup> Nor was the forming of the Manitoba Synod an enthusiastic attempt of newly Canadian pastors to exercise some independence from their American parent. Rather, the German Home Mission Board had for some years been trying to get their missionaries in the Northwest to form a synod simply because the ordering of the church from the State of New York or, alternately, from Ontario (the Canada Synod) was too difficult. This idea, however, had been repeatedly resisted by the missionaries in the Northwest since they were in such difficult financial straits.<sup>37</sup> Up to this point, they had been content to simply meet from time to time as a Conference.<sup>38</sup> However, in 1897, out of one of the Conference meetings, the Synod was formed. For better or worse--and, considering the immense distance and difficulty in maintaining popular interest in this far-away territory, ultimately for the better--the missionaries were now a part of a western Canadian ecclesiastical establishment, weak though it might have been. The future of this synod was still utterly dependent on the support of German Lutherans in the eastern United States, but the way was now open for a

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<sup>35</sup> Ruccius, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Siloah, August and October 1897.

<sup>38</sup> See Siloah, January 1893, December 1894 and October 1897.

more indigenous Canadian development.

C. The Continuing Steady Progress of Missouri.

The Missouri Synod began the year 1897 in the Prairies with a small, but fairly substantial establishment centered around Stony Plain in the west and Winnipeg<sup>39</sup> and Landestreu-Hoffenthal in the east.<sup>40</sup> The total membership at this point was relatively small, only about 1,000 persons, but half or more of the Gemeinden had a parochial school.<sup>41</sup> At this point in time they had no larger church structure in western Canada, simply the missionaries and congregations which were a northern extension of the Minnesota-Dakota District of the Missouri Synod.<sup>42</sup>

This set up had its advantages and disadvantages. The obvious advantage was that the strong church support was

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<sup>39</sup> The Winnipeg congregation was very small, having only 54 members in 1897. However, it formed a centre for a number of preaching points in rural Manitoba where the number of members was over three times as great. See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1897, pp. 48-9.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. and Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1900, pp. 50-1.

<sup>41</sup> See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1897, pp. 48-9. Note that Eberhardt's parochial school in Stony Plain was not listed for 1897, but is there for 1895 and 1901. Ibid., 1895, p. 49 and 1901, pp. 58-9.

<sup>42</sup> In Statistisches Jahrbuch the work in the Prairie region is simply listed as "Canada" within the "Minn- und Dak- District." pp. 48-9.

"only a border" away, not the 2,000 miles present in the case of the General Council. One might also consider, as well, that the people of the Minnesota-Dakota District would be much more familiar with the agrarian conditions in western Canada than the predominately urban population of the east, although there is evidence that for many midwest Americans as well, the myth of the frozen north was so strong as to defy all reason.<sup>43</sup> A further advantage that the proximity of the supporting body provided is that some of the immigration itself came from the northern United States and some of these people were already members of Missouri Synod congregations. This was a relative advantage in establishing new congregations where the people could remain in their own parent body.<sup>44</sup>

The progress of Missouri in filling obvious gaps in the field of the General Council was, at first, rather slow.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> e.g., see Freitag, p. 14; Schwermann, pp. 102f. and Fricke, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> In a report for the year 1900: "Im suedlichen Theil von Assiniboia, naemlich in der Umgegend von Dalesboro und Alameda, haben sich eine Anzahl Glaubensgenossen aus unsern Gemeinden in Detroit und Wyandotte, Mich., niederlassen. Es steht daher zu erwarten, dass der dorthin bestimmte Candidat einen guten Grundstock zu lutherischen Gemeinden schon vorfinden wird." Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1900, p. 51.

<sup>45</sup> We emphasize the open areas because the territory was seriously undermanned. However, an early mission report opines that the people in the region were confused and inconstant (wankelmuethig): "was bei dem schwachen Erkenntnisstandpunkt der allermeisten auch nicht sehr verwunderlich ist, zumal sie fortwaehrend von Sendboten des unionistischen Generalconcils beunruhigt und verwirrt, von

To the four general parishes present in 1897, two were added by 1901, that of Josephsburg, Assa. and Calgary, Alberta.<sup>46</sup> The Josephsburg parish, however, was only partially German Lutheran. It included some German people left from the 1890 exodus to Stony Plain, but, as well, a recent settlement of Latvians.<sup>47</sup> The pastor who took on this charge was J. Sillak who remained in Alberta for a long time and conducted a ministry to Latvians and Estonians scattered over the Prairies from Manitoba to Alberta.<sup>48</sup>

The second new area to be served (finally) by the Missouri Synod was Calgary, along with Pincher Creek. German Lutherans had been present in Calgary at least since 1891;<sup>49</sup> and in Pincher Creek, since the 1880's. In the latter case these people had gone ten years without a German church service. The group had originally come as that first settlement at Ossowa, Manitoba had dispersed.<sup>50</sup> Pastor Willing had first reached them on his travels in the mid-

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uns hingegen viel zu spaerlich bedient werden. Das Letztere wird nun mit Gottes Huelfe bald anders . . . werden." Ibid., pp. 50-1.

<sup>46</sup> See Herzer, pp. 19-20; Minnesota und Dakota, Synodal-Bericht, 1902, p. 45 and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1901, pp. 58-9.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.* and Herzer, p. 19.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20 and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1903, pp. 62-3. In 1903, Sillak even lists a preaching point of eight persons in North Dakota.

<sup>49</sup> Siloah, July 1891.

<sup>50</sup> See Siloah, December 1896 and Herzer, p. 18.

1890's.<sup>51</sup> Pastor Eberhardt had served them from time to time out of Stony Plain<sup>52</sup>, and a Missouri Synod pastor had also served them from time to time in his travels out of Montana.<sup>53</sup> However, not until 1901 was the Synod able to send a resident pastor to Calgary.

Calgary was destined to become one of the strongest areas for the Missouri Synod. By 1904 it was already the second largest Missouri Synod congregation in the region with 410 members.<sup>54</sup> Further, Calgary became important as a place for making contact with immigrants coming into Alberta from the United States.<sup>55</sup> As the first decade of the 20th century continued, the influx of German-Americans into the Canadian Prairies increased<sup>56</sup> and so did the efforts of the Missouri Synod. In addition to the above parishes, new ones were formed at Tupper,<sup>57</sup> Manitoba and Bismarck,<sup>58</sup> Alberta.

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<sup>51</sup> Siloah, December 1896.

<sup>52</sup> Herzer, pp. 18f..

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>54</sup> Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1904, pp. 62-3.

<sup>55</sup> See report of Mission Director Buenger in Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1901, pp. 65-6.

<sup>56</sup> Lehmann puts the number of Germans emigrating from the United States at about 15% of the total. pp. 90-1. Harold Troper says that a major motivation for ethnic farmers to move to Canada was the desire to see their children stay on the land and avoid the assimilation which was occurring in the cities of the United States. Only Farmers Need Apply (Toronto: Griffin House, 1972), pp. 40ff..

<sup>57</sup> Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1903, pp. 60-1.

By 1904, the Missouri Synod missionaries on the Prairies had a total of 16 Gemeinden and ca. 4500 persons under their pastoral care.<sup>59</sup> However, only three of the Gemeinden, those in northeastern Assiniboia, had been received into the Synod itself.<sup>60</sup> All of the other locations are noted as Gemeinden "not belonging to the Synod"<sup>61</sup> or as preaching points.<sup>62</sup> Over two-thirds of those locations noted as being

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<sup>58</sup> The Bismarck Gemeinde was located between the present day towns of Ponoka and Rimbey. It was rather small in numbers of people since the 1908 and 1912 Jahrbuecher indicate only 49 and 62 members, respectively. pp. 64 and 82, respectively. (The 1903 report can not be considered since it included 11 preaching points, for which Bismarck was apparently the residence centre. p. 61.) As well, the Jahrbuecher indicate a tiny pastor-led school with six to ten pupils. Although small, the Gemeinde appears to have been a rather cohesive Kirchengemeinde and place-community. The congregation was closed in the 1970's. (This latter information is a personal recollection of the author who received a number of the former members into the Lutheran congregation at Ponoka, Alberta.)

<sup>59</sup> From Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1904, pp. 62-3 and 123. The actual sum total is 4,586 after subtracting Latvian and Estonian congregations and some totals designated "Zuh[oerer]. Also one congregational "Seelenzahl" is missing but for purposes of calculation is interpolated from the number of communicants.

<sup>60</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 62-63 and 123.

<sup>61</sup> "Gemeinden: nicht zur Synode gehoerend."

<sup>62</sup> The Missouri Synod had strict qualifications for the acceptance of a Gemeinde into full membership, including the "Versorgung der Kinder der Gemeinde mit christlichem Schulunterricht." Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1904, pp. 10-11. This article was interpreted before the First World War as meaning the parochial school. See E. A. W. Krauss, "The Missouri Synod and Its Parochial School System (1847-1922)," translated by W. A. Dobberfuhl in W. H. T. Dau, ed., Ebenezer. Reviews of the Work of the Missouri Synod during Three Quarters of a Century (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1922), pp. 211ff..

Gemeinden are also noted as having a school although one of these has the designation of "religious instruction" which implies that in this case the other instruction was likely shared with the public system.<sup>63</sup>

D. The Difficult First Years of the Manitoba Synod: 1897-1904.

Although, in 1897, the founding of the Manitoba Synod came at a rather low point in the General Council's experience in the Northwest, the years immediately following were to bring about an even lower point. At the time of the synodical founding, the General Council had but six missionaries for the entire field of the Canadian Prairies. Five of these joined the newly formed synod; but the sixth, Ewald Herrmann in Neudorf, went over to the Missouri Synod.<sup>64</sup> It is not exactly clear why Herrmann had a falling out with his fellow General Council missionaries, but when it came time to leave, the confrontation which ended in his

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<sup>63</sup> See the President's Report in Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1897, pp. 9-10 for an objection to this state of things. The two-thirds figure is derived from Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1904, pp. 62-3 and 123. Omitted from the calculation is the school at Pincher Creek since the notations add "Mtl. engl. S.-S." Besides the Gemeinden, also some preaching points show the existence of a school, the nature of which is not clear.

<sup>64</sup> See Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1901, p. 64.

leaving touched on the weak point of the Home Mission Committee's work in the region: inadequate financial support.<sup>65</sup>

1897 also saw the resignation of the faithful and competent Johannes Nicum as editor of Siloah. Citing his responsibility as a director of Wagner College during difficult times, Nicum wanted to see the responsibility for Siloah and the Northwest Mission put into other hands. Thus the December of 1897 saw the editorship of Siloah move over to Pastors E. F. Moldehnke of New York City, J. J. Kuendig of Reading, Pennsylvania and J. W. Loch of Brooklyn, New York. With the return of Moldehnke to the editorship of Siloah the General Council was moving, belatedly, back to some of its original leadership in German Home Missions as Moldehnke himself expresses it:

At its last meeting the Mission Board elected us to be the editors of Siloah, in spite of our hesitation and doubt. One of us is a young man, but others of us are already at that time in life where one longs to set many a task upon younger shoulders . . . [However,] we have been called to work: therefore forward in the Name of Jesus! But now we must begin with debts and nothing besides sin do we hate as much as debts. What a difference from 16 years ago when we began Siloah! We were all joyful and enthusiastic and helpers came from everywhere; with one spirit the German missionary work was carried out. [But now] many fellow workers have

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<sup>65</sup> Herrmann wanted the Mission Board to finance his farm equipment which they refused to do. Siloah, March 1898. That he had farmland, however, was not unusual. Such had been the case with Schmieder, Bredlow, Streich, Geith, etc. See ibid., July 1897 and May 1911; Der Nordwesten, 1 April 1892; and Norman J. Threinen, A History of Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church, Landestreu, Saskatchewan (1970), p. 9.

gone to their eternal rest; others have pulled back . . . our Committee has, among other things, experienced the rich blessing of God on the huge mission field in Northwest Canada such that a new synod with 5,000 members has been established on that territory. Work is always there in the Kingdom of God.<sup>66</sup> Children often say: 'I don't know what I am supposed to do,' but for us, our work has been growing beyond our ability<sup>67</sup> and we rejoice that the work has grown. . .

The old proverb says: 'Prayer and work don't help, when these are not done with the right sense of purpose.' Let us be doing it with this right sense of purpose.<sup>68</sup>

With an immediate responsibility of 5,000 persons and likely as many German Lutheran immigrants in the region not yet settled into a congregation, the General Council would need a right sense of purpose. And the membership and the manning of the field did grow. By 1901 the membership of the Synod had grown to between 6-7,000,<sup>69</sup> and the significant effort to alleviate the clergy shortage resulted in an increase from the low point of five to a 1901 total of thirteen.<sup>70</sup> As well, one notes that, significantly, the Northwest Mission was again beginning to receive pastors

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<sup>66</sup> Underlining in the original.

<sup>67</sup> "uns waechst die Arbeit ueber den Kopf"

<sup>68</sup> The rhyme is not translatable: "'Gebet und Arbeit helfen nicht, wenn's nicht mit rechtem Ernst geschicht.' Lasset uns nun mit rechtem Ernst arbeiten."

<sup>69</sup> General Council, Minutes, 1901, p. 170.

<sup>70</sup> Kleiner, following Ruccius, has it as ten, but this is at variance from the General Council Minutes of 1901 (p. 130.) and the typescript minutes of the Manitoba Synod itself.

from the Kropp Seminary in Germany.<sup>71</sup>

However, most of the clergy were new to the ministry in the Northwest, and the increase in numbers did not bring stability. Indeed, a major motif in the early meetings of the Synod was this instability and disorder and the need to control it. In Neudorf, the departing E. Herrmann had tried (but failed) to move the whole Grenfell District into the orbit of the Missouri Synod.<sup>72</sup> The congregation remained in the General Council and, in 1898, called Pastor Martin Ruccius to be their pastor.<sup>73</sup> He remained in Neudorf until 1901. Then he resigned his post, apparently for health reasons, and had to move away for recovery.<sup>74</sup> However, Ruccius continued to make the Canadian Prairies his home. He moved to Winnipeg the same year and edited the Nordwesten until 1904.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Pastor Eduard Aksim came from Kropp and was ordained by the Manitoba Synod in 1900. General Council, Minutes, 1901, p. 131 and Manitoba Synod, Verhandlungen, 1900, p. 8. He was followed in 1901 by H. Becker and Joh. Burgdorf. The Synod accepted both of them in 1901 although neither was yet 21 years of age. Ibid., 1901 (typescript), pp. 22, 23 and 32.

<sup>72</sup> General Council, Minutes, 1899, pp. 80-1.

<sup>73</sup> Siloah, March 1898.

<sup>74</sup> This seems to have been an eye ailment occurring as a result of snow blindness. Ibid., August 1901. See also Freitag, p. 11.

<sup>75</sup> Walter Martin Ruccius, ed., "The Ruccius Record" (typescript, 1970), p. 9. In Public Archives of Canada. Hereafter simply designated by title to distinguish it from the Denkschrift of the elder Ruccius. Also, Siloah, December 1901.

Ruccius was replaced in Winnipeg in 1898 by Rev. F. Beer.<sup>76</sup> Pastor Beer had earlier been a professor of theology at the Kropp Seminary in Schleswig.<sup>77</sup> An experienced man, once in the Manitoba Synod, he was quickly elected to be its president. However, this lasted only until 1902 when Beer left both the Dreieinigkeitskirche and the Synod to accept a position as director of a Lutheran Seminary in Michigan.<sup>78</sup>

Short-lived as it was, the Beer presidency was probably one of the more stabilizing factors on the young Manitoba Synod. His successor as president, Pastor Willing, noted his departure as a "great loss, which can not be quickly replaced" and declared that in Beer they had had one whom they had "loved and honoured as a father and faithful counsellor."<sup>79</sup> However, the same synodical report which appreciates the influence of Beer also compares the Synod to

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<sup>76</sup> See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1903 (typescript), p. 6 and Siloah, May 1898.

<sup>77</sup> The circumstances of Beer's accepting the call to the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde are not clear. Siloah noted his arrival in North American but expected him to join the Synodical Conference since he "was holding the [theological] views of Missouri." November 1897. However, Beer had had a longstanding relationship with certain members of the German Home Mission Committee. See Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 8 June 1899 and 22 June 1889. It could scarcely be a coincidence that with his arrival the ministerial candidates from Kropp began reappearing.

<sup>78</sup> Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1900, p. 4 and *ibid.*, 1903, (typescript), p. 44.

<sup>79</sup> See Manitoba Synod, Verhandlungen, 1903, p. 44.

a child in its developmental years, who, however, was being held back by sickliness and, indeed, whose very existence was in danger.<sup>80</sup>

Besides the above difficulties, other problems, especially in the area of discipline, appear throughout the pages of the Manitoba Synod minutes of which only a few are recounted here:

In Lutherhort,<sup>81</sup> Pastor Pempeit's difficulties with his congregation there prompted a thousand mile trip for counsel by the president and then Pempeit's resignation.<sup>82</sup> Pempeit was, however, quickly called by the Synod to work as a traveling missionary.<sup>83</sup>

In 1898, a relatively new arrival, Pastor F. Henning, was suspended from the Synod apparently because of unionistic practice (Reformed manner of administering the Lord's Supper) at Tupper, Manitoba.<sup>84</sup> In 1901, however, the

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 41. Along with the sickliness of the child, some pastors were likely getting old before their time. The sad report appears in the General Council Minutes for 1901 that "The Rev. E. Berthold who served this large parish [Gretna] faithfully for four years, went back to Germany in the summer of 1900, because he could no longer bear the hardships of his work." p. 131.

<sup>81</sup> Pempeit had left Stony Plain in 1898 to serve the Gemeinde at Lutherhort, just south of Strathcona. Siloah, July 1898.

<sup>82</sup> General Council, Minutes, 1901, p. 169.

<sup>83</sup> Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1901 (typescript), p. 32.

<sup>84</sup> Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1900, pp. 3 and 5 and ibid., 1901 (typescript), p. 25.

Synod reinstated Henning<sup>85</sup> and in 1903 they elected him president.<sup>86</sup>

In a third example, Elder Andreas Lilge, at Bruederheim, Alberta, after making a break with the Moravian Church where he had played such a prominent role, was examined and accepted into the Manitoba Synod as a Lutheran pastor in 1898.<sup>87</sup> However, in 1905, the Minutes record him as unexcused in his absence from the Synod Convention, this, for the third consecutive time.<sup>88</sup>

Finally, we note that for the 1904 meeting of Synod, five pastors are listed as present; three are absent but excused; two, as absent but excuse not accepted; and five, as absent and not offering an excuse.<sup>89</sup>

This was the state of things in 1904 when, on the second day of Christmas, the Dreieinigkeitskirche, Winnipeg caught fire and the church burned beyond repair.<sup>90</sup>

As we shall make clear in the next chapter, the immediate consequences resulting from the loss of the

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1903, p. 46.

<sup>87</sup> Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1898 (typescript), pp. 9-10.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 1905 (typescript), p. 87.

<sup>89</sup> See Verhandlungen (typescript), pp. 57 and 64. A sixth person present is not listed here because he was serving in North Dakota.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 1905 (typescript), p. 74. Also Fricke, p. 2.

Dreieinigkeitskirche meant that 1904 marked the clear end to a second period for German Lutherans in the pre-War era. For this reason we now summarize the state of church ministry as it had developed by this time.

By 1904 the church ministries of the General Council and the Missouri Synod had both expanded greatly. The Manitoba Synod could count about 7-8,000 members;<sup>91</sup> and the Missouri Synod, about 4,500. Thus, although the Manitoba Synod still had about 60% of the church members within its organization, the Missouri Synod now had a very large minority. With regard to pastors, the Missouri Synod appears to be in a healthier situation with about one for every 400 persons<sup>92</sup> whereas the Manitoba Synod had one for about every 500 members. In the area of Gemeindeschulen, Missouri was much stronger with about two-thirds of the Gemeinden having a parochial school. The Manitoba Synod, however, had parochial schools in only about one-third of its organized congregations.<sup>93</sup>

Structurally, the work of the General Council and that

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<sup>91</sup> Interpolated from General Council, Minutes, 1901, p. 170 and Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1904 (typescript), pp. 57 and 64, according to the number of pastors in 1904.

<sup>92</sup> The actual total is 11 pastors for 4,586 members in 1904. See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1904, pp. 62-3 and 123.

<sup>93</sup> Interpolated from Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1900, pp. 9-11 and *ibid.*, pp. 30-35. The interpolation comes to just under one half, but this must be discounted since the 1911 report mixes the Wochen- and Samstagschulen.

of the Missouri Synod was rather different. Although both attempted to work from one end of the field to the other, the General Council appears to have had a greater feeling of responsibility for the whole territory, likely a sense derived from the original concept of things in the early days when this church body was the only Lutheran church authority on the territory and felt a special responsibility for the immigrants as such arriving in Winnipeg. As well, the General Council's positive relationship to the territorial churches in Germany was likely a factor contributing to this mentality. An expression of this feeling of territorial responsibility was the forming of the territorial Manitoba Synod in 1897. A second expression of this approach is the key participation of the leaders in the General Council mission (pastors and active lay persons) with the German language press which had a broad territorial coverage.<sup>94</sup>

The Missouri Synod, in contrast, had virtually no special organization for the Canadian Prairies. The emphasis was on the Gemeinde as such and as they obtained mature status, they were simply admitted as a part of the Minnesota-Dakota District. Missouri's emphasis on the Gemeindeschule can be seen as a part of this general approach.

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<sup>94</sup> For the period up to 1904, we have noted Pastors Schmieler and Ruccius with active laymen, Bruegmann and Koermann.

As far as supervision of the missionaries was concerned, this was carried out by a representative in the District who managed what was known as a Correspondence District. In this particular office, the mission in Canada was handled together with the mission in Montana.<sup>95</sup> In addition to its emphasis on the Gemeinde, the Missouri Synod appears to have felt a special responsibility to German-Americans, especially those from their own congregations, and had an effective presence in Calgary. This can be contrasted to the Manitoba Synod's special responsibility for German Lutheran immigrants coming through Winnipeg.

#### E. Causes Underlying the Chronic Weakness of the General Council.

Repeatedly, our study, in addition to emphasizing the positive ministry which took place among German Lutherans, has also pointed to two strongly negative features in the situation:

1. the weakness in the General Council which meant that it could not provide for the orderly development of German

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<sup>95</sup> One sentence from the 1903 Synodal-Bericht gives an indication of the relationship. In the "Bericht ueber Montana und Canada . . . In diesem Correspondenzdistrict hatte seit laengerer Zeit Praeses F. Pfotenhauer Prof. Buenger vertreten und berichtete auch der Synode ueber dieses Gebiet, wie folgt: . . ." See also *ibid.*, 1901, pp. 62ff. and *ibid.*, 1904, pp. 55ff..

Lutheran place-communities, nor the comprehensive gathering of German Lutherans into Kirchengemeinden and

2. competition in the field which resulted in a divided church-at-large in western Canada. This competition often brought about crippling German Lutheran divisions within such German Lutheran place-communities as did exist.<sup>96</sup>

In view of these phenomena, the question naturally arises: Why was the General Council's German work in western Canada plagued with such weakness? And one may wish to consider such factors as distance from the field, the lack of suitable pastors, etc..

However, according to contemporary sources within the General Council itself, a major problem in the carrying out of mission work in the Northwest was opposition within the General Council itself;<sup>97</sup> and upon closer investigation, this opposition (and German Lutheran weakness; and, indeed, the intensity of competition) can be traced to serious controversy which severely damaged the German Lutheran

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<sup>96</sup> e.g., Langenburg and surrounding rural Gemeinden, Neudorf and Josephsberg, Stony Plain, Edenwald and the ethnic community in Winnipeg. Some of these, such as Hoffenthal and Landestreu would prove to be in and of themselves Gemeinden in both a place and ecclesiastical sense but ecclesiastically divided from their close neighbours, e.g., Langenburg. As well, in some of the above communities a minority of German Reformed or Baptist settlers were mixed with German Lutherans, but in such cases Lutheran division made virtually impossible the peaceful accommodation or absorption which had often occurred in Eastern Europe. (e.g., Galicia and the Volga region.)

<sup>97</sup> Kleiner suggests this factor in his Festschrift, not stating the cause of the opposition. p. 8.

effort just at that very time when the Northwest mission was beginning, namely the controversy surrounding the General Council's relationship to the missionary seminary at Kropp in the Province of Schleswig.

Siloah editor E. F. Moldehnke introduces this topic for us with his statement that at the end of 1897 he and fellow editor J. J. Kuendig (and in this context also German Home Mission Committee President F. W. Weiskotten)<sup>98</sup> were rebeginning the work of "16 years ago."<sup>99</sup> Moldehnke's reference is to the founding of Siloah in 1882.<sup>100</sup> This publication had been and still was a critical aspect of the work of the German Home Mission Committee.

The early issues of Siloah indicate that the Mission Committee was responding to a desperate need present at that time in the United States, namely, the pastoral care of thousands of German immigrants who were flooding into the country.<sup>101</sup> The shape of the General Council's response can be seen as a three-fold one:

a) The Council set up an Emigrantenhaus in New York City with close ties to Lutheran Inner Mission work in Bremen and Hamburg to help guide the immigrants to a successful settlement in the United States, mostly in the

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<sup>98</sup> See Siloah, December 1897.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> January 1882 is "I. Jahrg., No. 1."

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

mid-West.<sup>102</sup> Along with this Emigrantenhaus, headed by Pastor W. Berkemeier, the Home Mission Committee maintained a special ministry at Ward's Island to immigrants who had suffered severe misfortune.<sup>103</sup> The Emigrantenhaus, although operated by the General Council, appears to have had a strongly pan-Lutheran emphasis; only later did the Missouri Synod decide to set up its competing Pilgerhaus.<sup>104</sup>

b) The second aspect of the General Council's response to heavy immigration was to seek to provide a strong, dependable source of pastors who would be able to adequately care for the greatly increased numbers of German Lutherans settling in the United States.<sup>105</sup> This led to the founding of a seminary, Eben Ezer, in Kropp, Germany which we shall describe below.

c) The third element in the Home Mission Committee's response was the publication of Siloah. Siloah was for

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<sup>102</sup> Ibid. The Emigrantenhaus had actually been founded in the 1870's, several years before Siloah. Ibid., June 1882.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., February 1883 and General Council, Minutes, 1888, p. 48.

<sup>104</sup> e.g., see Siloah, May 1882. See also "Die Fuersorge fuer die Auswanderer in Bremen" (Aus dem Jahresbericht fuer innere Mission in Bremen 1888), reprinted in ibid., September 1888.

<sup>105</sup> For reasons too complex to deal with here, the General Council's bi-lingual seminary at Philadelphia was not able to supply this need to any great extent. See Theodore G. Tappert, History of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia 1864-1964 (Philadelphia: Lutheran Theological Seminary, 1964), p. 64.

those people with an interest in the mission and for the immigrants themselves. It carried articles of a devotional nature; articles on church history; articles on geography, especially of the areas where the immigrants were settling; and articles on the experience of missionaries which the Home Mission Committee was supporting. Also important were articles of a pastoral nature directed to the immigrants themselves, helping to guide them into a personally successful immigration and settlement.<sup>106</sup> As one might expect, these articles were written from a religious perspective, not a materialistic one. They sought the immigrant's economic success but warned against the dangers of American materialism.<sup>107</sup> Most important for the philosophy of Siloah and the whole German Inner Mission movement in North America was the attempt to guard the immigrant against the type of personal "shipwreck" (Schiffbruch) which so often occurred.

Siloah and the Emigrantenhaus were already established by early 1882. What remained was the establishing of a relationship with Lutherans in Germany to provide a source of pastors. This was accomplished relatively quickly. The

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<sup>106</sup> This variety is found throughout all of the first years of Siloah.

<sup>107</sup> A graphic illustration is in the April 1883 issue where an Indian is shown holding up a scalp with caption below: "Das Gold gesucht und den Tod gefunden." Another interesting example is a poem against "Geldmacherei." See May 1887.

German Home Mission Committee issued an appeal to leaders of the diaspora work in Germany and received a positive and vigorous response from, among others, Neuendettelsau and the Augustkonferenz (Lutheran) within the Prussian Union Church.<sup>108</sup> By the end of the year, however, the decision had been made and the Committee had established ties with the Rev. Johannes Paulsen who founded the Seminary "Eben Ezer" at the town of Kropp in Schleswig especially for the purpose of providing pastors to German Lutherans in North America.<sup>109</sup> Support for this institution came from both Lutherans in Germany and also from members of the General Council congregations.<sup>110</sup> Promotion of the Kropp project became an important part of the work of the German Home Mission Committee and Siloah devoted a large amount of space to the life of this institution.<sup>111</sup> By 1885 the first candidates began coming to America.<sup>112</sup> By the following

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<sup>108</sup> Ibid., February 1882 and October 1882. As well, in 1882, Siloah also recognized the efforts of J. N. Lenker in Germany and also at Dorpat but criticized his attachment to the "in methodistischem Geiste wirkenden" General Synod. July 1882.

<sup>109</sup> Siloah, December 1882 and June 1883. Endorsement of this decision came, as well, from the General Council as a whole, apparently unanimously, at its meeting in 1882. See Siloah, February 1883.

<sup>110</sup> Tappert, p. 64 and Siloah, 1883-1888, passim.

<sup>111</sup> See ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., July 1885 and December 1885.

year, both Pastors Schmieder and Streich had arrived.<sup>113</sup>  
 The number increased such that for the year 1887 the  
 seminary was able to send ten candidates for the ministry.  
 At this time, the number of students in the seminary had  
 risen to 51.<sup>114</sup>

However, shortly thereafter, disaster struck the  
 enterprise. Officials of the General Council, apparently  
 under pressure from the faculty at the Philadelphia  
 Seminary, decided that it was time to clearly regulate the  
 relationship of Kropp to the General Council.<sup>115</sup> To that  
 end, the President of the General Council, Pastor Adolph  
 Spaeth, D.D. (who was, at the same time, also a member of  
 the Philadelphia Seminary faculty)<sup>116</sup> traveled to Germany<sup>117</sup>  
 and set in motion events which would ultimately bring the  
 relationship to an impotent stand-still and split the German  
 mission effort of the General Council. This president (not

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid., May 1886 and December 1886. Streich had  
 arrived in 1885; and Schmieder, in the spring of 1886.

<sup>114</sup> See Siloah, October 1887.

<sup>115</sup> In a special report in Siloah on the question of  
 the historical relationship of Kropp and the German Home  
 Mission Committee, it appears that the Philadelphia's  
 Faculty had begun questioning the phrase "our institution,"  
 but some members of the Committee agreed that it was time to  
 come to a more definitive relationship. Ibid.

<sup>116</sup> See Tappert, p. 50f..

<sup>117</sup> See "Wie Dr. Spaeth nach Hamburg kam" in Kelle und  
 Schwert, April 1888.

a member of the German Home Mission Committee),<sup>118</sup> for his public pronouncements on the glories of things American, earned the scorn of the German church press (reprinted in the United States) and an understandably cool reception in Kropp.<sup>119</sup> When he returned home, the report of his Committee recommended that the General Council receive pastoral candidates from Kropp only after they had spent some time at the Philadelphia Seminary to complete their studies.<sup>120</sup> This, relative to the General Council, would, in effect, have reduced Kropp from a full seminary to a pro-seminary.

The consequences of this report led from bad to worse. The faculty at Kropp said that the stipulation would ruin their programme since they could not prepare their students for graduation.<sup>121</sup> Leading members of the German Home Mission Committee were indignant and saw years of their work and the sacrifices of their constituency ruined. In 1888, two of them, Pastors Hinterleitner and Kuendig, set up a new mission publication, Kelle und Schwert, one purpose of which

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<sup>118</sup> See Siloah, October 1887.

<sup>119</sup> See Kelle und Schwert, January, March and April, 1888.

<sup>120</sup> General Council, Minutes, 1888, pp. 32.

<sup>121</sup> Siloah, April 1888.

was to defend the Kropp institute.<sup>122</sup> Moldehnke and Weiskotten resigned from Siloah,<sup>123</sup> and others left the Home Mission Committee.<sup>124</sup>

From the pages of Kelle und Schwert we gain the insight that, at least for its authors, the heart of the matter was confessional laxity on the part of the General Council and a clearly related attempt to suppress the German element in that body.<sup>125</sup> Kelle und Schwert saw the Germans in the General Council as going the way of German minorities throughout the world, first invited to come and do the hard pioneer work and then suppressed after that work was done.<sup>126</sup> The publication insisted that the German Lutheran

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<sup>122</sup> Kelle und Schwert, January 1888. specifically referring to Nehemiah 4:17, Kelle und Schwert espoused a positive ecclesiastical and social building, German in form, inspired by the rebuilding of Zion in the Old Testament.

<sup>123</sup> Siloah, December 1888.

<sup>124</sup> Of the members making up the Committee in the Fall of 1887, less than one third remained in the Spring of 1889. See *ibid.*, October 1887, January 1889 and March 1889.

<sup>125</sup> "Nur in nichtdeutschen Kreisen unserer Kirche dieses Landes konnte es dahin kommen, dass man das spezifische Luthertum preisgab und dafuer methodistische, puritanische Elemente eindringen liess, um scheinbar groessere Erfolge zu erzielen. Solches unlutherische Thun und Treiben verachten wir als einen Mordanschlag auf das Leben unserer Kirche." January 1888. See also "Vom General-Konzil," in *ibid.*, October 1888.

<sup>126</sup> "Wir troesten uns . . . mit dem gleichen Geschick unserer Brueder in manchen ausserdeutschen Laendern drueben. Wo immer der deutsche Kolonist seinen Fuss hingelenkt haben mochte, um in saurem Schweiss nicht nur den Boden urbar zu machen, sondern auch den Samen deutscher Gottesfurcht, deutscher Bildung und Gesittung auszustreuen, da musste er sich's gefallen lassen, dass ihm zuletzt diejenigen das

leadership had never, throughout its history in North America, attempted to hinder English Lutheran work but just wished to be free to carry out its own work.<sup>127</sup>

The controversy had tragic ramifications throughout the General Council. Both the Michigan Synod and the Texas Synod (both German) soon left the General Council;<sup>128</sup> and Kelle und Schwert noted that voices were being raised within the Canada Synod urging similar action.<sup>129</sup> This, then, was the state of things in the General Council when President Veit of the Canada Synod received the appeal from German Lutherans in the Canadian Prairies asking him to send them a pastor.

The Kropp controversy and--if Kelle und Schwert is accurate in its perception--the attempt to assert Anglo-American control over the German minority<sup>130</sup> in the General Council had profound consequences on the relationship of the General Council (and its German Mission) to the large mid-

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Seine streitig machten und ihn an die Wand zu druecken suchten, denen er sich als Wohlthaeter erwiesen." Ibid., January 1888.

127 Ibid.

128 The Michigan Synod left in 1888; the Texas Synod, later, in 1894. In 1896, the latter affiliated with the Iowa Synod. Fevold, p. 346 and 348.

129 "Vom General-Konzil," October 1888. Siloah (November 1888) said that in spite of the alienation between the General Council and Kropp, the Canada Synod would maintain a relationship with the latter.

130 Actually, they were all numerical minorities: Swedish, English and German. See Lenker, p. 783.

west based German synods, especially the Missouri Synod. Commenting on the General Council Convention of 1888, Kelle und Schwert notes that with the Kropp fiasco President Spaeth (who was also German-speaking) lost a large part of his support among German Lutherans.<sup>131</sup> The editor says that he deserved to lose this support because of his nationalistic rhetoric and since his President's Report (for 1888) was saying, in effect: "In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek but only Anglo-American."<sup>132</sup>

Spaeth lost the presidency to the Rev. J. A. Seiss, D.D., who upon his election promptly requested that now,

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<sup>131</sup> See "Vom General-Konzil" in Kelle und Schwert, October 1888.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.: "Auf der 21. Versammlung dieses Koerpers, die in Minneapolis stattfand, hielt der bisherige Praesident A. Spaeth D. D. eine englische Eroeffnungsrede, die alles uebertrifft, was dieser Redner in der Verherrlichung der englischen Sprache und des amerikanischen Wesens schon geleistet hat. Diese "Address" haette eigentlich nach Sitte und Brauch eine Predigt sein sollen, sie wurde ja auf der Kanzel gehalten und ihr ein Schriftwort zu Grunde gelegt-- Gal. 3, 28. Aber in dem rhetorischen Strudel, der den Redner bald fortriss, entstand aus dem Text das Motto: "Hier ist kein Jude noch Grieche--sondern nichts als Angloamerikaner." . . . Ihren Gipfelpunkt erreichte die Verzueckung Spaeths bei dem Abschnitt seiner Lobrede, der ueberschrieben ist: "America the nation of nations"!! Was sollen solche hohle Phrasen auf der Kanzel? Herr Spaeth weiss doch wohl, dass Amerika keine Nation ist, kein ethnographischer, sondern ein geographischer Begriff, dass Amerika nicht nur die Unionsstaaten umfasst, sondern einige andere mehr; er weiss wohl auch, dass die Amerikaner der Union keine Nation sind, hier fehlen ja die wesentlichsten Merkmale einer Nation. Die Amerikaner bilden eine gemischte Bevoelkerung aus mannigfaltigen Nationalitaeten, und ihre konventionelle Sprache ist auch keine urspruengliche und eigentuemliche, sondern eine von Europa erborgte. Dass aber "America the nation of nations" sei, das glaubt dem Herrn Spaeth selbst der verbissenste Yankee nicht."

except in cases of extreme necessity, the business of the Council be conducted in English.<sup>133</sup> The General Council's choice of Seiss was roundly criticized by conservative Lutherans in Germany and by the Missouri Synod since Seiss was known as an American "chiliast."<sup>134</sup> At the same time the Missouri Synod criticized English Lutheranism's opposition to the parochial school (Kelle und Schwert had been strongly for it) citing a prominent member's opinion expressed at the Convention that in their promotion of the Gemeindeschule "our German brethren are ending up out in the woods."<sup>135</sup> A third objection of Missouri to the direction being taken by the General Council was the approval by the Convention of 1888 of the common worship of Lutherans with other American Protestant denominations.<sup>136</sup>

All of these developments in the General Council served, thus, not only to severely weaken the ministry of the German Home Mission Committee but also to bring the Missouri Synod's relationship to the General Council from

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<sup>133</sup> "Vom General-Konzil" (II.) in Kelle und Schwert, November 1888.

<sup>134</sup> Der Lutheraner, 9 June 1891. Also Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 12 January 1889, reprinting an article in the Allgem. Ev-Luth. Kirchenzeitung (Leipzig).

<sup>135</sup> They complained that Th. E. Schmauck (later General Council President) (Fevold, p. 307.) was against the Gemeindeschule and "wollte . . . zeigen, dass die deutschen Brueder mit ihrer Gemeindeschule auf dem Holzwege waeren." Der Lutheraner, 9 June 1891.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

the point of theological debate to one characterized more by ecclesiastical conflict. Although some, even many, of the General Council missionaries may have had theological convictions very close to those of the Missouri Synod, the Missouri Synod could quite rightly suspect that since they were now an ethnic minority within the General Council, they might not have the support, moral and financial, from their church-at-large to provide an adequate Lutheran ministry in the Northwest. The case of Ludwig Streich in Winnipeg, who had to be admonished by the Home Mission Committee itself regarding unionistic practice, did little to allay that suspicion.

Thus, the General Council began its mission in the Northwest with a most serious handicap. The problem, as it turned out, was not so much the lack of manpower per se since candidates came from various parts of Germany but rather a divided will with regard to promoting the mission there.<sup>137</sup> Over the years the Committee had a number of people who had the desire to serve in the Canadian Northwest but they did not have the adequate means to support them.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> As late as 1899, some of the German pastors in the eastern United States were still urging that the entire mission be turned over to another synod, even the Missouri Synod. The editors of Siloah especially regretted that Lutherisches Kirchenblatt could not be brought to a position of positive support. Siloah, February 1899 and March 1899.

<sup>138</sup> See above p. 258. To this evidence, we add the statement of H. C. Schmieder after his resignation: "Fuer das geistliche Amt gibt es fast mehr Bewerber als Stellen und meine Dienste sind nicht benoetigt weder im Westen noch

Only slowly did the German mission work begin recovering from the events surrounding the Kropp controversy. Slowly, several of the resigning members of the German Home Mission Committee returned. Kelle und Schwert appears to have ceased publication after 1888.<sup>139</sup> In November of 1891, J. J. Kuendig, who had been Kelle und

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im Osten." Ibid., May 1897.

At this point, we must differ with the analysis of Prof. Freitag in his Consensus article. Prof. Freitag recognizes the critical role that the Kropp controversy had in hindering the Northwest Mission but exaggerates the difficulties of recruiting pastors. p. 12. As we have shown, Siloah indicates that there was an adequate number of pastors available but a lack of support from the General Council to provide positions. Instead of the supply of pastors being "cut off" as Freitag has it, the Committee must have directed its inquiry to another institution since the next three pastors, Pempeit, Berthold and Ruccius, all came from the Missionshaus in Berlin,

Further, Freitag implies that supply of pastors from Kropp was not restored until 1907. However, the fact is that the Kropp candidates (along with Professor Beer) began reappearing around the turn of the century, just after Moldehnke, Kuendig and Weiskotten had made their new beginning.

<sup>139</sup> In this case, an argument must be made from silence. First, the (remaining) German Home Mission Committee complained about Kelle und Schwert in 1888 and after that year the publication is no longer mentioned. See General Council, Minutes, 1888, p. 27. Secondly, the Archives housing the General Council material (at Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia) ends this collection with the November 1888 issue of Kelle und Schwert although one or more of the final pages are missing. Finally, an article in Lutherisches Kirchenblatt (22 June 1889) indicates that a leading professor at Philadelphia and Kropp's representative, Prof. Beer, had met together to seek a peaceful solution. The former apparently softened his stand on the residency requirement and the latter stated that much of the problem had been due to personal difficulties, that they would try to bury and forget these, and that hopefully the two institutions would be able to work together in the future.

Schwert's treasurer,<sup>140</sup> resumed his post as Treasurer with the Committee.<sup>141</sup> Dr. Moldehnke and Pastor Weiskotten resumed their membership in the Committee in 1893.<sup>142</sup> By late 1897, Moldehnke had also resumed his work as editor of Siloah; Weiskotten had become president of the Committee and the first candidates from Kropp began (again) to arrive on the Northwest Mission field.<sup>143</sup> By 1909 the General Council had entered into an agreement restoring a relationship with Kropp<sup>144</sup> and was in a position to send a large number of candidates to the Canadian Prairies. But by then, the opportunity for religiously cohesive German Lutheran settlements had long since passed.

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<sup>140</sup> Besides expressing its viewpoint on events in the General Council, Kelle und Schwert also had the function of collecting money in support of Kropp.

<sup>141</sup> Siloah, December 1891.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., November 1893.

<sup>143</sup> Above, pp. 292-3.

<sup>144</sup> Ruccius, p. 16.

## CHAPTER XI

### IMMIGRATION, COMPETITION AND DEVELOPMENT: 1905-1914.

In the year 1905, the Ohio Synod began its work in western Canada. As we shall show, the activity of this third synod can be seen as a dominant feature of the remaining period up to the First World War. In this chapter, we shall examine the growth of the Ohio Synod and the activity of the older synods in the context of the pre-War decade, giving a description of the state of church ministry at the close of the pre-War era. Then, at the end of the chapter, we inquire into some of the causes of Ohio's rapid growth.

#### A. The Beginning of the Ohio Synod in the Prairie Provinces.

The year 1905 brought with it a new problem and the lack of a peaceful solution to that problem was to have profound consequences for the Lutheran ministry from that time on until the beginning of the First World War. The

Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde at Winnipeg was now without a church building, and efforts to build a new one seemed to defy solution. The basic problem appears to be that some members wanted to build on the south side of the Canadian Pacific tracks (where the old church was) and others wanted to move to the north side. In the vote on the issue, the majority voted for the north side, but those wanting to stay on the south side thought that the voting had been manipulated and unfair and refused to accept the result.<sup>1</sup> The congregation was badly split, but hope remained that a compromise could be reached and that the south side party could be served by another pastor of the Manitoba Synod.<sup>2</sup> However, this hope did not materialize, and the dissenting group ended up calling still another synod into the territory. Thus Pastor Georg Gehrke, of the Ohio Synod,<sup>3</sup> came to serve the new congregation which chose the name of Kreuz Gemeinde.<sup>4</sup>

Pastor Gehrke, in accepting the call to the new Kreuz Gemeinde, did not just stumble on to a vacuum. He must have been well aware of the problems present in the Manitoba Synod, of the internal tension, of its relatively sluggish,

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<sup>1</sup> See Fricke, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. and Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1905 (typescript), p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Officially, "Die Allgemeine Evang. Luth. Synode von Ohio und andern Staaten." From title page of Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> Fricke, p. 3.

poorly disciplined response to a continuing strong swell of immigration and, as well, the Synod's inability to establish strong Gemeindeschulen.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Gehrke was obviously familiar with the work of the Missouri Synod. Indeed, his theological position in the recently fought predestination controversy would play an important role in his own missionary activity. (Gehrke warns against the "writing off" of any individual in any hidden assumptions or speculation on the negative side of the double predestination scheme. (For example, see our pp. 331f..)) Therefore, when he began his work at the Kreuz Gemeinde, he did so with a mind at least open to, if not set upon, pursuing the Lutheran ministry vigorously, wherever he and

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<sup>5</sup> Arnold Fricke, writing in 1928, (p. 3.) says that Gehrke's coming was basically a matter of supplying an individual congregation and not a mission field. Given the ecclesiastical situation in the Prairie region, given the amount of publicity in the church papers about synodical competition, given, as well, Gehrke's own background and the fact that the Kreuz Gemeinde had come into existence out of controversy, Fricke's statement is difficult to believe.

We observe, as well, that in the mid-1880's Gehrke had been a student at the Mission School at Hermannsburg in North Germany and at the time of the Kropp Controversy was continuing his studies at the Ohio Synod's seminary at St. Paul, Minnesota. Evenson, p. 59. Just some years previously, the school at Hermannsburg had supplied some ministerial candidates to the General Council. Given Gehrke's background and interests and the wide publicity which the General Council received in 1888-89, the dynamics of the controversy could hardly have escaped him.

We note, as well, that in his 1909 Address to the District (p. 7), Gehrke develops the theme of "Kelle" and "Schwert" in giving his vision of the mission before them. (See also *ibid.*, 1914, p. 6 for this expression again.) Although "Kelle und Schwert" is a Biblical image (Neh. 4:17), its use, even in this period, was rare.

his colleagues would find an opening, throughout the Prairie region.<sup>6</sup>

On November 2nd, 1905, Gehrke arrived in Winnipeg.<sup>7</sup> Within a matter of weeks, Pastor E. Berthold, who was serving the new St. Paulus Gemeinde in the Louise Bridge area of Winnipeg, left the Manitoba Synod and joined the Ohio Synod.<sup>8</sup> On the north side of Winnipeg, still another Gemeinde was formed, the Christus Gemeinde, this still in 1905.<sup>9</sup> Calls for pastoral service also came from Saskatchewan so that by the fall of 1906, barely one year after Gehrke had arrived in Winnipeg, the Canada Conference of the Minnesota District of the Ohio Synod came into being with a beginning membership of fourteen pastors.<sup>10</sup>

One of the first things to which the Conference turned

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<sup>6</sup> For Gehrke and the Ohio Synod, literally, whatever congregation was open, i.e., without a pastor, that congregation was a candidate for the Ohio Synod to supply, if asked. e.g., see Siloah, November 1911. For a discussion of this matter, see Evenson, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Fricke, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 4. At the first meeting of this Conference the President of the Minnesota District was present along with three other pastors from outside the Conference. At this meeting, Pastor K. Pohlmann, not Georg Gehrke, was elected president. Gehrke, however, was elected the following year. "Protokollbuch der Canada-Konferenz der ehrw. Synode von Ohio u. andern Staaten!" [sic.] (1906-07, handwritten), p. 1 and 20. In the Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

its attention was the question of immigration and colonization.<sup>11</sup> To the end of furthering orderly colonization, one of the pastors was elected as "Missionsagent." He was to provide reliable information on the land and its settlements<sup>12</sup> by running notices in certain newspapers. For carrying out the work of mission to the immigrants (Emigrantenmission), the pastors in Winnipeg were elected as a committee to carry out these duties. These, too, were to distribute literature to help the immigrant in the settlement process.<sup>13</sup>

The Conference, beginning with a group of pastors already close in number to what Manitoba and Missouri each had,<sup>14</sup> established itself quickly on the territory. By 1908, it was able to form its own District.<sup>15</sup>

#### B. Heavy Immigration and the Growth of all Three Synods.

The years of 1905 to 1914 were years of heavy

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<sup>11</sup> "Kolonisation durch Gruendung eines Informationsbureau"

<sup>12</sup> "Land und Leute"

<sup>13</sup> "Canada-Konferenz, Protokollbuch," p. 18.

<sup>14</sup> Manitoba had 13 (in the Prairie Provinces) in 1905; and Missouri had 17 (German Lutheran). Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1905 (typescript), p. 71 and Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1906, pp. 74-76.

<sup>15</sup> Fricke, p. 5.

immigration into western Canada. Although exact figures are impossible to obtain, for the years 1906 to 1911 alone the total of German Lutheran immigrants was almost certainly well over 18,000.<sup>16</sup>

This means that in those five years alone, the number of German Lutheran immigrants was more than the total which had been gathered into the church by 1905, the beginning of this last period. As well, the years immediately following the 1911 census were known as years of especially heavy immigration, even for the early 20th century.<sup>17</sup> Thus, when the sources speak of a very heavy immigration, or an immigration "simply immense,"<sup>18</sup> we have some idea of the numbers involved.

All three synods responded, now, with considerable vigour to the new challenge. The Manitoba Synod benefitted from a renewed relationship with the Kropp Seminary and, by 1913, had increased its number of clergy to 30.<sup>19</sup> The

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<sup>16</sup> From Appendix IX, the estimated number of German origin immigrants from 1906 to 1911 is over 37,000. Considering Lutherans as one-half of the total, a conservative estimate for German Lutherans is 18,000.

<sup>17</sup> See G. Gehrke in Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 14; Martin Ruccius in Siloah, December 1913; and Gehrke again in Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1914, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Dr. F. Pfothauer, quoted in Herzer, p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> From Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, pp. 24-29. The total number of pastors indicated in the parochial reports is 31, but one is subtracted because his main work was in North Dakota.

However, in the midst of this expansion, the Synod did

Missouri Synod was able to draw upon its strong American base and increased its number to 50.<sup>20</sup> The Ohio Synod, beginning with one person 1905, had, by 1913, 45 pastors in the field.<sup>21</sup> Thus, by 1913, we find a total of well over 100 pastors serving in the region. By this time, they had gathered about 36,000 people into their Gemeinden<sup>22</sup> and the

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suffer one especially heavy blow. This was the conviction of Pastor F. W. V. Henning in Winnipeg on a charge of assault on a minor female. ([Veruebung] ein[es] kriminellen Angriff auf ein 14 jaehriges Maedchen.) Henning, although asserting his innocence throughout, was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. See Saskatchewan Courier, 23 December 1908. What may have been rumoured previous to the conviction or for how long is not known. However, what is certain is that the case did not help the progress of the Manitoba Synod.

<sup>20</sup> The number listed in Statistisches Jahrbuch for 1913 for the Prairie Provinces is 54 from which we subtract 4 as the proportion of non-German, non-Prairie Province members (e.g., a pastor listed in Alberta might have had part of his membership in British Columbia.) pp. 80-87.

<sup>21</sup> Forty-six less one in North Dakota. Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 72.

<sup>22</sup> By Synod:

Missouri: Alberta	4,676
Manitoba	2,124
Saskatchewan	5,600
	<u>12,400</u>
Less: "Englisch," "Zuh,"	
"Poln.," "Ont.," "B.C.,"	
and "S.D.:"	<u>-1,024</u>
	11,376

Add: 200 persons each	
for 7 pastors not filing	
a report of membership:	<u>+1,400</u>
	12,776.

Data is from Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 80-87.

Missouri Synod had now surpassed Manitoba. But astounding, within that figure, 36,000, is the fact that by 1913 the Ohio Synod was now the largest out of the three with close to 14,000 members compared to about 13,000 for Missouri and ca. 9,000 for Manitoba.<sup>23</sup> This means that in just eight years the Ohio Synod had gathered<sup>24</sup> more members than the Missouri Synod in twenty-two years of work and more than the Manitoba Synod (and General Council) in twenty-five years.

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Manitoba: Total given	8,295
Less: N.D.:	<u>-250</u>
	8,045
Add: 200 persons each for 5 pastors not filing a report of membership:	<u>+1,000</u>
	9,045.

Data from Manitoba Synod, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 24-29.

Ohio: Total given:	13,216
Less: N.D.	<u>-275</u>
	12,941
Add: 300 persons each for 3 pastors not filing a report of membership:	<u>+900</u>
	13,841.

Data from Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 72-73.

<sup>23</sup> See preceding note. The figures, because of a few missing parochial reports, must remain approximations but are certainly accurate enough for the purposes of this study.

<sup>24</sup> Note that some would not be happy with the simple concept of "gathering." Ohio was sometimes disparaged as the Raeubersynode. See Siloah, November 1911 and Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1912, p. 56.

In all three synods, the pre-War decade brought the development of supra-congregational institutions in the Canadian Prairie region. Both the Manitoba and the Ohio Synods were the more developed in this area. Already in 1904, the Manitoba Synod had begun its own monthly church paper, Der Synodal-Bote,<sup>25</sup> and in 1914, a paper in connection with its beginning college, Der College-Freund.<sup>26</sup> In 1913, the Missouri Synod began its church paper for western Canada, Der Missionsfreund.<sup>27</sup>

As already shown above, both the General Council and the Ohio Synod had their territorial expression of the ordered church in the Manitoba Synod and the Canada District.<sup>28</sup> The Missouri Synod, however, was very slow to form a district in western Canada, though pastoral conferences did take place in the period after 1905.<sup>29</sup> Although in the early years "Canada" for the Minnesota-Dakota District meant western Canada, basically the Prairie Provinces with only a small number beginning in British

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<sup>25</sup> See Der Synodal-Bote, September 1909, which is 6. Jahrgang, No. 1. Ruccius implies that the publication of this paper was interrupted in 1910. p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> See Freitag, p. 9, note 9.

<sup>27</sup> Der Missionsfreund, February 1913, is 1. Jahrgang, No. 2.

<sup>28</sup> "Distrikt" in both the Ohio Synod and the Missouri Synod polities was roughly parallel to "Synod" in the General Council.

<sup>29</sup> See Herzer, pp. 28ff. and Threinen, "A Sower Went Out," p. 41.

Columbia, the pastoral conferences developed around Manitoba and Saskatchewan on the one hand and Alberta and British Columbia on the other.<sup>30</sup>

One reason for the slow development of the Missouri Synod's district structure in western Canada was because its mission had the characteristic of being a northward extension of a strong German-American church body. Missouri Synod Districts were formed in Canada only after the First World War; and, indeed, it was partially the First World War and the problems involved with German communication in Canada after 1914 which led, of necessity, to a stance more independent of the parent body in the United States.

With regard to educational institutions, both the Missouri Synod and the Ohio Synod, with their strong emphasis on the parochial school (See the discussion in Chapter XII, pp. 343ff.) were able to establish these in their larger congregations and to make beginnings in many of the smaller ones.<sup>31</sup> Together, there appear to be over

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<sup>30</sup> See *ibid.*.

The number of members in British Columbia was very small. See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 84-85. The difference in structure for Missouri, adding British Columbia and dividing off Alberta, most likely occurred because Calgary was an important area for them and because of the strong underlying North-South relationship.

<sup>31</sup> See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 80-87 and Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 72-3. For Missouri, there are nine Gemeinden showing a membership of 200 members or more and all show a Gemeindeschule. For the Ohio Synod the parochial reports are by pastors and parishes, not Gemeinden; and here, out of thirty parishes of over 200 members, twenty are showing at least one

eighty such schools by 1913, varying in practice from the larger full-time schools in places such as Winnipeg, Calgary and Stony Plain, to the more part-time arrangements in smaller Gemeinden.<sup>32</sup> The Manitoba Synod was the weakest in the area of parochial schools. We can, at this time, only estimate a number of ten to fifteen.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, it appears that one of the arguments used by the Ohio Synod in its competition with the Manitoba Synod was that it was more steadfast in keeping the mother tongue.<sup>34</sup>

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Gemeindeschule.

<sup>32</sup> Taking as a definition: "major responsibility for the education of the child," it is virtually impossible to arrive at an exact number. Indeed, a more accurate estimate than ours would require a new, major, and intensive study. We have tried to factor out situations where "Religious Instruction" (only?) is noted, also "Saturday Schools" where likely only Religion or German (or both) were taught and also summer school arrangements, keeping, however, part-time arrangements (four months/year or two days/week) where major responsibility is implied. See, for example, the printed notes in the margins of the Statistische Jahrbuecher parochial reports. See also the report of C.F. Walther in Minnesota und Dakota Distrikt, Synodal-Bericht, 1910, pp. 51-56.

<sup>33</sup> The Manitoba Synod parochial form in German uses the category "Wochen- od. Samstagssch.." See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 24-29. Missouri notes the Sonnabendeschule as an exception. See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 80-87. Misleading is the General Council's English parochial report categorization where "Wochen- od. Samstagssch." turn up as "parochial schools" in contrast to "Sunday School." See General Council, Minutes, 1913, p. 323.

<sup>34</sup> This argument is reported, with some indignation, by a Manitoba Synod pastor in 1912. See Siloah, January 1912. However, a report given by a Manitoba Synod Missionssuperintendent indicates that there may have been some reason to be concerned for the mother tongue especially in view of the eastern United States influence in that body:

Taken as a whole, only about one-third of the Gemeinden actually had parochial schools in the proper sense of the word. However, these were usually the larger Gemeinden so the influence of these schools was likely greater than the "one-third" would suggest. As well, statements in both Ohio

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Rosthern liegt 40 Meilen noerdlich von Saskatoon . . . Es liegt in einer Gegend, wo sich viele Mennoniten-Ansiedlungen befinden; aber es sind auch eine ziemliche Anzahl unserer lutherischen Glaubensgenossen dort. Es ist fast alles Deutsch dort. Die Mennoniten halten sehr auf die deutsche Sprache. Da koennen sich unsere deutschen Landsleute ein Beispiel dran nehmen. Zwar, was die deutschen Kolonisten aus Oesterreich und Russland anbetrifft, mit denen wir hier meist zu tun haben, so kann man nicht klagen. Die sind deutscher wie die Reichsdeutschen in Canada oder in den Staaten. Die halten was auf ihre deutsche Sprache, und sie haben recht. Man findet in ihren Haeusern allerhand gute, religioese Buecher. Ich muss mir immer wieder sagen: Wie viel, wie sehr viel ist doch verloren, wenn man die unvergleich herrliche, kraeftige, gesunde Seelenspeise nicht mehr geniessen kann, die die deutsche lutherische Kirche in ihrer kirchlichen Litteratur, in ihren Gesangbuechern, Predigt- und Gebetbuechern bietet. Es ist ja wahr, es muss die rechte und reine lutherische Lehre ebensogut in der englischen wie in jeder anderen Sprache gepredigt werden koennen; aber es nimmt lange, sehr lang, bis sich in irgend einer Sprache ein solcher Schatz kirchlicher Litteratur ansammelt, wie wir deutschen Lutheraner ihn haben. Die Skandinavier moechte ich ausnehmen. Die haben auch einen herrlichen, Jahrhunderte alten Schatz von Liedern, Predigten und Erbauungsbuechern . . . Als ich im Osten war, ist mir sehr aufgefallen, wie das Englische das Deutsche immer mehr und schnell verdraengt. . . . Auch wir in Canada werden das Deutsche nicht so lange halten koennen wie die Deutschen in Pennsylvanien z. B. oder auch selbst in den Mittelstaaten und wir wollen hier oben nicht den Fehler machen, welchen hunderte von Pastoren in den Staaten gemacht haben, besonders in den Stadtgemeinden, wir wollen dem Englischen in der Kirche Einlass gewaehren, wenn es Zeit ist, und damit verhindern, dass Tausende und Abertausende in englische, nicht lutherische Kirchen getrieben werden. Ibid., May 1912.

Synod and Missouri Synod publications indicate that, in their view, the Gemeindeschulen in western Canada were just in the beginning stages of development.<sup>35</sup>

Both the Manitoba Synod and the Ohio Synod began institutions of higher learning in the pre-War era. For the Manitoba Synod, it was their Lutheran College.<sup>36</sup> Begun in 1912 with Pastor Juergen Goos in Spruce Grove, the institution first moved to Edmonton and by 1914 had found its permanent home in Saskatoon.<sup>37</sup>

The College was founded originally as a Pro-seminary,<sup>38</sup> and one reason frequently given for its existence was the purpose of providing pastors for the territory.<sup>39</sup> However, this was a longer term purpose since the Synod, at that time, was receiving an increased supply of pastors from Kropp, and the College did not include the courses necessary for the education of pastors until 1918.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For the Missionsfreund, writing in 1913, the Gemeindeschule in western Canada was at the beginning of "einer Periode grossartiger Entwicklung." February 1913. Also see our page 334 in this chapter for the position of G. Gehrke that the bilingual public schools were just an interim measure on the way to the goal of more Gemeindeschulen.

<sup>36</sup> Officially, "Ev.-Luth. College der Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen," p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> See Ruccius, p. 18.

<sup>38</sup> See Siloah, September 1912.

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*, December 1913, January 1914, and April 1914.

<sup>40</sup> Ruccius, p. 19.

A more immediate motivation for the College seems to be a desire to provide guidance for talented young people, in a Lutheran bilingual setting, to find their way vocationally, both in church and secular occupations, without having to leave the region.<sup>41</sup> In the College, a student could receive the courses necessary to prepare him for the University and a teaching certificate.

Alternately, a student could, upon completion of his course, enter a Lutheran Seminary in the United States.<sup>42</sup> For the future, the Synod was looking forward to having pastors from its own territory, at home in the German language and competent in English, and who would also be used to the more primitive conditions present in the Canadian West.<sup>43</sup>

Not emphasized in Siloah nor the printed minutes of Synod was the fact that the Ohio Synod was starting an

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<sup>41</sup> For a comment on preparation for a "weltlichen Beruf," see Siloah, October 1912. As we have indicated in Chapter V, work within a "secular" Beruf was seen in Lutheran theology as potentially one way of doing God's work. (See pp. 104f..) This does not mean, however, that the path toward finding that Beruf was unproblematic. One purpose of the College was to help students relate their work to their faith.

<sup>42</sup> Ruccius, p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> See Siloah, December 1913 and April 1914. According to the Constitution of the College, the general language of instruction was to be German; however, English was not only to be taught as a subject but also to be used as a language of instruction for a number of subjects. Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 22.

academy at Melville, Saskatchewan<sup>44</sup> and had received strong encouragement from the German community at large for its earlier efforts.<sup>45</sup>

The Ohio Synod's Melville Academy (Saskatchewan), founded in 1913, seems to have had a more clearly expressed motivation. This was intended partially as a Normal School, partially as a Pro-seminary. It would teach religion, German and other subjects on a more advanced level and prepare its graduates to serve as teachers in the Ohio Synod's parochial school system or in local bi-lingual public schools; or the candidates could go on to study in an actual seminary of the Ohio Synod.<sup>46</sup> This Academy appears to be quite similar in function to the Normal Schools used to prepare the Kuester-Lehrer in Russia.

Thus, by the eve of the First World War, the number of German Lutherans now affiliated with the Lutheran Church bodies had about tripled from the number who were members in 1904. But during this period of time, the population of the

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<sup>44</sup> Permission had been granted by the Ohio Synod by August of 1911 and the District had begun a drive to raise funds. Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1911, pp. 6-7 and 13.

<sup>45</sup> See below, p. 334. However, as early as 1906, the Alberta Herold had cited the Synodal-Bote in reporting that the German Reformed were considering starting a high school (Hochschule) at Wolseley, Saskatchewan, noted that the Mennonites already had such an institution, and posed the question: "Wann werden wir deutschen Lutheraner einen aehnlichen Fortschritt berichten koennen!" 12 January 1906.

<sup>46</sup> See Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1909, p. 8, 1911, p. 13 and 1914, p. 23.

Prairie Provinces had also greatly increased and along with it the number of census German Lutherans. The result was that at the end of the pre-war era, only about one-half of German Lutherans had become a part of German Lutheran congregations.<sup>47</sup> In spite of the extremely large increase in German Lutheran clergy, the three Synods had continued to lag behind in the gathering of immigrants into congregations. Without a doubt, a good part of the reason for this was that fact of synodical competition. A negative factor can be found in the logistics of some situations where, for example, two struggling smaller congregations would be present in one community. Neither of them would have been able to manage a viable Gemeindeschule, whereas one healthy congregation (and unified place community) could have developed one.<sup>48</sup> A second negative factor in the synodical competition was simply the wasted energy, the

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<sup>47</sup> In Appendix III, we have calculated the number of German Lutherans from the 1911 Census as ca. 61,000. At this time, the number gathered into congregations was just over 31,000. See Appendix VI. By 1913, this number was approximately 36,000 but since this increase was paralleled by two years of heavy immigration (thus raising the theoretical "census" German Lutheran total), there could not have been much change in the percentage.

<sup>48</sup> Small towns showing two or more Lutheran synods in 1913 are Langenburg, Neudorf, Rostern, Kronau, Melville, and Luseland in Saskatchewan and Wetaskiwin, Hay Lakes, and Leduc in Alberta. See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1913, pp. 81-87; Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, pp. 69-70 and 72-73; and Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 24-29.

Some of the church Gemeinden designated by these towns could well have been in different rural neighbourhoods around the same small town but in these cases there almost certainly would have been some overlap in the territory.

bitterness, and the bad feeling in the Church created by such conflict.<sup>49</sup>

### C. Reasons for Ohio's Success.

Having said the above concerning church conflict, we must also state that without the entry of the Ohio Synod, the Lutheran Church could well have fallen even further behind; for, although sometimes termed the Raeubersynode, certainly not all (if any) of their congregations were stolen; and clearly this Synod made the greatest progress of the three in the Prairie region. What accounts for this

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<sup>49</sup> The examples are legion. Dr. Threinen's book, "A Sower Went Out," effectively portrays some examples of quarreling, splitting, synod switching and contention in court over property ownership as they occurred over a short period of time in the Langenburg and Neudorf areas. pp. 31ff..

Let this writer add only one personal example. In researching this dissertation, I noted that Theodor Zoekler at Stanislau in Galicia was the son of Prof. Otto Zoekler who was a professor of theology at Greifswald at the very time when Martin Ruccius was a student there. See Lenker, p. 179 and Lempp, p. 151. Thus, at the time when Stanislau was becoming well known as the most flourishing example of Inner Mission work in Austria (ca. 1910), I wondered if this was recognized (and taken to heart) by the leaders of the General Council's German work who had earlier shown such a strong interest in the Inner Mission work in Germany. But, in paging through Siloah, I found, instead of any reference to Zoekler and his evangelical example in Galicia, one article after another concerning contention in the Canadian Northwest. See years 1910-11, passim. One incident, which seemed to greatly concern the editors of Siloah, had to do with a Missouri Synod pastor leaving a hard winter's work with no salary because a quarreling congregation had chosen to accept an Ohio Synod pastor instead. See July 1911.

outstanding achievement?

The answer to this question must, of necessity, be somewhat impressionistic; but certain characteristics of this Synod's ministry do stand out. First, it is clear that the Ohio Synod had a forceful, dynamic, and yet compassionate leader in Pastor Gehrke. The first two qualities are admitted by nearly everyone who has dealt with the subject.<sup>50</sup> The third is evident in a address which he made admonishing his colleagues to be conscientious in their care for every person:

I was happy that until now we had been spared the unfortunate fight over predestination; but if Missouri wants to force that upon our mission territory, then, dear brethren, may God help us, that we the more energetically might stand for "by grace alone through faith" but then as well for grace for everyone and preach as the only basis for damnation: "but you would not."<sup>51</sup>

Upon this basis Gehrke continued to admonish his colleagues concerning their views on the weak in faith, or the stubbornly unchurched, or the openly immoral in their

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<sup>50</sup> For example, in Threinen's, A Sower Went Out, the coming of the Ohio Synod was "one of the special burdens which many of the Missouri men had to face." This Synod was aggressive and was led by "a man with tremendous energy." pp. 28-9. For Evenson, the Canada District-Ohio Synod "was dominated by one towering personality." p. 59. In earlier (opposing) synodical histories the name seems to have been intentionally avoided. For Wiegner, Gehrke is "a certain travelling mission man of that other Synod who began his rather unscrupulous activity in Western Canada in about 1905, causing quite a sensation which was the beginning of an extremely keen and bitter competition between his Synod and ours." p. 19.

<sup>51</sup> "Ihr habt nicht gewollt." [Luke 13:34] Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1910, p. 9.

communities, that they should not write them off (or speculate on why they were not believing) but work persistently and evangelically.<sup>52</sup>

A second reason for the Ohio Synod's effectiveness lies in its respect for the background of the immigrants, especially those from Russia.<sup>53</sup> Pastor Gehrke seems to have understood and appreciated the love of the Volga Germans for their Wolga Gesangbuch and did not insist that it be taken away from them as a condition of Lutheran church membership in Canada. In at least one case (Winnipeg) the Ohio Synod was able to form a large congregation with a parochial school and an important element in its growth was the use of this hymnal.<sup>54</sup> Further, Gehrke tried to impart an understanding to his pastors on the conditions in eastern Europe, saying that the church life of the people was not very confessionally conscious there as it had developed in North America.<sup>55</sup> However, Gehrke observes, as well, that,

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<sup>52</sup> See also *ibid.*, 1912, pp. 12-13.

<sup>53</sup> This, also, is an impressionistic statement, but we can give some key examples.

<sup>54</sup> And the result was loss for the Missouri Synod which would not allow it. See Wiegner, p. 20 and Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1914, pp. 68-9. Also Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1907, pp. 43-4. The Missouri Synod also lost about half of its membership in a Calgary church because it would not allow the Wolga Gesangbuch. See Cherland, p. 55.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 5. As we have shown, officially the Lutheran Church in Russia was confessionally strict, but in practice the people often had little contact with their pastors.

although many Russia-Germans fell easily into the hands of "sects,"<sup>56</sup> many still showed a strong resistance when they realized that the teaching was contrary to Luther's Small Catechism.<sup>57</sup>

Still further, Gehrke admonished caution when dealing with the pietistic Bruederschaft which was being transplanted to North America by the Russia-Germans. Although he admits that many of the people involved were infected with a type of methodistische Schwaermerei, he says that with patience and understanding, some of these could likely become their best church members.<sup>58</sup>

Finally, Gehrke again showed a strong concern for the social and religious welfare of the immigrants. Again we have before our eyes the form of a pastor in Winnipeg active<sup>59</sup> in the guiding of immigrants into potentially cohesive German-Lutheran Gemeinde more like those which they had come from in Europe. Part of the process of creating a new home for the immigrants was Gehrke's active promotion of the Gemeindeschule. Early on, he appears to have realized that that was an essential element in the life of German

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<sup>56</sup> "einer falschgläubigen Kirche"

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 1911, pp. 8-9.

<sup>59</sup> We have already shown that the Ohio Synod pastors in Winnipeg set themselves anew to the task of providing an Emigrantenmission in 1906. (Above, p. 318.) For Gehrke's participation personally, see Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 14.

Lutherans from Eastern Europe and that its development in western Canada was relatively neglected. Thus, as early as 1906 we find him promoting a bilingual Lutheran Normal School in Winnipeg. Even though this institution did not take shape until 1913 in the form of Melville Academy, for his effort Gehrke was to earn the enthusiastic support of many leaders in the German community.<sup>60</sup> On the point of the Gemeindeschule he appears to show a flexibility and sensitivity to the social and political context of western Canada, using what was available, yet energetically pushing on to a higher goal. For example, on the question of bilingual public schools in Manitoba and this principle to a degree in the other provinces, he stated that these could be of help to them;<sup>61</sup> and it was important to get trained people from their congregations into positions teaching in the German-English system. Yet, at the same time, the ultimate goal was the Gemeindeschule and Gehrke said that to a great extent their future in western Canada would depend on this institution.<sup>62</sup>

To conclude, we have shown that the period from 1905-1914 brought about significant changes for German Lutherans in the Prairie region. The total population of the region

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<sup>60</sup> See Alberta Herald, 2 February 1906.

<sup>61</sup> Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1910, p. 11 and ibid., 1914, p. 23.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 1910, p. 11.

had multiplied and with this increase, the number of German origin people, also German Lutheran, had also multiplied. In terms of church structure, the Missouri Synod had surpassed the Manitoba Synod and both of them had been surpassed by the new and dynamic Ohio Synod. Still, even with the outstanding effort of the Ohio Synod, barely half of German Lutheran immigrants in the Prairies had become members of congregations.

Both the Ohio Synod and the Manitoba Synod were developing significant institutions of higher education while attempting to provide at least a minimum of pastoral care to the influx of immigrants. Both the Missouri Synod and the Ohio Synod put considerable effort into the Gemeindeschule; and, given the fact that their achievements occurred along with the heavy work load related to the immigration and new settlement, their efforts appeared to show great promise. However, this promise, together with a normal development of the German Lutheran Gemeinde came to an end with the First World War.

## CHAPTER XII

### ANOTHER DIMENSION: THE GERMAN LUTHERAN GEMEINDE AND A LARGER THEOLOGICAL VISION

Our study up to this point has determined the points of origin of German Lutheran immigrants to the Canadian Prairies and then given a description of their way of life in their countries of origin. We have seen that for the large majority of the immigrants, coming from eastern Europe, that way of life was through and through religious, and that they lived in Gemeinden "as Germanic islands in a Slavic sea," where their central institutions were church and (confessional) school. A prime motivation for the emigration of these Lutherans, especially in the early years (end of 1880's and first half of 1890's), was the fact that these institutions, especially the schools, were having serious difficulties. This combined with a continuing economic motivation which in many cases was made more severe if these people chose to remain German and Lutheran.

In our discussion of western Canada, we have

concentrated on the work of the Lutheran church bodies in their task of gathering the immigrants into Gemeinden, showing that the beginning work of the General Council was one of mutual cooperation with the region's major German newspaper<sup>1</sup> and government officials and one which helped to further an orderly settlement of German Lutherans. However, the inability of the General Council to sufficiently man the territory soon led to Lutheran church competition and conflict; and the work of gathering German Lutherans into viable Lutheran Gemeinden was severely limited.

Even with the remarkable work of the Ohio Synod in the decade just before the First World War, the percentage of German Lutherans gathered into congregations, by the census year of 1911, was just over 50%. Moreover, of this 50%, scarcely more than half would be in a Gemeinde where there was a viable confessional school. The contrast is great. Whereas in western Canada only about one-fourth of German Lutherans were living in Gemeinden where a Gemeindeschule was a reality; in Eastern Europe it was practically a sine qua non.

However, in this chapter we shall see that the Lutheran church bodies working in western Canada were not at all satisfied with an occasional or optional Gemeindeschule.

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<sup>1</sup> Der Nordwesten remained the region's major German newspaper throughout the pre-World War I period. In 1914, it had over 20,000 subscribers. See Der Nordwesten, 29 April 1914 and Entz, "Der Einfluss der deutschsprachigen Presse," p. 98.

Rather, their vision (and thus missionary intention) was one which included this institution as an integral part of the Christian community. Thus our final chapter deals, now, with a further dimension of German Lutherans: namely, their vision of the German Lutheran Gemeinde in western Canada.

A. Settlement in Western Canada and the Ideology of the Gemeindeschule.

Basically, the Gemeindeschule curriculum rested on three fundamental texts of German Lutheran literature: The Bible (Luther's translation), the Small Catechism, and the Hymnbook.<sup>2</sup> In such a school, children were taught to read and to write (in German)<sup>3</sup> and to sing. The Bible itself would, at the earlier levels, have been replaced by Bible stories but in connection with learning the Catechism, children would also learn Bible verses. Learning to read and write in German could also involve other literature without disturbing the three fundamental works. Together with religion, German, and singing, children could also

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<sup>2</sup> See Minnesota-Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1909, pp. 15-16. This section of the District minutes (pp. 11-19) was a Lehrverhandlung entitled "Die Versorgung der Kinder unserer Gemeinden mit christlichem Unterricht."

<sup>3</sup> This is simply self-understood. The author of this Lehrverhandlung stated that one of the complaints that some members had was that their children did not learn enough English in the schools. p. 13.

learn mathematics, English, and perhaps a subject like geography.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, the Gemeindeschule, normally, would have a grade eight equivalent as its goal. This was about the age when youth were, then, confirmed.<sup>5</sup>

Classically, the young people would then, more formally, begin their work. In Germany it would be as an apprentice in some skilled trade;<sup>6</sup> or, in the agrarian community, it would normally be continuing with father or mother on the farm. Young women were often married soon after confirmation.<sup>7</sup> Another option was for young men to begin study in a college. For example, the College of the Manitoba Synod had, as its entrance requirement, grade eight or equivalent.<sup>8</sup> For Confirmation, children were to have a basic knowledge of the Bible and Catechism; and this was

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<sup>4</sup> Here, the author of "Die Versorgung der Kinder" says that in the "secular subjects" there was no hard and fast rule except that they should be competitive with the public schools.

<sup>5</sup> From the General Council's Kirchenbuch: Diejenigen, die zur Konfirmation zugelassen werden, sollten in der Regel wenigstens das dreizehnte Lebensjahr zurueckgelegt haben." p. 211.

<sup>6</sup> Siloah (August 1884) showed an appreciation for the apprentice system in Germany and regretted that it had declined in America.

<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Martin Ruccius was the former Wilhelmine Wagner who, as a girl, immigrated with her family to Edenwald from the Bukovina. She was introduced to her future husband through Pastor Schmieder and married at the age of fifteen. In "her own story" she comments that in those days marrying young was more common than rare. See "The Ruccius Record," pp. 4-7.

<sup>8</sup> See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 23.

common practice in the first quarter century of the Lutheran Church in western Canada although under pioneer conditions their way of coming to learn this formulation of their faith varied greatly.<sup>9</sup>

Formally, the Lutheran Gemeinde had to have something at least resembling the academic result of the Gemeindeschule if it were to have any continued life at all. This is because the congregation had to have a continuing supply of young confirmed members, and these, outside of immigration or the occasional conversion, came only through the confirmation of young people who had been instructed in the Small Catechism. This occurred even without the Gemeindeschule, but in deciding for this school two things were at stake. The first was the question of the young person feeling enough at home in the German language so that the confession of faith would not be foreign to him or her. The other was the centrality of the faith in the education of the child. Was there to be an education based on the Biblical message and the (German) Lutheran tradition or was it to be an education based on Anglo-Canadian state-nationality with the Biblical message and the Lutheran tradition added on "after hours?" These were ultimately the issues which made the question of the Gemeindeschule so important for German Lutherans in western Canada.

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<sup>9</sup> e.g., see Siloah, May 1890, June 1891, December 1891, February 1897 and April 1897.

What the average layperson hoped for in a religious sense in coming to Canada is difficult to determine. We can state what some individuals or groups intended,<sup>10</sup> but to generalize we have to depend on our understanding of their communities in Europe and the circumstances of emigration. If people leave because of a threat to their Gemeinde, one may assume that they have some intent to reestablish that Gemeinde in their new home. Perhaps the most convincing evidence that this was indeed the case is the fact that German Lutherans actually did tend to settle as groups on the Canadian prairies.

Striking, is the fact that in 1901, on the Prairies, 60-70% of German Lutherans were located in 5 to 10% of the census subdistricts.<sup>11</sup> Although family ties would be a factor in this concentration,<sup>12</sup> one would not be amiss to

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<sup>10</sup> For example, a report in Lutherisches Kirchenblatt indicates the danger to confessional schools in Austria; the difficulty encountered in emigrating; and then, with respect to a group of emigrants newly arrived in Winnipeg from Galicia, "a profound longing for the word of God and the Christian school." 23 March 1889, p. 93. (Translation mine.) We note also that in 1894 the people in Friedensfeld, Manitoba were building a school house and sending for a teacher from Russia. Siloah, February 1894. Further, in 1899 the Nordwesten reported a small Lutheran Gemeinde near Dominion City, Manitoba which had begun a Gemeindeschule, apparently on their own initiative. Siloah, April 1899.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix X.

<sup>12</sup> A. Grenke emphasizes this aspect. p. 91. However, Grenke, on the one hand, maintains that "German Protestant denominations, other than the Mennonites and Hutterites tended not, however, to form larger settlements of their specific groupings." p. 89. On the other, he gives some

point out that the simplest explanation is probably the best: basically religious people<sup>13</sup> settled by language and religion. Given the circumstances politically and economically, this type of settlement, in the rural areas, would be most closely parallel to the type which had occurred in Volhynia, namely, the agrarian neighbourhood

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examples of German Lutheran settlements and says that "Germans were also attracted to settling with their co-religionists because this facilitated the building of a church and a parochial school." See p. 94. We will agree that German Lutheran group settlement was small (in terms of block size) compared to that of the Mennonites. For example, German Lutherans in 1901 had no settlements as large as those indicated for Mennonites in the sub-districts of Rhineland, Stanley, Hanover, Morris (in Manitoba) or Hague or Rosthern (in Saskatchewan). See 1901 Census, pp. 156-8 and 280. However, Hutterite and other Mennonite settlements might be numerically more comparable. Further, German Lutheran settlement does, on occasion, show a comparable percentage of concentration, especially in some Saskatchewan sub-districts (Langenburg, Strassburg, and Fish Creek are over 70%, and in Stony Plain, Alberta it was 83%). Ibid., pp. 272-3, 274-5, and 280-1.

As well, although smaller, there would have been many more group settlements for German Lutherans than for Mennonites (simply because, if only three large Mennonite sub-districts are removed, the number of German Lutherans are about twice as many and their percentage living in concentrated areas was more than one half.) See 1901, Census, pp. 156 and 158 and our Appendix X. As was the case in Volhynia, German Lutheran group settlement in Canada, generally, was not especially organized with respect to formal government action. We have noted that government action was present in the early years (the reserving of townships); yet after the church situation became more complex the group settlement process must have become more informal. Yet this process was definitely there and not only facilitated the building of a parochial school; but, given the means of transportation in that day, the forming of this latter would have been nearly impossible without it.

<sup>13</sup> See Fricke, p. 5: ". . . die allermeisten von ihnen kamen wohl mit dem Wunsche, ein eigenes Heim zu gruenden, und waren in der grossen Mehrzahl fleissige, sparsame, ruhige, tief religioese Ansiedler!"

based on the family farm. In the cities, it was a living together in an ethnic neighbourhood,<sup>14</sup> much like German minorities in the cities of eastern Europe.

The intentions of church bodies regarding the formation of Gemeinden can be determined more directly since both their intentions and practices appeared in print. Their view of living in ethnic settlements was a consequence of their ideology regarding the Gemeindeschule. And the Gemeindeschule idea itself was a part of a larger social and theological vision.

The Missouri Synod (as a whole) had more parochial school teachers than all the other German Lutheran Synods combined.<sup>15</sup> At least in the earlier days "with every church a parish school was begun."<sup>16</sup> According to Lenker, ". . . today [i.e., 1893] their strength and glory is in their Christian education,---parochial, collegiate and theological."<sup>17</sup> As we have shown, establishment of a Gemeindeschule was a condition for full synodical membership.<sup>18</sup> The consequences of this emphasis are evident in the statistics for the year 1892. In that year, there

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<sup>14</sup> Grenke's study of Germans in Winnipeg observes that also in that city they tended to settle together by national origin and religion. p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Lenker, p. 793.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> p. 795.

<sup>18</sup> See our Chapter X, note 62.

were more schools than pastors and more schools than "congregations [officially] connected with the Synod."<sup>19</sup> By some counts, the number of students in the schools were more than the number of child members of school age.<sup>20</sup> 19th century Missouri Synod Lutheranism, has been characterized as emphasizing (among other things) "the best in German language and culture [and] a tenacious upholding of the parochial school."<sup>21</sup>

The Ohio Synod as a whole was apparently giving rather less emphasis to the parochial school than Missouri. Still, if one were to consider only the strongly German element in that synod, one would continue to find the strong commitment

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<sup>19</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 795. Lenker lists: 920 congregations, connected with the Synod; 809, not connected with the Synod (apparently served by Missouri Synod pastors); and 1328 schools.

<sup>20</sup> There were 83,514 "Parochial School Scholars" and 580,014 "Souls." *Ibid.* At an average school term of six years and a putative longevity of 55 years, this works out to:  $(83,514/580,014)/(6/55) = .144/.109 = \text{ca. } 1.32$ .

In 1897, Der Lutheraner responded to criticism in the publication of another church body against its Gemeindeschulen. The response said that 88,000 of 94,000 eligible children went to parochial schools but that not all of the 88,000 were members of a Gemeinde. Many non-members attended. However, the child members not attending were not doing so mainly because they were in frontier areas, and the missionaries had not yet been able to properly develop the school. Normally, Der Lutheraner said, the children would all go. 14 December 1897.

<sup>21</sup> V. Eylands quoted by Frank Malinsky in Grace and Blessing. A History of the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (Ontario District Committee, 1954), p. 12.

to the Gemeindeschule.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, during the earlier free conferences between Missouri and Ohio, one of the first things that the pastors were able to agree on was the designation of the Sunday School as a "miserable emergency measure," and a strong preference for the parochial school.<sup>23</sup>

But of the three church bodies, most problematic of all in connection with parochial school ideology was the General Council's policy. Omitting for the purpose of this study the question of the Swedes in the General Council, one finds, by 1912, the following listing of parochial<sup>24</sup> schools by synod:

Ministerium of Pennsylvania	36
Ministerium of New York	84
Synod of Canada	34
Manitoba Synod	20
All others	5. <sup>25</sup>

It may be noted that the four synods listed above were the

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<sup>22</sup> See Frevold, pp. 295-6.

<sup>23</sup> Carl S. Meyer, "Ohio's Accord with Missouri, 1868-1880" in Herbert T. Neve and Benjamin A. Johnson, ed., The Maturing of American Lutheranism (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1968), p. 187.

<sup>24</sup> As we have indicated in Chapter X (note 93), the General Council's definition of the "parochial school" was a weak one, at least as far as the Manitoba Synod was concerned. This, however, does not affect the argument being made here.

<sup>25</sup> General Council, Minutes, 1913, p. 323.

more strongly German synods of the General Council.<sup>26</sup>

The German Lutheran press of the General Council indicates that the Gemeindeschule was both strongly promoted and aggressively opposed within the General Council. In the pages of periodicals such as Lutherisches Kirchenblatt one sees a constant concern for the Gemeindeschule and the maintenance of German culture in the American political context. Titles of articles such as "Unsere Muttersprache in Gefahr,"<sup>27</sup> "Der Kampf um die Gemeindeschulen in Massachusetts,"<sup>28</sup> "Ein neues Schulgesetz fuer Wisconsin,"<sup>29</sup> and "Die Gemeindeschulen in Gefahr"<sup>30</sup> were frequent. In one particular article "Gemeindeschulen oder oeffentliche Schulen," the public school system is characterized as a "gigantic political machine." The author saw it the cause of a higher divorce rate. In the view of this author, the only honourable solution to the problem was a return to "the

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<sup>26</sup> The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was a very large synod in the General Council; and, compared to its size, the number of parochial schools was small. See *ibid.* Further, it had been bilingual since about the mid-nineteenth century; yet, it had a strong German group within it which has been characterized as quite vocal. Frevold, p. 259. The Ministerium of New York had undergone a period of Germanization and by the end of the 19th century was more German than earlier. *Ibid.* The Canada Synod was officially German-speaking, its English congregations having formed the Synod of Central Canada in 1909. Cronmiller, pp. 133-195.

<sup>27</sup> Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 16 February 1889.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 May 1889.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 March 1889.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 June 1889.

venerable vocation" (Beruf), of teaching religion in the school. Otherwise the next generation would grow up "without God and without moral character," "highly educated but not for anything good." "Woe to the synod or congregation," says the writer, "who would give this matter a low priority."<sup>31</sup>

However, resistance came from within the General Council itself. An example of this can be found in an article in Siloah which responds to a attack on the schools in an article appearing in the Lutheran. The writer in the Lutheran maintained that parochial schools would lead to intolerance and religious conflict and posed a danger to the state.<sup>32</sup> He closes his attack on them with the words: "God save the Republic for her tolerance!"<sup>33</sup> The writer in Siloah, in turn, defended the schools by numerous quotes from Martin Luther who stated among other things that "God maintains the Church by means of the schools."<sup>34</sup> The writer closes by asking:

What is to be expected of a generation which receives 25 hours a week of instruction in arts and science and only one, at the most two or three hours, in God's word? Just what we now have: religious indifference and rationalism.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 26 January 1889.

<sup>32</sup> "staatsgefahrllich"

<sup>33</sup> Siloah, February 1897.

<sup>34</sup> Translation mine.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. Translation mine.

In western Canada, a sentiment, similar to that of the Gemeindeschule defence was current. We have already noted that the Ohio Synod had set about building up Melville Academy, not only to begin educating pastors but also to train school teachers who were to go back into the provincial bilingual schools.<sup>36</sup> The bilingual public schools, however, were seen as only a temporary help given an immigrant situation of considerable poverty. The main task, however, for the congregations, as they strengthened financially, was for them to set up their own Gemeindeschulen. For the Ohio Synod, it remained the case that "to a great extent the future of . . . the church would rest on the school."<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the most comprehensive statement of Ohio's complex position regarding the education of its children can be found in a resolution on the subject made by the Canada District in 1913. The immediate cause for issuing this statement was the attempt of the Regina Ministerial Association to get the Department of Education to include ethical and religious instruction in the Province's Public Schools. To this end the Association was seeking support from different Protestant church bodies. The response of the Canada District contained four points of principle:

1. To maintain the complete religious freedom of all

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<sup>36</sup> Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1910, pp. 10-11.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

citizens of the country, no sort of religious instruction should be given in the public schools.

2. For the education of our children, the only appropriate (zweckmaessige) means [was] and [would] remain the Gemeindeschule.

3. [The District declared] that the present separate school legislation [was] not a just one since the general(ized) designation of "Protestants" and "Catholics" [was] not at all sufficient. [They] demand[ed], rather, that the laws be changed so that either every religious body (Gemeinschaft) should be free to organize its own elementary schools, in a manner such that the taxes of all members of that religious organization of a [given] locality be used for that purpose, or, otherwise, that all separate school legislation be abolished.

4. [The Canada District would] seek the support of their brothers in the faith in other synods to support them in this endeavour and call[ed] upon other Protestant church bodies to provide a common front in presenting this demand before the Minister of Education.<sup>38</sup>

The other synods did not have the opportunity to react effectively to the invitation of Ohio since its statement came only a year before the First World War. However, for the Missouri Synod on the mission territory, commitment to the Gemeindeschule remained strong. The Synod in western Canada appeared eager to follow the tradition developed in the United states and in 1913 Der Missionsfreund saw the Gemeindeschule in the Northwest, although only in the beginning stages, as standing before a hopeful future.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Translation mine. The fifth part of the resolution concerned the appointing of a representative to carry out the above. Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 60-1.

<sup>39</sup> See Chapter XI, note 35.

In the General Council where the Gemeindeschule was the least developed,<sup>40</sup> things took an interesting turn in the years 1908 and 1909. In the latter year, Siloah reprinted an article from the Alberta Herold on German parochial schools. This article pointed to the central role that church schools played in the life of Germans in Russia<sup>41</sup> and called for their more vigorous development in western Canada. The Siloah article indicated that German-Americans in the east could stand to learn from the attitude in western Canada.<sup>42</sup> Thus in the General Council, one finds an ambiguous situation. On the one hand, some in the German-speaking clergy continued to strongly promote the Gemeindeschule. However, these persons were a minority in a church body which generally had not been supportive of this institution.

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<sup>40</sup> In 1913, there were only 16 compared to 33 for Ohio, and several of the Manitoba Synod's schools could well have been Saturday Schools. See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 24-29 and Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, pp. 72-3.

<sup>41</sup> The article deals especially with the schools in St. Petersburg.

<sup>42</sup> "Wir moechten hierzu 'ja' und 'amen' sagen, denn was fuer Russland und Canada gilt, hat auch seine Geltung fuer die Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten . . ." February 1909. This article followed an article in 1908 on "Deutsche Erziehung" and a series of articles in that year celebrating the work of Wilhelm Loehe. See the February, March and June issues. For the influence of Loehe, see below, p. 362f..

B. A Larger Theological Vision: the Building of Zion or the Kingdom of God in Western Canada.

The Gemeindeschule itself was viewed as a part of a broader vision as the church bodies sought to build up their Gemeinden in western Canada. Current, even dominant, in the thinking of the synods was the concept of "Zion"<sup>43</sup> or the "Kingdom of God" (Reich Gottes).<sup>44</sup> Specifically, German Lutherans were called "to work and to pray."<sup>45</sup> The work was seen as a building of Zion, the Kingdom of God, the City of God.<sup>46</sup> More specifically, one finds several references to the work of Nehemiah in the Old Testament where the Jews

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<sup>43</sup> "Als Distrikt haben wir uns eigentlich keine andre Aufgabe, als die wir vordem hatten, naemlich das Reich unseres Gottes aufzurichten in den Herzen durch die von Gott gestifteten Gnadenmittel, und als lutherischer Synode keine andere, als unser lutherisches Zion zu bauen und zu befestigen unter den Kindern unserer Kirche." Georg Gehrke in Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1910, p. 6. See also Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 8.

<sup>44</sup> See Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1901, pp. 7ff.. Also Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1909, p. 17; 1910, p. 5; and 1911, pp. 6-7. As well, Heinrich Schmieder in Lutherisches Kirchenblatt, 16 March 1889; in Siloah, April 1890; and in March 1891: "Wie nun schon bei jedem Menschen Leib und Seele enger zusammenhaengt, als mancher glaubt, und wie leibliches und geistliches Wohlbefinden oft Hand in Hand geht, so wird auch, aeusserlich angesehen, das Reich Gottes im canadischen Nordwesten, so der Herr Gnade gibt, auch mit der Kultur des Landes wachsen."

<sup>45</sup> Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1911, p. 7. See the theme also in Siloah, September 1890 and its elaboration in our quote from E. Moldehke. Above, p. 292.

<sup>46</sup> Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1911, pp. 6-7.

were encouraged to "rebuild the walls of Jerusalem."<sup>47</sup> Indeed, we have noted that one German Lutheran periodical in Pennsylvania had named itself after this event, namely: Kelle und Schwert.<sup>48</sup> Having appeared as a response to what was perceived as an attack on German language ministry, Kelle und Schwert had as its motto Nehemiah 4:17: "Mit der einen Hand thaten sie die Arbeit, und mit der andern hielten sie die Waffen." For the publishers<sup>49</sup> of this periodical: Lutheran church and German culture were inseparable concepts.<sup>50</sup> These they would nourish and clarify in their own social circles and defend themselves wherever anyone would attempt to confuse [either of] them or to encroach upon them so as to deny them a healthy life.<sup>51</sup>

For German Lutherans of the General Council who lived in the eastern United States, the question of maintaining

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<sup>47</sup> See Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1909, p. 7; Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1910, p. 5; and Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1914, p. 6.

<sup>48</sup> See pp. 306-7.

<sup>49</sup> "Wer wir sind? Deutsche Maenner sind wir und Deutsche wollen wir bleiben. Daran kann uns weder ein Grenzpfahl hindern, noch ein Weltmeer. Wir wissen, was wir unserer Mutter schuldig sind, und was unserem zerstreuten Volke Not thut.

Und deutsche Lutheraner sind wir, Kinder der deutschen Reformation, denen das ererbte Bekenntnis der Vaeter nicht eine kuehle Geschaeftssache mehr ist, sondern noch eine ernste Herzens- und Gewissenssache." Kelle und Schwert, January 1888.

<sup>50</sup> "Deutschtum und Luthertum sind uns unzertrennliche Begriffe." Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

the German language among the youth remained a difficult one for the whole period of this study.<sup>52</sup> For the Missouri Synod and the Ohio Synod, operating in Canada, the language question does not appear to be predominant although we know that for Ohio, earlier, in the United States, this question had been a difficult one.<sup>53</sup> In prairie Canada, the German language question appears not to have been immediately problematic in the pre-World War period<sup>54</sup> although there were signs, toward the end of the period, that future problems could be expected, especially in the cities.<sup>55</sup>

In stating this, however, we do not want to imply that more educated Germans were satisfied with the state of things. Especially in the German newspapers, one finds a

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<sup>52</sup> There are examples of both attrition and progress depending on the situation. e.g., see *ibid.*, June 1908, July 1908 and May 1912. Of course, the editors of *Siloah* wanted progress and had reprinted the *Alberta Herald* article giving Germans in Russia and Canada as good examples in order to help that progress in the United States.

<sup>53</sup> For the Missouri Synod in the Minnesota-Dakota Distrikt, the greater problem seems to be the persuading of some pastors to teach better English in the parochial schools so that the students could be more completely bilingual. See *Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1909, p. 17.*

<sup>54</sup> This is a generalization based on Gehrke's acceptance of the bilingual public school as a temporary substitute for the *Gemeindeschule*. See *Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1910, p. 11.* Also *Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1914, p. 23.* Also, the conclusion of Kurt Tischler is that in Saskatchewan children were able to maintain the German language up to the First World War. See above, p. 4, note 5, also our remarks.

<sup>55</sup> A summary of the present (1912) language question and future expectations is found in our Chapter XI, note 34.

constant concern for language and culture, and here we note the heavy involvement of Lutheran clergy and active Lutheran laymen in the German press. To the persons already discussed, Pastors Schmieder and Ruccius; founder, Hespeler; and publishers Bruegmann, Koermann and Harbs; we add the name of Paul Bredt who founded the Saskatchewan Courier.

Bredt had come to Edenwald in 1895 from Leipzig,<sup>56</sup> was involved in horse and cattle breeding and as an immigration official, and founded his newspaper in 1907.<sup>57</sup> The paper had the specific purpose of furthering the interests of the Germans in the Province and intended to "judge events in the world and life from . . . a Christian world-view (Weltanschauung)." However, the paper declared that it would not get involved in religious contention which "occur[red] from time to time."<sup>58</sup> Paul Bredt was an active Lutheran layman who served as treasurer of the Manitoba

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<sup>56</sup> Kleiner, p. 36.

<sup>57</sup> Bredt's name is usually connected with the founding the paper since he was its managing editor. See Enns, "Der Einfluss der deutschsprachigen Presse," p. 98. Actually, Bredt was the Vice-president, Editor and Manager, of the Saskatchewan Courier Publishing Co.. However, the President of this company was Gerhard Ens, M.P.P., from Rosthern. Taken from letterhead of P. M. Bredt to [H. Harms?], 14 November 1910, Heinrich Harms Papers, Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

<sup>58</sup> 30 October 1907.

Synod from 1900 to 1913.<sup>59</sup>

A second name that we bring forth in connection with the German press is that of Pastor Johannes Hensen. Hensen came from Schleswig-Holstein, and after 1902 was pastor in Lutherhort and then later, in Leduc, Alberta. From 1907 to 1911 he worked with Bredt as an editor of the Saskatchewan Courier.<sup>60</sup>

The third person who can be mentioned as a leader in the church and in the German press is Gotthard Maron. Maron came to Winnipeg and worked as editor of the Nordwesten from 1910 to 1913.<sup>61</sup> He was active in the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde and the Manitoba Synod before the First World War<sup>62</sup> and was treasurer of the Synod after the war.<sup>63</sup> Each one of the nine men whom we have mentioned in connection with the German press was also connected with the Manitoba Synod and both of the papers noted here were committed, at least at some point in their life, to Christian principles.

A third major German paper which declared itself

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<sup>59</sup> See Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen for the following years: 1900, p. 1; 1901 (typescript), p. 21; 1903 (typescript), p. 40; 1904 (typescript), p. 57; 1905 (typescript), p. 84; 1907 (typescript), n.p.n.; 1911, title page; and 1913, p. 11.

<sup>60</sup> See *ibid.*, 1902 (typescript), p. 34 and 1905 (typescript), p. 71. Also Enns, "Der Einfluss der deutschsprachigen Presse," p. 98.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>62</sup> See Siloah, July 1911.

<sup>63</sup> Kleiner, p. 35.

committed to Christian principles was the Alberta Herold which was founded by Gustav Koermann after he had left the Nordwesten in 1903.<sup>64</sup> By 1905 we find Koermann side by side with his sister, Lydia Bruegmann, who had also come to Edmonton to open a German bookstore.<sup>65</sup> This bookstore, among other things, was a supplier for catechisms, hymnbooks, Bible histories, and devotional works.<sup>66</sup> It offered the hymnbooks of both the Manitoba and the Missouri Synods as well as the hymnbooks of German Baptists, German Reformed, Moravians and devotional material for German Catholics.<sup>67</sup> In the area of devotional literature there were works by Stark, Gossner, Paulsen, Gerok,<sup>68</sup> Walther, and Harms as well as J. Arndt's Wahres Christentum.<sup>69</sup>

Koermann, himself, was outspoken in his intents for the Alberta Herold. Under the title "Eine christliche Zeitung" he wrote:

That is what the Alberta Herold intends to be, and it considers it to be an honour to be so. And when we say that, we know exactly what we mean. There are

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<sup>64</sup> Der Nordwesten, 29 April 1914.

<sup>65</sup> See Alberta Herold, 1 September 1905, 5 January 1906 and 2 February 1906.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 September 1905.

<sup>67</sup> One section of the advertisement was "Fuer katholische Christen."

<sup>68</sup> Karl Gerok's poetry was printed from time to time in the pages of Siloah. e.g., December 1909, March 1911, April 1911, November 1912, and March 1914.

<sup>69</sup> Alberta Herold, 1 September 1905.

thoughtless people who think that a newspaper can and may not have anything to do with this word Christian. But whoever says that has not the faintest clue of the nature of Christianity (das Wesen des Christentums). Such a person thinks Christianity is a matter which is finished with one hour on Sunday . . .

But if it is true that Christianity should permeate the whole person (den ganzen Menschen durchdringen) . . . then it is not a matter of indifference which newspaper it is which informs him about what is going on in the world . . .

. . . we know quite well that there is a difference between a newspaper and a religious paper. They have different tasks, but above all else, a good newspaper should and must be Christian . . .<sup>70</sup>

For Koermann, Christianity and German culture had a close relationship. In attempting to edit the paper in a Christian spirit:

we are convinced that we fulfill one of the most noble tasks which there is: to have an effect on the soul of the people (Volksseele), to further its good instincts and gifts, and to hold at a distance that which works harm.

Another important aim of the paper was to further German culture:

The German essence (Wesen) is most intimately bound up with the German language . . . [I]f the German language is lost here, then the German essence (or character) is also lost . . .<sup>71</sup>

For Koermann, the German Wesen<sup>72</sup> included among other things, a serious reverence for God. (ernste Gottesfurcht). It was his hope and belief that through this essence "the

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<sup>70</sup> Alberta Herold, 8 June 1906.

<sup>71</sup> 28 September 1906.

<sup>72</sup> Nearly impossible to translate. "Character" or "essence" or even "presence" convey something of the meaning but are still inadequate.

world would again be healed."<sup>73</sup> Further,

[t]he mother tongue is the bond . . . which binds us all together, we who belong to the German people (Volk), one of the most glorious on earth. One link in the chain which embraces Germans everywhere in the world is also our paper, the Alberta Herald.<sup>74</sup>

For the Lutheran clergy, serving in a pastoral office, emphasis had to remain more on the directly theological aspect of (re)building Christianity (das Christentum) on the Prairies.<sup>75</sup>

We have already noted the idea of working to build the Kingdom of God. This concept was dominant and was present in the thinking of all Synods working in the territory from beginning to end. However, we can observe an especially meaningful unfolding of that theme in the presidential addresses of Georg Gehrke. For Gehrke, Christian doctrine was to be defended against false concepts of God's Kingdom.

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<sup>73</sup> "Am deutschen Wesen [w]ird noch einmal die Welt genesen . . ." Ibid. The statement brings forth a number of perplexing questions such as when was the world ever healed? But the statement does appear significant as Koermann's understanding of a German mission in western Canada. Although Koermann's expression seems dangerously close to the unLutheran idea of salvation by character, it may possibly mean something similar to that which E. Hoffmann expressed some years earlier in Siloah. Hoffmann saw the mission of Germans in North America as that of bearing culture and God's Word to others. See note 86.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> We do not wish to imply that Christianity was not already present on the territory. Indeed, the Christian establishment already there among the Indians and Metis was at risk. But reference is to the dispersion of the immigrants out of their previous Christian communities, the regathering of them and the rebuilding of their Christian communities.

(Specifically named, was the then current theology which closely linked that concept with the idea of technological and material progress.)<sup>76</sup> The Kingdom was to be built in the hearts of individuals, in the Gemeinden and in the scope of the Canadian West which was now being opened to culture and agriculture.<sup>77</sup> The kingdom would take place on earth where the peace of God ruled in the hearts of people.<sup>78</sup> The work would be, in a fundamental sense, God's work.<sup>79</sup> Therefore, one could be given a vision of it. However, individuals, chosen and dedicated to this work were not just instruments but were privileged to be co-workers.<sup>80</sup> All were called to participate: no one was to be left "standing idle in the marketplace."<sup>81</sup>

From Biblical theology, Gehrke's thought moves to recent church history to find concrete example and inspiration for the building of God's Kingdom. In an address in 1913, he says that the work of regathering into

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<sup>76</sup> See Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1912, pp. 6-7.

<sup>77</sup> "Kultur" (ibid.), in the context here, most likely refers primarily to agriculture since in German the same word is used for both. That, however, the two concepts are closely related in the 19th century German Lutheran tradition can be seen from our documentation on Gemeindeleben in Russia.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>80</sup> "Gottes Mitarbeiter"

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

the church, of reforming society, was to find its guidance in the Inner Mission movement which had been occurring in Germany. This would now be especially important in the Diaspora. The 18th century pietist A. H. Francke was an important forerunner. Closer to the time at hand were the 19th century heroes of the faith such J. H. Wichern, Theodor Fliedner, Ludwig Harms and Wilhelm Loehe.<sup>82</sup>

In his bringing forth the ideology of the 19th century Inner Mission movement, Gehrke was expounding, in a forceful, coherent way, an ideology similar to that which Siloah and the General Council's German Home Mission Committee had been working to promote for a quarter of a century. This had been there even before the Northwest mission had begun. For example, in the early years of Siloah, a major writer was Ernst Hoffmann, who had been a disciple of Fliedner in Germany.<sup>83</sup> Hoffmann had had a monthly article on social questions from the beginning of

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<sup>82</sup> All of these names are mentioned specifically by Gehrke in Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1913, p. 10. Gehrke himself had attended the mission seminary at Hermannsburg; and the Ohio Synod had, in its early years, been strengthened by missionaries sent by Loehe. See Evenson, p. 59 and Suelflow and Nelson, p. 179.

In his 1914 address, Gehrke indicates that Hermannsburg was prepared to send a teaching faculty to the District's new pro-seminary at Melville and that six men had already offered to come. Canada Distrikt, Verhandlungen, 1914, p. 18. However, after the summer of 1914, this was made impossible.

<sup>83</sup> See Siloah, February 1887.

Siloah until his death in 1887.<sup>84</sup> He believed that German immigrants to the United States were, on arrival, confronted with a choice between two things: forgetting their language, perhaps changing their names, and losing their faith, in short, becoming "Yankees," as he put it; or, on the other hand, keeping their language, culture, and religion, holding together with other Germans and, in that way, being a blessing to Americans as a whole.<sup>85</sup> For Hoffmann, the mission of Germans in American was to be "bearers of German culture and the undefiled truth of the divine Word which God, through Martin Luther, has especially entrusted to our people."<sup>86</sup>

Other leaders of the German mission, besides Hoffmann, had been closely connected with the Inner Mission movement in Germany. E. F. Moldehnke, for example, had had personal contact with Fliedner while he was a student.<sup>87</sup> Further, as we have already noted in Chapter IX, Pastor Bredlow in Alberta had been trained at J. H. Wichern's "Rauhes Haus."<sup>88</sup> Finally, we note that the Home Missions Committee had received pastors from Hermannsburg before beginning their

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<sup>84</sup> See passim, especially October, 1887.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., March 1882.

<sup>86</sup> "Traeger deutscher Cultur und der lauterer Wahrheit des goettlichen Wortes, welche Gott durch Martin Luther unserem Volk besonders anvertraut hat." Ibid., April 1882.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., May 1899.

<sup>88</sup> Note 100.

major cooperative work with Kropp.<sup>89</sup>

For the General Council, 1908 brought a renewed appreciation of the work of Wilhelm Loehe and his mission to the German diaspora. In that year Siloah republished four pages of Loehe's "Zuruf aus der Heimat an die deutsche lutherische Kirche Nord-Amerikas" (1845) with the observation that in contemporary mission fields in North America [including the Canadian Prairies] circumstances similar to that of Loehe's time still prevailed. In Loehe's "Zuruf" we see the primitive foundation of German Lutheran Gemeindeleben somewhat as it had occurred in Eastern Europe and was being attempted in western Canada, namely:

- 1) a warning against spiritual emptiness coming with material success;
- 2) the advice and admonition for parents to educate their children themselves;
- 3) the basic foundation for that education, namely reading, writing, arithmetic and religion with emphasis on the Bible and Biblical history, the Catechism and Hymnbook;
- 4) the advice and admonition to build modest, simple churches (in effect, the Betsaal) and, where a pastor was lacking, still, to hold Lesegottesdienste in small groups;
- 5) and, finally, to be conscientious in the preservation of the German language.

Loehe graphically depicts what would be lost when the language was lost and says that truly "A German who is not

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<sup>89</sup> Siloah, December 1882.

German is a punished man on earth."<sup>90</sup> In an application to the special situation in North America, Loehe advises joining a confessional Lutheran church, even at a distance, and not attending services of groups teaching contrary to the Lutheran Confessions.<sup>91</sup>

Finally, we note that the Missouri Synod's Gemeinde-formation shows the influence of principles stated in the Loehe "Zuruf,"<sup>92</sup> but we also note that, although the Synod did carry out major Inner Mission work, it showed some variation from the General Council in its reluctance to accept Fliedner's diaconess movement.<sup>93</sup>

Thus, ironically, although all three synods were involved in wasteful competition in the Prairie region of Canada, they all had a fairly unified vision of what they wanted to accomplish: for them it would be the development of a specifically German form of Christianity, built on and bearing for others the Gospel as confessed in the Lutheran Reformation. Into the prairie region of western Canada, they hoped to bring religion and a religiously informed culture although the German immigrants may not have been

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<sup>90</sup> "Ein gestrafter Mann auf Erden." March 1908.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> See Minnesota und Dakota District, Synodal-Bericht, 1904, pp. 10-11. Also Suelflow and Nelson, pp. 179ff.. Some of Loehe's missionaries were directly involved in the founding of the Missouri Synod.

<sup>93</sup> See Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1906, pp. 138-158. Also Der Lutheraner, 9 February 1897.

invited specifically for that purpose.

### C. Conclusion.

Given the fairly unified vision of German Lutherans as to what they wanted to accomplish, the division in their actual work is striking. According to the intent of German Lutheran pastoral leadership, immigrants from Eastern Europe would have been able to rebuild their Gemeindeleben, in relative political freedom, in a manner which would resemble that which they left in Europe.<sup>94</sup> But according to Lutheran church practice in the Prairie region, many were left out of the Lutheran church altogether and most were not able to be a part of a Gemeinde which included a parochial school. Further, in the period before the First World War, there is little evidence that other people were able to benefit from a German Lutheran contribution in religion and culture in the way, for example, that other people had benefitted in Russia. The contribution of German Lutherans was limited primarily to that of an economic contribution.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> The one variation, however, being the stronger confessional emphasis in North America. None of the three church bodies would (normally) vary their practice to accommodate Reformed theology.

<sup>95</sup> This is a comparison and generalization. One exception which comes to mind in the area of culture is that of German appreciation of and assistance to Ukrainians as these were first coming to Canada. Hugo Carstens, for

In this period, before the disaster of World War I struck, German Lutherans were barely able to hold their own although their situation appeared hopeful by 1913.

Ironically, many who came to escape a threat to nationality and religion ended up, as the years went by, seeing their children and grandchildren lose both. Instead of having their clergy and schools restricted by Russian nationalism in faraway St. Petersburg, it was a clergy (and by consequence, their also their Gemeindeschulen) restricted by the new American nationalism in faraway Pennsylvania.<sup>96</sup> Who

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example, was helpful in introducing Dr. Oleskow to areas for future settlement in the Northwest. See Sessional Papers, 1896, vol. 10, #13, Part IV, pp. 116-18. As well, Gustav Koermann shows an appreciation for Ukrainians in the pages of the Alberta Herald (e.g., see 12. October 1906); and Lydia Bruegmann, through her German Bookstore, encouraged the learning of Ukrainian (Ruthenian). See Alberta Herald, 1 September 1905.

The above is mentioned as a cultural contribution by Germans in general and may conceivably be related to Lutheran theology and social thought in Eastern Europe, but any attempt to demonstrate this goes beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>96</sup> In 1889, Professor Beer, from Kropp, met with Professor Mann from the Philadelphia Seminary. At this meeting Beer expressed the opinion that many of the difficulties had come from personal clashes and suggested that these be buried and forgotten. See Chapter X, note 139. This writer has left out most of the personal aspects of the quarrel between Pastors Spaeth and Paulsen. However, the author does not agree that the problem was primarily a personal one, nor due to misunderstandings. (As Tappert implies, p. 64.) Rather, the problem was due to a fundamental clash of nationalities, had profound consequences for German Lutherans in Canada, and is therefore significant. In this writer's opinion, if it had not been Dr. Spaeth, it could well have been someone else who would have been instrumental in breaking the relationship.

Before leaving the topic, it should be noted that in

can say, for example, what would have happened if the General Council could have had an Emigrantenhaus in Winnipeg, leading to the Canadian Northwest (where its frontier missions were), instead of, or at least on par with, its Emigrantenhaus in New York City, leading to the American Midwest (where, after 1888, its frontier missions were not)? With a strong, unified mission effort from Germany, it is not inconceivable that, not only would the settlement and Gemeinde-formation have been more rational, but the number of immigrants themselves would have been greater.

Still, even though the German Lutheran effort was marred by neglect and wasteful competition, the efforts of those who worked conscientiously on the field, in all three Synods, must be greatly appreciated. They were working against many obstacles: whether physical (long distances and harsh weather); or economic (poverty and high debt burden); or social (the hindering of German mission work in the General Council) or ecclesiastical (the fragmented nature of German Lutheran responses to the common threat of much of American Protestantism). Their success in establishing viable German Lutheran Gemeinden centered around church and parochial school was not sufficient to survive the

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1909, Dr. Spaeth was a key member at the beginning of the Kropp Commission which reestablished and maintained the ties between the Kropp Seminary and the General Council, and he served there faithfully until his death the following year. See Siloah, November 1909 and July 1910.

catastrophe of the First World War. They did, however, achieve a partial realization of their vision; and this partial realization is sufficient to provide a credible witness to that vision in the western Canada of history.

APPENDIX I

ESTIMATION OF PERCENTAGE OF "SCANDINAVIANS" WHICH ARE CENSUS  
LUTHERANS FROM 15 SAMPLE SUB-DISTRICTS FROM 1901.

Method: Calculated is that percentage of Scandinavians which are Lutheran in all of those sub-districts where non-Mennonite Germans (together with any other identifiable Lutheran background groups, such as Estonians or Latvians) are less than 12% of Scandinavians, according to the 1901 census. Only sub-districts having 50 or more Scandinavians are considered.

A	B	C	D	E: .60B	F: D - E
Sub-district	Non-Menn. Germ. origin	Scand. origin	Total Luth.	60% "Germ. ori. less Menn." <sup>1</sup>	Est. Scand. Lutherans
<u>Manitoba</u>					
Gimli	36 <sup>2</sup>	2,226	2,067	22	2,045/92%
Posen	0	792	729	0	729/92%

<sup>1</sup> A rough estimate of German Lutherans which, however, refines the final percentage only slightly.

<sup>2</sup> 327 are "Russian" and 374 are "Austro-Hungarian;" however, "Greek Church" takes up 394 and the remainder could well be absorbed by other categories including Roman Catholic (305) for which there is no comparable origin group traditionally Roman Catholic.

A	B	C	D	E: .60B	F: D - E
Sub-district	Non-Menn. Germ. origin	Scand. origin	Total Luth.	60% "Germ. ori. less Menn.	Est. Scand. Lutherans
Selkirk (town)	28	780	682	17	665/85%
St. Andrews	6	50	44	4	40/80%
Winnipeg - ward 3	107	863	798	64	734/85%
<u>Alberta</u>					
AEtna	3	94	0 <sup>3</sup>	(2)	0/0%
Burnt Lake	8				
	+15 <sup>4</sup>				
	<u>23</u>	247	190	14	176/71%
Logan	6	54	30	4	26/48%
Pretty Hill	7	(183)	0 <sup>5</sup>	(4)	unclear
Tindastoll	5	126	126	3	123/98%
<u>Assiniboia-East</u>					
Churchbridge	4	115	118	2	115/100%
Dongola	10	69	68	6	62/90%

<sup>3</sup> 97% of the sub-district is listed as Morman.

<sup>4</sup> 15 are "Russian," but there is no "Greek Church," nor Doukhorbor, nor Mennonite.

<sup>5</sup> 69% of this sub-district is listed as Jewish. Arthur Foss, author of a work on local Scandinavian settlement and himself a long time resident of Round Hill, Alberta says that by 1901 Pretty Hill had a strong Scandinavian Lutheran element. Interview April 11, 1986. The 69% could well be a mistake and thus this sub-district will not be included in the calculations.

A	B	C	D	E: .60B	F: D - E
Sub-district	Non-Menn. Germ. origin	Scand. origin	Total Luth.	60% "Germ. ori. less Menn.	Est. Scand. Lutherans
Foam Lake	0	96	96	0	96/100%
Ohlen	3 <sup>6</sup>	309	304	2	302/98%
Perceval	0	101	100	0	100/99%
		<u>5,922</u>			<u>5,213/88%</u>

There are no such sub-districts in Assiniboia-West nor in Saskatchewan.

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<sup>6</sup> 171 are from Austria-Hungary. Together with Scandinavians, they make up 95% of the sub-district. But 173 are either Roman Catholic or Presbyterian, which together with Lutheran, also make up 95%. Therefore, those from Austria-Hungary are possibly Ukrainian or Polish, but not German Lutheran.

APPENDIX II

ESTIMATION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GERMAN LUTHERANS (CENSUS)  
IN THE PRAIRIE REGION IN 1901

Note: All figures are from the 1901 Census.

1. Total Lutherans in the Prairie Region:

Manitoba	16,542 <sup>1</sup>
Assiniboia-East	4,118 <sup>2</sup>
Assiniboia-West	1,193 <sup>3</sup>
Saskatchewan	976 <sup>4</sup>
Alberta	<u>5,810<sup>5</sup></u>
Total	28,639.

2. Total of Scandinavian Origin:

Manitoba	11,924 <sup>6</sup>
Assiniboia-East	1,300 <sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> pp. 156-157.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 272-273.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 276-277.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 278-279.

<sup>5</sup> pp. 268-269.

<sup>6</sup> pp. 286-287.

<sup>7</sup> pp. 396-397.

Assiniboia-West	111 <sup>8</sup>
Saskatchewan	75 <sup>9</sup>
Alberta	<u>3,904</u> <sup>10</sup>
	17,314.

3. Estimation of Scandinavian (census) Lutherans:

17,314  
ca. 88%<sup>11</sup>  
 15,236.

4. An overview of the census gives no indications of the presence of any other Lutheran groups besides Scandinavian and German large enough to significantly affect the estimation of German Lutherans. Therefore, the number of German Lutherans is approximately the total number of Lutherans less the number of Scandinavian Lutherans.

Total Lutherans	28,639
Less: Scandinavian Lutherans	ca. <u>15,236</u>
Total number of German Lutherans in 1901	ca. 13,403.

As percentage of the total population:

a)  $\frac{\text{Total number of German Lutherans}}{\text{Total population of Manitoba and Territories}}$

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<sup>8</sup> pp. 400-401.

<sup>9</sup> pp. 402-403.

<sup>10</sup> pp. 392-393.

<sup>11</sup> From analysis of 15 sub-districts where Scandinavians were relatively isolated from other traditional Lutheran groups. See Appendix I.

b) ca. 13,403

$$255,211^{12} + 49,693^{13} + 17,692^{14} + 25,679^{15} + 65,876^{16}$$

c) ca. 13,403 or ca. 3.2%  
414,151

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<sup>12</sup> Total of persons listed by religion, pp. 156-157.

<sup>13</sup> Total of persons listed by religion, pp. 272-273.

<sup>14</sup> Total of persons listed by religion, pp. 276-277.

<sup>15</sup> Total of persons listed by religion, pp. 278-279.

<sup>16</sup> Total of persons listed by religion, pp. 268-269.

APPENDIX III

ESTIMATION OF THE TOTAL NUMBER OF GERMAN LUTHERANS (CENSUS)  
IN THE PRAIRIE REGION IN 1911

1. Total Lutherans in the Prairie Provinces:

Manitoba	32,730 <sup>1</sup>
Saskatchewan	56,147 <sup>2</sup>
Alberta	<u>43,311</u> <sup>3</sup>
Total	132,188.

2. Total of Scandinavian Origin:

Manitoba	16,419 <sup>4</sup>
Saskatchewan	33,991 <sup>5</sup>
Alberta	<u>28,047</u> <sup>6</sup>
	78,457.

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<sup>1</sup> 1911, Census, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 134-135.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 172-173.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 316-317.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 162-163.

## 3. Estimation of Scandinavian (census) Lutherans:

78,457
<u>ca. 88%</u> <sup>7</sup>
ca. 69,042.

## 4. Estimation of all non-German census Lutherans:

Scandinavian Lutherans	ca. 69,042
Add: estimation of Baltic and Polish Lutherans at the inverse of 37% times the number of church members (210 + 496 + 188) <sup>8</sup>	<u>ca. 2,416</u>
Total Non-German Lutherans	ca. 71,458.

5. The number of German Lutherans is the difference between total Lutherans and all non-German Lutherans:

Total Lutherans	132,188
Less: All non-German Lutherans	ca. <u>71,458</u>
Total number of census German Lutherans in 1911	ca. 60,730.

As percentage of the total population:

a)  $\frac{\text{Total number of German Lutherans}}{\text{Total population of Prairie Provinces}}$

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<sup>7</sup> From analysis of 15 sub-districts where Scandinavians were relatively isolated from other traditional Lutheran groups. See Appendix I.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix VI. ca. 49,060 is the approximate number of total Lutherans who were church members in 1911. 49,060/132,188 gives 37%.

b) ca. 60,730

$$455,614^9 + 492,432^{10} + 374,663^{11}$$

c)  $\frac{\text{ca. } 60,730}{1,322,709}$  or ca. 4.6%

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<sup>9</sup> 1911, Census, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

APPENDIX IV

MODIFICATION OF HEINZ LEHMANN'S ESTIMATION OF ORIGINS OF  
PRE-WORLD WAR I GERMANS IN WESTERN CANADA.

1. Percentages according to Lehmann's designations as published:<sup>1</sup>

From Russia (Black Sea Region, Volhynia, Volga Region)	44%
From Rumania (Dobrudsche, still, indirectly, from Russia)	6%
From Austria-Hungary (Galicia, Bukovina, Banat, <u>etc.</u> )	18%
From the <u>Reich</u>	12%
From the United States <sup>2</sup> (second to fourth generation)	18%
From Ontario, Switzerland and other German language areas	2%
	<u>100%</u>

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<sup>1</sup> Translated from Lehmann, p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> From remarks found on pp. 89-90, possibly one-fourth to one-half of these would have been originally from Russia after relatively recent immigration and a period of settlement. (Immigrants from the 1870's and later and children, even grandchildren.) Another substantial portion of Germans from the United States were descendents of Reichsdeutschen arriving closer to mid-century. It should be noted that, although Lehmann indicates that the "From the United States" group refers to the second to the fourth generation, in his discussion on pages 89-90, it appears that this category also includes some of the first generation who had settled there for a time, with those remaining only a relatively short time being placed in his other categories. For the purposes of this study, those "From the United States" originally from Russia will be estimated at 3/8's.

2. Modification of "From the Reich" category:

Lehmann does not give a complete description of the process used to derive his percentages of "regions of origin." His estimation of percentages is "based upon the material lying in front of me."<sup>3</sup> However, in several instances he does give details indicating original data and the process by which he arrives at his conclusions; and throughout his work, he shows an understanding and competence in dealing with census material which is generally convincing.

Still, in one instance, from the data Lehmann presents, an improvement can be made. This is in his calculation of the percentage of Germans from the Reich. Here he indicates that in 1911, there were 21,295 persons in western Canada born in the Reich<sup>4</sup> and compares this to 151,600 persons of "German origin" giving 14% which, however, he says should then be reduced to 12% because he estimates the total of "German origin" to be higher (apparently 177,217)--this on account of some people giving (or being given) their origin of state (e.g., "Russian" for Germans from Russia)<sup>5</sup> rather than ethnic origin. With this reduction and the corresponding greater number of "German origin" people, this

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<sup>3</sup> p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> p. 88.

<sup>5</sup> p. 88.

writer agrees. However, Lehmann is apparently in error in making the simple comparison between "born in Germany" Germans and Germans by "racial origin" without further modification. This is because in the "born in Germany" category the Canadian-born children of those born in the Reich are omitted whereas with the German origin statistics they are included, according to male ancestry. Therefore the question arises: What would be the percentage of Germans from the Reich (also by origin) if the born in Canada children of those born in the Reich were also included? And here one can attempt an estimate. First, for purposes of estimation certain general assumptions will be made:

- a) a life expectancy of 60 years.
- b) an average number of surviving children per couple of three.<sup>6</sup>
- c) a generation being 30 years.
- d) As well, it will be assumed that the immigration was of relatively young people<sup>7</sup> and the relatively small number that may have died between 1891 and 1911 is approximately

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<sup>6</sup> This is an estimate based mainly on impressions derived from other information. Many of the Germans immigrating were known for having large families. See *ibid.*, pp. 71 and our p. 144ff.. However, since Germans from Germany formed no particular settlements of their own (p. 88), it may be surmised that a relatively large percentage settled in cities and towns and their birth rate was less than those Germans living in rural areas. (Lehmann, p. 88, is apparently not considering the settlements of Strassburg and early Langenburg. See our p. 214.)

<sup>7</sup> Lehmann states this on p. 107.

balanced by dropping the small number already present in 1891.

The modification is thus made in the following manner:

a) Average number of Germans from the Reich in western Canada between 1891 and 1901:  $1/2 \times 5,933^8 = 2,966$ .

b) Their children to 1911 at a ratio of 3/2:  $3/2 \times 15/30 \times 2,966 = 2,224$ .

c) Average number of Germans from the Reich in western Canada between 1901 and 1911 arriving after 1901:  $(1/2 \times 21,295^9)$  less 5,933 = 4,714.

d) Their children to 1911 at ratio of 3/2:  $3/2 \times 5/30 \times 4,714 = 1,178$ .

e) Total Canadian-born children of Germans born in the Reich:

Children of the average number

present between 1891 and 1901 = 2,224

Children of the average number

arriving between 1901 and 1911 =  $\frac{1,178}{3,402}$ .

f) The number of Germans originating

(recently, by male ancestry) is:

21,295  
+3,402  
24,697.

From this information the percentage of Germans from the Reich can be modified entailing an adjustment of other

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

percentages as well:

Proportion of German origin persons

$$\text{"From the Reich"} = \frac{24,697}{177,217} = \text{ca. } 14\%$$

This 2% difference can be subtracted from the two highest categories<sup>10</sup> in Lehmann's original estimation giving the following percentages, now modified:

From Russia	43%
From Rumania (indirectly from Russia)	6%
From Austria-Hungary	17%
From the <u>Reich</u>	14%
From the United States	18%
From Ontario, Switzerland, and other	
German language areas	<u>2%</u>
	100%

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<sup>10</sup> Of the equal categories of "From Austria-Hungary" and "From the United States," the former is chosen because for our purposes the total "From the United States" will be later divided.

## APPENDIX V

### ESTIMATION OF AREAS OF ORIGIN FOR PRE-WORLD WAR I GERMAN LUTHERANS IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES BASED ON HEINZ LEHMANN'S ESTIMATION OF ORIGINS OF PRE-WORLD WAR I GERMANS IN WESTERN CANADA (MODIFIED)<sup>1</sup>

Heinz Lehmann's attempt to estimate the origins of pre-World War I Germans in western Canada is for all German origin people regardless of religious affiliation and for all of western Canada including British Columbia. This information can also be used to estimate the origins of German Lutherans in the Prairie Provinces as the British Columbia component as well as the Mennonite component can be removed leaving German Lutherans; German Catholics; and a smaller minority of German Reformed, varieties of German Baptists, Moravians, and others. Of this remainder, the largest groups by far would be the Lutherans and Roman Catholics.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> From the 1931 census, Lehmann indicates the number of adherents of the German mother-tongue group. Translated into percentages, for the Prairies, they are: Catholics, 25%; Lutherans, 32%; Mennonites, 27%; German Reformed and Moravian, 1% together; varieties of Baptists and Hutterites, 4%; and others, 11%. Of the others, he indicates that these are mainly churches of a more Anglo-Saxon character, especially the United Church of Canada. p. 144. Relative

According to Lehmann's verbal comments on origins, relative to the major categories listed in the concluding section of this appendix,<sup>3</sup> neither Lutherans nor Roman Catholics appear to be dominant in any one category, and the remainder are so small that their removal would not greatly affect the percentages. Therefore, the origins of all Prairie Province Germans less the Mennonites can also be considered an estimate for origins of German Lutherans. The process for deriving these origins by percentage is as follows:

1. Percentages according to Lehmann's designation

(modified):<sup>4</sup>

From Russia	43%
From Rumania (indirectly from Russia)	6%
From Austria-Hungary	17%
From the <u>Reich</u>	14%
From the United States (second to fourth generation)	18%
From Ontario, Switzerland, and other German language areas	<u>2%</u>
	100%.

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to the 1911 census, one would expect the "other" group to be smaller and the Hutterite category, not at all.

<sup>3</sup> This is where "From Russia" (directly and indirectly) is lumped together. Within a given category, however, there can be significant variations as, for example, nearly all from Galician and Volhynia were Lutherans. See *ibid.*, pp. 70-75.

<sup>4</sup> From Appendix IV.

## 2. Removal of British Columbia Germans from the above:

a) percentages for all of western Canada translated back into absolute figures with 100% = 177,217:<sup>5</sup>

From Russia	76,203
From Rumania	10,633
From Austria-Hungary	30,127
From the <u>Reich</u>	24,811
From the United States	31,899
From Ontario, Switzerland, <u>etc.</u>	<u>3,544</u>
	177,217

b) total of British Columbia German origin (11,880)<sup>6</sup> divided into the above categories:<sup>7</sup>

From Russia: $\frac{43\%}{68} \times .25 \times 11,880$	=	1,878
From Rumania, <u>etc.</u> : $\frac{6\%}{68} \times .25 \times 11,880$	=	262

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<sup>5</sup> See Appendix IV, p. 378.

<sup>6</sup> Lehmann, p. 106. Lehmann's correction to the census is not applied here since that refers mainly to Germans from Russia.

<sup>7</sup> According to Lehmann, Germans from Germany and Germans from the United States together are a majority of those in British Columbia with Germans from Eastern Europe correspondingly diminished. p. 239. Since he does not state how much of a majority the latter two are, this study will consider them at 75%, divide that total equally, and diminish the other categories proportionately.

				385
From Austria-Hungary:	$\frac{17\%}{68} \times .25 \times 11,880$	=		743
From the <u>Reich</u> :	$37.5\% \times 11,880$	=		4,455
From the United States, <u>etc.</u> :	$37.5\% \times 11,880$	=		4,455
From Ontario, Switzerl., <u>etc.</u> :	$\frac{2\%}{68} \times .25 \times 11,880$	=	$\frac{87}{11,880}$	

c) Subtract British Columbia component for each category leaving an estimation of origins of Germans for the Prairie Provinces only:

From Russia	76,203	-	1,878	=	74,325	=	45%
From Rumania, <u>etc.</u>	10,633	-	262	=	10,371	=	6%
From Austria-Hungary	30,127	-	743	=	29,384	=	18%
From the <u>Reich</u>	24,811	-	4,455	=	20,356	=	12%
From the United States, <u>etc.</u>	31,899	-	4,455	=	27,444	=	17%
From Ontario, Switzerland, <u>etc.</u>	3,544	-	87	=	$\frac{3,457}{165,337}$	=	$\frac{2\%}{100\%}$

3. Removal of Mennonite component from origins of Germans for the Prairie Provinces only:

a) Germans from Russia directly and indirectly lumped together:

	386
From Russia (directly and indirectly) <sup>8</sup>	94,988
From Austria-Hungary	29,384
From the <u>Reich</u>	20,356
From the United States <sup>9</sup>	17,152
From Ontario, Switzerland, <u>etc.</u>	<u>3,457</u>
	165,337

b) Modify by subtracting Prairie Province Mennonites<sup>10</sup>  
from the category "From Russia."<sup>11</sup>

From Russia (directly and indirectly):

	94,988 - 31,524 = 63,464
From Austria-Hungary	29,384
From the <u>Reich</u>	20,356
From the United States	17,152
From Ontario, Switzerland, <u>etc.</u>	<u>3,457</u>
	133,813

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<sup>8</sup> An estimated 3/8's of "From the United States, etc." were originally from Russia. See Appendix IV, note 2.

<sup>9</sup> Same as note 8.

<sup>10</sup> They total 31,524. (Added from 1911 Census, pp. 4, 5, 12, 13, 134, and 135.)

<sup>11</sup> Lehmann states that nearly all Mennonites were from Russia, especially the region around the Black Sea. pp. 66-7.

c) Origins of non-Mennonite Prairie Province Germans by percentage.

From Russia (directly and indirectly)	47%
From Austria-Hungary	22%
From the <u>Reich</u>	15%
From the United States (not originally from Russia)	13%
From Ontario, Switzerland, and other German language areas	<u>3%</u>
	100%

These are also the approximate origins of German Lutherans.

## APPENDIX VI

### ESTIMATION OF THE NUMBER OF LUTHERANS WHO WERE MEMBERS OF CHURCHES IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES IN 1911.

A reasonably close estimate of the number of Lutheran church members in the Prairie Provinces can be arrived at in the following manner:

In 1911, the following synods (or church bodies) are known to have been operating in the Prairie Provinces: the Manitoba Synod (German); the Ohio Synod (German); the Missouri Synod (German, but with a small percentage of other language groups as indicated below); the Iowa Synod (German); four Norwegian church bodies (which, however, likely had a number of other Scandinavians in their membership;<sup>1</sup> the Augustana Synod (Swedish); the United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church; the Icelandic Synod as well as a dissenting Icelandic body; and finally, an English Lutheran synod. Most of the membership figures for 1911 can be stated directly from parochial reports; but, because some reports are missing and because certain primary sources are not available in church archives, some of the figures must be estimated through an interpolation of figures mentioned for other years of that era and by the use of secondary literature. Thus, the calculation (or estimation) of numbers by synods is as follows:

1. Manitoba Synod: ca. 7,800. Goos<sup>2</sup> gives the figure 7,873. But from this should be subtracted one congregation actually in North Dakota and added an estimated figure of 100 for two congregations listed without report.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Evenson, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> See Verhandlungen, 1911, pp. 30-4.

2. Ohio Synod: 12,100.<sup>4</sup>

3. Missouri Synod (German): 11,300.<sup>5</sup> Of the 1911 total, one preaching point with 30 members is noted as being in English. These people were possibly of non-German ethnic origin, but that is not significant for our purpose. Also, the total includes one half of a congregation listed as German-Polish.<sup>6</sup>

4. Missouri Synod (Polish): ca. 200.<sup>7</sup> This includes the other half of the "German-Polish" congregation mentioned above.

5. Missouri Synod (Estonian): 496.<sup>8</sup>

6. Missouri Synod (Latvian): 188.<sup>9</sup>

7. Iowa Synod (German): 165. This was only one congregation and was located in Calgary.<sup>10</sup>

8. United Norwegian Lutheran Church (Den forenede Kirke): ca. 6,500. This is the sum of 97 congregations (or preaching points listing a membership) listed for 1911 with their congregational average of 57 members/cong. supplied for the remaining 16 congregations listed but not indicating membership figures. Lest this average be a bit too high for those congregations unreported, it can be somewhat balanced by adding nothing for preaching points not listing any

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<sup>4</sup> Verhandlungen, 1911, p. 64. Note that for 1911 three out of 39 pastors do not have parochial reports included. These are replaced by a 1910 report (Verhandlungen, 1910, p. 56) and two 1912 reports. Verhandlungen, 1912, p. 64.

<sup>5</sup> Sum of parochial reports given in Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1911, pp. 78-86, 172 and 173 with two pastors' missing reports replaced by their reports for 1910 or 1912. See *ibid.*, 1910, p. 72 and *ibid.*, 1912, pp. 84-86.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1911. p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Bericht . . . des Dakota Distrikts der Ev.-Luth. Synode von Iowa und anderen Staaten (1912), "Parochialbericht des Dakota Distrikts fuer das Jahr 1911."

members. Much of the membership at a preaching point would likely be at a transitional stage anyway.<sup>11</sup>

9. Hauge's Synod (Norwegian): 464.<sup>12</sup>

10. Lutheran Free Church (Norwegian): ca. 900.<sup>13</sup>

11. Norwegian Synod: ca. 1,400. The Norwegian Synod shows five pastors living in the Prairie Provinces in 1911. Only three of them submitted parochial reports for that year. Supplying the other two at 218 members/pastor (the average for all other Norwegian pastors listed), the total for the Norwegian Synod is 1,405.<sup>14</sup>

12. Augustana Synod: ca. 2,300. This is the approximate sum of all listed congregations for 1911<sup>15</sup> with 1912 statistics<sup>16</sup> used for five congregations failing to submit parochial reports in 1911 and 1913

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<sup>11</sup> All figures are from Beretning . . . for den forenede norsk lutherske kirke i Amerika (1912), "Parochialrapporter for Aaret 1911," pp. ii-lxviii.

<sup>12</sup> From a photocopied page in Norwegian labelled by the Archivist of the American Lutheran Church as Hauge Synod, Annual Report, 1911, pp. 240-1.

<sup>13</sup> This number is derived from "Lutheran Free Church Parochial Reports" which are copies of 24 parochial report forms (handwritten) in the possession of the author. These were supplied by the Archivist of the American Lutheran Church and are noted as being "Lutheran Free Church [Canadian Churches] . . . ca. 1912." There are 24 reports given. 13 give the number of "souls." Four give the number of "families" (but not souls) which are then supplied by the writer at the average of 6 persons/family. The remaining seven reports not giving the number of members are added in at the congregational average of 38 members/cong. giving a total of 908 members.

<sup>14</sup> Beretning om det 3dje ordentlige Synodemode in Nordvestlige Distrikt af Synoden for den norsk-ev.-luth. Kirke i Amerika, 1912, p. 100 and Synodalberetning, 1912, "Unden Del," pp. 118-119.

<sup>15</sup> Referat af foerhandlingarna vid Luth. Minnesota-Konferensens af Augustana-Synoden . . . 1912, pp. 20-21.

<sup>16</sup> Referat Luth. Minnesota-Konferensens af Augustana-Synoden . . . 1913, pp. 18-19.

statistics<sup>17</sup> used for six congregations failing to submit parochial reports in 1911 or 1912 and the congregational average (from 24 congregations) of 86 members/cong. used to estimate the remaining three congregations reporting in neither 1911, 1912 nor 1913. It can be noted, as well, that one congregation was interpolated from a communicant membership figure.

13. United Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church: 167. Sum of members listed in 1911 statistics.<sup>18</sup>

14. Icelandic Synod: ca. 3,800. From the 1912 yearbook<sup>19</sup> (statistics for 1911) the total of Canadian congregations appears to be 3,502 with three congregations not reporting. With one 1912 report<sup>20</sup> and two others not reporting added at an estimated 123 members/congregation, the total is 3,778.

15. "New Theology" Icelandic: ca. 700. According to Eylands, six congregations withdrew from the Icelandic Synod in 1909.<sup>21</sup> These are estimated at 123 members/congregation, the number used for Icelandic Synod congregations not reporting.

16. English Synod of the Northwest: 180.<sup>22</sup>

17. Other congregations: ca. 400. In addition to the above synods, there were other individual congregations which can be noted. Firstly, there were apparently two or three Finnish Lutheran congregations with an estimated total membership of 300. Because of a lack of direct statistical sources available to the writer, the figure is a tentative one only and is deduced from

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<sup>17</sup> Referat af foerhandlingarna vid Canada-Konferensens af Evangeliskt Lutherska Augustana-Synoden . . . 1913, pp. 1-3.

<sup>18</sup> Beretning om den forenede danske evangelisk-lutherske Kirkes, 1912, pp. 76-79.

<sup>19</sup> Gjoerðabók, 28. ársþings Hins evangeliska lutherska kirkjufélags íslendinga í Vesturheimi.

<sup>20</sup> Gjoerðabók, 1913.

<sup>21</sup> p. 171.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes of the . . . English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the Northwest . . . 1911, p. 93.

information obtained from later sources.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, the German Lutheran congregation in Regina (possibly independent) which was served by a Wisconsin Synod pastor can be considered and its membership estimated at 100.<sup>24</sup>

To conclude, the number of Lutherans who were members of congregations are summarized as follows:

Manitoba Synod	ca. 7,800
Ohio Synod	ca. 12,100
Missouri Synod (German)	ca. 11,300
Missouri Synod (Polish)	ca. 200
Missouri Synod (Estonian)	496
Missouri Synod (Latvian)	188
Iowa Synod	165
United Norwegian Lutheran Church	ca. 6,500
Hauge's Synod	464
Lutheran Free Church	ca. 900
Norwegian Synod	ca. 1,400
Augustana Synod	ca. 2,300
United Danish Evang. Luth. Church	167
Icelandic Synod	ca. 3,800
"New Theology" Icelandic	ca. 700
English Synod	180
Other congregations	ca. 400
Total	ca. 49,060.

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<sup>23</sup> See Waldemar C. Liefeld, Lutheranism in Western Canada (B. D. Thesis, Capital University, 1935), pp. iii, 125-127; Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1931, p. 10; Minutes of . . . the United Lutheran Church in America, 1932, pp. 43-44; Manitoba Synode, Verhandlungen, 1944, Saskatchewan Conference, Parochial Reports; and The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Western Canada, Minutes . . . 1951, pp. 121-125.

<sup>24</sup> See Lutheran Cyclopedia, 1975, s.v. "Canada. A. Lutherans in" by Albert H. Schwermann. A letter to myself from Martin Westerhaus, Archivist of the Wisconsin Synod (22 April 1986) verifies the presence of this pastor in Regina but indicates that there was no listing of congregation or membership. See also Wiegner, p. 61.

APPENDIX VII

ESTIMATION OF THE PERCENTAGE OF GERMAN LUTHERANS  
IN THE PRAIRIE REGION IN 1891.

1. Number of non-Mennonite Germans according to  
Canadian Pacific Railroad survey in 1890:<sup>1</sup>

Dunmore	600
Neu-Elsass	200
Regina	400
Balgonie	500
Grenfell	125
Langenburg	400
Winnipeg	400
Calgary	175
Manitoba & Territories	
scattered	300
Workers	600
	<u>3,700.</u>

2. Analysis of verbal descriptions of the  
individual colonies and the German elements  
in the cities to remove non-Lutheran Germans  
from the above:

Dunmore	300 Reformed <sup>2</sup>
Regina	200 Catholic or Baptist
Balgonie	300 Catholic or Baptist <sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Published in the Nordwesten, 31 October 1890.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> H. Schmieder reports that just under one-half in  
these two areas are Lutheran. Siloah, August 1890.

Winnipeg	100 Baptist <sup>4</sup>
Manitoba & Territories	
scattered	100 one-third
Workers	<u>200 one-third</u>
	1,200.

3. Estimation of German Lutherans from the above:

Total Non-Mennonite Germans	3,700
Less: Total Non-Lutherans from these:	<u>1,200</u>
	2,500.

As a percentage of the total population:

- a) 
$$\frac{\text{Total German Lutherans}}{\text{Total population of Manitoba and organized Territories.}}$$
- b) 
$$\frac{2,500}{152,506^5 + 66,799^6}$$
- c) 1.2%.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Note that over 40 families adhered to the Dreieinigkeitsgemeinde in 1890. Siloah, November 1890.

<sup>5</sup> See 1891 Census, vol. 1, pp. 332-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 362.

<sup>7</sup> Some aspects of the above calculations are based on rather rough estimations, but the intent of this calculation is simply to support our main text estimate of 1-2%. It is likely slightly low since the CPR survey was made in 1890 and the trend for German Lutherans was upward.

APPENDIX VIII

ESTIMATION OF THE NUMBER OF GERMAN  
LUTHERANS IMMIGRATING INTO THE PRAIRIES  
DURING THE YEARS 1891-94.

1. Number of "German" people arriving at Winnipeg for the following years:

1891	1,362 <sup>1</sup>
1892	2,778 <sup>2</sup>
1893	2,870 <sup>3</sup>
1894	<u>1,646<sup>4</sup></u>
	8,656. <sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sessional Papers, 1892, vol. 5, #7, p. 111. Both Lehmann (p. 99) and Grenke (p. 75) have the number as 1,312. Neither cite a specific reference besides Sessional Papers.

<sup>2</sup> Sessional Papers, 1893, vol. 8, #13, Part I, p. 11 and *ibid.*, 1894, vol. 10, #13, Part I, p. 12. Both Lehmann (p. 99) and Grenke (p. 75) give the figure 2,764, not acknowledging that the last two months of 1892 are given in the 1894 Sessional Papers.

<sup>3</sup> Sessional Papers, 1894, vol. 10, #13, Part I, p. 12 and *ibid.*, 1895, vol. 9, #13, Part I, p. 14. Our figures differ slightly from those of Lehmann (p. 99) and Grenke (p. 75) for the same reason as stated in note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Sessional Papers, 1895, vol. 9, #13, p. 14. Both Lehmann (p. 99) and Grenke (p. 75) have the number 1,904, following a Sessional Papers "total" of that same number. However, this total includes the last two months of 1893 which must be subtracted.

<sup>5</sup> The total is for all Germans disembarking at Winnipeg. Some (of the total immigrants, including non-Germans) went to British Columbia; but the percentage is so

2. German Lutherans at ca. 60%:<sup>6</sup>

8,656
<u>   .6</u>
5,194.

3. A conservative<sup>7</sup> estimate is therefore ca. 5,000.

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small as to be insignificant for our purposes. See tables already referred to in Sessional Papers. Further, the numbers given for Germans are almost certainly low because they do not include ports of entry along the United States border and because of the tendency to leave out some Germans not from Germany. (This analysis is from Lehmann (p. 99) with some specific examples from Grenke (pp. 74-5) which show cases of Germans being listed as Galicians, Russians, or Roumanians.) We note, as well, a minor factor in the other direction, namely the movement from western Canada to the United States. This factor, however, although locally significant, does not appear to be large for German Lutherans as a whole in the Prairie region. For a contemporary analysis of the movement to and from the United States, see the statement of W. F. McCreary, Commissioner of Immigration, Winnipeg, 12 January 1898. Sessional Papers, 1898, Vol. 10, #13, Part IV, pp. 169-70.

<sup>6</sup> We are estimating the percentage of Lutherans among Germans immigrating at approximately 60%. This is because of the high percentage of the total German immigrants coming from Russia and Galicia. See the Nordwesten, 30 October 1891; and Siloah, July 1892, August 1892, September 1892, June 1893, January 1894 and May 1894. A numerical indication for 1892 is given by Pastor Streich in Winnipeg where he gives the number of Lutherans at 1,500 out of a total of 2,000 for the first half of the year only. Siloah, October 1892. Streich's estimate is consistent with the figure in Sessional Papers for that year as we have interpreted it. Martin Ruccius, reporting in the spring of 1893, indicates that the German immigration remains "very strong," that most of these were from Russia, and that close to 60% of the German immigrants were Lutherans. Siloah, June 1893. In the summer of 1893, he indicates that the immigration from Russia appears to be getting even stronger. Siloah, July 1893. For these reasons we have taken German Lutherans as 60% of the total.

<sup>7</sup> We call the estimate conservative because the number coming by way of the United States (not through Winnipeg) may have been 25% or higher. See W. F. McCreary's statement in Sessional Papers, 1898, vol. 10, #13, Part IV, p. 169.

APPENDIX IX

ESTIMATION OF THE "GERMAN ORIGIN" IMMIGRATION TO  
THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES FROM 1906 TO 1911.

1. Percentage of Germans contained in immigration from  
Russia and Austria-Hungary:

a) Heinz Lehmann's percentage of Germans from Russia  
(directly and indirectly) and Austria-Hungary out of total  
Germans, modified and excluding British Columbia: 69%<sup>1</sup>

b) Total "German origin" in the Prairie Provinces  
(according to 1911 Census, not modified):<sup>2</sup>

71,003  
41,656  
34,979  
147,638.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix V, (2,c)), p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> Dunton, A. Davidson and Jean-Louis Gagnon, co-chr.,  
Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV,  
(1969), Tables A-15, A-17 and A-19.

c) Number of "German-origin" from Russia and Austria-Hungary:

$$69\% \times 147,638 = 101,870.$$

d) Russian, Ukrainian, Polish and Jews (by origin) in the Prairie Provinces:<sup>3</sup>

1) Manitoba:	10,850
	12,321
	7,831
	<u>31,053</u>
	62,055.

2) Saskatchewan:	17,827
	22,276
	3,922
	<u>2,092</u>
	46,117.

3) Alberta:	8,033
	17,584
	2,297
	<u>1,505</u>
	29,419.

4) Total of above:	62,055
	46,117
	<u>29,419</u>
	137,591.

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<sup>3</sup> The assumption is that, given the pre-World War political conditions, nearly all of these emigrated from either Russia or Austria-Hungary. Figures are from Dunton and Gagnon, Tables A-15, A-17 and A-19.

e) Percentage of Germans in immigration from Russia and Austria-Hungary:

$$\frac{\text{Total Germans from Russia and Austria-Hungary}}{\text{Germans plus other orig. from Russia and Austria-Hungary}} =$$

$$\frac{101,870}{101,870 + 137,591} =$$

$$\frac{101,870}{239,461} = 43\%.$$

2. Percentage of German origin people contained in the "born in the United States" figure:

15%.<sup>4</sup>

3. Estimation of German origin foreign born in 1906,<sup>5</sup> using the above percentages:

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<sup>4</sup> Heinz Lehmann (pp. 90-1) arrives at this as a minimum estimate interpolating from information in the 1921 census. To this writer, the figure seems extremely conservative given the high percentage of German origin people among the population at large in the north central area of the United States in 1900. See Albert Bernhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States, vol. 1 (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), pp. 577-581.

However, we shall make use of this figure for a conservative estimate.

<sup>5</sup> The 1906 "Birthplace of the people" figures are from Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census of Population and Agriculture of the Northwest Provinces. Manitoba. Saskatchewan. Alberta, 1906, p. 91.

Born in Germany:	100% x 14,191	=	14,191
Born in Austria-Hungary:	43% x 58,546	=	25,175
Born in Russia:	43% x 34,104	=	14,665 <sup>6</sup>
Born in the United States:	15% x 90,738	=	<u>13,611</u>
Total German origin immigrants in 1906:			<u>67,642.</u>

4. Estimation of German origin foreign born in 1911:<sup>7</sup>

Born in Germany:	100% x (6,102+4,294+8,300)	=	18,696
Born in Austria-Hungary:	43% x (21,112+37,731+35,482)	=	40,560
Born in Russia:	43% x (9,275+16,375+23,084)	=	20,956
Born in the United States:	15% x (81,357+16,326+69,628)	=	<u>25,097</u>
Total German origin immigrants in 1911:			<u>105,309.</u>

5. Estimation of Net Number of German Origin Foreign  
Born Arriving in the Prairie Provinces from 1906 to 1911:

German origin foreign born in 1911:	105,309
Less: German origin foreign born in 1906:	<u>67,642</u>
	<u>37,667.</u>

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<sup>6</sup> Because of our methodology of 1.a) German origin born in Russia and born in Austria-Hungary, although calculated individually, are valid only taken together.

<sup>7</sup> Figures from Census of Canada, 1911, vol. 2, pp. 376-7; 378-81 and 422-425.

APPENDIX X

AREAS OF GERMAN LUTHERAN CONCENTRATION ON THE PRAIRIES IN THE YEAR 1901

Definition: German Lutheran concentration will be defined as 100<sup>1</sup> or more persons in a given sub-district and a percentage of 7% of that sub-district (double the average for the Prairies).

- Method: 1. Consider all sub-districts listing 100 or more Lutherans.  
 2. List total number of Lutherans in sub-district.  
 3. Subtract 88% of the Scandinavians. (See Appendix I.)  
 4. Calculate number and percentage of German Lutherans.  
 5. Note concentration.

Sub-district	Total Population	Total Lutheran	Less: Scandinavian Lutheran	German Lutheran #/%	Concentration?
<u>Manitoba</u>					
Brandon, City	11,011	200	152 x 88% = 134	66/1%	no
Argyle	3,869	976	722 x 88% = 635	340/9%	no <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Considered as a minimum figure for a viable Gemeinde.

<sup>2</sup> But note that the census has only 96 Germans total. Also no "Russian" or "Austro-Hungarian" nor enough in any category to indicate a sizeable Baltic group. Therefore some of the Lutherans must be from other backgrounds (British?) likely

Sub-district	Total Population	Total Lutheran	Less: Scandinavian Lutheran	German Lutheran #/%	Concentration?
Rhineland	9,891	534	9 x 88% = 8	526/5%	no
Plum Coulee	394	105	no Scand.	105/27%	yes
Gretna	666	223	12 x 88% = 11	212/32%	yes
Stanley	5,169	538	187 x 88% = 165	373/7%	yes
Cypress - S	1,909	197	203 x 88% = 179	18/1%	no
Westbourne	3,760	889	433 x 88% = 381	508/14%	yes
Clanwilliam	1,210	422	539 x 88% = 474	nil	no <sup>3</sup>
Unorg. Terr. (Marquette)	3,330	182	161 x 88% = 142	40/1%	no
Franklin	4,690	730	173 x 88% = 152	578/12%	yes
Hanover	3,003	233	5 x 88% = 4	229/8%	yes
La Broquerie	2,595	117	2 x 88% = 2	115/4%	no
Morris	2,250	107	24 x 88% = 21	86/4%	no
Kildonan (part)	428	183	119 x 88% = 105	78/18%	no
Brokenhead	1,949	338	115 x 88% = 101	237/12%	yes
Gimli	3,008	2,067	2,226 x 88% = 1,959	108/4%	no
Macdonald	1,331	114	35 x 88% = 31	83/6%	no
Posen	1,539	729	792 x 88% = 697	32/2%	no
Selkirk-Town	2,188	682	780 x 88% = 686	nil	no
Springfield	2,589	172	21 x 88% = 18	154/6%	no
St. Clements	1,929	200	75 x 88% = 66	134/7%	yes

through intermarriage, or there could be an error.

<sup>3</sup> Since Scandinavian Lutheran computes higher than the Lutheran total, there must be a mistake or possibly an especially high proportion of Swedes are in British Protestant churches (Anglican?) or in Mission covenant and classed as Baptist.

Sub-district	Total Population	Total Lutheran	Less: Scandinavian Lutheran	German Lutheran #/%	Concentration?
Unorg. Terr. (Selkirk)	3,368	206	65 x 88% = 57	149/4%	no
Winnipeg-Ward 1	2,280	190	181 x 88% = 159	31/1%	no
" -Ward 2	7,305	130	133 x 88% = 117	13/0%	no
" -Ward 3	5,621	798	863 x 88% = 759	39/1%	no
" -Ward 4	11,552	1,409	1,313 x 88% = 1,155	254/2%	no
" -Ward 5	12,697	1,582	796 x 88% = 700	882/7%	yes
" -Ward 6	2,885	144	36 x 88% = 32	112/4%	no

Alberta

Alpaugh	375	101	187 x 88% = 165	nil	no
Burnt Lake	386	190	247 x 88% = 217	nil	no
Colchester	893	400	1 x 88% = 1	399/45%	yes
Conjuring Creek	439	119	96 x 88% = 84	35/8%	no
Duhamel	654	200	150 x 88% = 132	68/10%	no
Josephsburg	456	111	2 x 88% = 2	109/24%	yes
Leduc	783	130	48 x 88% = 42	88/11%	no
New Norway	594	254	252 x 88% = 222	32/5%	no
Ponoka	1,657	171	93 x 88% = 82	89/5%	no
Rabbit Hills	781	256	2 x 88% = 2	254/33%	yes
Red Deer Lake	782	412	326 x 88% = 287	125/16%	yes
Spruce Grove	950	318	10 x 88% = 9	309/33%	yes
Stonyplain Centre	651	555	16 x 88% = 14	541/83%	yes
Tindastoll	207	126	126 x 88% = 111	15/7%	no
Wetaskiwin	2,616	801	583 x 88% = 513	288/11%	yes

Sub-district	Total Population	Total Lutheran	Less: Scandinavian Lutheran	German Lutheran #/%	Concentration?
<u>Assiniboia-East</u>					
Beresina	593	461	110 x 88% = 97	364/61%	yes
Carlsruhe	470	217	0 x 88% = 0	217/46%	yes
Churchbridge	186	118	115 x 88% = 101	17/9%	no
Echo	197	126	5 x 88% = 4	122/62%	yes
Forest Farm	365	154	9 x 88% = 8	146/40%	yes
Hyde	616	257	0 x 88% = 0	257/42%	yes
Langenburg	241	195	5 x 88% = 4	191/79%	yes
Newdorf	601	413	0 x 88% = 0	413/69%	yes
Ohlen	503	304	309 x 88% = 272	32/6%	no
Perceval	179	100	101 x 88% = 89	11/6%	no
Saltcoats	673	151	8 x 88% = 7	144/21%	yes
Tiree	334	169	0 x 88% = 0	169/51%	yes
<u>Assiniboia-West</u>					
Arat	366	214	0 x 88% = 0	214/58%	yes
Edenwold	524	296 <sup>4</sup>	3 x 88% = 3	293/56%	yes
St. Mary	401	140	0 x 88% = 0	140/35%	yes
Strassburg	145	104	0 x 88% = 0	104/72%	yes

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<sup>4</sup> 97 + 2/3 of "Protestants."

Sub-district	Total Population	Total Lutheran	Less: Scandinavian Lutheran	German Lutheran #/%	Concentration?
<u>Saskatchewan</u>					
Fish Creek	780	615 <sup>5</sup>	0 x 88% = 0	615/79%	yes
Rosthern	2,088	198	0 x 88% = 0	198/9%	yes

Summary: For the Prairies, German Lutherans are approximately 13,403 or ca. 3.2%.<sup>6</sup> Points of German Lutheran concentration by census sub-district are as follows:

Manitoba

Plum Coulee	105	or	27%
Gretna	212	or	32%
Stanley	373	or	7%
Westbourne	508	or	14%
Franklin	578	or	12%
Hanover	229	or	8%
Brokenhead	237	or	12%
St. Clements	134	or	7%
Winnipeg - Ward 5	882	or	7%

<sup>5</sup> Fish Creek shows 11 "Germans" and 626 "Russians."

<sup>6</sup> From Appendix II.

Alberta

Colchester	399	or	45%
Josephsburg	109	or	24%
Rabbit Hills	254	or	33%
Red Deer Lake	125	or	16%
Spruce Grove	309	or	33%
Stonyplain Centre	541	or	83%
Wetaskiwin	288	or	11%

Assiniboia-East

Beresina	364	or	61%
Carlsruhe	217	or	46%
Echo	122	or	62%
Forest Farm	146	or	40%
Hyde	257	or	42%
Langenburg	191	or	79%
Newdorf	413	or	69%
Saltcoats	144	or	21%
Tiree	169	or	51%

Assiniboia-West

Arat	214	or	58%
Edenwold	293	or	56%
St. Mary	140	or	35%
Strassburg	104	or	72%

Saskatchewan

Fish Creek	615	or	79%
Rosthern	<u>198</u>	or	9%
	8,870.		

Conclusion: ca. 8,870 German Lutherans or 66% of German Lutherans lived in 31 (or 6%)<sup>7</sup> of the sub-districts. 34% were either living in sub-districts contiguous to those showing the concentration or were dispersed over the rest of the Province or Territories.

Therefore, it can be safely said that 60-70% of German Lutherans were located in 5-10% of the census sub-districts.

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<sup>7</sup> There were 503 "sub-districts" for Manitoba and the Territories for 1901. See Census, pp. 156-61, 268-281.

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## POSTSCRIPT

In our study we have been able to define German Lutherans in the prairie provinces in a statistical sense based on their own self-designation of religion and ethnic origin given in census records. Furthermore, we have been able to show that the term "German Lutheran" was used both as a sign of personal identity and, in some form, in the titles of major church bodies doing mission work with these people in western Canada. Furthermore, we have shown that, in spite of organizational disunity and a reluctance on the part of many individuals to enter into a formal Lutheran church relationship, German Lutherans held in common both the German language and a religious tradition which had its fundamental literary basis in the Bible (Luther's translation), Luther's Small Catechism, and classical Lutheran hymnody.

We have determined the origins of German Lutherans in prairie Canada with enough certainty to be able to examine the church background of the immigrants. Having shown that a large majority of these immigrants came from eastern Europe, we have demonstrated the importance of the Gemeinde--the major institutions of which were church and

confessional school--as a fundamental social unit for German Lutherans living there in a minority situation, indispensable for the preservation and furthering of their religion, language, and culture.

Further, in western Canada, where German Lutherans continued to live as a minority, the assumption of Gemeindebildung based on church and parochial school were an important part of missionary ideology and were seen as critical to the preservation and propagation of the Christian faith according to the Lutheran confessions.

All three church bodies operating in western Canada considered their work in Gemeinde-formation to be a participation in a larger vision, variously expressed as the building (or rebuilding) of Zion, the building of the Kingdom of God, or the furtherance of "true Christianity." We have also shown how certain major literary figures in the German-language press in western Canada saw themselves and their work (Beruf) within the context of that vision.

What was missing in the German Lutheran ecclesiastical reality in western Canada was the working unity and harmony implicit in the vision of a New Jerusalem or the Kingdom of God. However, ecclesiastical competition came about primarily because a situation had developed where German Lutherans in western Canada were left without adequate church ministry. Lutheran ecclesiastical conflict in the eastern United States had a significant effect on the

overall social make up of prairie Canada since it hindered the healthy development of German Lutherans as an ethno-religious group in the de facto multicultural prairie Canada of the pre-War era.

Conflict in a Lutheran Church-at-large for western Canada set back the development of the local Gemeinden and hampered the ability of German Lutherans to speak with an effective voice to governments in western Canada. Towards the end of our period of study, German Lutherans had begun working to solve the problem of division (e.g., the Lemberg recommendation of 1913), but this effort came too late to be effective before the First World War had broken out.

Our study has determined the major intent of German Lutheran mission effort in prairie Canada and shown the major features of the actual historical development in fulfilling that intent. It has established the German Lutheran Gemeinde centered on church and parochial school to be a prime social category for the people involved both de facto in eastern Europe and ideologically in prairie Canada. However, several aspects of German Lutheran life in western Canada call for further study.

The common literary foundation for the group was the Bible, the Small Catechism and the hymnbook, together with various devotional books. An impression from having done the study is that the various hymnbooks had a common core of classical German Lutheran hymnody. However, variations in

the specific hymns preferred and learned may be of some significance. We have noted, for example, that the Wolga Gesangbuch was sometimes problematic. Related to the question of the content of the hymnals is a question about the variety of Catechism editions and devotional works. What can be learned about the religious and cultural life of these people through a study of this literature?

We have shown that the establishment of a parochial school was of signal importance for German Lutheran leadership. However, since most German Lutheran children in western Canada did not attend parochial schools, an in depth study of actual parochial school arrangements and curricula, and relations of Lutherans to public schools, bilingual and otherwise would be helpful.

We have demonstrated that German Lutheran influence in the Nordwesten, Saskatchewan Courier, and Alberta Herald was significant. However, we have not dealt with this relationship for all years of publication, nor the relationship, sometimes competitive, between various papers. Nor have we tried to relate the religious motivation of the editors and publishers to the political and business relationships of the papers. It seems striking that the major Lutheran involvement in the German language press was from individuals connected with the Manitoba Synod. Was this true throughout and what is the significance of this relationship?

Finally, we have shown that German Lutheran missionary effort was based in the United States, whereas much of the clergy and Lutheran leadership in the German-language press was from Germany. What, more precisely, was the nature of the German Lutheran element emigrating "from the United States" and how did it relate to the element "from Germany"?

Although they shared a common language and religious tradition, pre-World War German Lutherans are a complex group of people making up about five percent of the Prairie population (1911) and providing leadership for a broader German ethnic group about twice that size. They deserve further study.