

Midwest Missionary Efforts of New York Lutheran Abolitionists

by PAUL P. KUENNING

AMONG THE EARLIEST SETTLERS of Walworth County Wisconsin, were a sturdy group of Lutherans who began arriving sometime during the early 1840s from Schoharie County in the state of New York. They named their settlement Sharon, after the New York township located about forty miles west of Albany, from which most of them came. They were members of the Franckean Evangelic Lutheran Synod. Organized in the town of Minden, Montgomery County New York, this young synod had taken its name from the German Lutheran Pietist reformer and humanitarian, August Hermann Francke.

One of the primary reasons for the schism with the Hartwick Synod which led to the organization of the Franckean Synod in 1837, was the determination on the part of a small group of clergymen and lay persons to respond to the urgent need for increased missionary activity. They were not in principle opposed to the lengthy and stringent theological training traditionally required by Lutherans for clergy. But they believed that the critical need for ministers called for temporary and innovative measures which would allow older men with families, who felt called to preach the gospel, to prepare themselves for ordination. In keeping with their Pietist predilections, they felt the current situation demanded that strict academic requirements be moderated in favor of a demonstrated religious experience and the practice of a godly life.¹ They were also convinced that in order to meet this "emergency" need, lay preachers with little formal theological education, ought to be authorized by the church for the specific tasks of teaching and preaching.

In addition to this disagreement over the educational requirements for ordination and the encouragement of lay preaching, the future Franckean founders desired to express themselves more forcefully and vigorously on a wide variety of moral reforms. These included temperance, peace, Christian union, and above all, the abolition of slavery. It was this latter subject, one which had already begun to tear apart the fabric of the entire nation, which proved to be decisive in driving them from the Hartwick fold. Dur-

ing the Hartwick Synod Convention in 1836 a resolution was introduced expressing the abhorrence of the synod in regard to the system of human bondage in the United States. A substitute motion was immediately proposed to the effect that the synod, because it was an ecclesiastical body, considered it inexpedient to interfere with the subject of abolition. The degree of the division within the membership was evidenced by the fact that this substitute motion also failed to pass. However, a subsequent motion to indefinitely postpone action on the subject mustered the necessary votes for adoption.² It was this refusal to deal with the burning question of abolition that tipped the scales toward schism for the Franckean rebels. Years later a chronicler of Franckean history wrote that the rejection of "the paper on slavery" proved to be "the decisive moment . . . the last straw."³

From its inception the Franckean Synod took the militant and even radical antislavery position from which they never wavered. The synod was conceived in the conviction that slavery was a sin and dedicated to the proposition that the church of Christ was obligated to wipe every vestige of its image from the face of the earth. These abolitionist convictions were not confined to resolutions, but incorporated within the Franckean's constitution, an action without precedent in the history of the Lutheran church. No minister who was a slaveholder, or engaged in the traffic of human beings, or who advocated the system of slavery then existing in the United States, could be accepted in the synod,⁴ nor could a layperson practicing any of the above, serve as a delegate to synodical meetings.⁵ By 1848 these restrictions were expanded to include laity who "justified the sin of slavery" and clergy "who did not oppose the system of American slavery."⁶ The Franckean were the only corporate body of Lutherans in the United States to take such an early, aggressive and persistent stand in opposition to slavery.

The area in upper New York State in which the Franckean Synod originated was a hot-bed of antislavery activity, and there can be little question that contact with the surrounding culture helped to shape the nature of the Franckean's abolitionism as well as their emphasis on missions and revivalism. Yet a careful study of the historical backgrounds and theological convictions of their membership leads to the conclusion that nearly all that may have been assimilated from outside sources was almost entirely consistent with their own strongly held Lutheran Pietist traditions. The ancestors of the original membership had, for the most part, mi-

grated to New York State during the early part of the eighteenth century. They came from the Palatinate and surrounding areas of Germany where the Pietism of the Spener-Francke school was prevalent.⁷

The parish established in Sharon, Wisconsin in 1845 was the result of the Franckean's first missionary effort in the midwest. At this early date there were only a few Lutheran parishes in the entire area. The first Lutherans to settle in Wisconsin were Pomeranians, followers of Pastor J. A. A. Grabau who left Germany in 1839 and settled in the Milwaukee area. This original group was joined by other German emigrants in 1843, most of whom settled in nearby Cedarburg and Lebanon. They became the founders of the present day Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS). It was not until 1845, just prior to the organization of the parish in Sharon, that the first corporate body of Lutherans in Wisconsin territory, calling themselves the Buffalo Synod, was organized.

A little further to the south, Lutherans from Norway had also arrived in the area in 1839. They had been deeply influenced by the Norwegian lay leader, Hans Nielsen Hauge, whose emphasis on a living faith and revivalism, along with social and political reform, followed closely in the footsteps of the earlier German Lutheran Pietism.⁸ Under the leadership of Elling Eielsen they centered their evangelistic efforts in the Fox River valley of Illinois in Kendall and LaSalle Counties. It was here that the first church of Norwegian Lutherans in America was built in 1841. Later Eielsen moved his ministry into southern Wisconsin, and at Jefferson Prairie, in southeastern Rock County, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) popularly known as Eielsen's synod, was formed in April of 1846.⁹ At its inception the Eielsen Synod had close ties to the Franckean. In 1848 the Norwegians actually voted to affiliate with them, and two of the Eielsen leaders were ordained and held membership in the Franckean Synod. The original constitution adopted by the Eielsen Synod contained an article which repudiated the "fearful sin of giving . . . consent to the slave traffic."¹⁰ However these abolitionist sentiments never approached the intensity of their Franckean predecessors.

MISSIONARY-MINDED PIETISTS

The Franckean mission to the midwestern territories was unique, in that it was carried on, not by recent immigrants, but by English speaking, long-time residents of New York State. What was it that

compelled these Lutherans, whose ancestors had for the most part lived in this country for over a century, to pull up stakes and leave family and friends? What motivated them to travel all those miles to a remote region fraught with dangers, privations and hardships unknown to the village of Sharon they had left in the East? Without question they were impelled by the same social, economic, psychological and religious forces that drove many others from their area to seek a new life on the western frontier. But a further reason lay in the fact that missionary activity was a primary characteristic of their Pietist tradition and was endemic to its theology.

The Franckean's heritage was solidly centered, as noted above, in the German Lutheran Pietism of the Halle School and its leaders, Philip Spener and August Francke. And it was this Pietism of the early eighteenth century, which generated the modern Protestant missionary movement.¹¹ Neither Luther nor Calvin had exhibited any great interest in missionary activity, perhaps partly because their energies were focused on the implementation of internal ecclesiastical reform.¹² The Lutheran Pietist inspiration for evangelistic efforts sprang from two primary motivations. First, its renewed emphasis on the inseparable connection between sanctification and justification, and second, an optimistic eschatology based on a belief in the promised coming millennium. This future hope, which envisioned among other things, the mass conversion of Gentiles and Jews to Christianity, led directly to the fervid promotion of missions. August Francke's efforts at Halle University included the "most active and extensive mission to Jews which Protestantism had thus far developed."¹³ In addition he blazed a trail of missions all the way from India and Greenland to the United States. It was Francke's son and successor, Gotthilf, who in 1742 selected and sent out his former student at Halle, Henry M. Muhlenberg, to organize the Lutheran church in colonial America. A passion for missions, motivated by theological concerns similar to those of their German forebears, was in evidence from the moment of the Franckean Synod's birth.

Nicholas Van Alstine, a Franckean founder and leader who served as one of its pastors for sixty years, testified that he "was born . . . a missionary." The "missionary impulse," he wrote, was "the prime characteristic of this synod," which "more than any other consideration called it into existence."¹⁴ Beginning with just four ordained and three licensed clergy, the Franckean sought to

meet the needs of parishes and whole communities devoid of Christian ministry. In the words of Van Alstine, "Before us lay a large and Macedonian field, . . . piteously invoking help. Could we close our ears to the cry? No, not for a day."¹⁵ In its first year of existence the fledgling synod employed a full time evangelist and raised six hundred dollars for their newly organized Board of Missions.¹⁶ Within three years, eight new congregations had been organized, some of them in small villages and towns of the Schoharie-Mohawk valleys, a few in isolated areas in the western part of the state. Parishes were established as far north as the shores of Lake Ontario and the banks of the St. Lawrence river and into Canada itself, where it was reported, "the field . . . is large and white unto harvest . . . and we are strongly invited to take possession of the field and reap the harvest."¹⁷ In 1840 "a very urgent" application for a Franckean minister was received from Middletown, Pennsylvania. The call was viewed as an opportunity to "break down the strongholds of formality and raise up the standard of holiness and Protestant Lutheranism in that region."¹⁸ By 1842 the number of Franckean clergy had grown from its original four to twenty four, a total of twelve congregations had been organized, and five or six new chapels erected.¹⁹ During these first five years of their existence the small synod received nearly twenty-five hundred adult members into their parishes, largely by baptism and confirmation.²⁰

Among the first settlers in the Wisconsin territory was Martin Van Alstine, the older brother of a Franckean founder, the Rev. Nicholas Van Alstine, whose family parish was the "mother church" in Sharon, New York. It was in Martin Van Alstine's Walworth County farm house on September 27, 1845, that nineteen charter members organized the Sharon parish under the name of the First Evangelical Lutheran Church.²¹ The clergyman directing these organizational efforts, the Rev. David Ottman, was also a member of the parish in Sharon, New York. Although without a church building, these earnest Christians met regularly in various homes for worship and Bible study.

The following year, 1846, saw the arrival of Marcus W. Empie, a recent graduate of Hartwick Seminary, who had received licensure with an appointment from the Franckean Mission Board to minister in Wisconsin Territory. Empie, still another native of Sharon, New York, whose Palatine Pietist ancestors were among

the earliest to arrive there, became the first pastor of the new parish.²²

For five years Marcus Empie conducted a vigorous evangelistic ministry, not only in the Sharon parish but in surrounding areas as well, serving until after the first church building was finally constructed in 1851²³ on land donated by Martin Van Alstine. One of Pastor Empie's "outside activities" was the organization of the first Norwegian congregation in Chicago. In the process he struck up an acquaintance with a Norwegian Lutheran by the name of Ole Andrewsen, who was licensed by the Franckean Synod in 1847.²⁴ It was also through the favorable influence of Marcus Empie that Paul Anderson, a divinity student at Beloit College, became associated with the Franckean Synod, and later served the parish Empie had gathered in Chicago. Anderson, who had come from Norway in 1843 and worked with the pioneer leader Elling Eielsen, and who became a leading figure among Norwegian Lutherans in his own right, was impressed with Empie and with the synod he represented. He was licensed by the Franckean Synod in 1848 and ordained at its meeting in Gardnersville, New York in 1849.²⁵ It was Andrewsen and Anderson who had helped organize the Eielsen Synod. A third Norwegian by the name of O. S. Hatlestad, who had served as a lay preacher with Eielsen, also threw his lot in with the Franckean Synod.²⁶ Together, these three organized four Norwegian congregations in Illinois. The Rev. Christian Zipp, a Franckean pastor fluent in both French and German, established congregations in Racine and Burlington, Wisconsin. Zipp organized a "Wisconsin Conference of the Franckean Synod" for the five clergymen serving at the mid-century mark in the western territories.²⁷

A historic parish, the oldest congregation of the former Augustana Lutheran Church, and organized by the Swedish Lutheran leader, Lars P. Esbjorn at Andover, Illinois in 1850, was for a short time also connected with the Franckean Synod and adopted its constitution.²⁸ Esbjorn was closely associated with Anderson during his early years in Illinois, and attracted to the Franckean Synod primarily on account of its strong antislavery stance.

By 1850, the fruits of missionary fervor had brought the Franckean Synod to its zenith of numerical growth. In that year it consisted of fifty parishes with over thirty-two hundred adult members.²⁹ In just over a decade this abolitionist body of mission-minded Lutherans had more than doubled in size. It was a remark-

able accomplishment, particularly in view of the stringent requirements for membership in regard to both personal piety and moral reform. However, the highwater mark had been reached, and a decline, not precipitous but irreversible, began to take place. Some of the inadequacies of the Franckean's mission policy were at fault. Too many parishes had been organized over a relatively short period of time. Most all of them were located in small villages, where the possibility of growth was severely limited. In addition, the congregations were widely separated, making adequate supervision more difficult. The result of all these factors led Nicholas Van Alstine to state in his mission report of 1852 that a number of congregations were without a pastor because they were so isolated or weak that they could not maintain one without financial support. This aid, he said, was not available because the synod had expanded into too many new fields of labor.³⁰ Van Alstine's analysis of the problem was accurate, but incomplete. Another important factor in the decline of the Franckean's midwest missionary efforts after 1850 is attributable to the rising strength of a stringent confession-alism whose adherents were known as "old Lutherans." The leaders of this group viewed the Franckean missions with alarm, considering them as "anti-confessional" and a particularly pernicious manifestation of the "American Lutheranism" which they so strongly opposed.³¹

In 1851 three Norwegian pastors along with their congregations withdrew from the Franckean in order to help organize the new Northern Illinois Synod. Paul Anderson, along with most of his Scandinavian colleagues, gradually turned toward a more confessionalist orientation. However, it is not at all clear, as J. Magnus Rhone has asserted, that this new synod was formed in "direct protest against the loose confessionalism of the Franckean Synod."³² In a letter dated May 28, 1851, and requesting an honorable dismissal from the Franckean Synod, Paul Anderson gives thanks "with devout gratitude (for) the blessings which under God, the Franckean Synod has been instrumental in conferring upon our people" and assures them that the organization of the new synod in Illinois did not originate out of any dissatisfaction with the Franckean, but out of a need for an association in their own region.³³ As a matter of fact, Rev. Nicholas Van Alstine along with another Franckean leader, the Rev. Henry Dox, made the long trip to Cedarville, Illinois in September of 1851, to be present as hon-

ored guests of Anderson at the formation of the Northern Illinois Synod.

Van Alstine and Dox used the occasion to make an extended tour and inspection of their Wisconsin Conference parishes. Leaving on September 3, 1851 and traveling by way of Lake Erie, the Central Michigan Railroad and Lake Michigan, they arrived in Chicago two days later. There they visited with Pastor Paul Anderson, and on a rainy Sunday preached at both the morning and afternoon services in his Norwegian Church. On September 8th, they left Chicago and "after a most delightful trip over the glassy bosom of the beautiful Michigan" arrived that evening in Milwaukee. The Franckians described Milwaukee as a "beautiful city of some twenty-five thousand inhabitants . . ." They spoke of a German Lutheran church there under the care of "Mr. Murheiser," of whom they had "heard singularly conflicting reports," but whose new house of worship then under construction, "denoted external prosperity." The pastor referred to was undoubtedly, the Rev. John Muehlhaeuser, a founder of the Buffalo Synod, and later of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod.

After a two-day stay in Milwaukee, the Franckian leaders traveled on to Racine. While the visitors from the Empire State reacted favorably to the physical aspects of the "village . . . overlooking the lake," they were decidedly unimpressed by its "moral character and religious tendencies." After a friendly welcome from the Rev. Christian Zipp, they spent time counseling their beleaguered brother, whose parish had experienced a prolonged period of "strife, tumult, and litigation." Zipp was forced to leave soon after their visit, and Ole Andrewsen began serving the congregation by the end of the year.

Van Alstine and Dox continued their journey from Racine. Departing for the interior on the morning of September 11th, they took the stage to Delavan and arrived at the village of Sharon, located near the Illinois-Wisconsin State line, "just at the setting of the sun." Here they "were fraternally received into the family of Brother Empie." At Sharon they spent several days visiting with "old acquaintances from the East," worshipping in the "newly erected house of worship, then nearly completed," where they preached to a large congregation of "attentive and anxious" persons.

On September 17th Dox and Van Alstine, in company with Pastor Empie, traveled to Cedarville, Illinois, "a small village . . . still

almost in wilderness," where the foundation of a Lutheran church had only just been laid. Here they took part in the ceremonies marking the organization of the Northern Illinois Synod, and that same evening went on to Freeport where they preached in different churches. The next morning, September 18th, Van Alstine returned to Sharon to attend the dedication of the newly built church, while Dox started out on the long trip home.³⁴

Among the impressions of the western visit which the delegates reported at the next session of their synod were the "unsettled condition of the country," the low morals and the "continuous influx of a heterogenous population." They concluded that to be effective, religious efforts must not be temporary or spasmodic, but sustained.³⁵

NEW YORK SYNOD CONVENTION IN WISCONSIN

While the Franckean Synod's missions in the midwest required a financial outlay and drain on personnel that did not allow for the necessary durability of effort, still there was much sharing of happiness as well as heartaches in its long association with the Wisconsin Conference. In 1860 a notable chapter in Lutheran synodical history was written when the congregation in Sharon, Wisconsin, and its pastor, Rufus Smith, Jr., invited the Franckean Synod to hold its annual convention there. The Wisconsin church had grown under the energetic leadership of Pastor Smith. During his five-year ministry one hundred thirty-two members had been received, partly through the evangelistic meetings and revivals that he held in various schoolhouses throughout the community. At first there was some dissatisfaction with this procedure, an indication of the ever-present Lutheran ambivalence toward revivalism. But at a meeting called to deal with the "problem," Rev. Smith's resignation was rejected, his salary increased to four hundred dollars a year, and he was given the right to preach where and when he pleased.³⁶ As a result of its growth the Sharon church had moved the new chapel constructed in 1851 to its permanent location in the village, where they had enlarged and refurbished it. Now they wanted it dedicated by their synod, and that was the special reason for the invitation to hold the annual convention of the New York Synod in Wisconsin.

Eleven pastors, half of the Franckean Synod's clergy, including all the officers and seven lay delegates, made the long and expensive

trip from New York. The fare itself cost each delegate eighty-five dollars, a substantial sum in those days. After the opening worship on Thursday, June 7, 1860, the president of the synod, Rev. Philip Wieting, solemnly consecrated the new church as a "place of religious worship." A number of visiting ministers were present. There were official delegates from the Wisconsin conferences of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches. Six other pastors of local Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian parishes were also accorded the privilege of "advisory members." However, there was no official delegate from a Lutheran body present nor was any greeting sent. This can undoubtedly be explained not only by the paucity of Lutheran parishes in the area, but also by the opposition of some conservative Lutheran groups to the Franckean proclivity for reform. Still enthusiasm ran high throughout the entire meeting, and the synodical secretary concluded that "the entire Session had been unparalleled, and the religious interest . . . overwhelming. It was worth a journey to the west to witness and experience."³⁷

But along with the inspiration there were problems in the Franckean's western parishes. Difficulties were not confined to the parish in Racine. A Franckean missionary pastor by the name of Christian Sans had organized a congregation in Watertown, Wisconsin in 1854. An eloquent preacher with boundless energy, Sans' efforts at first met with a positive response. The parish grew from thirty-four members in 1854 to over four hundred in 1859. It was the largest by far of all the Franckean parishes. But Sans' agitation for moral reforms met with a decided resistance in the conservative Germany community. His abolitionist convictions coupled with his crusade for temperance in a town where five breweries comprised a major aspect of commercial life, developed antagonisms within the community. The controversy became so heated that threats were made on Sans' life. Watertown's illustrious politician, Carl Schurz, addressed the general public at an open meeting, calling on the people to stop meddling in the affairs of Sans' congregation. Still, the opposition grew. Some of Sans' supporters slept in the pastor's home with loaded guns to protect him. When a crowd tried to attack Sans following a party given in his honor in April of 1859, the Watertown mayor, C. B. Skinner, drew out a pistol and threatened to shoot the first man to touch him. Finally, Sans' friends advised him to leave town for the sake of peace and

tranquility.³⁸ Soon after, he was formally suspended from his office and his salary. He then accepted a call as pastor of a Lutheran church in Joliet, Illinois where he served for many years.³⁹

During the Franckean convention in Sharon, in 1860, word was received that Sans had been "compelled to leave his field and flee for his life." The Franckeans appointed a committee to investigate the situation. It convened in Watertown on June 24, and after a careful study concluded that the charges against Sans were of a "hearsay character" and that unless additional evidence could be produced, he was "entitled to confidence and respect." In the meantime Sans had sued his chief detractor, the local Reformed minister, for slander. Sans lost the suit, but complained that "the partial lagerbeer loving judge and the miserable, bribed, black-hearted jury (five excepted) were against (him)" along with "all the intemperate and infidelic influences in Watertown." He vowed to take his case to a higher court. Two years later Rev. Sans reported that he had been vindicated before the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, and that his chief persecutor had been forced to sign a retraction of his slanderous charges.⁴⁰ A year after Sans' departure, the congregation joined the more conservative Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod and adopted a new constitution.

One by one the Franckean congregations followed the pattern of the Watertown parish and affiliated with other synods. However, churches in Jackson and Wilton, Illinois were received as late as 1864.⁴¹ But the little pioneer parish at Sharon remained in the Franckean fold until about 1880 when it transferred its membership to the Northern Illinois Synod.⁴² Later still it became a part of the Illinois Synod of the United Lutheran Church in America. Approaching its 150th year of existence, Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sharon, Wisconsin is one of the oldest active congregations in its newly-created synod within the ELCA. So it is that a small but aggressively missionary abolitionist synod has left its passing if not indelible imprint upon the history of the Lutheran church in the midwest.

NOTES

1. Nicholas Van Alstine, *Historical Review of the Franckean Evangelical Lutheran Synod of New York* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publishing Society, 1893), 4-6.

2. *Minutes, Hartwick Synod 1836*, pp. 21-22, Archives Metropolitan-Upper New York Synod, Wagner College, Staten Island, N.Y.

3. Henry L. Dox, "Historical Fidelity" in *A Reunion of Ministers and Churches, Held at Gardnersville, May 14-17, 1881* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1881), 9.
4. *Constitution, Franckean Synod*, Article 8 Section 6, p. 11.
5. *Ibid.*, Article 7 Section 3, p. 9.
6. *Ibid.*, 1848 Revision, Article 8, Section 2, p. 13; Article 7, p. 13.
7. Paul P. Kuenning, "American Lutheran Pietism, Activist and Abolitionist," (Ph.D. dissertation, Marquette University, 1985), Chapter 4.
8. Andreas Aarflot, *Hans Nielsen Hauge* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1979), 48-49.
9. Rolf A. Syrdal, "Hauge's (1846) Lay Evangelism Builds a Missionary Church" in *Church Roots*, ed. Charles P. Lutz (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1985), 69-71.
10. E. Clifford Nelson and Eugene L. Fevold, *The Lutheran Church Among Norwegian Americans* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1960), 130-134 and 340.
11. Ernst H. Wendland, "Pietism's World Mission Enterprise," *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* 82 (Summer 1985): 187.
12. Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*, trans. from the Seventh German Edition, ed. George Tobson (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903), 39-40.
13. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 3 *Three Centuries of Advance 1500 A.D. to 1800 A.D.* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1970), 60-61.
14. Van Alstine, *Historical Review*, 14 and 10.
15. *Ibid.*, 20.
16. *Lutheran Herald*, (Feb. 15, 1842): 29.
17. *Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 2nd Session, 1839, p. 7; *ibid.*, 3rd Session, 1840, 10, 26.
18. *Ibid.*, 3rd Session, 1840, 26.
19. *Lutheran Herald*, (Feb. 15, 1842): 29.
20. *Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 7th Session, 1844, p. 7.
21. *The Centennial Anniversary Booklet (1845-1945) of Christ Ev. Lutheran Church, Sharon, Wi.* pp. 3-4, and *125th Anniversary Booklet, 1970*, pp. 1-3.
22. Marcus Empie's descendants continued to serve the Lutheran church with great distinction. His grandson C. G. Empie was the last president of the Franckean Synod, serving in that capacity when the Franckean Synod reunited with the Hartwick Synod along with the New York Ministerium in 1908. Later still, the son of C. G. Empie, Paul, served the Lutheran church at large as one of its most respected twentieth-century leaders. As director of the Lutheran World Federation, Dr. Paul Empie implemented relief and refugee programs, and also pioneered the development of Lutheran theological dialogue on an ecumenical basis.
23. *The Centennial Anniversary Booklet (1845-1945) of Christ Ev. Lutheran Church, Sharon, Wi.* dates the dedication of the first church building in Sept. of 1852, but according to the Franckean Synod records, it took place one year earlier.
24. *Gardnersville Reunion, 158; Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 11th Session 1847, p. 7.
25. O. Nothstein, "The History of Lutheranism in Illinois", *The Augustana Quarterly* 27 (July 1948): 241; *The Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 12th Session 1849, p. 22; J. Magnus Rohne, *Norwegian American Lutheranism Up to 1872* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), 101.

26. O. Nothstein, "History of Lutheranism in Illinois," 241. In 1850 in Racine, Wisconsin, Hatelstad began publication of "Nordlyset," the first Norwegian newspaper in this country.

27. *Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 13th Session, 1850, p. 6. There is no record of formal affiliation with the Franckean Synod other than the citation in this *Journal* above.

28. *Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 11th Session, 1848, pp. 15-16 and 21; 12th Session, 1849, p. 7.

29. N. Van Alstine, *Historical Review*, 10; Robert Fortenbaugh, "American Lutheran Synods and Slavery, 1830-1860", *The Journal of Religion* 13 (1933):86.

30. *Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 1852, p. 16.

31. G. H. Gerberding, *Life and Letters of William A. Passavant* (Greenville, Pa: The Young Lutheran Co. 1906), 207-208.

32. J. Magnus Rhone, *Norwegian American Lutheranism*, 164.

33. Letter from Paul Anderson to N. Van Alstine, dated May 18, 1851. Original in Franckean Synod Files, Archives of the Metropolitan-Upper New York Synod, Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y.

34. Robert W. Van Alstine, "Steadfast," unpublished biography of Nicholas Van Alstine, 1814-1900, Archives of the Metropolitan-Upper New York Synod, Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y., 27.

35. All of the material on the trip to Wisconsin and Illinois not otherwise indicated is contained in a report from Dox and Van Alstine in the *Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 1852, pp. 10-12.

36. *The Centennial Anniversary Booklet (1852-1945) of Christ Ev. Lutheran Church, Sharon, Wi.*, 4.

37. The material on the synodical meeting in Sharon, Wi. is taken from the *Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 1860; and Harry J. Kreider, "New York Synod Convention in Wisconsin, 1860" *The Lutheran Church Quarterly* 19 (Oct. 1946):408-411.

38. The material on the German church in Watertown and Rev. Sans is from: *The Journal of the Franckean Synod*, 1858, p. 28; 1859, p. 6; 1860, p. 6; 1861, p. 7; 1863, p. 34; and a letter from Rev. Christian Sans to the Franckean Synod, from Joliet, Il., 1861. Original in Franckean Synod documents and Correspondence #2, Archives Metropolitan-Upper New York Synod, Wagner College, Staten Island, N. Y. Also from Arnold Lehmann, "Lutheran Beginnings in the Watertown Area", *WEL Historical Journal* 2 (Spring 1984); *The 125th Anniversary Booklet, St. Mark's Lutheran Church, Watertown, Wisconsin*, and William F. Whyte, "Chronicles of Early Watertown", *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, (March 1921):289-306.

39. Sans served the congregation in Joliet with distinction for twenty-five years, and died there, a respected citizen of the community.

40. In addition Rev. Joerris was forced to pay all court costs plus a \$100 fine, *The 125th Anniversary Booklet, St. Mark's Ev. Lutheran Church*, 13.

41. *Franckean Journal*, 1864, p. 21.

42. *125th Anniversary Booklet, Christ Lutheran Church, Sharon, Wi.* 3.



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