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“Mountain of Difficulties”: The Prehistory of Lutheran College and Seminary at Saskatoon

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This article is written to honor the founders of the Lutheran College and Seminary at Saskatoon and to mark the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the institution.

When I began to pursue an interest in writing the history of the Manitoba Synod of the General Council as well as the history of Lutheran College and Seminary approximately twenty-five years ago, it soon became evident that the reconstruction of this story faced very considerable difficulty because of the scarcity of sources. For example, the minutes of the Manitoba Synod for the period from 1897–1907 did not appear to be extant.¹ The journal which had been begun by the Synod during the first decade of the twentieth century also appeared to have vanished from sight.² Various German journals which were reputed to be in publication during that period, such as *Der Nordwesten* and the journal of the General Council called *Siloah*, either proved difficult to locate or were not readily accessible. Given this state of affairs, I had very little choice but to commit myself to a search and recovery program for the missing documents. I did not know the endeavor would span more than two decades nor that it would take me to libraries and archives not only at Saskatoon, but at Regina, Winnipeg, Chicago, Philadelphia and Waterloo. This is an appropriate place to tender my appreciation to the librarians and staff of these institutions for all of the courtesies extended to me across the years. I am thankful that the effort to salvage these materials have been crowned with success beyond any reasonable expectation.

The notion of establishing a college on the territory of the Manitoba Synod three-quarters of a century ago seems utterly

incredible today.³ It is extraordinarily difficult to imagine how a group of pastors less than two dozen in number serving approximately fifty congregations whose total baptized membership was less than eight thousand could even have contemplated a venture of such magnitude in 1911.⁴ It becomes even more astounding when it is remembered that the Synod itself was only fourteen years old and that German Lutheran mission work in western Canada had not yet reached the quarter century mark. If in addition we take into account the financial capabilities of the Synod in the first decade of its life it becomes clear that any expectation of realizing such a dream was subject to foreclosure in advance.⁵ All of which suggests that a remarkable story lies concealed behind the inception of the college as a practical enterprise.

It would appear to be self-evident that the sponsors of this venture must have understood how hard it would be to bring it to fruition. Pastor C. Tappert of the German Home Missions Board in his report to the General Council in 1911 penned a striking statement which reflected the situation when he wrote:

There seems only one way leading to the ultimate realization of this long-cherished 'desiderium', the path of perseverance. The example of the Chinese woman who was found rubbing a crowbar on a stone and when asked the meaning of this strange procedure answered she wanted a needle, and thought she would rub down the crowbar till it got small enough, may well serve to encourage the brethren if they should become disheartened by the difficulties in their way. It is a good policy to strike while the iron is hot but even better is that perseverance which can make the iron hot by striking.⁶

The president-elect of the Synod in that year, Pastor M. Ruccius, recollecting the events of that time a decade later, put the situation into sharp relief when he wrote:

Had the dearth in pastors not become more severe, matters might have remained at the stage of discussion and wishful thinking, for there was an awareness in the leading circles of the synod that, while it might not be so difficult to bring such an institution into existence, it would be a colossal task for such a small body to maintain such an institution and to have it flourish. But God the Lord had his hand in this matter so that in part we did not really see the mountain of difficulties in the way and in part forgot them in view of the distress which was becoming ever graver.⁷

According to this eyewitness, had the Synod not made this decision before the war began, very little would have become of

the college project during the war or indeed even after it. However, in the course of the war, the question of the procurement of pastors for the field would have become that much more acute; from a human point of view, the future of the Synod itself would have hung upon the question whether or not the necessary laborers could have been found via an institution of its own.

As we have already noted, the year 1911 proved to be pivotal. By the early summer of 1912,⁸ Pastor J. Goos began instruction in the manse at Spruce Grove, Alberta, moving very soon thereafter to Edmonton to an address with something of a negative numerological significance, namely, 666 6th Ave. N.E., South Edmonton, Alberta.⁹ He moved once again to 9720-88th Avenue in Edmonton¹⁰ before relocating to Saskatoon in 1913. On the 20th of November, 1913, the establishment of the new school was recognized at a special service.¹¹ This event marks the official date of its founding.

In the effort to shed light upon the story behind the scenes, we shall address ourselves in particular to three questions. First we shall try to discover just when the idea of establishing such a school on the prairies initially arose. We shall then try to take account of the broader context in which this project was being promoted in order to determine what other factors affected the situation. Finally, we shall attempt to elicit the reasons put forward in support of this proposal.

On the question of the time when the idea arose, the tradition is that it came up at the eighth convention of the Manitoba Synod held in 1907 at Trinity Lutheran church in Winnipeg.¹² During the afternoon session on Saturday, the seventeenth of August, a motion was put and adopted proposing the establishment of a seminary on the territory of the Synod subject to the approval and assistance of the German Home Missions Board of the General Council.¹³ According to Prof. C. Kleiner, the person who stimulated interest in this venture and who introduced it to the convention was none other than the president-elect, Pastor M. Ruccius.¹⁴ However, in the minutes of the Synod, which have been recovered, no indication is given as to the arguments which were invoked to undergird the proposition or to defend it. Nor in the customary style of official statements of the day is any comment made to the effect that the motion aroused lively debate. On these points, the report of the

synodical secretary, Pastor H. Becker, is mute. It divulges no secrets and keeps its counsel utterly to itself.

The suspicion cannot be removed that the seed for this project had already been planted and the ground prepared before the convention. Confirmation seems to come from the repeated remark in later sources, beginning as early as 1911, that the seminary question had long since been a matter of interest.¹⁵ On the other hand, the origin of the notion can hardly go back before 1903, the year in which the Synod was just emerging from a critical period.¹⁶ Dare we overlook the fact that Pastors M. Ruccius and J. Goos, two persons who exercised a greater influence upon the origin and early development of the school than any others, from 1904 onwards were the shepherds of adjacent congregations? It seems sensible to suggest that the dream of constituting a seminary in the west arose in conversation between these two individuals, each his own person, yet allied in common interest on the matter. If we consider too that Pastor J. Goos had served in the Canada Synod which was contemplating a seminary at about this time, that would seem to add substance to this supposition.¹⁷ It is also clear that both pastors kept themselves informed of events in the General Council where similar ideas were being promoted within its several jurisdictions. It therefore seems most likely that the idea had its origin in the period 1904–1907 and that the one or the other or both of these pioneer pastors quietly broached the notion at opportune moments to other pastors and discussed it informally with them.

It comes as a distinct surprise to discover that the idea of constituting a theological school arose at a still earlier point in time. It was raised at the synodical convention in the year 1900, just three years after the establishment of the Synod itself. In the May 1938, issue of *Der Synodalbote* commemorating the Silver Anniversary of the Seminary, the redactor Dr. M. Ruccius writes:

Our institution in Saskatoon can now look back upon a twenty-five year history, yet the editor remembers the fact that the thought of such an institution and of its necessity for spiritual development emerged at the synodical convention in Edenwald in 1900 and was discussed in depth. When that then became a reality thirteen years later, it was an institution on the smallest scale and indeed it has not yet grown to full stature as have several other sister institutions in

the United Lutheran Church. But under God's gracious constancy throughout all the years, it has been a virtual seeding-place (= seminary) for the Lutheran church.¹⁸

With the recovery of the initial minutes of the Synod, it was somewhat disconcerting to find that there was no reference whatever to this subject in the 1900 minutes. On the other hand, there is no reason whatever to discount the testimony of Pastor Ruccius, and more than enough indication elsewhere to lend support to it. He then is the father and sponsor of the Seminary proposal.

Pastor Ruccius was born in 1865 and came from an old, long-established pastoral family. His forefathers in a direct line going back to the sixteenth century stood in the service of the Lutheran church. He himself studied at the universities of Leipzig, Berlin and Greifswald and was called to serve in the Canadian northwest (as the prairies were then called by eastern Americans) by the German Home Missions Board of the General Council and was ordained by the Canada Synod in 1892. He served as pastor of Trinity, Winnipeg, until 1898, ministering initially to an additional ten points, and later after assistance was provided an additional five. He then went to Neudorf, Saskatchewan, serving four other points as well. In the fall of 1901 he had to resign on medical advice and move to the warmer climate of California. He had developed an eye problem which may have been a result of exposure to the fierce cold of a blizzard. After this U.S. interim, he was called to Strathcona, Alberta in 1904. He was the first president of the Manitoba Synod from 1897-1900 and was elected to that post again in 1907. In 1909 he was appointed *Missionssuperintendent*. It should also be stated for the record that he was the first president of the college board.¹⁹ In the same year, 1909, the president of the German Home Missions Board said of him:

Pastor Ruccius is not only a pre-eminently gifted personage, but also a fundamentally cultured man of rich pastoral experience, fully cognizant of the circumstances of the country, filled with enthusiasm for the mission work there and blessed with the necessary physical vigor.²⁰

But if Pastor Ruccius was the original sponsor of the idea, there can be no question that Pastor Juergen Goos, who would become the first director of the school and devote over a quarter of a century to it, was not only an ally and staunch advocate of

the idea, but also shares with him the honor of having brought about the realization of this great dream.

In turning to the question of the broader context, we must go back all the way to the beginnings of Lutheran work in western Canada. In the twenty year period from 1888 to 1907 two crises occurred, the consequences of which were to be decisive for the "northwestern mission". One of these happened in 1888 and the other in 1901. The former was to determine the entire course of General Council mission work west of the Red River and the second nearly to cripple it.

The first crisis had its roots in 1881 when the General Council, recognizing the desperate need of German pastors, turned to Germany for help and one year later entered into a verbal agreement with the newly created seminary at Kropp near Kiel.²¹ As a result, an assured supply of pastors began to come to America. But in 1886 someone raised the question why the German Home Missions report to the General Council spoke of Kropp as "our seminary".²² That in turn led to a request for an explanation of that relationship on the understanding—should the relation prove to be a verbal one—that an appropriate legal contract be drawn up and concluded between the two parties subject to full report to the General Council. When it came to the crunch, however, the Council was not ready to enter into any such covenant without adding a rider of its own, namely, that the final year of study for Kropp students destined for America would have to be taken at Philadelphia Seminary.²³ Things swiftly went from bad to worse and the arrangement which had been in place for half a dozen years was suspended in 1888.²⁴ The supply of German pastors for America, including Canada, was thus cut off in the very year that work in western Canada was initiated.

Not until 1907 was this lamentable situation, the suspension of relations with Kropp, to change.²⁵ In the meantime, the Home Missions Board had to find its pastors wherever it could in America and Europe. Under such conditions it was obvious at the outset the Board would be unable to recruit nearly enough persons for the mission challenges before it. The region between the Lakehead and the Pacific north of the forty-ninth parallel had to make do as best it could with the half dozen pastors who were sent to the Canadian west after 1888; consequently these few pastors were encumbered with work that re-

quired twelve, twenty and thirty persons during the first decade of evangelistic activity on the prairies.²⁶

The second crisis was catapulted onto the scene in 1899. In that year recommendations were passed by the General Council to create three ethnic, national Home Missions Boards, each responsible for all mission work in their jurisdiction including all missions which had previously been conducted by the member churches of that body.²⁷ Aside from the difficulties involved in the re-organization and other related problems, the German Board in particular had to contend with many obstacles that frustrated its efforts to raise the funds required to meet its commitments. It had had especial trouble in the previous biennium in that regard, first, because the nation was only beginning to emerge from an economic recession, and second, because jubilee campaigns in two large synods had diverted funds from missions and, last but not least, because the annual subsidy from the Publications Board was withdrawn to meet the urgent need of that Board to provide itself with an office building. It was fortunate indeed that the German Board was not in debt at the time as was the case with the English Mission Board.

Tragedy also struck the Board. A long-time member, Pastor Berkemeier, passed away in 1899.²⁸ In 1900 the president of the Board and one of the veterans who had championed the expansion of the church into western Canada and had constantly defended it, Pastor F.W. Weiskotten, became ill while at sea on a return trip from an inspection tour of the foreign mission field in India. He died before the ship could arrive in America and was committed to the sea. Still another senior member of the Board whose service on behalf of western Canada was exemplary, Pastor E. Moldehnke, then also president of the General Council, was suffering ill-health.²⁹

The composition of the Board was also to change significantly in the period following 1899. If my examination of the records is correct, four pastors who had not previously served on the Board were appointed in addition to three lay persons who also had had no prior experience on that Board. This amounted to a changing of the guard. A new generation was taking over. Only three or four veterans, such as Pastor J. Nicum and E. Hoffmann, were to hold a position on this Board in the years to follow.

Given the financial strictures under which the Board now had to operate, it made a decision to cut back on missionary stipends and to require more, financially speaking, of the congregations on the field.³⁰ The evidence suggests that the Board, rocked by one shock after another and bedeviled by difficulties which could not be surmounted also lacked the mature experience of actual conditions on the field and simply made a mistake. There is no reason to believe that actions taken by the Board were inspired by any particular animus against the missionaries themselves or the people under their charge. But the tactless way it went about it all too easily could give rise to such a suspicion.³¹ Prudence would have dictated the rigorous fulfilment of financial commitments to pastors on the field even if that meant the assumption of a debt during the biennium.

Over and above all of the vicissitudes which were visited upon the Board perhaps no problem was so obstreperous as that of recruitment in the face of popular perceptions about the region of the continent above the line between Minnesota and the Pacific coast. Certainly, nothing was so hard to combat as the mythology of the north nor was any opponent so elusive or ephemeral. At whatever point one sought to grab hold of the fabulous world, it slipped through the fingers with wraith-like ease. Furthermore, the missionaries on the field did not help matters much when they submitted reports that tended to confirm the phantasmic notions of the average individual. Not until Pastor C. Tappert became a member of the Board would action be taken to countervail the power of the mythology upon the consciousness of the ordinary American. It was Pastor Tappert who seized upon every means of publicity available to cut the legends down to size, particularly through the adroit application of humor as well as the provision of economic, agricultural and other data designed to give a more realistic picture of the great northwest.³²

It is apparent that the Board learned from the *faux pas* it had committed in 1901. As if to redeem itself it rose energetically to the task of supplying pastors for the Manitoba field. The synodical roster was to quadruple in the period from 1897 to 1907, not enough to hold the field against the competition but enough to maintain it for the future.³³ In this connection, along with Pastor C. Tappert, Pastor E. Kraeling should be singled out in particular for credit. By and large, one must

say that the German Home Missions Board over the long haul did in fact do everything it could under the most exasperating of circumstances to be faithful in the discharge of its responsibilities. Nevertheless, it is a fact that it failed to find the money and the number of persons required to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the mission field in western Canada, thus allowing rival Lutheran groups too much room to invest the territory. The Canadian jurisdiction for far too long received much too little much too late.³⁴ If it was not for want of trying that the Board fell short of the demands made upon it, it is also plain that the Board very nearly brought about a cataclysm on the mission field.

It is evident that the effects of decisions taken by the General Council or its Boards as far as the Manitoba Synod was concerned were demoralizing and made the prospect of founding a seminary on the prairies, whether supported by the Manitoba Synod alone or by joint sponsorship of the Synod and the Home Missions Board, tenuous at the very best. However, twenty years of history had demonstrated with a force that could not be denied that some other way than the one which had been used by the Board had to be found to assure a regular and adequate supply of pastors. If the Manitoba Synod was to survive, a better alternative which could be expected to produce results had to be found. Possible or not, the seminary proposal was one of the options available.

The pastors on the field in western Canada can hardly have been fully conversant with all aspects of the events which were transpiring two thousand miles away in Philadelphia. Yet based on what they did know and what they suspected, one is baffled by the fact that they chose nevertheless to take up just this challenge. As we have already noted, our sources are extremely reticent to shed any light on the reasons why they chose so vigorously to pursue this particular option. Not only are the reasons for the most part missing, but there are also hardly any indications to account for the passion with which they promoted the project.

Fortunately we are not left entirely in the dark. Unexpectedly a sudden shaft of light pierces the obscurity. Hidden away in the recesses of the 1907 General Council minutes, there is a little section entitled "Abstracts of Minutes of District Synods", which consists of brief resumes of Synod conventions submitted by the respective presidents. There, less than a month

after the Synodical meeting, President Ruccius makes it crystal clear that it was the need for laborers on the mission field which led the Synod to initiate steps to found a theological school. That statement reads:

Pastoral changes were frequent because it was very hard to get persons for our large and trying field. It is for this reason that our synod has not expanded as it should taking into account the numerous immigrants of German Lutheran stock who have settled on the territory of our Synod. If we had had the personnel and the money, we could have doubled the number of our congregations. Our brethren in the General Council should remember what the Lord said, Mt. 9:37-38; The harvest truly is plenteous but the laborers few; pray you therefore the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth laborers into the harvest.³⁵

This statement which is recorded in support of founding a school in the Synod is enlightening in several respects: first, that the seminary proposal was fostered and promoted in order to fulfil the evangelical mandate to provide laborers for the harvest, to supply pastors for the field; second, that that imperative was absolutely critical because of the large immigration of German Lutherans to the Canadian west; third, that the project had to take place on the territory of the Synod thus espousing an indigenous principle even though it was limited to the German ethnic community. Finally, this text itself makes it clear that Pastor Ruccius himself was determined to take advantage of his office in order to further the cause.

At the ninth Synodical convention, in 1909, Pastor Ruccius reports on the state of affairs. There it was remarked that "a large part of the proceedings of the meeting was devoted to the all important question: how are we to get more pastors for the Synodical field. In consequence of the unconscionable propaganda of another Lutheran Synod there is an unrest among the congregations of our Synod which cannot be met by putting more workers into the field."³⁶ Pastor C. Tappert pleads the case as follows:

Even though we have been the first in the field, even though we cannot doubt that God has called us to this task, even though the door is still open and the invitation to enter urgent, all efforts of the Board must fail and the untiring zeal and faithful labor of our missionaries come to nothing as far as the General Council is concerned unless a Seminary is provided to supply the people that we require in the field. The need for such an institution was recognized long ago and is felt more keenly every year.³⁷

From still another angle, a tract issued on the second of January 1913 from the pen of Pastor Juergen Goos, catches us by surprise because it confronts us abruptly with some of the reasons which had been employed in justifying the college project. We quote it here at length:

It belongs to the weightiest obligations of the Christian church and of congregations to concern themselves with the recruitment of pastors and it was in the face of that responsibility that the synod had in trust upon God decided to found a Pro-Seminary with the understanding that it would be expanded to a College as soon as possible in which pious, gifted, willing boys and young men would be provided with a preparatory education. It is further the situation of the Synod that it could not without excessively high expenditures send candidates to far distant institutions of learning. We must therefore have such an institution in our midst. We shall then certainly win some for the study of the holy pastoral office who for want of an institution in the near vicinity or one that is easily reached would otherwise have taken up other vocations. Finally, we are pressed by the dearth in the number of pastors, a problem with which we must constantly be concerned, to found our own Pro-Seminary and last, but by no means least, by the knowledge that this is most natural and for the continuation as well as the future growth of the Synod next to God's blessing its best and surest guarantee, namely, that the future pastors will come from our synodical congregations already bringing with them a love for the synod as their spiritual mother knowing its need and its circumstances and entrusted with the language of the land.³⁸

This little document throws a flood of light upon the discussions which had been conducted by the pastors of the Synod on the Seminary question. The evangelical motif is highlighted again and its position as the pre-eminent reason for the endeavor maintained. The polemical edge which we have noted earlier is missing. Given the context and intention, that is probably intentional. Then there is made explicit the point which was implicit at best in the records up to 1913. It had to do with the recognition that recruitment for the ministry would have been crippled had candidates had to travel hundreds of miles to seminaries in the United States to be separated from home and family for up to six years and to be maintained almost entirely at their own expense. To that one may add the latent fear that many of these young people would not return upon completion of their studies for any one of a number of seemingly cogent reasons. Finally, there is the indigenious

emphasis not only of a love for the Synod but also of future ministry in the language of the nation.

Grateful as one may be that at least some of the reasons which animated the pioneer pastors of the Manitoba Synod have become visible, reasons which help us to understand the passion with which they pursued this dream and no other, we are nevertheless left with a certain sense of dissatisfaction. It is difficult to avoid the feeling that something else fueled their passion, that some other dynamism not yet discerned was a driving force within and behind that passion, something that had to do with the training of these pastors in Europe for the mission field.

It is axiomatic that diaspora and foreign missions were inaugurated, sponsored and developed by the pietist movements in Lutheranism. In that connection, it is important to note that most of the pastors who came to western Canada were graduates of schools in which they were not only indoctrinated in rigorous orthodox Lutheran theology but also in the tenets of the pietism characteristic of such great institutions as Halle. Among other things, students who were preparing for the mission field soon learned that it was a settled feature of missionary strategy to establish schools, first primary and later secondary institutions, as soon as possible on the field. But there seems to have been a second, and for our case, more important factor. The preponderance of the pastors who came to western Canada, especially in the decade and a half before the seminary was founded were graduates of Eben-Ezer Seminary located at Kropp near Kiel in north Germany.³⁹ There they had had before them the living example of a towering individual, Pastor Johannes Paulsen.⁴⁰ Within his own lifetime as pastor of the congregation at Kropp, this vital, volcanic parson created a large number of institutions around his parish which served over 500 people at a time—widowers, the mentally ill, the sick and others in distress of one kind or another. This mercurial figure was like a spiritual force that brooked no obstacle in seizing hold of the future. When he heard of the need for pastors in America, he created a seminary even before any arrangement had been made with American Lutheran church bodies, and energetically set about recruiting faculty and students for that mission. Moving with a speed that exceeded prudence, often well in advance of the financial resources to accomplish his

goals—and which would get him in trouble time and again—he single-handedly brought into being a ring of eleemosynary institutions which still stand today. With such a living example before their eyes, no doubt many a young graduate for the ministry felt inspired to dream great things and to dare the impossible. The founders of the Lutheran College and Seminary were people of that stripe, persons who moved forward in the firm belief that with God the iron, indeed, could be made hot by striking!

Notes

- ¹ *Denkschrift zum Silber-Jubilaeum der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba u.a. Provinzen, 1897-1922* (Winnipeg, National Press Limited) 15. "Leider existieren aus den ersten Jahren unserer Synode keine gedruckten Synodal-Berichte and die schriftlichen sind lueckenhaft." Hereafter cited as *Denkschrift*. In point of fact, minutes were printed; the printed version of these minutes for the years 1902 and 1903, published by *Der Nordwesten*, was preserved in the library of Philadelphia Seminary. No printed editions for the period 1897-1901 and 1903-1907 have yet been found.
- ² *Ibid.* Here the reference is to the *Synodalbote* published between 1904 and 1910; a printed edition covering several months of the year, 1909, was found in 1984. *Siloah* is mentioned from time to time in the minutes of the Synod.
- ³ Fred Lenz, *LCS-LTS, A Brief Historical Sketch* (publ. in mimeograph) 1. "Feeling the need of an indigenous ministry, sensing the great future of the vast area in which it served, the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces, inspired by a faith that seems audacious if not pathetic in our day, petitioned the General Council to assist in establishing a school for the training of pastors on its field."
- ⁴ Statistical tables in *Verhandlungen der Zehnten Jahresversammlung der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen* (n.p., 1911) 30 ff. Hereafter abbreviated as *VM*.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, *Minutes of the Thirty-third Convention, 1911* (Philadelphia: General Council Publication Board), 183/4. Hereafter abbreviated as *GC*.
- ⁷ *Denkschrift* 18.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ Juergen Goos, ed., *Der College-Freund, Nachrichten aus dem College der ev.-luth. Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen*, 1/1 (n.p., March 1914) 4. Hereafter abbreviated as *CF*.
- ¹⁰ *CF*, September 1914, 3.
- ¹¹ *CF*, March 1914, 3.

- 12 *VM*, 1907/The Eighth Assembly of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. August 1907, Fifth Session. transl. Frieda Oswald (from the recovered handwritten original edition of the synodical minutes 1897–1907) unpublished, hereafter cited as *VM-FO*. Ernst George Goos, *Pioneering for Christ in Western Canada, The Story of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and Other Provinces*, Synod's Golden Jubilee, 1897–1947, (n.p., n.d.) 19. Hereafter cited as *Pioneering*.
- 13 *VM-FO*, August 1907, Fifth Session.
- 14 C. Kleiner, *Festschrift zur Feier des Goldenen Jubilaeums der evangelisch-lutherischen Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen* (n.p., n.d.) 11. Hereafter abbreviated as *Festschrift*. The relevant passage reads: "Herr Pastor Ruccius, der die erste Anregung einer solchen Anstalt gegeben hatte, hielt die Weihepredigt in der Kirche." Juergen Goos also affirms this in his recollection in the *Synodalbote* 9/10 (May 1938) 4.
- 15 *VM*, 1911, President's Report, 4. "Die Frage ist unter uns nicht neu, die Verhandlungen darueber aber sind bis jetzt reultatlos verlaufen."
- 16 *VM-FO*, July 1903/The Fifth Yearly Meeting of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, July 1903, 1. "In the last synodical report our Synod had been compared with a child in the years of development. Sickness too has hindered its development. Also in the last year the Synod had to undergo difficult hours and at one point it seemed its continuance was in danger." The translation is from the recovered handwritten edition of the minutes; a printed copy of the minutes of 1903 has since been found, the title of which erroneously lists this convention as the fourth of the synod.
- 17 *The First Sixty Years, A History of Waterloo Lutheran University from the Opening of Waterloo Lutheran Seminary in 1911, to the Present Day* (printed by Reeve Bean Limited, October 1971) 1; see also primary reference—E. Hoffman's *Jahresbricht des Praesidenten in Verhandlungen der 50sten Jahres-Versammlung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Canada* (Toronto, 1911) 14.
- 18 *Ein Kurzes Wort zum Jubilaeum in Der Synodalbote*, 9/10 (May 1938) 2.
- 19 "Unser Reiseprediger" in *Siloah, Organ der Deutschen Einheimischen Missions-Behoerde des General-Konzils*, 28/3 (March 1909) 19. See also *Festschrift* 19; *Pioneering* 11.
- 20 GC 203.
- 21 GC 34 and 101 (An insert on page 97 indicates that pages 81–96 were omitted in the page sequence—accordingly page 101 should be 85).
- 22 GC 35. The reference to "our seminary" had occurred in the 1885 report. Apparently, the question had its origin in English-speaking quarters and carries a certain anti-German bias within it.
- 23 GC, 1887, 14–16. The German Home Missions Committee delivers a strong defence of the seminary at Kropp in answer to the charge made

in the previous year. But the issue is referred to a special committee which contains members of the Philadelphia Seminary to deal with the Kropp connection and the proposed rider—GC. 1887, 50-51. Space does not permit me to relate the story behind this scenario.

- 24 GC 32-33, for Report of the Committee on the Relation of the General Council to the Theological Seminary at Kropp; for action on the Report, see the Report on another committee, 38-39. Material emanating from Kropp, including Journals which have been obtained, paint a very different picture of this contretemps.
- 25 GC 183, Action on German Home Missions. This report recommended the convening of one or more conferences to address the problem of providing pastors for the field. It was the first step on the way to restoring a relationship with Kropp.
- 26 *Denkschrift* 16, poignantly describes the situation.
- 27 GC 63-64, Resolutions on Home Missions. The matter had been before the General Council for several years.
- 28 *Ibid.* 91.
- 29 GC 127.
- 30 GC, 1899, 83; 1901, 127/8.
- 31 GC, 1901, 169. In this Abstract of District Minutes, the Manitoba Synod president reports: "Complaints were made about the reduction of the small salaries of our pastors by the Board of Home Missions. The way it was done is threatening the existence and prosperity of the Synod....Synod expressed the reasonable wish, that the Board kindly consult with the officers of this Synod in all financial matters, especially in that affecting the salaries of the pastors."
- 32 GC, 1911, 181; but especially GC, 1913, 164-169.
- 33 The Synod began with four pastors. By 1907 there were 17 pastors. For a convenient list of pastors and delegates to conventions see *Festschrift* 125.
- 34 One of the clearest statements on this point is found in a little book by the dean of Lutheran historians in Canada. O. Heick, entitled: *Deutsche Pastoren aus dem Predigerseminaren des "Martineums" in Breklum and "Eben-Ezer" in Kropp in Schleswig-Holsteins Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten und Kanada* (Breklum: Breklumer Verlag Manfred Siegel, 1978). On page 42, he writes: "Leider hat es den leitenden Maennern des Generalkonzils an Weitblick gefehlt, die Arbeit im Westen tatkraeftig zu unterstuetzen. Die deutschen und scandinavischen Synoden im Westen der USA, die ja geographisch dem Gebiet in Kanada naeher waren. haben mit erheblich groeserem Eifer unter den Neusiedlern gearbeitet." Hereafter abbreviated as *Kropp*.
- 35 GC 280.
- 36 GC 47.
- 37 GC, 1909, 202.

- 38 Citation is found on page 1 of the tract entitled: *An die Pastoren und Gemeinden der ev.-luth. Synode von Manitoba und anderen Provinzen*, (publ. at Edmonton by Alberta Deutsche Zeitung).
- 39 *Kropp*. This little volume deals with the significance of this school and that of Breklum for the USA and Canada. See also the article by P.D. Rohnert, "Die Gruendungen von P. Paulsen: Predigerseminar, Heilanstalten und Diakonissenhaus 'Bethanien' in Kropp", in H. Krause, *Geschichte des Kirchspiels Kropp in Schleswig, Ein Heimatbuch* (Rendsburg: Verlag Heinrich Moeller Soehne) 425-453. Hereafter abbreviated as Krause.
- 40 See the article on Pastor Paulsen by B. Hahns included in Krause, 407-422.