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### Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, A Propositional History

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## Remembering Canadian Lutheran World Relief—Relationships: Mid-Century Concord and Discord, A Propositional History

### WEBINAR II

Karen Kuhnert<sup>1</sup>

With acknowledgements to the people of the Maranatha Caribbean Lutheran Mission Congregation and community who did original BIPOC research in Canada and the United States between 2007 and 2022.<sup>1</sup> For their annual Black History Month community events, they investigated and shared information on Pastors and Persons of Colour who served as clergy, diaconal and lay ministers in and through the ELCIC in collaboration with the Synod Archivist.<sup>2</sup> In the 2000s, they led inter-generational tours to numerous stops on the Underground Railroad and to First Nations communities.<sup>3</sup> And they helped to create the National Hymn to Freedom Project.<sup>4</sup> Their research into the lives of the Indigenous Peoples in and beyond the Haldimand Tract, and the Black Canadians who lived in the inter-Great Lake region and Queen's Bush of Canada between 1820 and 1860, undergirds and inspires this propositional history.<sup>5</sup>



*Maranatha Study Trip to Salem Chapel St. Catharines, Photo by Sylma Fletch.<sup>6</sup>*



*Photo of the "BG Boys" courtesy of Laurier Archives and Special Collections.<sup>7</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> See the Foreword of this issue of *Consensus* for biographical information.



*Plaque on the Niagara Parkway where Chloe Cooley was forced across the river to be sold.<sup>8</sup>*

This story on “Concord and Discord” extends from the presentation on “Confessional Lutheranism...” by Gordon Jensen in Part 1 of the Webinar Series “For the Sake of the Gospel” and also the “Sources and Resources” presentation by Karen Kuhnert for Webinar II in the Series. It is part 2 of the three-part presentation that begins with “Canadian Lutheran History Sources and Resources Presentation: Remembering for the Sake of the Gospel, Webinar II,” in this Issue.<sup>9</sup>

Foundational to this presentation is the personal and professional history of Canadian Lutheran Johann Samuel Schwerdfeger (Schwerdtfeger), a member since 1754 of the earliest North American Lutheran Ministerium (established in 1748). In brief, Schwerdfeger’s immigration debt was paid by the congregation of York, Pennsylvania, in exchange for his services as their preacher. Schwerdfeger, while living in the Haudenosaunee Homeland at Feilstown/Hoosik outside of Albany, was a co-founder of the New York Ministerium.<sup>10</sup> From his location in Upstate New York, he began to serve the pre-Confederation Lutheran Loyalists who organized their congregation on the north bank of the St. Lawrence River in 1784 after the American Revolutionary War. Schwerdfeger was still an active member of the North American Lutheran Ministerium when Swiss-born Frederick Haldimand was Governor of the territories that would become “Canada.”<sup>11</sup> He was a pastor in the Ministerium when the 1793 Act to Limit Slavery in Upper Canada became law.

Our propositional history begins with this: American Lutheran Samuel Simon Schmucker was an abolitionist in the era of the Underground Railroad to Canada at a time when he was actively advancing the theological education and vocational training of young Lutheran women and men in the United States and Canada from the 1830s to the 1860s.<sup>12</sup> He is credited with training more than four hundred clergy for North American Lutheran congregations.<sup>13</sup> The Mid-Century Lutheran schisms that broke apart the continental

General Synod in the 1850s and 1860s set back the advancement of Lutheran women and Persons of Colour in Canada by more than a century.<sup>14</sup>

Samuel Simon Schmucker grew up as a boy in Hagerstown, Maryland where the “General Synod,” or more formally, “*The Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of the United States*,” was founded in 1820 when Schmucker was just 21 years old.<sup>15</sup> Schmucker’s father, while pastoring at York, Pennsylvania, was elected to be the first President of the General Synod. The General Synod at its formation was comprised of entities known as the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the Ministerium of New York, the North Carolina Synod, and the Maryland and Virginia Synod. These Lutheran groups came into formation by the organizational work of the older “United Ministerium” started in 1748; this was a Ministerium that stretched into Canada through clergy *before 1820*.<sup>16</sup>

The 1820 General Synod was essentially an expanded re-formation of the 1748 “United Ministerium” (as it was described consistently in correspondence from the era as shown in the *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821*). This United Ministerium is recognized as the first North American (or continental) Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium. It became formalized in name in 1781 by the passing of the constitution of the *Ministerium of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America*. Closely connected with this historic organization were the Upper and Lower Canada Lutherans displaced by the American Revolutionary War. The St. Lawrence Loyalist Lutherans near Cornwall, for example, were served by Johann Samuel Schwerdfeger from an unknowable time which included their experiences in the Loyalist refugee camps in the British Colony of Quebec from 1783 to 1784 until Schwerdfeger’s death in 1803. Throughout this time period, Schwerdfeger was an active member of the United Ministerium, and his personal legacy with the Ministerium goes back to 1754 when he was in the employ of the Lutherans of York, Pennsylvania—generations before the Schmuckers.

On a license to preach in America from the Royal Court in London, Schwerdfeger travelled to America as a missionary. He had first served the Lutherans of York, PA, from 1754 to 1758. He then served at Earltown, Conestoga Valley, PA from 1758 to 1763 and Frederick (or Frederickstown), MD, from 1763 to 1768.<sup>17</sup> This was the era historian E. Theodore Bachmann calls “the Early National Period.” Between these Pennsylvania and Maryland congregations, at the crossroads of the oak ridge in 1761, Samuel Getty built a tavern, 30 miles from Hagerstown, 30 miles from Fredericktown and 30 miles from York. That tavern gave rise to the cross-roads community of Gettysburg and an Oakridge school building that would become later—through the Schmuckers—the Lutheran Theological Seminary and the Gettysburg Female Seminary on “Seminary Ridge.”<sup>18</sup> This place was made famous as a key location for the Lutheran General Synod, as an Abolitionist base for the Underground Railroad, and even more so, as a site of the Battle of Gettysburg in the American Civil War.

The survey line created by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon between 1763 and 1767 when Schwerdfeger was at Frederick, MD, ran four miles from Seminary Ridge. This survey line separated four territories (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia) from one another, and decades later in 1820, the Mason-Dixon line was used to distinguish the States in the “Missouri Compromise” over the limitation of Enslavement in America. This survey line was used to distinguish the “Southern Slave States” from the “Northern Free

States.” This Colonial Era survey line continues to be important in the development of Lutheranism in Canada and the United States today.

By 1774 Samuel Schwerdfeger had permanently relocated to the north of the New York Colony prior to the start of the American Revolutionary War. This was following a trip back to Europe, and a time of service in Albany County, Pennsylvania (Limetown and environs).<sup>19</sup> Schwerdfeger eventually settled in the Gilead Lutheran Church (Fielstown, Hoosik) located north and east of the New York Capital of Albany among the Palatine Lutheran descendants who started their church in 1746. Fielstown was not far from the well-worn water route between New York City and Montreal; it is sacred territory to the Haudenosaunee. From this Gilead Church location Schwerdfeger, a Loyalist, was a signatory to the 1781 Ministerium Constitution. And from Gilead, he became a founder of the New York Ministerium in 1786.<sup>20</sup>

Minutes in the *Documentary History* of the Ministerium affirm that Schwerdfeger was still in connection with his Ministerium colleagues at the 41<sup>st</sup> Annual Convention of the United Ministerium; he joined as a “United Preacher” at the 15<sup>th</sup> convention in 1762. In the Minutes of the 1788 Convention, the colleagues assured Schwerdfeger that he was still on the active roster of the Ministerium, and that he had only been left off the invitation list to attend Convention by “print oversight.”<sup>21</sup> In 1793 Schwerdfeger’s absence from the 46<sup>th</sup> Convention in Philadelphia is recorded as being “not excused.”<sup>22</sup> By this time Schwerdfeger’s congregation in the British North American colony was nine years old and a church building had already been constructed by them near Cornwall in 1789. This was thirty-five years after his arrival in the North American colonies from London, and yet it was clear that he was still actively a part of the Ministerium that would bring the General Synod into being in 1820.

What matters most here, however, is the confirmation that in 1793 Schwerdfeger was a Ministerium pastor in Upper Canada when Chloe Cooley was sold across the River from Canada into the United States at Niagara,

On March 14, 1793, Chloe Cooley, an enslaved Black woman in Queenston [Niagara], was bound, thrown in a boat and sold across the river to a new owner in the United States. Her screams and violent resistance were brought to the attention of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe by Peter Martin, a free Black and former soldier in Butler's Rangers, and William Grisley, a neighbour who witnessed the event. Simcoe immediately moved to abolish slavery in the new province. He was met with opposition in the House of Assembly, some of whose members owned slaves. A compromise was reached and on July 9, 1793 an Act was passed that prevented the further introduction of slaves into Upper Canada and allowed for the gradual abolition of slavery although no slaves already residing in the province were freed outright. It was the first piece of legislation in the British Empire to limit slavery and set the stage for the great freedom movement of enslaved African Americans known as the Underground Railroad.<sup>23</sup>

Samuel Schwerdfeger was an active member of the Ministerium of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America—and an active pastor serving an established congregation in Upper Canada—when the 1793 Act to Limit Slavery in Upper Canada became law.

Schwerdfeger had been admitted as a member of the “United Preachers” collegium of the “United Ministerium” in 1762.<sup>24</sup> He had immigrated to America after completing seminary in Germany but was sent as a licensed preacher awaiting ordination in the British

Colonies. His immigration travel debt was paid out by the Lutherans of York, Pennsylvania in 1754 in exchange for his licensed preaching services in connection with Halle Catechist J. H. Schaum. Schaum had also arrived in the North American Colonies as a missionary—not yet ordained. The United Ministerium was founded by Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (of Philadelphia, PA and environs) and Johann Christoph Hartwick (some times written Hartwig, of the Central Hudson Valley, NY and environs) and the additional clergy and delegates of ten congregations in August of 1748. At the Ministerium’s founding convention at St. Michael’s Church in Philadelphia, a surprising diversity of clergy and laity were in attendance, and a surprising list of Lutherans placed their hands upon Halle Catechist, J. H. Kurtz during his Rite of Ordination as organized by Muhlenberg.<sup>25</sup> At that first convention, that August of 1748, St. Michael’s church was dedicated, Kurtz ordained, and the first Synod meeting of the United Ministerium was held—but Schwerdfeger was not yet in the country at the time, and Schaum himself was unable to travel the distance to Philadelphia even to secure his own ordination.<sup>26</sup> The ordination of Schaum took place at the next convention, giving him authority to provide oversight to Schwerdfeger serving under license to preach. In the Minutes of the 13<sup>th</sup> convention of the Ministerium in 1760, Schwerdfeger was presented to the Ministerium as having arrived in North America without proper credentials. This was another unhelpful matter for Schwerdfeger’s career; he was not from the Francke missionary school at Halle, Germany, as were so many of the Lutheran ministry colleagues around the “Untied Congregations” in this era.

In June of 1762, Muhlenberg invited Schwerdfeger to be examined on June 25, 1762, in advance of the Preachers gathering at Philadelphia. He was theologically examined on June 26, 1762. His credentials were officially presented to the collegium on June 28, and with only a little further inquiry from Muhlenberg, Schwerdfeger was admitted to the “United Preachers” of the “United Ministerium” at the Preachers Conference meeting June 28, 1762, also held at St. Michael’s.<sup>27</sup> The fraternal term “United Preachers” was used in the documents as early as 1749 and was still being used in the Minutes of the Ministerium at the 35<sup>th</sup> Annual Synod meeting in 1782.<sup>28</sup> Whether a theologically trained person was ordained, or a Catechist (instructor/teacher) or a licensed preacher, the proclamation of the Gospel was their common primary task in the care of congregations no matter their Office or Call.

Though the details do not appear in the *Documentary History* Minutes of the Annual Convention in 1781, historian Mark Granquist notes that in 1781 the Ministerium decided that five regional districts needed to be created within the United Ministerium, one in New York and four in Pennsylvania.<sup>29</sup> Notably, this 1781 Annual Meeting was held mid-Revolutionary War in Philadelphia from June 10 to June 12, 1781. It preceded the British Surrender after the “German Battle” at the Siege of Yorktown, Virginia, in October. It was called the German Battle because there were Germans fighting in the British *and* French *and* American Armies.

Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, and the Loyalist Lutherans were soon to be “removed” from America; most by force, others by choice. After twenty-seven years in ministry across many colonies, Schwerdfeger—a known Loyalist within the Ministerium—had connections with many Lutherans in transition on the continent. His previously quiet location at Feilstown was about to become more important by proximity to the refugee camps in Quebec. Soon thereafter, J. C. Kunze (Muhlenberg’s son in law) was relocated to New York City as some Lutherans were shifting back to Europe, others to realigned locations within the new States, and as Loyalists were being transported to British North America.

Schwerdfeger remained at Feilstown, New York State, and gave ministry to Lutherans in both America and in Quebec from this location.

At the dedication of the new building for First Lutheran Albany in 1786, Kunze from NYC, “Professor Schwerdtfeger of Hoosic,” and First Albany’s pastor Henry Moeller—with two lay-leaders—founded the regional New York Ministerium as imagined by the leaders of the “mother” Ministerium.<sup>30</sup> After the New York Ministerium launched in 1786, the Pennsylvania regions formalized their own name as the “*Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States*” claiming rightly their roots in the earliest “United Congregations” (pre-1748) and in the “United Ministerium” (1748—which included the Lutherans of the Hudson Valley of New York with Hartwick/Hartwig as their clergy). This grouping is referred to as the *Pennsylvania Ministerium* and later the *Pennsylvania Synod*. Soon after, J. C. Hartwick (a founding member of the United Ministerium back in 1748) also relocated to the New York State Capital of Albany.

Hartwick died in Albany in 1796. By this time, he and Schwerdfeger had been active colleagues across multiple locations for more than three decades. Hartwick willed an estate for the creation of “an institution for training up young ministers of the gospel, and missionaries to be sent among the Indians, according to the Augustana Confession and the tenets of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.”<sup>31</sup> Kunze was an Executor of Hartwick’s will. He became the first Director of the Seminary. Due to a land dispute in Otsego County, the seminary first operated from Kunze’s location in New York City for a time. Eventually property in Otsego Country near the Council Fire in the Haudenosaunee heartland was secured—as Hartwick himself intended. The seminary at “Cooperstown” in Upstate New York was not a difficult travel distance from Kingston and Cornwall on the North side of the St. Lawrence River. Between Schwerdfeger’s death in 1803 and the arrival of the next long-standing pastor, Herman Hayunga, to serve the St. Lawrence Loyalist Lutherans, various field workers came into the St. Lawrence area connected with Hartwick Seminary. The details are difficult to trace because the pastorates were unstable and this impacted recordkeeping.<sup>32</sup> Canadian Church History remembers this as a time of Methodist “Camp Revivals,” which indeed it was. These histories often miss, however, that this was also concurrently a time of the development of the Underground Railroad network deepening through connections into Canada.

According to Carl Cronmiller in *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* (1961), three ordained clergy came to the St. Lawrence Lutherans from Hartwick in 1825–1826—a notable year. John P. Goertner began to serve Fredericksburg and Ernestown west of Kingston beginning in 1825 for the New York Ministerium.<sup>33</sup> Candidate Francis Henry Guenther began five years of service for the New York Ministerium in 1826 (p. 87). Herman Hayunga, at first a Hartwick College Professor, graduated from the seminary, and was called and ordained to serve Schwerdfeger’s Williamsburg Township Lutherans near Cornwall beginning in 1826. Hayunga remained active in ministry in that location between Kahnawake, Akwesasne, and Tyendinaga for almost fifty years.<sup>34</sup>

The northern seminary of the General Synod in the New York Ministerium in Upstate New York may not have had a substantial impact across the Lutheran churches of the Central and Southern States, but Hartwick Seminary made a significant difference for the advancement of Lutherans in Canada. Why was 1826 a notable year? 1826 was when the General Synod’s Hartwick Seminary was sending candidates to Canada while Samuel Simon Schmucker launched the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. Four years later, in



1830, the Hartwick Synod was launched from the Western New York Conference securing its own independence from the New York Ministerium.<sup>35</sup> The Hartwick Synod Churches in 1830 were of the Mohawk Valley Lutheran *Patriots* that the St. Lawrence *Loyalist* Lutherans (formerly of the Mohawk Valley) were removed from because of the American Revolutionary War.

Gettysburg Seminary, founded in 1826, was located in the busy American Lutheran heartland of the Central and Lower States near the meeting point of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, between the Western frontier and the Eastern Seaboard and proximate to Washington, DC, Philadelphia, PA, and Baltimore, MD—Schwerdfeger had begun his ministries in this organized heartland. The Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg would become the most significant school of the continental General Synod, and both Hartwick Seminary and the previously prestigious Upstate New York Lutheran locations would diminish in status to become “just” a Northern frontier.

Historians suggest that Schmucker educated more than four hundred Lutheran clergy—and Schmucker was an abolitionist in favour of the advanced education of Lutheran women alongside Lutheran men. While not all of the female seminaries of this era were training young Lutheran women for pulpits and altars, several were certainly schools providing vocational theological education on Lutheran campuses with ministries in mind.

In 1833, when Schmucker was about 34 years old, the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 came into effect all across “Canada.”<sup>36</sup> As noted, the northern British Colony had begun to move in this direction before Schmucker was born in Hagerstown in 1799. The 1793 Act to Limit Slavery in Upper Canada was a tipping point within the British colonies. After the Legislation passed, the “Abolition Movement” spread all around Lake Ontario. Then it led to efforts to abolish enslavement from Lake Huron to Nova Scotia *even before* Hartwick Seminary had opened in Judge Cooper’s town, and then it spread quickly across America.<sup>37</sup> The Abolitionist’s route moved north-south along the Catskill Mountains and the Hudson River especially going from the south through the north to Canada—by New York City through the Mohawk Nation Eastern Door, and similarly also north along the Alleghany Mountains to Buffalo and Niagara—through the Seneca Nation Western Door. Connecting these was the east-west travel corridor moving along the Mohawk River Valley right through all the territories of the Six Nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. These Abolitionist routes were Underground Railroad tracks. These were routes to freedom in Canada that for Lutherans would be known as arriving in what today is called the “Eastern Synod.” Many secret stops along the tracks have since been verified.

In 1836 the Adams County Anti-Slavery Society was formed by citizens of communities that included Gettysburg. McAllister’s Mill, just south of Seminary Ridge, was a rallying spot for abolitionists and the production of anti-slavery think pieces and publications. Hagerstown and Frederick, Maryland, and additionally York and Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, were all stops on the Underground Railroad. Both Gettysburg Seminary—understood to have supported the terminus at McAllister’s Mill—and Hartwick Seminary facilitated the railroad.<sup>38</sup> In 1838 the Lutheran schools at Gettysburg had students enrolled from all across the central and southern United States, and Hartwick had well-established routes into Canada.

In 1838 Schmucker wrote the *Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches* advocating “full recognition of membership and ministries between different denominations.” And by 1839 Schmucker was leading the US Society for the Promotion of Christian Union. His ideas



were moving out from Seminary Ridge and his ecumenical views were getting continent-wide and world-wide attention.<sup>39</sup> The Franckean Synod came into being in 1837 from the Hartwick Synod—when some of the clergy of the Hartwick Synod determined that the Hartwick Synod did not go far enough in its anti-enslavement position. Quoting Granquist, “in its 1837 constitution, the Franckean Synod stated that ‘the whole system of American slavery... was an offense to God’ and that any defense of that system was sinful.”<sup>40</sup> Philip Wieting (a Hartwick graduate) served the St. Lawrence Lutherans as a travelling missionary in 1834–1835—and he was a founding member of the Franckean Synod in 1837.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, not all Lutherans were of the same mind on the matter of enslavement—but the Lutheran story in Canada remains woefully unexamined.

This was all still happening concurrently with General Synod Lutherans in Baltimore, Hagerstown, and Gettysburg beginning to agitate formally for schools of higher education for Lutheran women. By 1840 a Board was formed in Hagerstown to launch a local, specifically Lutheran, female seminary; of the fifteen Board Members, ten were Lutheran and five of these were clergy.<sup>42</sup> In the same year, 1840, William Passavant and Charles Porterfield Krauth entered the seminary as students of Schmucker. Krauth was the son of the President of Gettysburg College. In 1845, Krauth is on record in the Minutes of the Maryland and Virginia Synod as applauding the work of Professor Haupt at the female Seminary in Gettysburg, saying “female education can hardly have too high an estimate put upon it.”<sup>43</sup>

When Passavant had been ordained in 1843, he went on to help found the Pittsburgh Synod (the “Missionary Synod”) of the General Synod in 1845 along with his close associate Gottlieb Bassler.<sup>44</sup> The Pittsburgh Synod was clear in its position on enslavement—enslavement and the systems of slavery were “a moral evil.”<sup>45</sup> In this, the Pittsburgh Synod and the Franckean Synod agreed. The position of C. F. W. Walther and the Saxon Lutherans who arrived via New Orleans and settled around Missouri in 1838 was of a different view.<sup>46</sup> Walther’s views and Schmucker’s views would clash on many matters in the decades to come.

Passavant was a favourite student of Schmucker’s, and he remained a favourite apprentice in the General Synod. In the summer of the 20<sup>th</sup> year of “Gettysburg” Seminary, about a year into the life of the Pittsburg Synod, Samuel Schmucker and William Passavant were attending together the first world conference of the General Council of the Evangelical Alliance when Passavant’s ship (on route to Europe) hit rocks and he ended up in Halifax for two days.<sup>47</sup> At this time Passavant went to the Lutheran “Little Dutch/*Deutsch* Church” and he learned of the local, and the Lunenburg, Lutherans in the British colony of Nova Scotia. Lutherans had been resident and organized in Nova Scotia for one hundred years at this stage. And notably, citizens of African heritage from around the world had equal protection under the law—though in truth different experiences of justice in day to day living.<sup>48</sup> Passavant made note at the time to investigate the Synodical allegiance of the Lunenburg Lutherans on his return to America.<sup>49</sup>

Eventually the two Americans attended the global Evangelical conference in Europe together.<sup>50</sup> Schmucker’s 1838 paper, the *Fraternal Appeal to the American Churches*, was credited as helping to launch the global ecumenical alliance. And after the conference, Schmucker went one way in the exploration and contemplation of American-Lutheranism (as opposed to other national Lutheranism like Swedish-Lutheranism and Norwegian-Lutheranism),<sup>51</sup> and Passavant went another way. Inspired by the stories of the Deaconess Motherhouse and missions of mercy in Germany, Passavant traveled to Kaiserwerth.<sup>52</sup>

Between 1836 and 1842, Rev. Theodor Fliedner, with his wife Friederike—who was a nurse—founded the Deaconess Movement at Kaiserwerth. At Kaiserwerth the Deaconesses received vocational ministry training (nursing and theological formation).<sup>53</sup> The widowed Fliedner, and four deaconesses, agreed to join Passavant and the Mission Committee of the Pittsburgh Synod of the General Synod and come to North America to replicate the missions of mercy at Kaiserwerth. In America the movement for advancing the theological education and training of Lutheran women had already begun in the 1830s, and as noted above, it was growing and spreading.<sup>54</sup>

In January of 1849, Passavant began to take inpatients at the first location of the Pittsburgh Infirmary in anticipation of the arrival of Fliedner and the Deaconesses coming later that summer. A cholera outbreak forced an immediate relocation and the patients were taken to the site of the Lacyville Female Seminary, at the time a private “prep” school outside of Pittsburgh.<sup>55</sup>

This was an exciting time for the energetic Passavant. In the Spring of 1849, he was preparing for the upcoming meeting of the Pittsburgh Synod Mission Committee of the General Synod. In this regard, Passavant had already begun to inquire of the Lunenburg Lutherans and discovered that Rev. C. E. Cossman had been at work in Lunenburg County since 1835; Passavant began correspondence with Dr. Cossman.<sup>56</sup> And also, he had inpatients at the infirmary at Lacyville, and was awaiting the Deaconesses for the Pittsburgh Motherhouse. In August, when the Mission Committee meeting was underway, Passavant was out walking in Klecknerville where he stumbled upon Adam Keffer of Canada West—walking barefoot in a garden.<sup>57</sup>

Keffer, the former Pennsylvanian, had walked from “Canada West” (Ontario) to ask the Ohio and then the Pittsburgh Synods to send a pastor to the Vaughn-Markham Lutherans north of Fort York, Toronto.<sup>58</sup> The Berczy Lutherans were associated with the New York Ministerium before 1794 through Rev. G. Liebich; they settled around Markham.<sup>59</sup> The Keffer and Fischer Lutherans arrived from around Somerset, Pennsylvania, beginning in 1798–1799. They settled around Vaughn at Sherwood. Their first minister, J. D. Petersen, had been ordained by Muhlenberg.<sup>60</sup> Between 1838 and 1849 the pre-Confederation Upper Canada Lutherans had received visiting ministry from John Nunemacher and Michael Kuchler of the Eastern District of the Ohio Synod.<sup>61</sup> That meeting of the Mission Committee was most memorable.

Arriving in July, and setting to work in August of 1849, the Deaconesses took over the Infirmary and launched the Motherhouse.<sup>62</sup> In September, Bassler himself visited the Keffer Lutherans, travelling via Niagara to Vaughn-Markham, inquiring also after the Lutherans “north west of Hamilton” up to one hundred miles west of Toronto (as far as London).<sup>63</sup> This was precisely at the time when the Underground Railroad routes to Canada via Buffalo-Niagara and Detroit-Windsor (and all land and water points in between) were teeming with refugees from American enslavement. This area between Lake Erie, Lake Ontario, and Lake Huron is known as “the Queen’s Bush”—referencing both the wide territory and a specific community in Canada West. This area inclusively was also populated with Haudenosaunee and Anishinaabe Peoples as well as African-Americans coming north from the United States—even before Lutheran settlers began to arrive.

A year later, after another walking trip by Adam Keffer, Pastor Charles Frederick Diehl, an 1850 graduate of Gettysburg, was sent to the Keffer Lutherans to begin work for the Pittsburgh Synod mission in Canada.<sup>64</sup> That a *Union of clergy* with a *Conference of the*

*Pittsburgh Synod* was in mind already at this time is verified by Bassler's survey report in 1849.<sup>65</sup> In 1852 Diehl reached out to Herman Hayunga, W. Sharts, and A. Popplow of the New York Ministerium, and to E. Wurster, a fellow Gettysburg graduate from the Pittsburgh Synod, to organize together at an October meeting; yet only Fishburn from Markham was able to attend.<sup>66</sup> In 1853 Diehl, Wurster, and Fishburn, all of Gettysburg and also of the Pittsburgh Synod, *with* Bassler and Passavant's help, formed the *Canada Conference* of the Pittsburgh Synod in June of 1853.<sup>67</sup> Diehl then called again for a wider association. And so, in October of 1853, these three Gettysburg graduates anchored the launch of a British North America "Union" ministerium akin to the one formed in 1748.<sup>68</sup> The clergy of the *Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod* (Diehl,<sup>69</sup> Wurster,<sup>70</sup> Fishburn<sup>71</sup>) joined with A. Popplow<sup>72</sup> and F. Meisner<sup>73</sup> of the *New York Ministerium*,<sup>74</sup> along with Jacob Hoelsch<sup>75</sup> of the *Ohio Synod*, and together the pastors of these Synodical bodies formed the "Evangelical Lutheran Union of Canada."<sup>76</sup> They committed together "to making it the duty of the ministers to supply destitute congregations with word and sacrament."<sup>77</sup>

In the creation of this Ministerium, and through the connections of the North American General Synod, the Nova Scotia clergy (Cossman etc.)<sup>78</sup> and also the St. Lawrence clergy (Hayunga etc.)<sup>79</sup> as well as the Vaughn-Markham/Toronto clergy (Diehl etc.) were aligned in purpose and in relationship—all the way from Halifax [and Lunenburg County] to Lake Huron including both Gettysburg and Hartwick graduates.<sup>80</sup> From this alliance in 1853, the Canadian Lutherans were connected to the Deaconess Motherhouse at Lacyville (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) of the Pittsburgh Synod, as well as to the Maryland and Virginia Synod's Lutherville (Baltimore County) Female Seminary in Maryland (under the leadership of Benjamin Kurtz and John Morris), and also the Hagerstown Female Seminary in Maryland (which in 1853 had 101 female students attending from *Alabama, Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, and Ohio*)<sup>81</sup> as well as the Gettysburg Female Seminary in Pennsylvania (that existed under Haupt by 1845 and then under Rev. David and Rebecca Eyster from 1851 to 1871).

From this it becomes clearer that graduates of Gettysburg Lutheran Theological Seminary and the Synods, Ministeriums, and Conferences of the General Synod in this era were connected in support of women in advanced theological education.<sup>82</sup> It is also clear that in 1853, these pre-Confederation Canada clergy—serving many diverse congregations—were of a common mind on the abolition of Enslavement as they accepted Calls to Canada. This matter had been settled in Canada in the 1830s. Their common mind extended into the United States as their ministry colleagues in the Pittsburgh, Hartwick, Franckean, Eastern District-Ohio Synod, and the New York Ministerium all held anti-enslavement views at and prior to 1853.<sup>83</sup>

From Passavant's correspondence with Cossman, and the Lutherans of the Evangelical Lutheran Union, there was an acceptance of Schmucker generally, and the Gettysburg and Hartwick Seminaries specifically. More support for this notion is that, when Rev. William Bowers arrived in Lunenburg in 1855 (about the time of the release of the controversial *Definitive Synodical Platform* being anonymously circulated), Bowers's theological education from Gettysburg and Hagerstown was considered so sufficient that Dr. Cossman permitted the marriage of his daughter Louisa to Rev. Bowers.<sup>84</sup> Bowers's later return to the US in 1863 with Cossman's daughter and grandsons in response to the American Civil War did not deter Cossman and Bowers for continuing in ministry or as family. The Lunenburg Lutherans hired Bowers after the Bowers family returned to Nova Scotia.

So, at least between 1853 and 1855, there is evidence that Lutherans in “Canada” were in relationships across German and English language groups amongst different immigration enclaves of Colonial Europeans established in the 1700s, Loyalists and then later arriving immigrants moving North from the United States, and later immigrants arriving into the mid-1800s from Europe. There was an Evangelical Union established in Canada even before Johann Adam Ernst started the First Missouri Synod congregation in Canada around Fisherville (Rainham), Ontario in 1854.<sup>85</sup> This indeed preceded the Anonymously circulated theological thought exercise on *American Lutheranism* written by Samuel Simon Schmucker, Benjamin Kurtz, and Samuel Sprecher (Schmucker’s brother-in-law of Wittenberg College, Springfield Ohio).<sup>86</sup> Yet this was a thought exercise that did not cause in Canada the kind of controversy that it created in the United States since Canadian and American Lutheranism had different—as well as similar—contexts and experiences. Canada was, however, much more so immediately impacted by the fight over the Abolition of Enslavement and what Mark Granquist calls the national “trauma,” better known as the American Civil War.<sup>87</sup>

On July 1, 1863, Samuel Simon Schmucker was about 62 years old, when the American Civil War was being fought—literally—on the grounds of Gettysburg Seminary at the crossroads of the Mason-Dixon line dividing America and American Lutheranism. At this time, the Eyster and Jacobs families were leading the Female Seminary in Hagerstown and both the Pennsylvania College and the Female Seminary in Gettysburg. Schmucker’s own son was in the Militia out on the Gettysburg battlefield where Lutherans were fighting Lutherans.<sup>88</sup> This was a personal and professional battlefield for Schmucker and many other Lutherans.

As with the American Revolutionary War, the American Civil War significantly impacted the future of British North America. Quoting esteemed Canadian historian Desmond Morton,

After Gettysburg, [the Battle of Gettysburg during the American Civil War] the North could be certain of victory, and no one knew what dangers that might bring to Canada. ...The huge military potential of the United States was mobilized for the Civil War. British strategists came to the cold realization that they could never repeat the victories of the War of 1812. In 1864 a trusted Staff Officer confirmed that without a massive effort no British government could afford, the Canadas [Upper and Lower] were indefensible....Confederation had been a means to many ends, by 1867 one purpose mattered more than the others, the bid to establish a transcontinental nation.<sup>89</sup>

Lutheranism in Canada would be forever changed by these *trans-continental* Confederation policies rushed into existence because of the American Civil War.<sup>90</sup>

Before the General Synod imploded (in the years between 1855 and 1865), there had been this moment *in Canada beginning in 1853*—where concord in a diverse Canadian Lutheranism wasn’t just an imagining but was a reality—a reality in hand. When the continental General Synod was dealt what Bachmann calls the “third blow” (the first being the Scandinavian-Lutheran withdrawal around 1860, the second being the removal of the Lutherans of the Southern and Confederate States, and the third being the formation of the General Council by synods led by clergy including William Passavant), Schmucker likely

could hardly recognize the General Synod that he had helped to build from that early time in 1820 when he had worked alongside his father at age 21. One imagines he would be heartily wounded by the resultant marginalization of the Deaconesses and women in advanced theological education, and even more so by the eventual designation of Lutherans as being the Whitest Church in America.<sup>91</sup>

The Canada Synod of the Pittsburgh Synod of the General Synod was formed in 1861. The Canada Synod was a charter member of the General Council that was formed as an alternative to the General Synod and the Missouri Synod. Gottlieb Bassler was elected to be first President. Schmucker lived until 1873; he never got to see the wounds of the schisms heal with the 1918 formation of the United Lutheran Church in America.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The use of the term Persons of Colour within the term BIPOC is addressed at <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/systemic-racism-discrimination/anti-racism-toolkit/anti-racism-lexicon.html>. Additional information on the use of the term BIPOC is available at, <https://www.noslangues-ourlanguages.gc.ca/en/publications/equite-diversite-inclusion-equity-diversity-inclusion-eng#notion-69376>.

<sup>2</sup> Maranatha Lutheran Caribbean Mission Congregation closed as a mission congregation of the Eastern Synod in 2018. Their story, and that of their diverse congregational leaders, should be better remembered in Canadian Lutheran history. Maranatha congregation was founded by lay-leader women in the 1990s. They called their first pastor, Joseph Drepaal, and eventually their second, Joseph Habibullah, and with the partnership of the Eastern Synod of the ELCIC and these clergy they had a strong and sustaining start. Many former Maranatha members can now be found together at Mt. Zion Lutheran Congregation in Waterloo with their pastor Rev. Dr. Philip Mathai. A video of the 2023 Black History Month Celebration can be found at <https://youtu.be/JEeN2aHFj2U?si=M7rYYi0208gdT-Z>. Rev. Karen Kuhnert and Rev. Philip Mathai were responsible for the transfers of membership in the transition period. Rev. Peter Kuhnert served the congregation as Pastor from 2007 to 2015, see Storygal: <https://storygal.wordpress.com/tag/pastor-peter-kuhnert/>.

<sup>3</sup> For one person's remembrances of the 2014 Truth and Reconciliation (TRC) study trip see the following writing by Storygal, <https://www.storygal.ca/2014/10/01/sainte-marie-among-the-hurons-maranatha-bus-trip-part-2/>.

<sup>4</sup> For more on The Hymn to Freedom Project see, <https://www.hymntofreedom.ca/in-the-newsHymn>. Additional information is available at the project website <https://www.hymntofreedom.ca/our-mission>.

<sup>5</sup> To better understand the meaning of the term *Propositional History*, see "Canadian Lutheran History Sources and Resources Presentation: Remembering for the Sake of the Gospel Webinar II" in this Issue. In short, a propositional history utilizes new source material to freely explore untold stories and admits that community input and correction is needed to clarify, correct, and advance the story. An official government explanation for the term "Queen's Bush" is provided in this plaque by the Ontario Heritage Trust, <https://www.heritagetrust.on.ca/pages/programs/provincial-plaque-program/provincial-plaque-background-papers/queens-bush-settlement>, see especially Footnote 3.

Researchers should utilize additional texts by local historians when researching this topic.

<sup>6</sup> When the COVID pandemic brought an end to travel, two inter-generational study trips were in the planning, called "Change the World School." One of these was an overnight visit to 2<sup>nd</sup> Baptist Church and the Charles H. Wright Museum in Detroit, see <https://www.secondbaptistdetroit.org/copy-of-second-baptist-history> and <https://www.thewright.org/> and the other was an extended trip with the Haldimand Tract Ecumenical Partnership (HTEP) and Six Nations Polytechnic to stops in the Haudenosaunee Homeland through New York State and Pennsylvania to Washington D.C. to the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History & Culture <https://nmaahc.si.edu/> and the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian <https://americanindian.si.edu/>.

<sup>7</sup> The "BG Boys," as they were known in the Eastern Synod, attended seminary in Waterloo in the 1960s under the leadership of J. Ray Houser. In later years, the Lutheran Church in North America, and the Lutheran World Federation, supported the Lutheran Church in Guyana and the Caribbean to set up theological training centres closer to their Caribbean home communities. In the 1960s, students came from around the world to study at or through Waterloo Lutheran Seminary (MLUC). The Canada Synod/Eastern Synod is currently in a Companion Synod

Relationship with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Guyana (ELCG) as well as the Lutheran Church of Jordan and the Holy Land. The attribution of this photograph from Wilfrid Laurier Archives reads, “Black and white photograph of eight men sitting on the grass. The named students from the Caribbean are Left to right, back row: Richard Smith, Paul Jagdhar, Victor Munro, Basil Budhu, James Dookram. Front row: Desmond Hamlet, James Masih-Das, Winston Bone,” image source <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/54679/data?> as well as <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/2460526/data?>. In addition to researching the BG Boys from back home in 2011, the Maranatha congregation and community did original research into clergy connected to their congregation and community in Canada, some of whom include:

Joseph Drepaul <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/63039/data>  
 Joseph Habibullah <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/results?fsu=Habibullah%2C+Joseph>  
 Leshy Paynter <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/results?q=leshy+&st=kw>  
 Roland Payne <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/results?fsu=Payne%2C+Roland+J%2E>  
 Geoffrey Tannasse <https://images.ourontario.ca/Laurier/63011/data>  
 Roy Thakurdial <https://canadalutheran.ca/synods/eastern-synod/>  
 Moses Persaud [https://easternsynod.org/wp-content/uploads/tesl\\_dec\\_2017.pdf](https://easternsynod.org/wp-content/uploads/tesl_dec_2017.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Plaque citation to follow. The location of this plaque on the Niagara Parkway is notable also in its proximity to Salem Chapel and the Black community centered at St. Catherines, see, <http://salemchapelbmechurch.ca/index.html>. What’s more, the Chapel and Riverside location are physically at the foot of the Brock Monument location at Queenston Heights which towers over the Chapel, see also [https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page\\_fhbrow\\_eng.aspx?id=3620](https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_fhbrow_eng.aspx?id=3620). See additionally, the more recently installed “Landscape of Nations” at Queenston Heights next to the Brock Monument, <https://www.niagaraparks.com/things-to-do/landscape-of-nations-virtual-visit>.

<sup>9</sup> Two contributors to this Issue are particularly skilled in identifying and addressing the lack of recognition of BIPOC and other marginalized persons in Canadian Lutheran history—namely, Danika Jorgensen-Skakum and Jennifer Ardon. *Danika Jorgensen-Skakum* uniquely in Canadian Lutheran History literature calls out the reality that Indigenous Lutheran people are and have been sitting in Canadian Lutheran pews—and yet they are consistently looked past—as if their Indigeneity doesn’t exist. This is addressed in this issue of *Consensus* in “A Decolonial Vision of God: Relationships Between Indigenous Peoples and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada.” This was similarly true for the people of Maranatha Caribbean Lutheran Mission Congregation who were hardly acknowledged in the wider Church or on their campus home, and when they were, it too often seemed difficult for people to understand that *these* Lutherans were *Caribbean-Canadian* Lutherans. *Jennifer Ardon* holds a Master of Arts Degree in Canadian History (specializing in Immigration History) from the University of Waterloo where she served as a Graduate Teaching Assistant and a Graduate Research Assistant for Dr. Julia Roberts, author of *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada*. In this book, *In Mixed Company*, Roberts shows how records of public spaces like taverns (roadside hotels with food and drink) can be used to identify and claim back the documented existence of Black and Indigenous peoples, and women, in Colonial times, places and spaces where they have not traditionally been acknowledged. One of the Taverns in Roberts’s book, the Fryfogle Inn, for example, was owned by Lutherans from Zion Lutheran, Stratford. After a sermon on the Black and Indigenous history of Upper Canada as told in Roberts’s book with the Fryfogle Inn as an example, Lutheran congregants in Stratford began to tell untold stories of allyship worth remembering. Among the stories that can be repeated, some of the Canadian Lutherans would respond to American Slave-Hunter “Wanted Ads” in their local papers, and thereby entrap and personally “deport” these agents back across the border. Stories of Black Canadians (Always Free, Freed, and Enslaved Canadians), particularly those in the Queen’s Bush, were researched by the Maranatha Community and the detailed research was used in the creation of the “Hymn to Freedom Project” image selections.

<sup>10</sup> Fielstown/Hoosik is a reference to the Gilead congregation established by Palatine Lutherans in 1746. See, <https://www.gileadlutheran.org/>. A new biography of Schwerdfeger/Schwerdfeger/Schweredtfeger is needed, one that takes *equally seriously* his history in Germany, the United States, and in Canada. Some words on this may be helpful. Carl Cronmiller as the Canadian Lutheran historian writing for the Eastern Synod at its Centennial, served as a pastor to Schwerdfeger’s congregations. His biography of Schwerdfeger is reasonably flattering, see *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada* (Prepared at the Request of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Canada to Mark its Centennial, July 1961, n.p. 1961). Yet, Cronmiller misses naming some ministry points in Pennsylvania between 1768 and 1772, and he provides little detail about Schwerdfeger’s connections to the United Ministerium, and to the early controversies around Schwerdfeger’s ordination/s. The following American historians quite reasonably write



less complete and less flattering notations. In his 2015 book, *Lutherans in America: A New History* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis), Mark Granquist situates Schwerdfeger as a Loyalist and leaves out considerable detail including his accomplishments in America in the 1700s, writing only,

New York Pastor Bernard Michael Housil moved to Nova Scotia, as did a number of other Lutheran laypeople. Pastor Johan Schwerdfeger at Albany, New York, was imprisoned by American officials during the war for “meddling in political affairs which did not belong to his office” (as Muhlenberg put it), and eventually moved to Upper Canada with a number of his parishioners. A number of German Hessian soldiers (generally Lutherans) who fought as mercenaries for the British remained in North America after the war. While some remained in the new United States, many others settled in Canada. (Granquist, 108, citing in Endnote 23, a letter from Frederick Muhlenberg to Peter and Muhlenberg, March 1776)

Granquist’s recent, and excellent, history is a major source for this propositional history. The controversies around Schwerdfeger seem particularly pronounced in the 1903 biographical entry about Schwerdfeger written by Theodore Emanuel Schmauk in *A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1638–1820 from the Original Sources* (General Council Publication House, Philadelphia, 1903), where Schmauk spells the name as both Schwerdfeger and Schwerdtfeger and includes that he died in 1788,

<https://ia903403.us.archive.org/30/items/historyofluthera01schm/historyofluthera01schm.pdf>. Schmauk emphasizes the image of Schwerdfeger as a poor orphan rescued from his Redemptioner’s debt in a way that seems curious. That Schwerdfeger was licensed to preach in America by the London Court in 1752—and by a certificate granted in England before he set sail—is a detail that seems conspicuous by its absence in Schmauk’s biography. There are mixed writers in the 1898 *Documentary History of the Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States. Proceedings of the Annual Conventions from 1748 to 1821* (Board of Publication of the Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, Philadelphia, 1898), as compiled by an Editorial Committee of A. Spaeth, G. F. Spieke, and Henry Eyster Jacobs,

<https://ia800207.us.archive.org/3/items/cu31924029460148/cu31924029460148.pdf>. In this work the subject name needs to be searched using only “Schwer” as the name is spelled Schwerdfeger, Schwerdtfeger, and Schwertfeger, and he is also mistakenly noted as deceased in 1788. Schmauk’s history helpfully features “Earl Town and the Conestoga Valley” after York, and these seemed to be missing in the *Documentary History*. Schmauk has Schwerdfeger in Albany, New York in 1770—though the *Documentary History* is more persuasive in noting the location as Albany County, Pennsylvania at that time (Cronmiller only places Schwerdfeger around Albany, New York, in 1774—and extending out to Feilstown (Gilead Church) Centre Brunswick). Cronmiller gives no indication of what happened in the pastor’s career in America between 1768 and 1774. In the “History of the Church” in *The Manual of the First Lutheran Church in the City of Albany* published in 1871 (notably with Samuel Sprecher as pastor) entries note Rev. Mr. Schwertfeger as supplying the altar and pulpit in 1790, though he is listed as Prof. Schwerdtfeger in 1786 when Schwerdfeger was significantly helping to launch the New York Ministerium on the occasion of the dedication of a new church building in Albany, New York,

[https://archive.org/stream/manualfirstluth00lloygoog/manualfirstluth00lloygoog\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/manualfirstluth00lloygoog/manualfirstluth00lloygoog_djvu.txt).

<sup>11</sup> Haldimand is a significant character in Canadian Lutheran history. References of note can be found in “Acknowledgement of Indigenous Neighbours and Territories by Young Canadian Lutheran Hanne Kuhnert” in this issue.

<sup>12</sup> E. Theodore Bachmann, *The United Lutheran Church in America, 1918–1962* (Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 1997) is another major source used in this propositional history. That Schmucker was an abolitionist and Gettysburg Seminary on Seminary Ridge was a stop on the Underground Railroad is noted on page 48. This detail is a significant piece of Bachmann’s understanding of what happened to the General Synod and the later creation of the United Lutheran Church of America (1918) and its successor the Lutheran Church in America (1962). For Canadian readers this may seem to be a minor point in continental Lutheran history—but it is a significant notation. The point is better reinforced when set next to the work by Mark Granquist. Granquist writes in the section called Slavery, Abolition, and the Civil War:

It is hard to overemphasize the degree to which the question of slavery dominated American public life during the period from 1830 to 1860, and how it permeated all levels and organizations of American religious life. Moderates sought to find widely acceptable solutions to the issue, such as gradual emancipation of the enslaved African Americans, compensation for their owners, and the colonization of former slaves in Africa. But in the 1830s, a new movement arose in the North, a radical push for the



immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery, which elicited a similarly radical defense of slavery by southern apologists. National politics convulsed by this issue, and even a series of carefully crafted political compromises could not settle this issue, resulting in stalemate and stagnation. In an 1858 campaign speech, Abraham Lincoln observed that, “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” Many observers agreed, but few saw practical and peaceful ways to unify the nation over this contentious issue. Like most Americans at the time, Lutherans generally sought to avoid or minimize the issue because they worried about its effect on their institutions, especially the General Synod, which contained both northern and southern synods. But with the movement for immediate emancipation beginning in the 1830s, some Lutheran pastors and lay leaders attempted to have their regional synods adopt this new position. Frustrated with their unsuccessful attempts to get the Hartwick Synod to adopt a more forceful stance against slavery, a group of New York Lutherans formed the Franckean Synod in 1837. Several other regional groups, such as the Pittsburgh Synod and the Wittenberg Synod, also adopted strong anti-slavery positions, referring to slavery as a “moral evil.” In its 1837 constitution, the Franckean Synod stated that “the whole system of American slavery... was an offense to God” and that any defense of that system was sinful. Although the Franckean Synod was not received into the General Synod until 1866, the Pittsburgh and Wittenberg synods were members before the Civil War. (Granquist, 173, 175)

<sup>13</sup> Granquist, 151.

<sup>14</sup> Bachmann’s Chapter 3: Schisms and Reunion, 1861–1918 addresses the “three blows” that Bachmann says brought down the General Synod. These three are all very important to Canadian Lutheran History: 1) The early 1860 departure of the Scandinavians from the General Synod (55), 2) matters that can be understood as connected to the American Civil War (56), and 3) the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium (1866) “and the ensuing formation of the rival entity in 1867 known as the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America” (57). See the entire chapter, pp. 55–79, to understand the three blows and the consequences for Canadian Lutheran History.

<sup>15</sup> This formation of the General Synod in 1820 was a re-formation—essentially a second iteration—with expansion north and west of the original North American Lutheran Ministerium of 1748. Readers may benefit from the use of Google Maps for understanding intuitively the references to the geographic locations and directions in this paper. Readers may wish to use the “Terrain” feature for the content on the Abolitionist Routes and Underground Railroad tracks.

<sup>16</sup> See *Documentary History*, 55, the letter from Muhlenberg to Ziegenhagen in London and Francke in Halle.

<sup>17</sup> There is a notable Canadian Lutheran connection here: Bernard Michael Houseal (Cronmiller, 43) or Housil (Granquist, 108) served Fredericktown/Frederickstown/Frederick, Maryland until 1759 when he transferred to Reading, Pennsylvania. Schwerdfeger was the minister among these Lutherans beginning in 1763. Houseal went to Nova Scotia and Schwerdfeger to the St. Lawrence after the American Revolutionary War.

<sup>18</sup> Information on the use of the educational building can be found at [https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/wm9X5F\\_First\\_Home\\_of\\_Seminary\\_and\\_College\\_1813\\_Gettysburg\\_PA](https://www.waymarking.com/waymarks/wm9X5F_First_Home_of_Seminary_and_College_1813_Gettysburg_PA).

<sup>19</sup> For more on Schwerdfeger in Maryland, including his close association with Hartwick, see Abdel Ross Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1820–1920* (Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland, Harrisburg, 1920), 135, <https://ia800203.us.archive.org/29/items/historyofevang00went/historyofevang00went.pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> Endnote 11.

<sup>21</sup> *Documentary History*, 222.

<sup>22</sup> *Documentary History*, 261.

<sup>23</sup> Photo courtesy of Karen Kuhnert; for more information on Chloe Cooley and this Plaque see: [https://www.ontarioplaques.com/Plaques/Plaque\\_Niagara74.html](https://www.ontarioplaques.com/Plaques/Plaque_Niagara74.html).

<sup>24</sup> Readers may wish to reflect on the early use of the terms “United Congregations,” “United Ministerium,” and “United Preachers,” as commonly used terms in the content of the *Documentary History*, see p. 3 for example, and wonder about why other terms are substituted in later Lutheran histories, and to what extent this is a more modern adjustment to controversies over “unionism” within North American Lutheranism and/or in Canada, a reflection of the “United Church” being a specific denomination. In reflecting, consider what is gained, lost, or implied in the substitutions historians make, if they adjust the terminology.

<sup>25</sup> *Documentary History*, 5–6.

From the diary of Rev. Handschuh as printed in the *Documentary History*, 5–6:

After the sermon, Mr. Hartwig and I administered the communion, of which all of us united preachers partook. In the afternoon, Mr. Hartwig preached. After his sermon Mr. Kurtz was ordained. Mr. Muhlenberg earnestly and impressively delivered the necessary charge to him; thereupon the hands of Muhlenberg, the Swedish Provost, Mr. Sandin, the Swedish preacher, Mr. Magister Nassmann, Mr. Hartwig, Mr. Brunnholtz and myself were laid upon him, and then we all, the three Reformed preachers, two of whom only arrived yesterday, and others congratulated him. August 26, Mr. Kurtz preached. After the sermon, a Synod was held in which everything passed off in an orderly and peaceful manner, for which we cannot sufficiently thank God.

It is important to note that there was a distinction with the Swedish Lutherans, but not an essential difference, in that they participated in the Rite. This is key to Bachmann's point about the three blows, one being the removal of the Scandinavians from the General Synod around 1860 and their coming back into the United Lutheran Church of America in 1918.

<sup>26</sup> Bachmann references the need for a Ministerium with the image of a tripod of necessary common agency for: buildings, worship, and ordination in a synodical gathering (Bachmann, 39–40).

<sup>27</sup> *Documentary History*, 62 (see also 59–64):

Then the following matters were taken up, one after the other: I. The testimonial of Mr. John William Samuel Schwertfeger from his native country was openly read, also the examination certificate of his eligibility for the office of preacher, which Dr. Wrangel and Mr. M. Gerock had given him in writing. Thereupon his reception into our fellowship was approved by all the preachers present. Rev. Muhlenberg then read to him very distinctly the most important Scripture passages in regard to the ministry, and then he received from all and each of the preachers a hearty wish of blessing. Finally Mr. Schwertfeger expressed his most humble thanks to the whole Ministerium for his reception. At the close of this first transaction: "Was ich gethan hab und gelehrt," etc., was sung.

Only at October 25, 1770 is Schwertfeger referred to as Rev. Schwertfeger in the *Documentary History* records. In this 1770 exchange Schwertfeger is being proposed for a trial of service in "Rosenthal, Albany, and Weissenberg" which seem more likely to be referring to Albany County, Pennsylvania by another reference to Mr. Young at the Blue Mountains, than as referring to Albany, New York – though Weissenberg Chapel is on the Mohawk River in connection with the wife of Sir William Johnson. Catherine Weissenberg Johnson, is notably the Lutheran mother of Sir John Johnson. "Cornwall," in Upper Canada is a renamed community settled by Loyalists who served with Sir John Johnston, and the town was originally named Johnstown, see <https://chooscornwall.ca/living/history/>. By Schwertfeger's being on record as attending Ministerium meetings in 1772 and 1773 from Limetown, PA, the Albany reference is again - most likely about Albany County, Pennsylvania.

<sup>28</sup> *Documentary History*, 185.

<sup>29</sup> Granquist, 124.

<sup>30</sup> *Manual of First Lutheran Albany*, 104, Endnote 11.

According to Granquist (124–25):

*The rapid geographic expansion of American Lutherans doomed any idea that some might have had of making the Pennsylvania Ministerium the general organization for all Lutherans in the United States. When most Lutherans lived along the East Coast and within the general radius of Philadelphia, this may have been feasible, but even then such a plan was not practical for Lutherans in the South. Already by 1781, the Pennsylvania Ministerium recognized that distance was an issue and set up five districts within its organization. In 1792, the Ministerium made further concessions to geography by allowing the formation of "Special Conferences," district meeting of pastors and laymen from distant areas of the Ministerium, such as Virginia and Western Pennsylvania and Ohio. These conference meetings were intended for local business and mutual edification, but were limited in scope. The Ministerium constitution of 1792 specifically limited their powers. "A Special meeting is not permitted under any pretense whatever to enter upon business belonging to the Ministerium, even if the Officers of the Synod were present." Two such special conferences were set up, one in Virginia beginning in 1793, and another in Ohio in 1812. One limitation of this approach was that the local candidates for ministry would still have to travel to the main synod meeting for examination and approval, an often arduous journey. Eventually these special conferences became independent synods in their own right, beginning with the formation of the Ohio Synod in 1818, and the Synod of Maryland and Virginia in 1820. Other regions of American Lutheranism decided to attempt formation of their own separate and independent organizations. In 1786, New York Lutheran*

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*pastors formed their own separate Ministerium, not necessarily as a rebuke to Pennsylvania but a recognition that travel was difficult and local issues were pressing. In its formation, the New York Ministerium went beyond Pennsylvania in granting full rights to lay delegates from the congregations, forming a “synod” in the sense that would become the standard for the future.* (bolding added, Granquist, 124–25)

The reference here to conference meetings becomes important to understand organization and scope of powers for the Canada Conference of the Pittsburgh Synod of the General Synod that was created in 1853. Regarding the Ohio Synod in Somerset, PA in 1818, see also “Transcript of Webinar 3” in this issue.

<sup>31</sup> *Manual of First Lutheran Albany*, 61. *Documentary History* notes that the United Ministerium was already (in 1769) considering the establishment of a Seminary, 119.

<sup>32</sup> Cronmiller, 87, includes that Candidate Francis Henry Guenther (a Hartwick graduate) began five years of service for the New York Ministerium among the St. Lawrence Lutherans beginning in 1826, and Thomas Kilmer (Hartwick) succeeded Guenther.

<sup>33</sup> Cronmiller, 85.

<sup>34</sup> Hayunga served in this location until his death in 1872. Samuel Schwerdfeger had been their first resident pastor after the American Revolutionary War. Hayunga was their longest-serving pastor. His reputation was honourably sustained for a considerable period of time by the existence of the Cossman-Hayunga Society tradition at Martin Lutheran University College when it was known as Waterloo Lutheran Seminary.

<sup>35</sup> Granquist, 161. In this section Granquist is noting the influx of immigration that brought large groups of German speakers to North American Lutheranism and how this disrupted the trajectory of the “colonial Period” move to the English language. This, of course, also happened in Canada, see Granquist 160–61 on “Renewed Immigration and Its Effects.”

<sup>36</sup> See Natasha Henry, “1793 Act to Limit Slavery in Upper Canada,” *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Canada, February 07, 2022, <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/1793-act-to-limit-slavery-in-upper-canada> for information on Chloe Cooley, the 1793 Act, and its extensions across the British Empire via the [Slavery Abolition Act](#) of 1833. Henry notes, “Though exact figures are not certain, it is believed that as many as 30,000 refugees from American enslavement found freedom in Canada either by way of the [Underground] railroad or on their own. The railroad’s traffic reached its peak between 1840 and 1860 and particularly after the United States passed the [Fugitive Slave Act](#) on 10 September 1850.” One Hundred and twenty miles from the location of the river crossing made by Chloe Cooley in 1793 is the Women’s Rights National Museum and Park in Seneca Falls, New York. Fifteen miles further into the Haudenosaunee Homeland is the final home of Harriet Tubman. One hundred miles further into the Homeland from the Western Door is Hartwick Seminary. Between Seneca Falls and Tubman’s home in Auburn is the house where Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other Rights Activists held their meetings in Upstate New York. The “push” from “the North,” for the Abolition of Slavery described by Bachmann (Bachmann, 56) and Granquist (Granquist, 210) could have included more on the participation of women in this movement such as “American” women like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Frances Gage, and also “African-American” women including Sojourner Truth who were admittedly emboldened by the example of the Haudenosaunee (with Clan Mother leadership, and gender inter-dependence). For more on this, read *Sisters in Spirit: Iroquois Influence on Early American Feminists* (2003) by Sally R. Wagner. A trip to the Museum and Park was part of course work for the Women in Christian History course taught at Waterloo Lutheran Seminary (MLUC) in 2004 by Oz Cole-Arnal. The section “Women, Laymen, and Young People” in Granquist is worth reflecting upon (pages 210–17), given that Granquist’s book was published in 2015.

<sup>37</sup> Note the text of the plaque “Chloe Cooley and the 1793 Act to Limit Slavery in Upper Canada.”

<sup>38</sup> See this National Parks Service map of verified stops on the Underground Railroad, <https://nps.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=f7467eb853da4794a806a8e99a220c56>.

<sup>39</sup> Information on the Evangelical Alliance today is <https://www.eauk.org/resources/what-we-offer/reports/one-body-in-christ>. For the part Schmucker played in the formation and inspiration, see <https://www.eauk.org/assets/files/downloads/One-Body-In-Christ.pdf>, 29ff.

<sup>40</sup> Granquist, 175, citing the Franckean Constitution.

<sup>41</sup> Cronmiller, 86: “In rapid succession men of the Franckean Synod came and went. S. A. LaDow, 1839; William Macune, 1840; Chauncey Francisco, 1842; Stephen W. Champlin, 1843; Thomas Plato, 1847.” Note also that remembrances about the Franckean Synod by American and Canadian Lutheran historians are typically attached to Revivalism—without consideration of anti-enslavement contexts.

<sup>42</sup> In 1845, Charles Porterfield Krauth, a son of Schmucker's teaching colleague at Gettysburg Seminary, "passed a resolution of encouragement to Professor Haupt in the work of his Gettysburg Female Seminary." See 135, of 135–37 of Abdel Ross Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland of the United Lutheran Church in America, 1820–1920* (Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland, Harrisburg, 1920), <https://ia800203.us.archive.org/29/items/historyofevang00went/historyofevang00went.pdf>. On Krauth as son, see Granquist, 164. On the quote, see also Granquist, 155. Note Bachmann pointing out that Krauth wanted to be a teacher and head of the seminary at Gettysburg (57) and then the position at the University of Pennsylvania opened up in 1846. Bachmann goes on to describe "an almost calculated enmity" between the two institutions (Bachmann, 58). From the Centennial History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland by Abdel Ross Wentz, it is clear that the General Synod and Maryland Synod are in favour of higher education for women, and also that they appreciated these institutions being supported by personal and private sector funds directly. Wentz' Centennial history makes clear that the Maryland Synod remained proud of its participation in the development of female seminaries. He notes, regarding Hagerstown in 1853, "In its first year, 101 students from ten states including Alabama, Pennsylvania, Illinois, West Virginia, and Ohio enrolled" and that Lutherville Female Seminary began "at about the same time and received the same kind of endorsement and encouragement from the Synod." Wentz, 136. Chronologically, after this came the "three blows" to the General Synod described by Bachmann: the 1860s departure of the Scandinavians of Northern Illinois and the growth of the Scandinavian Augustana Synod (55) the matters related to the Civil War (56) and the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Ministerium and creation of the General Council (57). Then the Maryland Synod opened the Burkittsville Female Seminary in 1866. For greater detail on the three blows read Chapter 3 "Schisms and Reunion, 1861–1918," and read Granquist's Chapter 5: Expansion and Conflict, 1820–1855, and Chapter 6: "Mass Immigration, 1855–1888," from pp. 141 to 200. As Bachmann is writing in celebration of the reunification of the General Synod as the ULCA in 1918 and the LCA in 1962 his text is light on the gritty details of what happened during the Schisms. Granquist however begins with the Tennessee Synod and the Henkel Family objecting to Schmucker's American Lutheranism as "moderate," or "loose" Confessionalism that exploded in wider circles with the *Definite Platform* of 1855, see especially, 164–65 where the term "Definite Synodical Platform is used and reference is made to the "American Edition of the Augsburg Confession." See also the Frontispiece itself marked "Definite Platform" in the centre image section as Image 9. See Oickle in this Issue for the Tennessee Synod supplying clergy to Lunenburg County.

<sup>43</sup> Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Maryland*, 135.

<sup>44</sup> According to Granquist, p. 159ff,

"Synods came into existence for a number of different reasons..."(149). "Some new synods were formed by pastors and congregations who were frustrated by the refusal of their present synod to join the General Synod. The West Pennsylvania (1825), Pittsburgh (1845), and Central Pennsylvania (1855) synods were carved out of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, as were the Hartwick (1830) and Franckean (1837) synods from the New York Ministerium, and the English Ohio (1836), Miami (1844), and Wittenberg (1847) synods from the Ohio Synod. Linguistic issues also contributed to the formation of many of these new synods."

For more on the Pittsburgh Synod, Bassler, and Passavant, see "Remembering Our Legacy in Diaconal Ministry: A Deacon Dialogue" in this Issue, and note references to *History of the Pittsburgh Synod of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1748–1845–1904*, (1904) by Ellis Burgess. Bachmann, 48–49.

<sup>45</sup> Granquist 173, 175.

<sup>46</sup> See Granquist, 175.

<sup>47</sup> Cronmiller, 58. Bachmann, 49.

<sup>48</sup> Informed by an Archivist visit, June 7, 2015, to the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, in the vicinity of the pre-displacement Africville Settlement, <https://bccns.com/#:-:text=The%20Black%20Cultural%20Centre%20for.can%20be%20discovered%20and%20expl>ored. See also, *There's Something in the Water: Environmental Racism in Indigenous and Black Communities* by Ingrid R. G. Waldron, Fernwood Publishing, Black Point, Nova Scotia, 2018.

<sup>49</sup> See G. H. Gerberding, *The Life and Letters of W. A. Passavant* (1906), 143,

<https://libsystdigi.library.uiuc.edu/oca/Books2008-06/lifelettersofwap00gerb/lifelettersofwap00gerb.pdf>.

<sup>50</sup> Cronmiller, 58. Bachmann indicates that Lutherans understood that Schmucker made significant contributions to help found the Evangelical Alliance in 1846, see Bachmann, 48–49. See <https://www.eauk.org/assets/files/downloads/One-Body-In-Christ.pdf>, 29ff.



<sup>51</sup> Bachmann, 49–51.

<sup>52</sup> See G. H. Gerberding's extensive writing on Passavant and the Kaiserwerth Deaconesses in *The Life and Letters of W. A. Passavant* (1906), 138, 186, <https://libsysdigi.library.uiuc.edu/oca/Books2008-06/lifelettersofwap00gerb/lifelettersofwap00gerb.pdf>. See also "Deacon Dialogue" in this issue.

<sup>53</sup> Bachmann, 49, and see also, "Deacon Dialogue." Fliedner had extended Kaiserwerth ministries to include prison ministry before coming to North America.

<sup>54</sup> It is important to recall here the work of the Michael Jacobs and Rev. David Eyster families in pre-Civil War education for Lutherans at Gettysburg. David and Rebecca Eyster came to run the female seminary after a time of ministry in New York State. Through the life of historian Rev. Dr. Henry Eyster [Jacobs](#) (Endnote 11 reference), readers learn that he is descended from the marriage of Michael Jacobs to Juliana (Eyster) Jacobs. Michael Jacobs and David Eyster were brothers-in-law, and Pennsylvania College, the Gettysburg Female Seminary, and the Lutheran Theological Seminary were entirely interlinked.

Also, Granquist writes,

One interesting development during this time period was attention being given to advanced education for women, a phenomenon that developed initially during the period from 1830 to 1860, especially among Lutherans on the East Coast. Often referred to as female seminaries, they were essentially high schools or preparatory schools for young Lutheran women. The word *seminary* here was a generic term for a place where nurturing occurred and had nothing to do with the ordained ministry. A number of Synods commended to their members the Gettysburg Female Seminary, run by Professor Haupt. Several Lutheran synods during the 1840s and 1850s, including West Pennsylvania, Maryland-Virginia, and Southwestern Virginia passed resolutions urging the establishment of educational institutions for young women. A typical rationale for such education came from the Maryland-Virginia Synod, which stated in 1848: "The great importance of female education is beginning to awaken the especial attention of the Church and, we believe, the superior intelligence of the daughters of Christian families is identified with the prosperity of Christ's Kingdom. In consequent of the part which females are capable of taking in the movements and benevolent enterprises of the Church... Although several similar resolutions were passed and committees formed to explore the education of women, the Hagerstown Female Seminary, Hagerstown, MD, which opened in 1853, was the only such institution formed during this time. A number of other similar institutions formed after the Civil War. (Granquist, 154)

According to Wentz, cited above, in Maryland alone there were two female seminaries launched around 1853 (Hagerstown and Lutherville, Baltimore County) and a third school—Burkittsville Female Seminary—began in 1866, and within three years it had eight teachers and fifty-four students (Wentz, 136). Granquist valuably makes the point that the use of the term "female seminary" did not mean that women were going to be Called as clergy after studying at these institutions. However, the use of "nothing to do with" should be reconsidered and investigated. There were, as Granquist points out, many simple high school or "prep" schools called "female seminaries" in America between 1849 and 1853—such as the one at Lacyville where the Fliedner/Passavant and Deaconess Motherhouse shared property. The Gettysburg Female Seminary as run by Rev. David and Rebecca Eyster in 1856 (after Haupt and others), was within the same building first used by Schmucker for Gettysburg Seminary, and additional research is needed to see if the Eysters were excluding "religion" in their contextual education—as one might at a high school or prep school. Additionally, it would be interesting to note whether the instructors offered similar or different "prep" for the young Lutheran men. On page 153 Granquist notes that,

"The Lutheran ideal for pastors was a heavy dose of classical languages, including Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and German, and a strong knowledge of history, philosophy and the Bible." Few if any of the students came so prepared, and the seminary professors spent much of their time in remedial work. To improve student preparation, many seminaries established an organized system of education usually referred to as "collegiate" or "preparatory" program, utilizing the same premises and resources as the seminary itself. Whatever they were called, they were, in all honesty, classical high schools or, according to the German model, a "gymnasium." (Granquist 153–54)

This should also be kept in mind when schools for women are dismissed as schools that teach "only "Classics" and as such are not "ordination track" institutions, as the discussion goes in Canada. This framing was common in research for the article in Karen Kuhnert, (2022) "2SLGBTQIA+—Sexuality in Changing Canadian Lutheran Contexts and Identities," *Consensus*, 43, no. 2, Article 7. DOI: 10.51644/IZK7015, <https://scholars.wlu.ca/consensus/vol43/iss2/7>. The terminology typically used for schools in different historic

periods is not sufficient to distinguish education across the genders. Though the female seminaries of this period were—indeed—not schools training women for altar and pulpit ministry, they were in all likelihood training women for ministry as well as vocational living. Karen Kuhnert’s research interest in women/gender in Canadian Lutheran history comes from a comparative research project undertaken by Kuhnert for a course with Linda Trimble at the University of Alberta in the 1990s. In this project, Kuhnert repeated Janine Brody’s survey of Women breaking into politics in Ontario with Kuhnert’s own survey of women breaking into provincial politics in Alberta conducted while Kuhnert worked at the Alberta Legislature (1989–1993). The pattern for breaking the political glass ceiling as found in the research appears to hold for women breaking into ministry roles as exemplified in Canada by Louise Tweitmeyer in Waterloo, Johanna Tappert in Saskatoon, and Anne Keffer in ministry as a Deaconess across North America. Kuhnert, (2022) "2SLGBTQIA+—Sexuality in Changing Canadian Lutheran Contexts and Identities." Kuhnert applied this comparative analysis to Lutheran women breaking into leadership roles within the Lutheran Church for the ELCIC Study on Leadership needs in 2002. This research was used in 2003 for the start of her MTh/MTs in History at Waterloo Lutheran Seminary.

<sup>55</sup> The story of the Cholera outbreak and move to Lacyville appears in Gerberding’s *Life and Letters of William A. Passavant*, 186–87. Granquist on Passavant and Deaconesses is at 196–97, 212, and citing Frederick Weiser, *Love’s Response: A Story of Lutheran Deaconesses in America* (1962) and W. H. T. Dau, “Prefatory Note,” in *Woman Suffrage in the Church*. See Bachmann, 335–37 for an extensive history on Deaconesses that connects Fliedner, Passavant, the Pittsburgh Infirmary/Hospital Deaconesses, Lankneau Hospital, and Mary J. Drexel Home. E. Theodore Bachmann’s father was the pastor and Director of the Deaconess Community in Philadelphia, and E. Theodore Bachmann’s personal history of growing up around deaconesses impacted his inclusion of Deaconess stories and perspectives in his book. The connection is made first in the Preface, p. viii, by his daughter Mercia Brenne Bachmann, who completed her father’s writing after his death. See also the date of 1894 and the tradition of the Lutheran Deaconess Conference in North America, <https://deaconesscommunity.org/history/>. See also “Deacon Dialogue” in this Issue. The Motherhouse in Milwaukee founded in 1893 was an offshoot of work begun in 1849 to create the Pittsburgh Infirmary (the Passavant Hospital), see Bachmann, 336.

<sup>56</sup> The correspondence between Cossman and Passavant eventually led to the missionary trip of Rev. Dr. H. W. Roth to “these Lutherans of the Diaspora,” Gerberding, *Life and Letters*, 143.

<sup>57</sup> Klecknerville here is used as a code (Cronmiller, 131). There is reason to believe that the meeting was not in Klecknerville, yet this is how the story is oft repeated: in 1849, Adam Keffer, walking from Canada into Pennsylvania, met Passavant “in the garden in Klecknerville.” This is a story remembered in many North American Lutheran history publications. See Cronmiller, 131–32, 135–37; Granquist, 139–40.

<sup>58</sup> Keffer was first on his way to seek “preferably an English-language preaching pastor.” This is a very important point about Canadian Lutherans and language debates as this is evidence that Lutheranism in Canada was not as “German” as some historians want to argue. Keffer was first seeking Rev. John Nunemacher of Saegerstown, Pennsylvania, of the Eastern District of the Synod of Ohio who had visited the Vaughn-Markham Lutherans in 1845 and 1846 (Cronmiller, 130). Note well, John Nunemacher is not Rev. E. V. Nonamaker of Nova Scotia. Also note that Rev. Meyerhoff who served in Canada in an earlier period had also served the Saegerstown Lutherans. There was a long-standing connection between Canadian Lutherans and the Ohio Synod/s because of proximity. For more on Ohio Lutherans see “Transcript for Webinar III” in this issue.

<sup>59</sup> Cronmiller, 103.

<sup>60</sup> Cronmiller, 106.

<sup>61</sup> Cronmiller, 130.

<sup>62</sup> Gerberding, *Life and Letters*, 189.

<sup>63</sup> Cronmiller, 132–35; Bachmann, 49.

<sup>64</sup> Cronmiller, 130–46.

<sup>65</sup> Cronmiller, 135.

<sup>66</sup> Cronmiller, 138.

<sup>67</sup> Cronmiller, 140, 130–46. See Bachmann, 49–50.

<sup>68</sup> On the Evangelical Lutheran Union, Cronmiller, 141. Lutherans from Nova Scotia to Ontario gained clergy from Nova Scotia to Lake Huron from Gettysburg and Hartwick prior to the *Definitive Platform*.

- John P. Goertner moved to Ontario from Hartwick Seminary prior to 1826 (Cronmiller, 93);
- Hermann Hayunga to Ontario from Hartwick in 1826 (Cronmiller, 93);

- W. Bowers to Nova Scotia from Haegersville and Gettysburg in 1855, see Oickle “Called to Serve,” in this Issue;
- Diehl, Fishburn, and Wurster were Pittsburgh Synod missionaries sent to Ontario between 1851 and 1853 and all these were from Gettysburg (Cronmiller cited above).
- Popplow and Meisner were from the New York Ministerium and affiliated with Hartwick Seminary before coming to Ontario before 1853;
- Sharts preceded them from the New York Ministerium (Hartwick Seminary affiliated) and served in Canada from 1840 to 1863 (Cronmiller, 98–99).
- L. H. Gerndt was a travelling missionary from the New York Ministerium before taking up a congregation in Canada in 1858 (his saddle bag register of Lutherans is at Laurier Archives).

These clergy are both English-speaking and German-speaking clergy (as were the congregations they served). The controversies over the synods and seminaries in America beginning around 1855 flowed into Canada through the clergy and through the travelling and relocating Lutherans. What were the Definitive Synodical Platform implications in Canada as can be known from Canadian Source materials? What happened to the reputations of these clergy who had studied under Schmucker after it was released? What happened to the reputation of Schmucker in Canada? There was a pull to follow Passavant and Bassler, who had helped Canadians to organize and advance; was there also a push away from Schmucker et al., or did that only come down through Canadians reading American historians?

<sup>69</sup> Diehl was a Gettysburg Graduate licensed in 1850. He came to Canada because of the efforts of Keffer (a lay-leader), Bassler, and Passavant (clergy). Diehl started three Canadian congregations soon after arriving in the field (including First Toronto on Bond Street in 1851) and he began English-language services *as requested* by the lay-leaders (Cronmiller, 136–37; and also 118, 137). In 1853, between the launch of the Canada Conference (in June) and the launch of the Evangelical Lutheran Union (October), Diehl became pastor in New Hamburg, Petersburg-Mannheim, and Roseville. One wonders about when and how the New Hamburg congregation took on a “Herr Pastor” “German” “Conservativeness” as noted by Anne Keffer in “Deacon Dialogue” if the congregation was hiring a Gettysburg graduate who was trained in the 1840s era of Passavant and Krauth? Regarding Tuerk, see Cronmiller, 125, 141.

<sup>70</sup> Cronmiller, 116, 117, 137, 166. Wurster (a Gettysburg graduate) was sent to Wellington to preach in the English language, “as far as Lake Huron,” 137.

<sup>71</sup> Cronmiller, 137, 138. In October 1852, Fishburn, a Gettysburg graduate, took charge at Markham and Vaughn, and served Toronto Bond Street from 1853 to 1857. In 1854 Fishburn dedicated Buttonville and started Kleinburg (where Nils Wilison would later serve). In 1865 Fishburn began to serve Schwerdtfeger and Hayunga’s Loyalist Lutherans at Williamsburg, and then Morrisburg in 1876 (Cronmiller, 138). This content confirms that Canadian Lutheranism in this era was not as German or “Conservative” as has repeatedly been suggested, and the evidence can be recovered by following leads from Fishburn. Mr. Henry Van der Smissen was a lay-leader and lay-preacher at the church on Bond Street in Fishburn’s absences. He was the treasurer of the Canada Synod for nearly 25 years and a regular delegate to the meetings of the continental General Council (note Cronmiller, 263, and a biography in *Follow the Footsteps of Your Forefathers: 1898–1978*, the commemorative publication for First Lutheran Church 116 Bond Street by Louis P. Barbier. The diary of Miss Elizabeth Van der Smissen, daughter of Henry, is in the Laurier Archives as she travelled in 1860 to England, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, and Strasbourg, France to raise funds for the congregation and the advancement of Lutheranism in Toronto (see Barbier, 11–13). She raised \$1825 in the currency value of that day. Her biography and story need to be better remembered by all Canadian Church History and Canadian History scholars. In 1854 Fishburn dedicated Buttonville and started Kleinburg (where Nils Wilison would later serve). In 1865 Fishburn began to serve Schwerdtfeger and Hayunga’s Loyalist Lutherans at Williamsburg and then Morrisburg in 1876 (Cronmiller, 138).

<sup>72</sup> Cronmiller, 121.

<sup>73</sup> Cronmiller, 124. Meissner was a Member of the New York Ministerium in 1853.

<sup>74</sup> Cronmiller makes a significant number of references to the New York Ministerium in *A History of the Lutheran Church in Canada*. The Index lists the following: 86, 88, 90, 93, 98, 99, 121, 138, 140.

<sup>75</sup> Hoelsch, while serving St. Peter’s, Preston, was rostered to the Eastern District of the Ohio Synod (Cronmiller, 58, see also 116, 130, 140–41). After Preston, Hoelsch served St. John’s, Waterloo from 1856 to 1873 (Cronmiller, 117). This means that historic St. John’s, Waterloo, had an Ohio Synod pastor and not a Pittsburgh Synod pastor at the founding of the Canada Synod of the General Council. St. Peter’s, Preston was established in 1834—one year



after the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act. What if anything appears in their congregational records that might inform the topics of this paper?

<sup>76</sup> Cronmiller, 138, 141 on the formation of the Canadian Evangelical Lutheran Union.

<sup>77</sup> Cronmiller, 141.

<sup>78</sup> On Cossman, see Cronmiller, 56–64.

<sup>79</sup> On Hayunga, see Cronmiller, 93–97, 149.

<sup>80</sup> Cronmiller points out on page 60 that the record shows that:

*For some reason the Pittsburgh Synod, which had shown an initial interest, did not supply the needed men. The patriarch Cossman made one gesture toward the Missouri Synod. In 1868 the Rev. O. Hanser of the Missouri Synod made a missionary journey to Nova Scotia. The same year Cossman journeyed to Richmond, VA, to attend the session of the Eastern District of the Missouri Synod (Note) Nothing further resulted from this contact.*

The “network for Canadian clergy” in this era ran through Schmucker the abolitionist who advanced the cause of Lutheran women in theological education. Granquist writes, “It is estimated that Schmucker educated as many as four hundred Lutheran pastors and exerted immense influence on American Lutheranism” (151). Also notable is that *English-speaking Lutherans in Ohio had nowhere to go for Seminary, as the one seminary in Columbus, Ohio, was heavily German-speaking, so the English-speakers created Wittenberg College in Springfield, Ohio.*

<sup>81</sup> Wentz, 136.

<sup>82</sup> See Granquist 154–55 combined with 216, 210–12.

<sup>83</sup> Granquist, 173–78.

<sup>84</sup> That Bowers (a Gettysburg graduate) returned to the US because of the American Civil War is addressed in Oickle in this Issue, and in Cronmiller, 58. He took back to the US his family—including wife Louisa Cossman Bowers and Father Cossman’s grandsons, Charles David and Walter Day (Cossman) Bowers, see Oickle. They returned to Nova Scotia by November 1863 (Oickle). Also notable, Bowers was called in 1872 to be an “Associate English Minister” at Zion Lunenburg (Oickle).

<sup>85</sup> Frank Malinsky, *Grace and Blessing. A History of the Ontario District of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (Elmira: Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, 1954), 53.

<sup>86</sup> Note the connection to Wittenberg College. Samuel Sprecher of Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio, was Schmucker’s brother-in-law, and was pastoring at First Albany in 1871. Bachmann, 50.

<sup>87</sup> Granquist, 201.

<sup>88</sup> It is curious that Schmucker, a man of such privilege, was an abolitionist. One wonders what specifically brought him to support the Underground Railroad resistance in his experience, and in the Gospel, as compared with C. F. W. Walther. Walther, according to Granquist,

insisted the Bible did not consider slavery itself to be a sin but, rather, a moral evil in punishment for sin. Further, Walther suggested that abolitionism in opposing to slavery was anti-Christian: “Having set forth [that slavery was not, in itself, a sin] we therefore maintain that abolitionism which holds and declares slavery as an essentially sinful relationship.... And therefore wants to abolish the former under all circumstances, is a child of unbelief...” (Granquist, 175, citing Walther “Vorwort,” *Lehre und Wehre*, 10 February 1863, 34)

Granquist also provides insight into the position of the South, through Dr. John Bachman of Charleston, South Carolina who, according to Granquist, “produced a scholarly and theological examination of slavery in 1850. Bachman concluded that the Bible did not categorically condemn slavery as a system, though it did condemn abuses in how it was practiced.” (Granquist, 175) Perhaps it was Schmucker’s education at the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton prior to the organizing of the General Synod that helped to position his theology in these matters (Granquist, 148). See Bachmann, 48, 57.

<sup>89</sup> Desmond Morton, *A Short History of Canada*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition (McClelland & Stewart, 2016), 61, 99. In this Issue, see also “Transcript for Webinar III Canadian Lutheran World Relief and the Lutheran Immigration Board of Canada, May 15, 2023.”

<sup>90</sup> The phrase “transcontinental Confederation policies” was chosen to cue the reader to think about the *infrastructure* developed to unite Canada and Canadians against an invasion from the United States by Americans. Think of the Confederation Bridge, the TransCanada Highway, and their infrastructure predecessors including the Canadian Pacific and other railways as being used by the Fathers of Confederation (and their successors) to defend the Canadas by moving people across the nation for identity-building, business advancement, and military defence.

That the Government of Canada has always thought carefully about settlement locations for those migrating into Canada should not surprise anyone. The militia response to the defence of the Upper and Lower Canada border in the War of 1812 is the history lesson that drives this thinking. Researchers in Canadian Lutheran immigration history will benefit from reading Morton's *A Short History of Canada*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, which takes typical Humanities-based Canadian History themes and valuably adds considerations from Canadian *Economic*-historians. From the Preface, Morton notes that his work was "first written with the inspiration and support of Mel Hurtig," and as such it syncs well with accessible information available in the *Canadian Encyclopedia* Online. For Lutherans it should be of special note that Morton credits Vincent Eriksson in the Preface to the 6<sup>th</sup> Edition, with the words, "I particularly benefitted from the Erudition of Vincent Eriksson of Camrose Lutheran College," p. VII. Vincent Eriksson began to write for the *Consensus Journal* in the April 1975 Volume 1, Issue 2, with the article, "In Search of Our Own Reality." Upon Professor Eriksson's recent death (July of 2022), the University of Alberta flew its banner at half-mast in recognition of Vincent Eriksson, Professor Emeritus, History and Religious Studies, Augustana Faculty, see <https://www.ualberta.ca/the-quad/2022/07/lowering-the-flag-vincent-eriksson.html>. The contributions of Eriksson to Canadian Lutheran Identity and History should be better remembered.

<sup>91</sup> See Lenny Duncan's own works and words at <https://lennyduncan.com/>, and for an introduction to his work see <https://elca.org/jle/articles/1287>.