Teacher Training in the Missouri Synod to 1864
By CARL S. MEYER

The founders of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod were intent upon having their own church schools. These schools, obviously, would need teachers. The few candidates of theology who immigrated with the Saxons in 1839 would not be sufficient to man the schools.

Training Teachers Before the Organization of the Missouri Synod

At least as early as June 1843 the necessity of training Lutheran schoolteachers had been recognized. In that year Trinity Congregation of St. Louis, of which the Rev. C. F. W. Walther was pastor, resolved that a college was necessary for the training of Lutheran pastors and teachers.¹ This congregation was greatly concerned just at this time about the "college" which had been established in Perry County late in 1839 and which was on the verge of collapse.² The concern of the St. Louis congregation for the school in Perry County, to be relocated in the log cabin at Altenburg which was owned by the widow von Wurmb, saved this school from extinction and brought on a new period of usefulness. No longer coeducational, the rehabilitated school under Gotthold H. Loeber and Johann Jakob Goenner was regarded as a training school for pastors and teachers.³ The strong emphasis on the an-

¹. "Transcript of Minutes of Trinity Congregation, St. Louis, 1839—53," typewritten MS, Concordia Historical Institute, St. Louis, pp. 212 ff., minutes of June 26, 1843.
³. Der Lutheraner, I (July 26, 1845), 93 as cited by Stellhorn, "The Period of Organization," Ch. I in 100 Years of Christian Education, p. 23. He regarded it as significant that Loeber "invariably" named teachers first when referring to the school.
cient languages in this school, however, is an indication that its chief purpose was the training of pastors. The school in its early phase, from 1839 to 1843, had also included the objective of training teachers.

The St. Louis Lutherans were not the only ones anxious to further an institution that would include teacher training. Pastor J. A. A. Grabau of Buffalo, N. Y., in his Hirtenbrief had suggested the possibility of establishing an institution for the training of teachers through the joint efforts of the Lutherans of Buffalo, St. Louis, and Perry County, Mo. The “Missourians” reported that they would be happy to entertain this suggestion if agreement in doctrine could be established. The suggestion, therefore, did not have any positive results.

The Perry County school remained the one institution before the founding of the Missouri Synod on which the congregations of the Saxon immigrants could rely for the training of teachers. However, only one man, Ferdinand Fischer, left this school to enter the teaching profession (as distinct from the pastoral office) during the early years. He was called to Frohna, Mo., in 1850, after

as “an institution for the training of teachers and pastors.” It seems to be attaching too much significance to the order in which the words occur. Might not the fact that “pastors” were named last be adduced to show that this was the more important objective of the school—last for emphasis?

4. Ibid., pp. 24f.


the Perry County school had been transferred to St. Louis. In the period from 1843 to 1849 no parish school teachers "graduated."

Meeting Teacher Needs from 1847 to 1855

Among other groups of German Lutheran immigrants there was also a concern for teacher training. The establishment of the "practical" Theological Seminary in Fort Wayne, Ind., in 1846, had as its purpose the training of pastors. It was not meant to be anything else. Soon after its establishment, however, the training of teachers became part of its program. Although it was designated as a training school for pastors only when it was transferred to the Missouri Synod in 1847, there were those among its students who became teachers instead of preachers.

Between 1846 and 1855 no fewer than 14 of the 72 men who left this school left as teachers instead of as pastors. Already in 1847 Johann Georg Wolf, one of the 11 students who had come from Germany with Roebbeln as the first class of the Fort Wayne seminary, became a teacher in the parish school of the Fort Wayne congregation, where he remained until his death 15 years later (1862). In 1848 Andreas Zagel became a teacher in Indianapolis. In the following year (1849) J. Ulrich went to St. Louis as teacher; Johann Pinkepank became assistant pastor and teacher in Buffalo, N.Y. In 1851 Johann Kaeppel went to Brownstown, Jackson County, Ind., as teacher; Julius Koch went to New Bremen, St. Louis County, Mo. In the following year (1852) Friedrich Schachameier followed Koch to New Bremen. Chr. Kundinger went to Detroit in 1853, and in the same year Otto Ernst went to St. Louis. Cincinnati saw the coming of

10. Sihler, "Das Seminar zu Fort Wayne," Der Lutheraner, XII (February 26, 1856, 105, spoke of "ausgetretenen Pastoren und Schullehrer."
Hasso Wedell in 1854. In 1855 two men left as teachers. Christian Luecke went to Sheboygan, Wis.; Karl Kirsch served in Pastor Jaebker’s parish in Adams County, Ind. In this year, 1855, there were two men who left Fort Wayne as assistant pastors and parish school teachers. Heinrich Graetzell went to Logansport, Ind.; Heinrich Doermann went to Eden, Erie County, N. J. Some of these "teachers" later became pastors. Some of the men who graduated from the Fort Wayne seminary as pastors also served as teachers. Eleven men, however, were sent out as teachers between 1847 and 1855, and three others went out as assistant pastors and teachers.\(^1\)

In spite of the increase in the number of schools in the Missouri Synod between 1847 and 1855 the leaders of Synod seemed to have been unconcerned about the need for teachers.\(^1\) It seems hardly possible that they were unaware of this need, yet the published letters of C. F. W. Walther, Der Lutheraner, the presidential reports at the annual meetings of Synod, and the minutes of the annual conventions reveal no discussion of this problem. The furthering of a school for teacher training began as a private venture in 1855.

The Milwaukee "Normal School," 1855—57

In 1855 the District conventions of the Missouri Synod — they were meeting in their first sessions as Districts — were apprised of the fact that the Pastors F. J. C. Lochner, L. Dulitz, and Ph. Fleischmann, and Teacher Christian Diez had established a teachers seminary in Milwaukee. The reports were made to these groups because the founders were anxious to secure students and funds (they were by no means unique in this respect). Their action won approval and a request that the venture be publicized.\(^1\)

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14. This view is not shared by H. C. Gaertner, "A Brief Historical Sketch of Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Ill.," Lutheran School Journal, LXVII (May 1932), 385 f.
The convention of the Central District examined the move most carefully. It recognized the need (fuehlbare Mangel) for teachers, the zeal and the good intentions of the founders. It weighed the reasons for establishing a new school in Milwaukee; it advanced reasons for furthering the school in Fort Wayne instead and found these the more significant. It wanted to see the institution in the Indiana city for the training of pastors and teachers strengthened.

In favor of establishing a new school in Milwaukee the following reasons were advanced: (1) Gifted men for conducting the school were found there; (2) the congregations of Wisconsin would more readily support a school located there; (3) no misgivings about combining theological training and teacher training would then be present.

Against establishing the school in Milwaukee the following reasons were given: (1) The obligation to further the existing rather than to establish the new, to concentrate rather than to divert; (2) the co-operation of teaching forces, integration, and the utilization of existing resources; (3) the need to prepare the ministerial candidates also as teachers; (4) the advantage of future pastors and teachers living together; (5) the greater material benefits offered in Fort Wayne.

The reasoning, particularly the intimate acquaintance with the details of the administration of the Fort Wayne school, indicates strongly that Dr. Wilhelm Sihler, president of the theological seminary in Fort Wayne, had a hand in formulating the brief. What part he played in the discussion is difficult to say; his role as chairman of the convention, however, put him in a strategic position. He knew that the report would be made. In his presidential address he pleaded for support of the Fort Wayne school. No official action to move the newly established school from Milwaukee to Fort Wayne was taken at this time.

Although a brief notice had appeared in the official organ of the Missouri Synod about the teachers seminary in Milwaukee,

17. Ibid., pp. 11 f.
not much publicity was given the venture beyond the discussions noted previously. "The school was conducted by Pastors Philipp Fleischmann, L. Dulitz, and Friedrich J. C. Lochner, together with Teachers Chr. Diez and Eckert. Six boys were enrolled who were taught, as much as time allowed, in catechetics, secular subjects, and such music as would be necessary for organists." Catechetics, German, English, arithmetic, universal history, geography, drawing, penmanship, piano, violin, and singing were the subjects taught. Four of the six students were boarded in the homes of Pastors Lochner and Fleischmann. The other two lived with their parents in Milwaukee. A near contemporary source placed the number of students at 11: Mit elf Knaben ward der Anfang gemacht. Franz Bodemer and Carl Mueller were two of the students in attendance; they were admitted to the Missouri Synod in 1857 as teachers. Few other sources seem to be extant about the founding of the Milwaukee Lutheran Teachers Seminary. Friedrich Johann Carl Lochner wrote in his autobiographical sketch:

I might add that in conjunction with my two brethren in the ministry who are now dead, Pastor Philipp Fleischmann of St. Stephen's Church and Pastor L. Lulitz [sic!] of St. John's Church, as well as with my teacher, Chr. Diez, now an instructor of music, and assisted liberally by members of the congregation, I began to establish a small private seminary for the education of several boys from out

19. A. C. Repp, "The Period of Planting, 1847—64," Ch. II in 100 Years of Christian Education, pp. 45—46. For a reproduction of the "teachers seminary" in Milwaukee, 1855—57, drawn by Fr. Lochner in 1857, see ibid., p. 46. The building was at the same time the church and school for Trinity Congregation.


22. Der Lutheraner, XII (February 26, 1856), 112, and ibid., XII (July 29, 1856), 199.

23. Neunter Synodal-Bericht der Allgemeinen Deutschen Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten vom Jahre 1857 (St. Louis, Mo.: Synodaldruckerei von August Wiebusch u. Sohn, 1858), p. 4, reported that "die Lehrer Carl Mueller und Franz Bodemer" were received into membership.

H. C. Gaertner, "A Brief Historical Sketch of Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Ill.," Lutheran School Journal, LXVII (May, 1932), 389, stated without citing references that Louis Deffner and Peter Nickel were sent out from the Milwaukee school as teachers. I have not been able to verify his statement. Johann Sigmund L. Deffner died on May 14, 1899, at the age of 72 years. This would make him 30 years old in 1857. His obituary does not state that he attended the Milwaukee school. See Der Lutheraner, LV (July 23, 1899), 134. Peter Nickel died on April 28, 1876. His age is not given, nor does his obituary state where he received his professional training. See Der Lutheraner, XXXII (May 13, 1876), 80.
of town for the office of parochial teachers . . . . This Christian normal school was probably the first of its kind in the United States.24

It might be conjectured that these men, Lochner, Fleischmann, and Diez, served the teachers seminary gratis, since they received their salaries as pastors or teachers from the local congregations. Lochner and Fleischmann, as noted above, also housed the few boys who attended the school. The liberal assistance of the members of the congregations supplied their board, at least in part.

Between June and December 1855 a total of $148.50½ had been donated for the institution. These moneys came mostly from individuals. The congregation in Frankenmuth, Mich., donated $22.00. Pastor Brauer in Addison, Ill., sent $27.50, collected at a harvest festival on Thanksgiving Day (Erntedanktag). Pastor Selle’s congregation in Crete, Will County, Ill., collected $6.00 at a festival (Jubelfest); Pastor Lochner’s congregation collected $6.91 on a similar occasion. When a Mr. W. Krueger was married in or near Watertown, Wis., his pastor, L. Geyer, used the happening to collect $2.47 for the new school in Milwaukee. Mr. Franz Metheis’ wedding in Mequon River, Wis., where Martin Guenther was pastor, produced $2.50, and a christening at W. Precht’s in Addison, Ill., the same amount.

Other gifts were not lacking. Pastor Lemke in Monroe, Mich., sent a violin. Members of Pastor Martin Guenther’s congregation in Town 8, Wis., donated a blackboard and a small stove. A 58-pound sack of rye flour came from another member of that congregation; a Mr. Eilers in Freistadt, near Milwaukee, donated about 98 pounds. He was kind enough, too, to donate a pig. The boys could eat rye bread and pork, at least. And a few young ladies from Trinity Congregation in Milwaukee would not have it that the boys might be neglected at Christmas. They sent shirts, underwear, socks, handkerchiefs, pillowcases, and sheets. A few women made a donation of eight silk ties and a half dozen shirts.25 The clothing donated by the young ladies had been “six of each.” This is a further indication that there were six boys or young men attending the teachers seminary in Milwaukee in 1855.

The cash donations had come from Milwaukee, St. Louis, Cleveland, Baltimore, Crete and Addison, Ill., Monroe, Mich., Watertown and Mequon River, Wis., Adrian, Mich., and She-

25. DER LUTHERANER, XII (January 2, 1856), 87. The acknowledgments were made by Fr. Lochner.
boygan, Wis. Most of these congregations were in the Northern District of Synod, but by no means all of them. Further donations, totaling $23.51, came from Watertown, Oshkosh, Kirchhayn, all in Wisconsin, Minden, Ill., and St. Louis.\textsuperscript{26}

One of the students, F. Bodemer, acknowledged a cash gift of $10.00 from a Mr. Roehlfing in St. Louis as a New Year's Day present.\textsuperscript{27} Carl Mueller could acknowledge a more substantial gift later in the year.\textsuperscript{28}

Moneys continued to trickle in for the school. $9.00 was acknowledged in March 1856 from a christening, a young people's society in Sheboygan, and from a few individuals.\textsuperscript{29} Between the end of March and the 13th of October (1856) $84.43\frac{1}{2}$ was contributed, besides a vat of butter and two 50-pound sacks of rye flour. The victuals (so they are called in the acknowledgment, Victualien) again came from members of the Freistadt congregation; the cash almost exclusively from individuals and congregations in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Illinois. The school children in Addison, Ill., contributed $2.00; the largest sum, $15.00, was remitted by the congregation in Frankenmuth, Mich.\textsuperscript{30} No public acknowledgment of gifts was made after November 1856 and before the school was moved to Fort Wayne. It need not be supposed, however, that no gifts were received; there likely were some, even though they were small and few.

The inadequate financial support which the school received in Milwaukee was one reason, it seems, for the move to Fort Wayne in 1857.

The Move to Fort Wayne — Under Synodical Auspices

When the entire Synod met in session in October 1857, the same month and the same year in which the public normal school was established in St. Louis,\textsuperscript{31} the members of Synod had come to the conclusion that the two-year-old Lutheran teachers seminary ought not to remain in Milwaukee. Even the founders were of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[26] Ibid. (February 26, 1856), 112.
\item[27] Ibid. Franz Bodemer acknowledges gifts of $8.00, a bedspread, and a pair of cotton breeches. Cf. XII (January 2, 1856), 88.
\item[28] Ibid., XII (July 29, 1856), 199.
\item[29] Ibid., XII (March 25, 1856), 128. Acknowledged by Fr. Lochner.
\item[30] Ibid., XIII (November 4, 1856), 48. Acknowledged by Fr. Lochner.
\item[31] Fifth Annual Report of the President, Superintendent, and Secretary to the Board of St. Louis Public Schools, for the year ending July 1, 1859 (St. Louis: E. P. Studley, 1859), p. 45.
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this opinion. There was strong sentiment to unite it with the seminary in Fort Wayne and strong sentiment, also, to locate it in Addison, Ill., as a separate school.

The Chicago Teachers' Conference expressed the opinion, formally and in writing, that the teacher-training school should be independent of the training school for pastors. The congregation in Addison, of which the Rev. A. Franke was pastor, was willing already in 1857 to help support a teacher-training school in its midst.

Dr. Wilhelm Sihler was the chief proponent for uniting the Milwaukee school with the Fort Wayne school. Already in 1855 this had been advocated in the sessions of the Central District. He presented a formal essay in which he gave his views for such a move.


33. Some, if not all of the members of this conference are: J. H. Bartling (Addison), Th. Buenger (Chicago), G. H. Fischer (Chicago), J. M. G. Kirchner (Addison), P. Nickel (Crete), Fr. Riepling (Addison). Neunter Synodal-Bericht, 1857; cf. p. 71.

34. Ibid., p. 55.
The reasons he advanced are described as "conclusive" (überzeugend), but they are not detailed. St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Fort Wayne, of which Sihler was pastor, pointed out the need for an additional teacher in the preseminary department of the school in Fort Wayne, especially since the Rev. F. W. Foehlinger would no longer be located in Fort Wayne and, therefore, not in a position to assist at the seminary.

The thought to transfer the Milwaukee teachers seminary to Fort Wayne and the thought to add one professor who would instruct in both the preseminary department and the teachers seminary were joined. A new building was being completed just at this time for the English Lutheran Academy. The prospect was thereby provided for additional English instruction for the future teachers of the Lutheran Church. And so Sihler's reasoning and various practical considerations caused Synod, in 1857, to establish the teachers seminary in Fort Wayne. Among all the reasons advanced, the need to husband resources seems to have been the most telling.

Already during the sessions of the synodical convention the Rev. Ph. Fleischmann was nominated by the Electoral Commission as professor in the preseminary department and the teachers seminary. He was called to this position and formally given the title of Director of the Teachers Seminary and Professor of the Preseminary Department in Fort Wayne.

35. Ibid., p. 54. The reasons Sihler advanced, it may be conjectured, were much the same as those discussed in the convention of the Central District in 1855. "Schullehrer-Seminar zu Milwaukee," I. Bericht des Mittleren Distrikts, 1855, p. 17.


37. Der Lutheraner, XIV (November 17, 1857), 51. Ibid., p. 55. The three candidates were: Ph. Fleischmann, F. Sievers, R. Lange. Koestering, Auswanderung, p. 82.

38. Ibid., XIV (June 1, 1858), 168: "Es wird hiermit zur allgemeinen Kenntniss gebracht, dass der Herr Pastor Ph. Fleischmann, bisher in Walkerspoint bei Milwauk ee, vom Wahlkollegium der Evang.-Luth. Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten einstimmig zum Direktor des Schullehrerseminars und Professor der Theologie zu Fort Wayne erwählt worden ist." Italics in the original.
In 1857, therefore, the theological seminary, the preseminary department, the teachers seminary, and the academy all occupied the same campus. The head of the theological seminary and the entire institution was Dr. W. Sihler. Prof. A. Craemer was professor of theology. Prof. Ph. Fleischmann held the offices previously mentioned. A. Sutermeister was head of the academy.

The teachers seminary was opened in Fort Wayne on November 10, 1857, with four students, J. Riebeling, A. Bellin, C. A. Eggers, and [?] Schoenefeld. It was a humble beginning, and the record of the first months and years of the teachers seminary in Fort Wayne have been obscured. The enrollment of the school increased to some extent. By Easter 1859 14 men were sent out, certified by reason of an examination that they were ready to teach school. How many students attended during the year and a half is impossible to say. The loss of 14 at one time prompted the plea for more students, without, however, revealing just how many students had been or were attending.

Faculty and Administration at Fort Wayne, 1857—64

Ph. Fleischmann, as the one-man faculty of the school, had been assisted by J. P. Kalb between November 1857 and June 8, 1858. It happened in this way. The Rev. Mr. Kalb had been forced to resign his pastorate because of a chronic throat ailment. He came to Fort Wayne at the invitation of Dr. Sihler, moved into the seminary (da er doch gern fuer den gemeinen Nutz etwas tun wollte),

40. P. E. Kretzmann, “The Development of Higher Education in the Missouri Synod,” in Ebenezer, p. 241. No source, however, was cited.
August Bellin died on July 29, 1861, at the age of nineteen, before entering the teaching profession. Der Lutheraner, XVIII (October 2, 1861), 30.
C. A. Eggers was a teacher for 48 years. He died November 30, 1906. Der Lutheraner, LXII (December 18, 1907), 425.
J. Riebeling served as a teacher yet in 1874; he was at Utica Plant, Frazer, Malcom Co., Mich., in that year. After that date his name has not been located in extant records. Amerikanischer Kalender fuer deutsche Lutherer auf das Jahr 1875 (St. Louis: W. C. Barthel), p. 43. He is listed as a newly entered worker in the Northern District in the report for 1874, serving in Frazer. Verhandlungen der zwanzigsten Jahresversammlung des Nordlichen Distrikts der Deutschen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten. Anno Domini 1874. (St. Louis, Mo.: Druckerei der Synode von Missouri, Ohio u. a. Staaten, 1874), p. 6.
No record of Schoenefeld serving as a teacher has been uncovered.
and instructed the teacher-training students in music. He drowned while bathing, leaving Fleischmann distraught and in desperate need of assistance for the coming school year. J. G. Kunze, teacher in the parish school in Fort Wayne, assisted with the music instruction for a time.

Fleischmann sent an appeal to the Eastern District of Synod (in 1858), asking that it concur in the recommendation to call an assistant for the teachers seminary. The District supported the plea and agreed to encourage the congregations to send in larger contributions for the maintenance of the school. The Central District, too, acknowledged that Fleischmann was carrying too heavy a load because of the various classes and the many different preparations they required. It supported Fleischmann’s plea and recommended to the Board of Control that it call a second teacher, pointing to the regulations of Synod which would permit this Board to provide for such an emergency.

In 1857 there was only one Board of Control (Aufsichtsbehörde) for the one school at Fort Wayne. Dr. W. Sihler was the president not only of the theological seminary but also of the entire institution. Yet it was Fleischmann and not Sihler who made the appeal for additional teaching personnel. There was no indication that the appeal was made without the knowledge or consent of Sihler or that it was made as an appeal against Sihler’s decision. After all, Sihler presided at the sessions of the Central District; Sihler was a member of the Board of Control as well as director of the institution. Very likely the matter was agitated by

42. Sihler, Lebenslauf, II, 171.
44. Fleischmann wrote an elegy in which he expressed his grief: “Nachruf an den am 8. Juni im Herrn selig entschlafenen Pastor J. P. Kalb,” Der Lutheraner, XIV (July 27, 1858), 196.
48. Neunter Synodal-Bericht, 1857, p. 69. Rev. F. K. D. Wynekan (President of the Synod), Dr. W. Sihler (President of the Central District), Rev. F. Koenig, and Mr. Chr. Piepenbrink were the members of the Board.
Ibid., p. 70: “Dr. W. Sihler, Professor der Theologie und Director der ganzen Anstalt.”
Fleischmann because he was most immediately concerned, without any regard for principles of administration or administrative procedures.

Likewise it was the failure to observe the seemingly established policies and not the desire to overrule the Board of Control that caused the Eastern District to want to place the calling of an assistant into the hands of the Electoral Commission rather than the Board of Control. Synod had established certain regulations for Concordia College (presumably in St. Louis, since this designation is nowhere used of the Fort Wayne school at this time). Among these was one which permitted the Board of Control, together with the President of Synod and the president of the school, to appoint teachers temporarily in an emergency. The right of the Fort Wayne college to function under this policy was clearly invoked, though not so clearly granted.

The administration of the school is difficult to delineate. The teachers seminary was not a separate school, but it was not unified with the theological seminary. It was spoken of and regarded almost as a separate entity. The administrative relationships between Sihler and Fleischmann were personal relationships, and they were satisfactory. So were the relationships between Fleischmann and Craemer. These three men were the administration and faculty of the theological seminary, the teachers seminary, and the pre-seminary department.

An assistant instructor or second professor had not been called in 1858. Two years later Synod made provision for the salary ($500 a year) of a second member of the staff of the teacher-training department of the Fort Wayne school. No formal report was made to Synod in 1860 about the school or the progress of the venture in teacher training, determined in the previous convention three years before.

Prof. Ph. Fleischmann is listed as Professor am Proseminar und Schullehrerseminar. He continued to teach all the classes

51. 4. Bericht der Mittleren Distrikts, 1858, p. 25.
53. Zehnter Synodal-Bericht, 1860, p. 82.
in the teachers seminary, including music. How many students there were at this time cannot be established. A plea was made in June 1859 for new students for the school year which was to begin on September 1. However, the announcement said nothing about the entrance requirements, the length of the course, the curriculum, or similar questions.

Fleischmann was a conscientious teacher, of great ability, who served with self-effacing love, stimulating especially for the better gifted students, although he took pains to help the less gifted, according to Dr. W. Sihler. The caliber of the students, however, was not too high. Their willingness exceeded their ability to learn, in the opinion of this same pastor.

(To be continued)

Why Study History?

"No one can have a true appreciation of life without a knowledge of History. For History is that most wonderful of all stories — with stranger twists and greater drama than anybody could possibly invent." — Selected.

54. Sihler, Lebenslauf, II, 172: “Prof. Fleischmann unternahm sie im Spielen der Violine, dafür er das notige Zeug hatte.”
