OVERVIEW

Wisconsin's religious composition is, to a large extent, a product of the immigration to the state of religious and ethnic groups during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the early settlement of Wisconsin, ethnicity was essentially inseparable from religion for many groups and, for others, ethnic factions of religious organizations often played key roles in shaping their religious attitudes.

The earliest Europeans to arrive in Wisconsin were French fur traders, followed closely by Jesuit and Recollect missionaries in the mid-seventeenth century. This exploration marked the first, albeit short-lived, appearance of organized Western religion in the area. The French Roman Catholic missionaries were devoted to the conversion of the Indian population (Trodella 1979:4).

The first Roman Catholic missionary to reach present-day Wisconsin was the Jesuit priest Rene Menard. More successful in his missionary activities, however, was another Jesuit priest, Claude Allouez. In 1665, Allouez made La Pointe, Madeline Island, his base for ministering to the Hurons in the vicinity. He later transferred his activities from La Pointe to the Indian tribes along the Fox River and Green Bay. During the winter of 1671-1672, Allouez and Father Louis Andre built the first permanent mission on the Fox River, St. Francois Xavier at De Pere.

Throughout the late seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century, Roman Catholic missionaries continued to travel throughout the vast western wilderness, establishing temporary chapels, celebrating mass, and ministering to both the Indians and French fur traders. Yet, despite their efforts, these missionaries gained very few converts among the numerous Indian tribes. By the beginning of the eighteenth century missionary activity in the region had all but ceased, and by 1728 the Jesuits had abandoned their last chapel at Green Bay (Smith 1973:27-28). There was no resident priest in the Wisconsin region for nearly a century.

The period between 1820 and the attainment of statehood in 1848 might be termed Wisconsin's "Protestant era." During this period significant numbers of native born Americans of European descent began immigrating to the area. They came in two distinct migratory streams. First, miners traveled up the Mississippi River from the southern states to the southwestern lead region during the 1820s and 1830s. At the same time, some of the first English, Welsh, Cornish, and German settlers moved to the region. Second, a stream of "Yankee" immigrants from New York and New England entered the fertile agricultural lands of the southeast. They were joined by British and Irish immigrants. These immigrants introduced several Protestant denominations into the region: Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist. By the 1840s virtually every major denomination had gained a toehold in the territory (Trodella 1979:4-5).

Other smaller Protestant denominations became established in the Wisconsin Territory during this period as well. The Dutch of Milwaukee organized the first Reformed Church in that city in 1847. Unitarian and Universalist denominations were founded in Milwaukee, Racine, and Southport (Kenosha). The Evangelical and United Brethren churches began missionary work in the region as early as the 1840s, but neither organized a Wisconsin Conference until the mid-1850s (Smith 1973:611).

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints first appeared in the Wisconsin Territory in 1841. Between 1841 and 1845 a small group of Mormons established a temporary

commmunity approximately 50 miles north of La Crosse on the Black River. They cut timber and sawed lumber at this site for a temple and other structures at Nauvoo, their spiritual capital in Illinois. After the murder of Mormon leader Joseph Smith, intense rivalry developed among his self-proclaimed successors. One of these, James Jesse Strang, organized a unique following, the Strangite Mormons, at Voree (Walworth County) in 1843. They remained there until about 1847, when increasing hositility from neighboring communities forced them to move to Big Beaver Island in northern Lake Michigan.

Another group of Mormons, followers of Smith's son Joseph Smith III, eventually formed the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, with branches in Wisconsin. Among its local leaders were Elder Jason Briggs, who organized a congregation in Beloit township in 1843, and Elder Z.H. Gurley, leader of the Blanchardville congregation (Smith 1973:612-613):

Between the mid-1840s and 1910 a major shift in Wisconsin's population nativity and religious affiliation began to occur with the mass influx of European immigrants. Like their American-born counterparts, who continued to move into Wisconsin in relatively large numbers, these foreign immigrants embraced a variety of faiths (Smith 1973:606).

During the 1840s and 1850s, thousands of Germans, Dutch, Belgians, Irish, Norwegians, and other Northern Europeans immigrated from their homelands to Wisconsin via the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes. These groups set Wisconsin on the path toward dominance by two religious groups, the Roman Catholics and Lutherans.

Between 1860 and 1900, the character of Wisconsin immigration changed once again. While Germans continued to arrive in large numbers, Irish, Belgian, and Dutch immigration began to dissipate. Norwegians continued to enter the area, but were joined by growing numbers of Swedes and Danes during the 1870s and 1880s. At the same time, Eastern and Southern Europeans began entering the state. Poles were the most numerous of these. Others, including Italians, Greeks, Russians, and Yugoslavians, arrived between 1890 and the early 1900s.

This period of massive immigration radically altered Wisconsin's religious composition. Within a period of only 50 years Wisconsin was transformed from a non-Lutheran Protestant state to a predominantly Catholic and Lutheran state. Each ethnic group brought with it a religious preference. The Germans, by far the largest group, were predominantly Lutheran and Catholic. There was, however, interspersed among the German Christian population, a small number of German Jews; they established their first synagogue in Milwaukee as early as 1850.

Other ethnic groups were also divided among religions. The Dutch and the Irish, for example, were divided among Roman Catholics and a variety of Protestant denominations, such as the Presbyterians and Reformed Churches. The Norwegians and other Scandinavians were predominantly Lutheran, although once established in Wisconsin many joined Baptist, Methodist, and Moravian congregations. Italian and Polish immigrants were primarily Roman Catholic, while the vast majority of Greeks and Russians belonged to Orthodox Congregations (Tordella 1979:5-6). A very small Eastern European (primarily Russian) Jewish community became established in Wisconsin as well.

By the turn-of-the-century, church membership in the state was approximately one-half Roman Catholic and one-third Lutheran, the overwhelming remainder of the population belonging to other Protestant sects. Less than one percent of the state's religious population was Jewish (History of Wisconsin Project, n.d.:n.p.). The study units that follow examine religious organizations that have significantly affected the development of Wisconsin. These units focus on the history, locational patterns, associated properties, and diverse contributions of each religious group.

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PROTECTION

Threats to Resources

Since the turn of the century, religious properties in Wisconsin, like those throughout the country, have become increasingly subjected to the pressures of shifting social and population patterns. Major threats to church-related buildings are urbanization and suburbanization, declining church memberships, and increasing government involvement in the areas of education and social services. They have often resulted in abandonment, neglect, unsympathetic reuse, or demolition of churches and other religious properties.

Many religious structures have disappeared through replacement. As early as the mid-nineteenth century, primitive log chapels and churches were being replaced by frame and masonry structures in populated areas of the state. By the late nineteenth century, churches and other religious properties were reflecting the general affluence of growing communities founded on agricultural pursuits and burgeoning industries. Small frame and masonry churches were replaced by larger structures, and other associated religious properties, such as educational facilities, halls, orphanages, and monasteries, grew in number.

About the time of the First World War, many rural communities became less isolated due to the advent of the automobile. Many rural churches and camp meeting sites were gradually abandoned or became neglected as parishioners commuted to churches in larger urban centers. Threats to rural religious properties were further exacerbated during this period as more and more rural dwellers were drawn to cities by better employment opportunities.

The Great Depression posed a major menace to urban and rural religious properties as the populations shifted in response to the crisis. Many churches were forced to close temporarily, others permanently. World War II brought additional pressures. As the young people went to war or entered war-time production and older communities dispersed, more churches and associated religious properties were faced with abandonment, neglect, unsympathetic reuse, and demolition.

After the war, a new phenomenon, suburbanization, began to reshape the nation's demography. As large numbers of the middle class left the city in favor of the suburbs, urban residential and commercial areas were abandoned. These neighborhoods were usually taken over by less affluent populations who were often unable to maintain the structures. Religious properties were among those structures that suffered as a result of urban flight. Many have fallen into disuse, disrepair, or have been subjected to unsympathetic alterations.

Today, some religious properties, such as orphanages, educational facilities, and monasteries, tend to face greater dangers from changes in demographic patterns than churches themselves. While churches may remain the focus of their congregations' interest, these associated religious properties often do not retain the same emotional appeal and are more readily sacrificed to modernization or are demolished to make way for parking or for the construction of more appropriate space. In Wisconsin, the associated religious properties of the larger denominations, such as Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Methodists, have become especially threatened. Roman Catholic orphanages and educational facilities, for example, are threatened by increased state and county involvement in those services. A declining Catholic clergy poses a threat to such resources as monasteries, abbeys, and convents.

Beginning in the mid-twentieth century new factors began to threaten church architecture. In the post-war era family ties to churches began to fade with the increased mobility of the population. Church attendance began to decline and religion lessened as a focus of family and social life. As a result, some congregations consolidated, creating a need for expanded facilities. Historic buildings became even more threatened, expecially in light of the post-war building boom that inspired many churches to construct more modern facilities.

Religious buildings were subjected to several measures in the post-war period that were intended to increase security, promote energy efficiency, or accommodate the handicapped. These necessary measures all too often were executed insensitively and damaged the historic fabric of buildings. Changes in church doctrine or services affected the interiors of historic churches, particularly Catholic churches but also several Protestant denominations.

Guidelines for Evaluating Significance

Ordinarily, properties used for religious purposes are not eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places because of the necessity for the federal government to avoid any appearance of judgment about the merit of any religion. A religious property is eligible, however, if it is significant for its architectural or artistic distinction or for historic reasons.

A religious property may be eligible for inclusion in the National Register if it possesses significance under one or more of the four criteria, which are listed in the introduction to this report. It may be eligible under Criterion A of the National Register if its historical significance has scholarly secular recognition or other historical significance concerned with settlement, education, or social philanthropy. For example, a religious property may be eligible if it was directly associated with a specific event in the history of religion: the First Church of Christ, Scientist (1886) in Oconto is significant because it was the first church built solely for Christian Science worship in the United States. Other properties with a religious affiliation may be significant in the history of education in a region: St. John's Military Academy Historic District (1884) in Delafield, Waukesha County, was founded as an Episcopal educational institution. It is the oldest military academy in the

state and was an influential educational force in southeastern Wisconsin. A religious property could also be eligible for the National Register if it was significant for its association with the social, cultural, economic, or political history of a community: the Ephraim Moravian Church (c. 1896) Ephraim, Door County, is significant for its role in the development of the Scandinavian Moravian Church in Ephraim. In Milwaukee, Holy Trinity (Our Lady of Quadalupe) Roman Catholic Church (1849-1850) has historic association with the city's early German population, while St. Josaphat Basilica (1896-1901; 1929) in Milwaukee is significant for its connection with the city's Polish community.

A religious property may be eligible under Criterion B for its association with an individual important in religious history, if that significance has scholarly, secular recognition and has importance in a broader historical context. For example, a religious property may be eligible if it is associated with a religious leader who significantly influenced an important religious institution or movement, or who was important in the social, economic, or political history of an area. St. Augustine Church (1844) in the Town of New Diggings, Lafayette County is significant for its association with the pioneer priest Fr. Samuel Mazzuchelli, who designed and erected at least 20 churches in the upper Mississippi valley.

A religious property significant under Criterion C is most often appropriately evaluated in its local context, specifically in comparison to other properties of its type, period, or method of construction. A religious property is eligible under this criterion if, for example, it is an important illustration of an architectural style: St. John Chrysostom Church (1851-1853) in Delafield, Waukesha County is significant as an excellent example of Gothic Revival architecture. If a property is the work of a master it may also be eligible. The Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church (1961) in Wauwatosa was designed by world renowned architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Other religious properties may display a high artistic value in their design or detailing that make them eligible. St. Joseph Orphan Home (1871) in Superior is significant for the elaborate detailing in the chapel. Properties may exhibit a unique method of construction that make them eligible. St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church (1870-1871) in New Fane, Fond du Lac County is significant for its exceptional stonework, with boulders selected for size and color.

A religious property or site may be eligible under Criterion D if it can yield important information about prehistoric or historic religious practices of a cultural group. An examples of a Wisconsin property eligible under this criterion is the La Pointe Indian Cemetery (1836) on Madeline Island.

Churches listed in the National Register for architectural, historical , and archeological significance have been included in the sections "National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility," found at the end of each study unit. Although the study unit is primarily useful for evaluating historical significance, the Historic Preservation Division believed that information on all listings would prove useful.

Survey Priorities

- Thematic survey of Scandinavian Seventh-Day Adventist churches in Wisconsin; identify other ethnic Seventh-Day Adventist churches in the state.
- Thematic survey of historic Scandinavian Baptist churches in Wisconsin.
- Identify properties associated with historic black congregations.
- Thematic survey of historic Roman Catholic structures that are particularly

endangered, such as abbeys, monasteries, convents, orphanages, and educational facilities.

- Intensive surveys of the Blanchardville area (Zarahemla) and Lafayette County to identify properties associated with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

- Identify structures associated with the nineteenth century Mormon lumbering settlement at Black River Falls (Jackson County).

- Identify structures associated with Indian missionary activity.

- Thematic surveys of properties associated with historically significant Welsh and Scandinavian Congregational congregations.

- Thematic survey of settlement houses and other structures associated with early Jewish settlement, with particular attention given to those properties in Milwaukee.

- Reconnaissance survey of Arpin (Wood County) to determine the existence of any resources associated with Jewish rural settlement.

- Identify sites and structures affiliated with Norwegian Lutheranism in the communities of Muskego and Koshkonong.

- Thematic survey of Lutheran institutions.

- Identify properties associated with historically significant Scandinavian Methodist congregations throughout the state.

- Locate and identify sites and structures associated with the Moravian settlement at Green Bay.

- Identify those structures associated with historic Welsh Calvinistic Methodist congregations and Welsh immigration of the mid-nineteenth century.

- Identify historically significant sites and structures associated with the Reformed (Dutch) Church in Wisconsin.

Registration Priorities

Adventist

- If extant, list the historic Seventh-Day Adventist church and parsonage in Oakland (Jefferson County); the church is reputedly the oldest Norwegian Adventist church in the world, while the parsonage is reputedly the oldest Adventist parsonage in the state.

Baptist

- Because of the important historical significance of the Danish Baptists, as properties are discovered, they should be listed. An effort should also be made to list significant sites and structures affiliated with historic black Baptist congregations.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

- Sites or properties associated with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints' settlements in the Blanchardville area, especially their "holy city" of Zarahemla, should be nominated.

Eastern Orthodox

- St. Spyridon Greek Orthadox Church in Sheboygan (Sheboygan County) should be listed in the National Register because of its historical significance to the Greek population in that city.

Episcopal Church

- Identify and nominate eligible properties or districts at Nashotah because of the extreme importance of this site in the history of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin.

Methodist

- Sites and structures associated with black Methodist congregations should be listed because of their significant contributions to the state's black cultural heritage. One such structure is the African Methodist Episcopal Church (now the Onaway Club) in Superior (Douglas County). The Norwegian Methodist Church at Cambridge (Dane County) should be listed due to its overwhelming historical significance as the oldest Norwegian Methodist church in the world. The Jenkinsville Primitive Methodist Church near the Town of Benton (Lafayette County) should be nominated for both its architectural and historical significance.

Moravian

- Because of the unusual historical significance of this denomination, associated properties should be listed as they are discovered.

Note: The Historic Preservation Division has established no registration priorities for those religious denominations excluded from the above list.

Temporal Boundaries: Late 1820s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Broad but moderate distribution, generally following the lines of settlement, with early concentrations in the southwestern, south central, southeastern, and lakeshore counties. Minor Baptist sects reflect greater spatial concentrations: Seventh Day Baptists were concentrated in Rock and Dane counties; Free Will Baptists were concentrated in Racine, Pierce, and Winnebago counties; Scandinavian Baptists were concentrated in those counties where Scandinavian settlement was greatest.

Related Study Units: Brothertown, Norwegian Settlement, Other Scandinavian Settlement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The largest denominational bloc in American Protestantism, consisting of 27 self-governing or independent groups, the Baptist Church claims more than 27 million members in 94,000 congregations across the country, each congregation independent of all the others (Mead 1980:34). The Baptists are the spiritual and ecclesiastical heirs of the Anabaptists, one of the four dissident sects which arose during the Reformation on the European continent, yet there is no formal connection between the Anabaptist groups and the Baptist churches today.

The modern Baptist church is traceable to the early seventeenth century when a separatist movement formed within Massachusetts' Puritanism. When Separatist minister Roger Williams arrived at the Massachusetts Bay colony in 1632, like-thinking colonists came together in the expression of their principles, bringing them under heavy fire from colony leadership. Williams and his company of believers were expelled from the Massachusetts colony but went on to inaugurate the Providence Plantations, which in 1639 led to the formation of what is generally recognized as the first Baptist Church in America. The group made irregular gains in converts until the years just preceding the Revolutionary War, when it entered the limelight as the leading militant protagonist of the move for the separation of church and state. Its membership grew over the next century, fueled by highly emotional and successful conversion campaigns. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, Baptists were the most numerous evangelistic group in America, although organized in several separately functioning "conventions".

BAPTISTS IN WISCONSIN

The denominational structure in Wisconsin was created by several Baptist groups, the foremost being the Northern Baptist Convention but also including the Scandinavian, Free Will, and Seventh Day Baptists. The Northern Baptist Convention, less conservative in theology and thought than the Southern Baptist Convention, broke from the Southern branch of the American Baptist Church in 1845 on the matter of mission expenditures. As an independent "convention," it grew to numerical superiority among all Baptists in the state of Wisconsin. In 1972, the Northern Baptists adopted the name "American Baptist Churches in the United States," which numbers 1.6 million members nationally (Mead 1980:37-39).

The Baptist faith found a devoted following among Scandinavians, including those in Wisconsin, numerous enough to establish an independent Swedish synod. The Swedish Baptist General Conference, founded in 1879, grew from early beginnings at Rock Island, Illinois (1852), when Swedish-born Gustaf Palmquist was baptized and ordained into the Baptist ministry. Today, the group has a following of 126,000 in 752 churches nationwide

(Mead 1980:44-45).

The Free Will Baptist movement, with roots in New Hampshire and North Carolina, was established during the eighteenth century. In 1935 the northern and southern strains came together to form the National Association of Free Will Baptists (Mead 1980:49).

The Seventh-Day Baptists are at variance with other Baptists in their adherence to Sabbatarianism (observing Saturday Sabbath). Englishman Stephen Mumford was the central figure in the church's genesis at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1672, with strong congregations quickly established in Philadelphia and New Jersey. From these points, the church moved westward. Today, they are a very small group with only 5,156 members in 60 congregations across the nation (Mead 1980:56).

Among all Baptist organizations, the formal denominational hierarchy is less important than the local church . (Despite their refusal to be bound by any organization other than the local congregation, Baptists have developed cooperative agencies in which the churches voluntarily unite for counsel and forms of work and expression.) They do not subscribe to a creed, recognize a human authority, or acknowledge a human founder, but place tremendous stress on personal conversion, usually with an accompanying emotional experience. Worship services are of the unliturgical "free" type and subject to the preferences of the congregation and minister. Further, each member insists on the right to interpret the Bible for himself and feels no obligation to accept the viewpoint of his pastor who is always "one among equals." Baptism is by immersion and postponed until one has reached the "age of accountability," thus called "believer Baptism."

Among Wisconsin Baptists, evangelism has been historically the keynote and high pitched religious emotionalism the tenor. By and large, Baptist pastors or "farmer-preachers," in Wisconsin had meager formal education and received little or no compensation for their spiritual services. Using their farms as a base for operation, farmer-preachers ordinarily travelled to neighboring communities, preaching in meadows, barns, homes, schools, and public halls. The Baptists, however, were less successful than the Methodist circuit riders in reaching the frontiersmen, for they lacked a central agency for directing and coordinating their activities (Leonard 1941:263). Of the frontier Baptist constituency, Sweet comments:

> The fact that the Baptist preachers were generally men with little education, the appeal of whose preaching was almost entirely to the emotions, naturally encouraged extravagances. . . . As a consequence persecution fell heavily upon them. Their mode of preaching and certain peculiar mannerisms brought ridicule. . . . The Baptists naturally found their largest following among the poor, illiterate, and ignorant people and they gained contempt of the upper-class Anglicans and Presbyterians (Sweet 1944:94-95).

Baptist history in Wisconsin followed the patterns of settlement, concentrating initially in southwestern Wisconsin and in the eastern lakeshore district. The Baptists began organizational work in Wisconsin in the lead mining district in the 1830s, but the first known prayer meeting was held as early as 1828 at Cassville when the Baptist captain and crew of a Mississippi steamer docked there and rallied the townspeople together.

Brothertown Indians who moved from New York to the Wisconsin territory in 1831 under the guidance of Benjamin Fowler, established a congregation in 1834 on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, signaling the first permanent establishment of the Baptist Church in Wisconsin. These Baptists achieved a foothold through the American Baptist Home Mission, organized at New York in 1832, which at an early date recognized the opportunity posed by the Brothertown relocation to the Wisconsin wilderness. Pastors and missionaries, all under the sponsorship of the Mission Society, ministered to the Indians of the Lake Winnebago area as well as to the white population settled between Sheboygan

and Kenosha. Leading the Wisconsin missionary effort was Richard Griffing, the first white Baptist minister in the territory who in 1836 founded the First Baptist congregation in Milwaukee. Benjamin Pierce, the second white Baptist minister in the territory, organized a Baptist Church at Rochester (Racine County) in 1837. Farther to the west, ministers Lake, Burgess, and Conrad pioneered congregations at East Troy, Mukwonago, Spring Prairie, Geneva, and Walworth in the period 1837 to 1842. Two Baptists from western New York scouted the Walworth County area in 1836 and sent back glowing accounts to their fellow church members in the East. A large company of these Baptists heeded the call, traveling to the vicinity of Delavan (Walworth County), where in 1841 they built the first Baptist Church edifice in Wisconsin (Killam 1944:18; Smith 1973:604-605).

The Baptist church grew in Wisconsin in the 1840s, with congregations established at Whitewater, founded by an elder named Winchell in 1842, and at Beloit soon after 1840. At that time, Winchell's missionary district encompassed Walworth, Racine, Milwaukee, and Rock counties (Smith 1896:68). In 1844, the Rev. James Delaney undertook evangelical work in Janesville, organizing the Janesville Baptist Church of 13 members in October of that year. During the formative period, meeting halls were scarce; the Janesville group, together with three other denominations, utilized the Rock County courthouse for religious services. Delaney extended his ministry to outlying rural districts, often traveling 30 to 35 miles to engage in a Baptist assembly. The Rock County churches, in Delaney's words, were "in the condition of a weakly infant" for years, although they gained new strength and vigor in the ministrations of succeeding pastors Galusha Anderson and E.J. Goodspeed (Smith 1896:72). The Rev. J.W. Fish, who entered the Wisconsin territory about 1846 and served pastorates at Lake Geneva, Racine, Fox Lake, and Waupaca, was another staunch builder of the local Baptist faith.

Poorly paid or volunteer churchmen formed the backbone of the Baptist effort to establish churches in Wisconsin, some of them supported and all of them directed by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. In 1834, the Illinois Baptist Convention extended its control to the Wisconsin Territory, and four years later, the Northwestern Baptist Convention, serving the contiguous area of northern Illinois and Wisconsin, was created from the Illinois convention. It was mandated by the missionary society that the young convention must work as an auxiliary branch of the society (Smith 1896:225). The Wisconsin Association of the Northwestern Convention was established in 1838 at Milwaukee. The six member congregations, representing the "entire Baptist strength of the Territory," included organizations from Milwaukee, Rochester (Racine County), Southport (Kenosha), Lisbon (Waukesha County), Sheboygan, and Jefferson. A missionary board, charged with the responsibility of overseeing new Baptist congregations throughout the territory, was appointed by the Association. By 1843, it reported 20 churches and 841 members within its jurisdiction, although only the congregation in Delavan owned a house of worship. Sunday schools were a keynote in the educational programs of the Baptist Church; by 1844, more than 250 pupils were reported in Wisconsin Baptist Sunday schools, many of them enjoying the benefits of library facilities. Wisconsin came to occupy its own missionary domain apart from Illinois in 1846, when it withdrew to form the Wisconsin Baptist General (State) Convention.

The "colporteur" system, employing circuit riding preachers, was used extensively among Wisconsin Baptists. This system, under the sponsorship of the Baptist General Tract Society (established 1824) was introduced to Wisconsin in 1846. "They visited families in out-of-the-way places, sold books, gave away tracts and Bibles, organized Sunday schools and churches, and helped plant many institutions that became firmly established. At first, these colporteurs traveled on foot, then on horseback, then in wagons, and finally in automobiles" (Killam 1944:127).

The Baptist Church in America was weakened somewhat in the years preceding the Civil War by a split between the Northern and Southern congregations. After the Civil War,

members of the various Baptist churches in Wisconsin made some attempts at centralizing their mission and publishing efforts and gathered for annual meetings. But the greatest step toward the revitalization of the church came in 1880 when the Rev. D.E. Halteman came to the office of superintendent of missions in Wisconsin. In his 13 year tenure, the missions office gave assistance to 286 churches and missions, gained 3,324 members by baptism and 2,298 by conversion, and made unprecendented expenditures for the erection of churches, chapels, and parsonages and for building improvements in Wisconsin (Smith 1896:243).

The support of higher education was an early concern for Wisconsin's churchmen who favored Beloit as a likely site for a theological institution. At the 1851 convention, however, they were met with opposition from the Michigan delegation which favored Kalamazoo, and the Illinois delegation which favored Belvidere. One of the fruits of this convention was the birth of the Northwestern Education Society, predecessor of the Baptists Theological Union, the latter charged with founding and building a theological seminary in Chicago (established 1867) (Smith 1896:339).

The Northwestern Education Society is not credited with any specific action toward the satisfaction of educational needs, but its formation provided the framework for the Wisconsin Education Society that appeared in 1854. The Society assumed the major responsibility for the investigating of prospective sites for the construction of an educational institution. Wayland Academy at Beaver Dam and the Wisconsin Female College at Fox Lake were constructed about 1855, but struggling with financial obligations, the Fox Lake facility passed to the board of trustees, chiefly Congregationalists, after a few years of operation, and in 1884 it was renamed Downer College. (See Congregational Church study unit.) Wayland Academy, for a time under the stewardship of the University of Chicago, became independent and incorporated in the winter of 1854-1855. The superintendent of missions of the Northern Convention subsequently assumed the office of field secretary for Wayland (Smith 1896:362-364).

A quarterly journal, The Wisconsin Baptist (1899), was the local denominational paper of the Northern Baptist Convention; it complemented a host of other Church tracts and papers that were published elsewhere and for a much broader audience.

Educational needs were also addressed by the smaller Baptist groups in the state. Milton Academy was for a time under the care and direction of the Seventh-Day Baptist Church, and Rochester Seminary, a Free Baptist School, commenced operation in 1867 under the management of the Honey Creek Free Baptist Quarterly Conference (Dexter 1933:201-202).

Ethnic Baptists

William E. Grimm, a colporteur, was sent to the Wisconsin territory in 1846 to work among the Germans. In the missions report of 1852, it is clear that his labors and those of other early colporteurs were well advanced in the German speaking communities. Grimm was a dominating figure in the story of German Baptists, founding and pastoring to churches in Milwaukee, Nashota (Waukesha County), the Town of Lebanon (Dodge County), and the Town of Wayne (Dodge County). By 1873, there were nine German Baptist churches in Wisconsin, and within the decade all were incorporated under the name "The Conference of the German Baptist Churches of the West" (Killam 1944:139).

Despite these gains, the state's Baptist leadership believed Scandinavians were more easily assimilated into the Baptist Church than Germans and thus allocated greater manpower and monetary resources to work in communities heavily populated by these immigrants. By and large the Scandinavian Baptists, including the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Baptists, worked together, uniting at various times in local and statewide conferences and conventions. Yet, each group continued its support of and association

with the Northern Baptist Convention at large. In addition, each group introduced its own denominational literature.

The first three Danish Baptist Churches in the United States were founded in Wisconsin in the late 1850s. Over the next 80 years, the church gradually increased its membership. In 1890, Wisconsin Danish Baptist churches were brought under the administrative control of the Danish Baptist General Conference of America. By 1930, half of the churches listed in the chart below had been discontinued. Of the six remaining congregations, Racine and Camp Douglas had the greatest membership (Danish Baptist General Conference of America 1931:177,277-280).

Danish Baptist Congregations Formed 1859-1917

Community	County	Year Established
Town of Raymond	Racine	1859
New Denmark	Brown	1859
Racine	Juneau	1864
Neenah	Winnebago	1867
Union Grove	Racine	1875
Camp Douglas	Racine	1876
Waupaca	Waupaca	1878
Eureka	Winnebago	1880
Oshkosh	Winnebago	1888
Washington Island	Door	1891
Milltown	Polk	1917

SOURCE:

Danish Baptist General Conference of America 1931:177, 277-280.

Baptist work among the Norwegians began in the 1840s in LaSalle County, Illinois, an early receiving point for the migratory streams of settlers that passed into Wisconsin from Scandanavia. In Wisconsin, work among the Norwegians was intimately tied to the work among the Danes, and in 1864 their resources were pooled in the "Danish-Norwegian Baptist Conference of the North-West." The first strictly Norwegian Baptist congregation in Wisconsin was established in 1866 by the Rev. Westergaard. The same year, Westergaard established a second Norwegian Baptist church at Halfway Creek in the La Crosse Valley. Between 1869 and 1910, several other Norwegian Baptist congregations were established (Stiansen 1939:34-56; 116-139).

Norwegian Baptist Congregations
Founded 1869-1910

Community	County	Year Established
La Crosse	La Crosse	1869
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	1870
Primrose	Dane	1870s
Racine	Racine	1879
Manitowoc	Manitowoc	uncertain
Dorchester	Clark	uncertain
Woodville	St. Croix	uncertain
Rio	Columbia	uncertain
Eau Claire	Eau Claire	uncertain
Washington Island (with the Danes)	Door	uncertain
Barron	Barron	uncertain
Blair	Trempealeau	uncertain
Baldwin	St. Croix	uncertain

SOURCE:

Stiansen 1939:34-56, 116-139.

The Wisconsin Danish-Norwegian Baptist Conference, dating from 1900, had 16 churches (seven Danish and nine Norwegian) and a total membership of 900 at the turn of the century (Stiansen 1939:185-186). By 1910, four of the Norwegian Baptist churches had dissolved, four more were threatened, and only those in La Crosse, Woodville, Barron, and Blair recorded a solid existence. In the same year those churches passed into the care of the Norwegian Baptist Conference of America, while remaining with the American Baptist-Northern Convention for financial and missionary cooperation (Stiansen 1939:249-250, 293-293).

Burnett County, a focal point of Swedish Baptist activity, was home to the first Wisconsin representatives of that group which was led by a dominating figure in the Baptist Church in Wisconsin, Pastor John Ring. On an extended journey out of Chicago, Ring organized congregations of that persuasion in 1869 at Trade Lake (Burnett County) and Wood River (Burnett County) (Ahlstrom 1924:95-146). These were followed between 1875 and 1920 by congregations in several northwestern counties, (Ahlstrom 1924:168-204, 223-255).

Swedish Baptist Congregations
Founded 1875-1909

Community	County	Year Established
Prairie	Barron	1875
Stockholm	Pepin	1879
Ogema	Price	1880
Grantsburg	Burnett	1884
Mudhen Lake	Burnett	1891
Trimbelle	Pierce	1892
Lund	Pepin	1893
Salem	Polk	1894
Webster	Burnett	1897
Bunyan	Polk	1904
Falun	Burnett	1909

SOURCE:

Ahlstrom 1924:168-204, 223-255.

In short, by 1910 at least 13 Swedish Baptist organizations had formed in a few northwestern counties, encouraged after 1890 by the newly formed Northwestern Wisconsin Mission Society.

In the southwestern lead district, the Welsh for many years maintained a Welsh Baptist Association, but as populations shifted, the associations dissolved. Several Polish Baptist churches, the largest at Pound (Marinette County), also cooperated with the Northern Baptist Convention. Locally, black Baptists came together in a fellowship known as the General Association, though they were also bound to other Baptist groups in the Convention. The first black Baptist church in the state appeared in Racine in 1857, and by 1944, the black Baptist churches were clustered in four cities: New Zion in Beloit (1917), Second Baptist in Kenosha (1919), Mount Zion in Madison (1911), and Calvary (1895), Mount Zion (1920), and Galilee (1920) in Milwaukee (Killam 1944:142).

SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

The creation of the Southern Baptist Convention was a direct result of the slavery controversy which eventually helped precipitate the Civil War. Friction between Northern and Southern elements over this issue had been building since the 1820s and the Baptist Church soon found itself caught up in the controversy. A bitter debate developed among the board members of the foreign missions and by the early 1840s it had become evident that the board would not accept slaveholders as missionaries. This question of missionaries and mission money was the immediate cause of the split. The Northern Baptists were the first to suggest separation; within a month the Southern Baptist Convention was organized with its own boards for foreign and home missions.

In addition to the slavery issue there had been a long-standing disagreement between Northern and Southern Baptists over the nature of denominational organization. Baptists under northern leadership had never had a central denominational organization; instead there were separate and independent organizations for various areas of cooperative efforts such as the home and foreign missions. Southerners, on the other hand, had desired to have a single controlling agency administering these activities. From its inception the Southern Baptist Convention was such an organization. In contrast, the Northern Baptist had to wait until 1907 to form a convention uniting their societies.

The Southern Baptist Convention was nearly devastated by the Civil War and the withdrawal of black Baptists to form their own convention. But the Southern Baptist Convention survived and experienced an amazing resurgence in popularity. In 1845 there were 351,951 members in the convention, of whom 130,000 were black; by 1890 there were 1,235,908 members, all of them white. By 1972 there were over 12,000,000 members in over 34,500 churches (including black churches related to the convention) (Mead 1980:39-40).

Southern Baptists are considered to be one of the fastest growing religious groups in the country. New churches are being established not only in the South, but in the North, East, and West as well.

In Wisconsin, the Southern Baptist Convention has made relatively recent inroads. The first Southern Baptist church in the state, Immanuel Baptist Church (now Midvale), was established at Madison in 1953. Other churches soon followed and in 1956 the Wisconsin-Minnesota Baptist Association was organized with seven churches and 411 members. In 1969 the Minnesota-Wisconsin Baptist Fellowship was organized in La

superseded by the Minnesota-Wisconsin Southern Baptist Convention with its headquarters in Bloomington, Minnesota. At the time of its formation the Minnesota-Wisconsin Southern Baptist Convention could claim 108 chapels and churches and a membership of 11,500.

MINOR BAPTIST SECTS

The Rev. Rufus Cheney, a native of New Hampshire, brought the first Free Will Baptist organization to New Berlin (Waukesha County) in 1840; congregations followed at Honey Creek in Walworth County (1841) and Janesville (1841). After its peak in 1871 with 74 churches and 3,085 members, the Free Will Baptists rapidly declined as membership in the Northern Baptist Convention grew. Nevertheless, the work of the Free Will Baptists closely paralleled the work of the Northern Baptists: they organized a local association, called the "Yearly Meeting," in 1845, and within a year had 18 churches and 461 members, principally in Rock and Green counties. For three-quarters of a century the Free Will and Northern Baptists worked independently of each other, but the dwindling numbers of Free Will Baptists prompted the two groups to pool their resources in a 1911 merger (Smith 1973:605).

Seventh-Day Baptists were first tallied in the federal census of 1860, when three organizations appeared in Waushara County. By 1890, congregations were active in Rock (three), Dane (two), Burnett, Chippewa, Green Lake, Walworth, and Waushara counties.

From a peak of 250 churches in 1890, the growth of the Baptist Church in Wisconsin has slowed considerably, although Wisconsin membership in the large American Baptist Convention has grown since 1950.

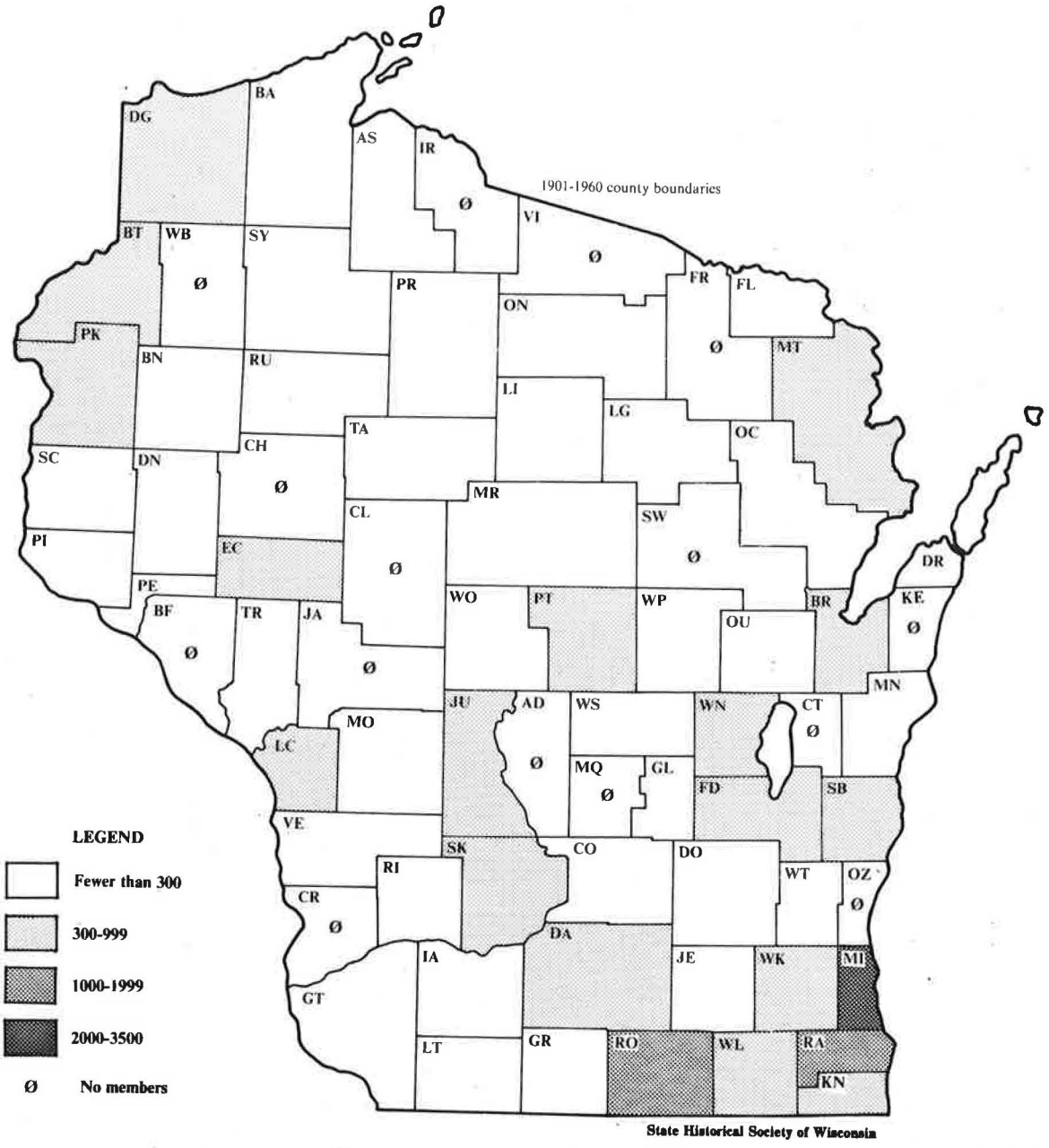
Baptist Denominations in Wisconsin

	NORTHERN	FREE WILL	SEVENTH DAY	(BLACK)
Year	Organizations/ Members	Organizations/ Members	Organizations/ Members	Organizations/ Members
1850	49/*	*/*	*/*	*/*
1870	145/*	67/*	*/*	*/*
1890	192/14,152	48/1,683	10/1,078	*/*
1906	206/19,414	36/1,287	6/955	2/60
1916	208/20,425	*/*	7/1,039	*/*
1926	170/20,096	*/*	6/891	8/2,184
1936	143/19,627	14/2,095	5/888	14/2,095

*figures not available

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1853:pt. 2, 934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:145-211; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
National Council of the Churches of Christ. Churches and Church Membership in the United States, 1957, series C, nos. 18-19.



Members of the Northern Baptist Church in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 701-702.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, chapels, camps, missions, parsonages, educational facilities, homes of prominent Baptist church leaders and laymen.

Locational Pattern of Resource Types. The Northern Baptist Convention, the largest Baptist organization in Wisconsin, had broad but moderate representation throughout the state, with significant concentrations in the southeastern and south central sectors of the state. Northern Baptist denominations associated with specific ethnic groups exhibit more specific concentrations:

German Baptists were concentrated in the city of Milwaukee as well as Dodge and Waukesha counties.

Danish Baptists were concentrated in the cities and small towns of Racine, Juneau, and Winnebago counties and to a somewhat lesser extent in Brown, Waupaca, Door, and Polk counties.

Norwegian Baptists were located in the cities of Milwaukee, La Crosse, Racine, Eau Claire, and Manitowoc as well as the smaller communities of Clark, St. Croix, Columbia, Door, Barron, and Trempealeau counties.

Swedish Baptists were heavily concentrated in Burnett County, with lesser concentrations in Pepin, Polk, and Barron counties.

Welsh Baptists maintained a Welsh Baptist Association in the southwestern lead district during the late nineteenth century.

Black Baptists tended to locate in urban areas, establishing their first congregation in the state at Racine. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, other Black Baptist congregations were established at Milwaukee, Madison, Beloit, and Kenosha. After World War II, there was an influx of southern blacks into Wisconsin. Many of them are affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention.

Minor Baptist sects can be found in various counties. Seventh Day Baptist congregations were concentrated in Waushara, Rock, and Dane counties. Free Will Baptists had early representation in Waukesha, Rock, and Green counties, and later concentrations in Racine, Pierce, and Winnebago counties.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys have been undertaken. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters of the intensive survey reports provide some information on Baptist churches for specific localities. Books, such as Femtiofem ari vestra Wisconsin by Louis Ahlstrom and History of the Norwegian Baptists in America by P. Stiansen, provide specific historical information, including sites, founding dates, and early church leaders, relating to various ethnic Baptist congregations within the state (see bibliography).

Survey and Research Needs. Because the Baptist denomination found a strong following among Scandinavian immigrants to Wisconsin, significant sites and structures affiliated with Norwegian, Swedish, and especially Danish Baptist congregations should be identified. More research is needed regarding black Baptist congregations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; significant sites and structures associated with these black congregations should be identified.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

First Baptist Church (1912, 1935, 1963), 416 Niagara St., Eau Claire, Eau Claire County (NRHP 1983, Randall Park Historic District, Eau Claire MRA)

First Baptist Church (1872), 247 Wisconsin Avenue, Waukesha, Waukesha County (NRHP 1983, Waukesha MRA)

Context Considerations. Most Baptist affiliated sites and structures nominated to the National Register will possess local significance. Some structures, however, may possess statewide or national significance, e.g. the earliest Danish Baptist churches in the United States (if extant). Because of strong historical ethnic associations, architectural integrity considerations for certain ethnic Baptist affiliated structures may not be as high as for some of the larger religious denominations within the state.

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Temporal Boundaries: 1660s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Heavy statewide distribution, with nearly half of the state's Catholic population situated within the ten county area of the Milwaukee Archdiocese (1984).

Related Study Units: German Settlement, French and Swiss Settlement, Low Country Settlement, Eastern European Settlement, Polish Settlement, Southern European Settlement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Roman Catholic Church is the most centrally organized religious entity in the Christian world. According to Church doctrine, Jesus Christ instituted the Church through the first apostles, selecting Peter as "chief of the apostles." Thus in the view of Roman Catholics, the Church continues the apostolic mission of Jesus' first disciples, with the pope and the bishops exercising a special ministry of authority and servanthood to the Christian community. Church polity evolved over the centuries to include several tiers of spiritual and administrative power, beginning with the pope who resides in Rome, a city traditionally honored as the scene of the martyrdoms of saints Peter and Paul. Below the papal office are ranged bishops, priests, and deacons. These ministries constitute the ranks of traditional, hierarchical authority in the Roman Catholic communion. Additional honorific offices such as cardinal and monsignor also became part of the life of the church over the course of time, but they do not have the scriptural and sacramental sanction of the aforementioned offices. Indeed, apart from the prestige associated with such honors, the only actual point of differentiation between a cardinal and an ordinary bishop is the former's right to serve as an elector for papal elections. Similarly, "monsignor" was an honorary title given, at one time, to individual priests who held positions of authority under a bishop, or who distinguished themselves in some meritorious fashion. Specifically selected assistant or "auxiliary" bishops help the so-called "ordinary" bishop in larger dioceses by attending to administrative and ceremonial functions. Sometimes these auxiliaries succeed to the role of "ordinary" upon the death or resignation of the incumbent.

The ministry of authority exercised by these hierarchical figures consists in formally defining and teaching church doctrine with the authority of the apostles. In this capacity, the pope, as visible head of the Roman Catholic community, has a special role to define orthodox teaching and "to confirm his brothers in the faith." However he does this only in union with his brother bishops throughout the world (collegiality) with whom he is expected to consult and dialogue. This is the essence of the much-debated doctrine of infallibility. The pope can only express the faith of the entire Christian community when he speaks infallibly. Bishops also share this teaching authority by virtue of their episcopal ordination and the confirmation of their appointments to office by the pope. Every residential bishop is like a shepherd in his own jurisdiction (archdiocese or diocese) with the responsibility to teach, correct, and serve those over whom he has spiritual authority. At times, bishops of a given nation or region will exercise this teaching authority collectively. The bishops of the United States have done this on a number of occasions, most prominently in 1919, when they issued a major document on social reconstruction. Recently (1986), significant pronouncements on nuclear war and the American economy have continued this tradition.

The chief administrative units of the Roman Catholic Church are the following:

archdioceses, dioceses, and parishes. Under these three categories the activities of religious personnel and eccelesiastically sponsored institutions are organized and coordinated. The archdiocese and diocese are governed by archbishops and bishops respectively (another honorific distinction), and parishes are administered by priests who are specially designated as pastors. The pastors of parishes are often assisted by other ordained clergy, members of religious communities, deacons, and lay persons.

Religious orders are communities of either men or women who follow their Christian vocation by living a life of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. Although orders vary in numbers, life-styles, and ministries, there are basically two kinds: active and contemplative. Contemplative groups of men (monks) and women (nuns) live a life apart from the "world" in a monastic community that centers its life around liturgical and private prayer, silence, private study, and some kind of financially sustaining work. Active religious groups, organized in larger jurisdictions known as "provinces," engage in a wide variety of educational, philanthropic, and charitable work in the world at large. Religious men, active or contemplative, view their calling as religious as distinct from a call to the priesthood. Hence, those religions who do not choose to be ordained are generally called "brothers." Religious women, under current church law, may not be ordained to the priesthood. Although active religious women are frequently called "nuns," technically speaking they are "sisters," the former term being applied exclusively to religious women in contemplative communities. Virtually all who aspire to serve the Church as religious must undergo a period of probationary membership called a "novitiate." Upon completion of this period of initiation, which may last one or two years, the candidate either takes voews, or resumes a life "in the world."

Those who discern a calling to the priestly life need not join a religious community. A large number of priests commit themselves to service in a given diocese and are thus known as "secular" or diocesan priests. Aspirants to the priesthood undertake a demanding program of study and supervised practical experience to prepare themselves for the diverse and exacting tasks of the life to which they are called. Usually, four years of collage, and four to five years of additional study are required before a person is considered ready for ordination. These studies include in-depth instruction in scripture, systematic theology, morality, liturgy, church history and law as well as "hands-on" practical experience in supervised ministerial situations. Upon ordination, a priest is assigned to a parish as a junior or associate pastor, or else he is given some form of specialized ministry such as administration, work in the ecclesiastical court system, or education.

The Catholic Church has the single largest private school system inthe United States. The majority of these institutions are parish-operated elementary schools, at one time almost exclusively staffed by religious sisterhoods. The Church also operates high schools, colleges, and universities. The ownership and administration of these institutions varies, but often they are under the control of the religious communities who founded them.

The Church also sponsor a network of social welfare organizations that include hospitals, nursing homes, orphanages, and shelters for the indigent. These too are of mixed ownership and administration. While religious orders and dioceses operate many of these institutions, groups of zealous lay persons such as the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Knights of Columbus have sponsored and generously subsidized monumental efforts on behalf of the poor and needy. At this writing (1986), the number of priests and religious are steadily declining. The institutional commitments of these groups are coming increasingly into the hands of lay persons. (Mead 1980: 223-230; Steven Avella, letter to Randy Wallar, Historic Preservation Division, May 8, 1986).

In addition to the Roman Catholic Church, two other churches bearing the name, customs, and teachings of Catholicism have been active in Wisconsin: the Old Catholic Church and the Polish National Catholic Church. The Old Catholic Churches of America represented a

small number of religious communities that rejected the authority of the Roman Catholic papacy but retained the basic principles of Catholic doctrine and practice.

The visit of Prince Bishop de Landas Berghes of Scotland to North America in the nineteenth century led to a splintering within the Old Catholic Church. As a result, three dissenting Catholic groups emerged. One of these, the North American Old Roman Catholic Church, had three congregations in Wisconsin in 1936. A disagreement between the two individuals whom Berghes consecrated as bishops for the American branch of the Old Catholic Church prompted a split within the church that caused the continental European Old Catholic Church to sever relations with the North American branch (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1941:1297-1299; 1304-1305).

Representatives of a number of independent Polish Catholic congregations, convening in Scranton, Pennsylvania in 1904, laid the foundations of the Polish National Catholic Church. In its rejection of the principle of the infallibility of the pope on matters of faith and discipline, the Polish National Catholic Church stands in sharp contrast to the Roman Catholic Church. It is the only Catholic Church in existence that allows a married priesthood, and it also strictly upholds the rights of women in administrative offices. The highest authority of the Polish National Catholic Church is vested in a synod. Central power is delegated to bishops and a grand council that consists of both clerical and lay persons. In Wisconsin, the first Polish National Catholic congregation had 100 members in 1906. The church grew slowly over the next three decades. By 1936, ten Polish National congregations were recorded and had a combined membership of 3,753 people. The church has experienced declining membership since that date. In 1980, eight congregations with a combined membership of fewer than 1,500 members were recorded (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910:288-291; 1941:306-311; Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980:1-4).

The character of Catholic life in Wisconsin has been overwhelmingly German. German speaking immigrants were in the majority among all Catholics in nineteenth century Wisconsin. From the creation of the Milwaukee diocese in 1843 to the onset of the "equality campaign" after the turn of the century, every episcopal appointment in the state's three dioceses had been drawn from the German Catholic community (including Austrian and Swiss German). Under the leadership of Bishop John Martin Henni from 1843 to 1881, traditional German Catholicism flourished; and the Wisconsin diocese quickly assumed a reputation for catering to the needs of the German speaking settlers, a distinction it held throughout most of the nineteenth century.

Born in Switzerland in 1805, Henni was ordained in Cincinnati in 1829. He became pastor of German Catholics in Cincinnati (1834) where he founded and was editor of the first German Catholic newspaper in the United States (1837-1843). In 1844, Henni was consecrated bishop of the newly formed diocese of Wisconsin. "In this position, he helped encourage German Catholic immigration to the state," battled nativism, recruited teaching orders, helped found Marquette University, and established German Catholic newspapers (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:168).

As of 1896, 172 of the 382 Catholic parishes founded in Wisconsin were of German origin, with slightly more than half (87) located in the Milwaukee diocese. The Irish, also strong in the Milwaukee diocese, constituted just under 30 percent of the total number of Catholic parishes statewide. The French (41 parishes), Poles (29 parishes), and Czechs (13 parishes) fell behind the Germans and Irish. But with the increase in southern and eastern European immigration after the turn of the century, the founding of parishes for Italian and Slavic Catholics picked up markedly. (See accompanying table, "Catholic Churches founded in Wisconsin by nationality).

Catholics are distributed heavily across the state but are particularly strong in the eastern portion of Wisconsin. In a recent Church census, the Milwaukee Archdiocese, with

684,311 members, was clearly the largest, embracing 43 percent of the state's total Catholic population. The Green Bay diocese, with 350,233 members, ran a distant second, and the Superior and La Crosse dioceses recorded a combined membership of 552,260 (The Milwaukee Sentinel, May 26, 1984).

Diocesan Boundaries. In 1674, when the See of Quebec was granted jurisdiction over all French possessions in North America, the Foreign Mission Society of Paris quickly undertook missionary work. In 1698, it received permission to establish missions on both sides of the Mississippi River. "This was far flung territory for the bishops of Quebec, but it explains why the early missionaries made so many arduous trips to that center" (Rummel 1976:34). Following the Treaty of Paris (1783), the bishops of Quebec were restricted to church work in Canada.

Until their suppression in 1773, the Jesuits were the primary clerical presence in America. In 1879, Father John Carroll, a former Jesuit, was appointed as the Bishop of Baltimore. Thus, the United States received its first resident bishop. The Bardstown (a Catholic center in Kentucky) bishopric was carved from the Baltimore district in 1808 and was followed successively by the Cincinnati (1821), Detroit (1833), and Dubuque (1837) bishoprics. The westward thrust of settlement was mirrored directly in the early diocesan organization in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin Territory, which had passed successively under the jurisdiction of the Cincinnati and Detroit dioceses, was separated from the latter in 1843. Milwaukee was designated as its episcopal seat of authority.

The Green Bay diocese, which was granted jurisdiction over the northeast quarter, and the La Crosse diocese, which embraced territory north and west of the Wisconsin River, were delineated in 1868. At that time, the balance of the state remained within the Milwaukee diocese which was elevated to the rank of Archdiocese in February 1875. In 1905, the Superior diocese, the fourth administrative unit of the Church in Wisconsin, was carved from sections of the Green Bay and La Crosse dioceses. (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942). In 1946, the Diocese of Madison was created from sections of Milwaukee and La Crosse dioceses.

Wisconsin's first exposure to the Catholic Church was provided by French Jesuit missionaries who commenced their labors among the Indian nations in the northern stretches along Lake Superior about 1660. The first missionary to set foot in Wisconsin was Rene Menard, an able Jesuit and well known among the Huron Indians before their dispersion to the area west of Lake Michigan. Menard, determined to resume his ministerial duties among the resettled Hurons near the headwaters of the Black River, was guided to the territory in 1660 by Ottawa tribesmen and traders. But he was captured by the Sioux enroute and never reached the settlement of Christian Huron.

Menard was succeeded by fellow Jesuit, Claude Allouez (appointed in 1663 as vicar-general of the Midwest), who designated La Pointe or Chequamegon Bay, near Ashland, as the pivotal point of his apostolate. It was there that the first mass in Wisconsin was celebrated among a band of Christian Hurons. Allouez's progress among the Indians was encouraging, and in 1669, his superior sent Father Claude Dablon, designated superior of western missions with headquarters in Sault Ste. Marie, to reinforce Allouez's efforts. Father Jacques Marquette, who had established a mission at Sault Ste. Marie the year before, took his field of labor to La Pointe. Allouez, in turn, shifted his attention from La Pointe to tribes along the Fox River and Green Bay. "In his first two years Allouez travelled extensively by canoe and by foot, visiting Indian villages on the Menominee, Oconto, lower and upper Fox, and Wolf rivers, on Lake Winnebago, and on the shore of Green Bay" (Smith 1973:27).

In the winter of 1671-1672, Allouez and another Jesuit priest, Louis Andre, established the first permanent mission house, known as St. Francois Xavier, on the Fox River at De Pere. Missionary efforts accelerated throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century but eclipsed completely in 1728 when the campaign of the Jesuit missionaries (Menard,

Allouez, Marquette, Andre, Silvy, Albanel, Nouvel, Enjabran, and Chardon) came to a close. The order was suppressed in 1773, and missionary activity in the Territory had nearly ceased by the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Thus, following years of work by the early Jesuit missionaries in the territory of New France, "there was no resident priest in the state of Wisconsin for almost a century" (Smith 1973:607). The Jesuits' prime objective was "the mass conversion of tribes," a goal that was never realized. Yet, their contributions constitute a full and rich chapter in the history of Catholicism in the state. Briefly, the Jesuits have been credited with the introduction of "an enlightened geography, a systematic study of tribal languages, and an orderly introduction of European gentilities among their converts" (Rummel 1976:31).

From 1728 until 1823, itinerant missionaries from Detroit and St. Louis, who concentrated their ministries in the Green Bay and Prairie du Chien areas, were the only missionaries in the Wisconsin region. Chief among these itinerant missionaries were Benedict Joseph Flaget, the first bishop of the West; Edward D. Fenwick, the bishop of Detroit and the first bishop to visit Wisconsin; and Mathias Loras, the first bishop of Dubuque. Gabriel Richard, vicar-general in Detroit, was considered as one of the more energetic missionaries of his day. In 1821, he began a church in Green Bay, a project that was completed four years later by fellow missionary brother, Vincent Badin. On March 12, 1826, 84 Catholic families were recorded in the Green Bay area (Rummel 1976:38).

Bishop Edward D. Fenwick, whose bishopric stretched over Ohio, Michigan, and the Northwest Territory, laid the foundation of a permanent priesthood in Wisconsin by ordaining three men who would ultimately spend most of their priestly lives serving the Catholic Church in Wisconsin. On February 3, 1829, he ordained John Martin Henni and Martin Kundig, both German, into the Catholic priesthood. A year later, on September 5, 1830, he ordained Brother Samuel Mazzuchelli, an Italian Dominican.

The personal record of Mazzuchelli, "the individual whose missionary concern was first on the shores of Green Bay, then at the portage of the Wisconsin River, and finally on the banks of the Mississippi River," is the most complete of the early missionary figures. Because of the extreme breadth and nature of his contributions, his story deserves elaboration (Rummel 1976:53). Mazzuchelli was the "first continuing pastor" of the Catholic Church in the state since the departure of the Jesuit priests from Green Bay in 1728. In his 30 year tenure, he founded a great number of congregations or formed the nuclei of congregations in a broad band stretching from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien. (See Rummel 1976:54 for a complete list).

Throughout the early 1830s, Mazzuchelli labored in Mackinac, founding St. Ann's Church in 1831. Through his efforts in Green Bay, a combination church-school (St. John's) developed among the Menominee Indians in 1831. Due largely to the dedication of Bishop Fenwick, the Green Bay mission grew rapidly in numbers of converts and priests. By 1834, there were more than 1,000 Christianized tribesmen and locals in the mission. The Menominee dispersal to the west forced Mazzuchelli's mission to relocate under the direction of his successor, the Rev. Theodore J. Van den Broek, to Little Chute on the lower Fox River in 1835.

The heavy concentration of missionary efforts in the Territory's eastern sector prompted Mazzuchelli to transfer his missionary field to northern Iowa, Illinois, and southern Wisconsin in 1835. He paid particular attention to the mining district of Wisconsin's southwest and established early congregations at Prairie du Chien (St. Gabriel 1836), Potosi (St. Thomas 1838), Shullsburg (St. Matthew 1841), and New Diggings (St. Augustine 1844). He also founded the first religious order of women in Wisconsin, the Sinsinawa Dominican Sisters, in 1847 and at least eight Catholic schools. The most notable of these schools were St. Clara Academy (1852-1970), the first Catholic college in

Wisconsin, and Sinsinawa Mound College for Men (1846-1865), the first Catholic secondary school in Wisconsin. Through his study of traditional Indian culture, the translation of liturgy into native tongues, and the publication of the Menominee Almanac and the Winnebago Prayerbook, Mazzuchelli also played a dynamic role in the introduction of Christianity to the culture of the Chippewa, Menominee, and Winnebago Indians of the state (Rummel 1976:53).

The development of the Catholic Church "on the Mississippi side of the state" began in earnest in 1839 with the arrival in Prairie du Chien of Bishop Mathias Loras, the first bishop of Dubuque, the Very Rev. Joseph Cretin, later the first bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, and the Very Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli, Bishop Loras' vicar-general. At that point, there were nearly 700 Catholics, the majority of them French, in the Prairie du Chien area. In his memoirs, Mazzuchelli credited Bishop Loras with laying "the first stone of the Church of the Archangel Gabriel (1839) in Prairie du Chien, "the oldest church building still in daily use in Wisconsin," and Cretin, as continuing churchman in the parish, with building "the present excellent condition" of the congregation. The work of Loras and Cretin was continued after 1840 by zealous seminarians, August Ravaux, James Causse, and Lucien Galtier, who were responsible for broadening the focus of the Catholic Church in that region.

Concurrent with Mazzuchelli's ministering in the mining district, the Reverend Patrick O'Kelley, the first resident pastor of the southeastern region of the Wisconsin Territory, took up his labors in Milwaukee (May 1839). After founding St. Peter's Church (Milwaukee) to accommodate the city's heterogeneous Catholic population, chiefly Irishmen, Germans, and Frenchmen, O'Kelley extended his work to Racine, Mt. Pleasant, Rochester, Burlington, Southport (Kenosha), Pleasant Prairie and other points in the southeast. In the meantime, factional strife between German and Irish elements tore the fabric of his Milwaukee parish. The dissension prompted Bishop Peter P. Lefevere (Detroit) to replace O'Kelley with the bilingual German-born priest, Martin Kundig, in 1842. By arranging for Mass in both English and German and organizing church sponsored societies for each group, Kundig quickly and satifactorily accommodated the two factions. With the assistance of two Irish born priests, Thomas Morrissey and Peter McLaughlin, Kundig extended his ministry outward from the focus of his apostolate in Milwaukee, visiting fellow Catholics in Walworth, Rock, and Jefferson counties. After only 10 months in the field, Kundig organized 25 Catholic groups. By the late 1850s, he had extended his ministrations from Milwaukee into the more distant counties of Dodge, Dane, Columbia, Green Lake, and Iowa (McDonald 1954:199). It was chiefly through his efforts that the Wisconsin Territory was designated as a separate diocese in 1843, with Milwaukee as the episcopal see and John Martin Henni as its first bishop.

When Henni arrived in Milwaukee in 1844, his new diocese was staffed by only six resident priests: Frederick Baraga at La Pointe, Fleurimont Bonduel at Green Bay, Theodore J. Van den Broek at Little Chute, and McLaughlin, Morrissey, and Kundig in the southeast. Even though pitifully understaffed, the Roman Catholic population of Wisconsin had grown dramatically, from only 7,000 in 1842 to more than 25,000 by 1845, 58 percent of which were Irish, English, Scottish, and American (chiefly residing in the lead region). An additional 22 percent were French, 11 percent were German, and 8.5 percent were Indian (McDonald 1954:198). The following chart displays the growth of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin from 1850 to 1980.

Roman Catholics in Wisconsin: Organization and Membership Figures

Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850	64	no data
1860	205	no data
1870	329	no data
1890	646	249,164
1906	796	505,264
1916	908	594,836
1926	984	657,511
1936	924	741,563
1980	1,005	1,556,942

SOURCES:

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1850, 1866, 1870, 1890, 1910, 1941, 1919, 1930.

As German Catholic immigrants flowed into the state, they gained numerical primacy over the Irish. Because most were unable to understand or speak English, linguistic and nationality problems became a pressing concern for the Catholic clergy. Although the presiding bishops attempted to provide each parish with a priest of the predominant nationality, satisfaction of the entire flock was seldom a reality. A minority was always free to dissent, secede, and drift in its own direction. Further, Wisconsin's Catholic foundations received most of their support from three European mission societies: the Lyons Propagation of the Faith in France (1822), the Leopoldine Society in Austria (1829), and the Ludwig Society in Bavaria (1838) (Rummel 1976:50). Such multinational support may have either ameliorated or exacerbated of clerical personality conflicts and interethnic tensions. The emergence of ethnic parishes in Green Bay was a scenario repeated often in the development of the Catholic Church in other communities. St. John's Church (1831) was joined in 1854 by a German Catholic church, the Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin. In the next decade, two additional and competing national churches appeared a few blocks away. They were the Dutch St. Willibrords (1864) and the Irish St. Patrick's. "This problem involving nationality conflict ...," notes McDonald, "continued to be troublesome throughout most of the nineteenth century" (McDonald 1954:204). The following chart shows the number of churches established by various ethnic groups by 1896 in the three Wisconsin dioceses: Milwaukee, Green Bay, and La Crosse:

Catholic Churches Founded in Wisconsin by Nationality as of 1896

	Milwaukee Diocese	Green Bay Diocese	La Crosse Diocese
German	87	37	48
Irish	65*	26	22
French	12	23	6
Polish	13	12	4
Bohemian	3	9	1
Dutch	0	6	1
Italian	2	0	2
Beligian	0	2	0
Swiss	1	0	0

*English used exclusively; typically had Irish pastors.

SOURCE:

Rummel 1976 (See bibliography).

In the spheres of social work, education, and religion proper, ten male orders and 24 female orders have advanced the mission of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin. Each is described below, with a brief description of principal missions and institutional associations, and in a few cases, a comment on their local beginnings. Apart from the primary mission fields listed below, the majority of these orders also founded and were entrusted with the care of numerous parishes and parish programs throughout the state.

CATHOLIC ORDERS IN WISCONSIN

The following information was summarized from History of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin by Leo Rummel (pp. 126-196).

Jesuits. Active in Wisconsin during the French period; returned in 1855 to Milwaukee area; the German-Swiss element predominated in the nineteenth century, but throughout the twentieth century, most have been of German and Irish descent.

Major Institutions

-Marquette University, Milwaukee, opened 1881.
-Marquette High School, Milwaukee.
-Campion College, Prairie du Chien (now closed).
-Campion High School (operated 1880-1975), Prairie du Chien.
-Retreat House for the Laity, Oshkosh.
-St. Gabriel's Parish, Prairie du Chien.
-Gesa Parish, Milwaukee.

Capuchins. Established in the United States at Mount Calvary, Wisconsin in 1857; dominated by Dutch and Belgians between Appleton and Green Bay, by Swiss in western Wisconsin; includes scattered German and Irish elements.

Major Institutions

-Holy Cross Friary, Mount Cavalry (Fond du Lac County), founded 1857.
Presently St. Lawrence Friary.
-First Convent Latin School, Mount Cavalry, opened 1860.
Parent of present St. Lawrence Seminary.
-St. Francis Friary and Church, Milwaukee, founded 1869.
-St. Benedict the Moor Mission, Milwaukee, opened c. 1912.
-St. Anthony Hospital, Milwaukee, founded 1930.
-St. Elizabeth Diocesan High School, Milwaukee, 1926-1930.
Presently Messmer High School (1930).
-Justice and Peace Center, Milwaukee (now closed).
-Pre-Novitiate House of St. Rose Parish, Milwaukee, 1972.
-Monte Alverno Retreat Center, Appleton, dedicated 1935.
-St. Anthony Friary, Marathon (Marathon County), dedicated 1919.
Converted to St. Anthony Retreat Center in 1970.
-House of Prayer, 1973. Transferred to Wisconsin Dells, then to Monona Drive in Madison where it is known as San Damiano Friary.

Franciscan Friars. Established in Wisconsin at Pulaski (its present headquarters--Brown

County) by Brother Augustine Zeytz who received a free grant of land from Milwaukee land agent, John J. Hof, in 1888 "contingent upon the erection of a monastery, novitiate, and church whose construction was to have begun within a year" (Rummel 1976:138). Chiefly a Polish order.

Major Institutions

-Assumption Friary, Pulaski, c. 1888. Began publishing the Polish
-Franciscan Monthly in 1907.
-Pulaski High School-Minor Seminary, Pulaski, 1901.
-St. Francis College and Friary, near Burlington (Kenosha County), 1931 (now a retreat house).
-Queen of Peace Novitiate, Lake Geneva, 1951 (now closed). Includes Provincial Library (1962).
-Pulaski special school for the training of lay brothers, Pulaski, established 1952.
-St. Bonaventure Prep School, Sturtevant (Racine County). (now closed).

Norbertine Fathers. Representatives of the Order arrived in Wisconsin in 1893 and assumed the care of Belgian parishes in the state.

Major Institutions

-Archconfraternity of St. Joseph and the National Shrine of St. Joseph, DePere (Brown County)
-St. Norbert College, DePere, dedicated 1899.
-St. Norbert High School, 1959; renamed Abbot Pennings High in 1959.
-Novitiate, Madison, opened 1929 (now closed).
-Camp Tivoli for Boys, Cecil (Shawano County), 1925 (now closed).
-Columbus Community Club, Green Bay, came under Order's care in 1932. Became Central Catholic High School, first Norbertine High School, in 1941. Later, site changed and renamed Our Lady of Premontre High School.
-St. Norbert Abbey, dedicated 1959.

Salvatorian Fathers. Established 1896 at St. Nazianz (Manitowoc County), "the first permanent community of the Salvatorians in the United States" (Rummel 1976:145).

Major Institutions

-First seminary of Oschwald Association, St. Nazianz, erected 1871 (now closed).
-Loretto Monastery, St. Nazianz, 1862 (now closed).
-Salvatorian Seminary (called St. Mary's College), St. Nazianz, opened 1909. First Salvatorian seminary in the United States (now closed).
-Novitiate, St. Nazianz, opened 1913 (now closed).

Discalced Carmelite Fathers of Holy Hill. (Washington County) Founded 1906.

Major Institutions

-Shrine of Our Lady of Holy Hill. Shrine and monastery of Carmelite friars and brothers.

Pallottine Fathers and Brothers. Founded 1920.

Major Institutions

-Holy Cross Church, Wauwatosa.
-Pallotine College, in old Capuchin monastery next to Holy Cross parish, 1929. Initially intended to found a seminary but transferred to Queen of Apostles Seminary, Madison, in 1949 (now closed).
-Pius XI High School, Wauwatosa, opened 1930.

Cistercian Abbey--Our Lady of Spring Bank. Founded in 1928 in Oconomowoc by a group of Austrian Fathers.

Major Institutions

-Our Lady of Spring Bank Retreat House, in monastery at Oconomowoc (now closed).

Augustinians--Province of Our Mother of Good Counsel. Founded in Wisconsin in 1942.

Major Institutions

-Original seminary, on old Dupee estate, Lake La Belle (Oconto County), purchased 1942.
-St. Monica, six miles south of Oconomowoc in former Gustave Pabst home. Successor to the original seminary. Developed from a preparatory seminary into a Novitiate for candidates to the priest- and brotherhoods.

Order of St. Benedict. Founded in Wisconsin in 1945.

Major Institutions

-St. Benedict Abbey, Benet Lake (Kenosha County). Founded as dependent priory of Conception Abbey in Missouri. Obtained independent abbey status in 1952. Had special seminary between 1950 and 1969.

Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa. Founded in 1847 by Father Samuel Mazzuchelli.

Major Institutions

-St. Clara Academy for girls, Benton (Lafayette County). First Catholic secondary school in Wisconsin, moved to Sinsinawa (Grant County) in 1865. Later, secondary schools established in Oshkosh, Madison, and Whitefish Bay.
-Edgewood College (1881) and Edgewood High School (1927), Madison.

Sisters of St. Francis of Assisi. Founded 1849 in an area known as Nojosking, south of Milwaukee. Worked with establishment and maintenance of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee.

Major Institutions

-Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee, 1937.
-St. Coletta Home in Jefferson (Jefferson County).

Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration. Founded 1849.

Major Institutions

-Entrusted with the direction of St. Aemilian's Orphanage.

Motherhouse transferred from St. Francis Convent, Milwaukee to St. Coletta Convent in 1864; in 1871, the motherhouse was transferred a second time, to St. Rose Convent in La Crosse.
-St. Francis Hospital, La Crosse, opened in 1883; it ws the first health car facility operated by the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration and one of the earliest hopsitals in the state.
-St. Francis Training School for Nurses, estblished c. 1885.
-St. Mary's Mission, Odanah (Ashland County), was established in 1883 to minister to the Indian population in the area; it continued to operate until 1969.
-Viterbo College (originally known as St. Rose Normal School/St. Rose Junior College) is the only Catholic College in the La Crosse Diocese.

Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of Charity and Penance. Separated from the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration (motherhouse at St. Rose Convent, La Crosse) in 1873.

Major Institutions

-St. Francis Convent, Milwaukee.

School Sisters of Notre Dame. Founded in Wiconsin in 1850.

Major Institutions

-Motherhouse, Milwaukee, founded 1850; c. 1958 it was moved to Mequon, but that institution became Concordia College and the motherhouse was moved back to Milwaukee.

Congregation of St. Agnes. Founded 1858 in Barton (Washington County) by Father Caspar Rehrl.

Major Institutions

-St. Agnes Hospital, Fond du Lac, 1896.
-St. Mary Springs Academy, Fond du Lac, established sometime between 1905 and 1916.
-St. Agnes School of Nursing, Fond du Lac, 1910.
-Marian College (nursing college), Fond du Lac, established 1936.
-Convent Normal School, Fond du Lac.
-St. Clare Hospital, Monroe, established sometime between 1933 and 1939.
-Nazareth Heights Infirmary, 1965.
-St. Agnes Hall (motherhouse), Fond du Lac, 1975.

Sisters of St. Dominic. Founded in 1862.

Major Institutions

-Convent of St. Catherine, Racine, 1862.
-St. Catherine's Female Academy, Racine, 1863.
Normal Training School added 1888, followed by St. Catherine's High School c. 1925. Normal School later replaced by St. Albertus Junior College 1936.
-Dominican College, Racine, 1946.
(In 1970, St. Paul College of Waukesha moved to Dominican campus; named changed to College of Racine in 1973; institution closed in 1974).

Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity. Founded in 1869, headquartered in

Manitowoc.

Major Institutions

-Holy Family Convent Motherhouse, purchased site in 1872.
-Silver Lake College

Congregation of The Good Shephard. Founded in 1877 in Milwaukee. Moved to Slinger (Washington County) in 1975. Concentrates on helping troubled teenage girls.

Sisters of St. Francis of the Holy Cross. Founded in 1881. Incorporated as a charitable and educational institution bearing the name Sisters of St. Francis of Bay Settlement in 1893.

Major Institutions

-Home for the Aged.
-House of Prayer.

Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge. Founded in 1882 in Green Bay.

Major Institutions

-Our Lady of Charity Center, Green Bay, refuge for troubled girls.

Sisters of The Divine Savior. Founded in 1895 in Milwaukee.

Major Institutions

-Social nursing at St. Nazianz and teaching at colony orphanage.
St. Mary's Convent, erected 1900.
-Owned and operated four hospitals (St. Mary's, Wausau, 1905; St. Mary's, Columbus (Columbia County), 1913; Divine Savior, Portage, 1916; St. Joseph's, West Bend (Washington County), 1930) and two nursing homes (St. Mary's, Milwaukee, and Divine Savior, Portage).
-Divine Savior-Holy Angels High School, Milwaukee, 1951.
All-girls school merged with Holy Angels in 1970.
-Staffing five elementary schools as of 1975: Mother of Good Counsel, Milwaukee, 1925; St. Pius X, Wauwatosa, 1953; St. Mark's, Rothschild (Marathon County), 1960; Holy Name, Wausau, 1949; Holy Ghost, Dickeyville (Grant County), 1917).

Sisters of St. Joseph. Founded in 1901 in Stevens Point.

Major Institutions

-St. Joseph Provincialate, Stevens Point.

Sisters of St. Joseph. Founded 1907 in Superior.

Major Institutions

-Motherhouse and school at Somerset (St. Croix County), 1907.
Relocated as Motherhouse and Academy in Superior. Jesuit school Claude Allouez Academy later merged with Academy. Motherhouse again relocated and named Nazareth-on-the-Lake.
-Staffed Indian mission in Reserve (Sawyer County).

-St. Joseph's School, Hayward (Sawyer County), 1908-1910.
-Staffed St. Patrick's School, Billings Park (Douglas County) and St. Mary's School, New Richmond (St. Croix County).
-Good Samaritan Hospital (1915-1938), Superior. Later renamed St. Joseph's (1938-1975). Known as St. Joseph Unit of Holy Family Hospital after union with St. Mary's Hospital.
-Holy Family Hospital, New Richmond (St. Croix County), 1950.
-St. Bridget's School, River Falls (Pierce County), 1951-1964. (After 1964, another community of sisters assumed responsibility.)
-St. John the Baptist School, Glenwood City (St. Croix County), 1958-1970.
-Retreat House, Our Lady of the Lake, Lake Tomahawk (Oneida County).
-Junior College, Superior, 1959. Operated for approximately five years.
-St. Joseph's Home, Superior, 1968-1971.
For mentally disturbed.
-Newman Center in St. Bridget's Parish, River Falls (Pierce), 1967-1971.
Advisory function to college students.

Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother. Founded in 1909.

Major Institutions

-Community hospitals in Marshfield (Wood County), Oshkosh, Stevens Point, Rhinelander (Oneida County), Tomahawk (Lincoln County), and Port Washington (Ozaukee County).
-Motherhouse in Milwaukee.

Dominican Nuns. Founded in 1909, La Crosse. Cloistered nuns in La Crosse Monastery.

Servants of Mary. Founded in 1912, Ladysmith (Rusk County).

Major Institutions

-St. Mary's Hospital and nursing home.
Complex called Rusk County Health century today.
-Missions: Our Lady of Sorrows School, Ladysmith, 1912; St. Mary Hospital, Ladysmith, 1918-1973; Mt. Senario College, 1930-1972; St. Bernard School, Thorp (Clark County), 1934-1974; Sts. Peter and Paul School, Weyerhauser (Rusk County), 1937-1967; St. Louis School, Washburn (Washburn County), 1941; St. Francis School, Spooner (Washburn County), 1958; St. James, Menomonee Falls (Waukesha County), 1956-1970; St. Mary Hospital, Kewaunee, 1959.

Carmelite Sisters of The Divine Heart of Jesus. Founded in 1912 in Wauwatosa.

Major Institutions

-St. Joseph's Home of St. Teresa, 1912; for troubled boys.
-Provincial Motherhouse, Wauwatosa, 1919.
-St. Joseph Home of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, South Kenosha, 1917.
-St. Joseph's Home of St. Raphael, West Allis, 1912; home for girls.

Holy Cross Sisters. Founded in 1923 in Merrill (Lincoln County).

Major Institutions

-Holy Cross Convent, Merrill, 1923.
-Holy Cross Hospital, Merrill, cornerstone laid 1925.
-Our Lady of Holy Cross High School, Merrill, 1941 (now closed).

Sisters of St. Elizabeth. Founded in 1931 in Milwaukee.

Major Institutions

-Missions: Washburn School, 1941; Spooner School, 1958; Almena School, 1957-1967; Weyerhauser School, 1937-1967; Ladysmith School, 1912; Menomonee Falls School, 1956-1970; Servite High School, 1913-1967; Kewaunee Hospital, 1959; Diocesan Social Services, 1972-1974; Diocesan Renewal Centers, 1967; Mt. Senario College, 1962-1972; Ladysmith Hospital/Nursing Home, 1917; Diocesan Education Consultor, 1975; Thorp School, 1934-1974.

Schoenstaff Sisters of Mary. Founded in 1948 in Madison.

Major Institutions

-First provincial motherhouse built in Madison, 1948.
-Staffed St. Philip Neri Parish School, Milwaukee, 1961.
-Shrine (1964) and retreat center (1968) near Waukesha; known as the Schoenstatt Center, national headquarters for the Schoenstatt lay movement.

St. Bede's Priory. Founded in 1948 in Eau Claire.

Major Institutions

-Missions: St. Patrick's, Eau Claire, 1892; Regis High School, Eau Claire, 1953; St. Patrick's, Onalaska (La Crosse County), 1952; St. Thomas More, La Crosse, 1948; St. Mary's, Richland Center (Richland County); St. Mary's, Altoona (Eau Claire County), 1906; St. Francis, Ellsworth (Pierce County), 1949.
-St. Patrick's High School, 1915-1953.

Sisters of St. Benedict. Founded in 1953.

Major Institutions

-Missions: St. Mary of the Lake grade school; St. Benedict Academy, 1957-1966; St. Benedict Retreat Center, 1966.

St. Ida's Convent of Cisterian Nuns. Founded in 1957 in Madison. St. Ida's is the only monastery of Cisterian nuns in the United States and the only cloistered nuns in the Madison Diocese.

Cloistered Carmelite Nuns. Founded in 1963 at Hudson (St. Croix County).

CATHOLIC INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN WISCONSIN

Several schools of the Catholic ministry, both preparatory and those accredited to confer degrees to the priesthood, currently operate in Wisconsin. The following text, taken from History of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin by Leo Rummel, will offer a thumbnail sketch of the development and present status of each of them (Rummel 1976:213-229).

St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee

A severe shortage of German-speaking clergymen prompted Bishop Henni in December 1845 to found St. Francis Seminary under the patronage of St. Francis de Sales. For a period of 10 years, the school was practically attached to the Bishop's home. Not until

January 29, 1856 was a permanent structure opened on the site of the Community of the Franciscan Sisters and Brothers of the Third Order of St. Francis of Assisi, also in Milwaukee. Among the landmarks in the history of the institution was the separation in 1920 of the high school and college departments and the union in 1970 of the junior and senior college departments to form St. Francis de Sales College which is located on the new campus in Milwaukee.

St. Lawrence Seminary, Mount Calvary, Fond du Lac County

Located on the shore of Lake Winnebago, this preparatory school for young men considering either the brotherhood or the priesthood is conducted by the Province of St. Joseph of the Capuchin-Franciscan Order. The institution was founded in 1860; facilities were formally dedicated in 1864.

Divine Word Seminary, East Troy, Walworth County

The purchase in 1921 of land on the shores of Lake Beulah, near East Troy, to establish a clerical novitiate by the Society of Divine Word, was the first step in the development of Divine Word Seminary, which is today considered a minor or preparatory seminary high school. A new site, also on the lake, was selected in 1924, and a new novitiate was dedicated in March of 1925. When the novices were relocated to the major seminary in Techny, Illinois, in 1937, the novitiate became a high school for prospective young brothers and priests. Camp Richards, a summer camp for boys, was opened on the property in 1949. Between 1968 and 1969, the programs of Divine Word Seminary and Brother Candidate School in Techny, Illinois were merged into the present day facility, also known as Divine Word Seminary.

Sacred Heart School of Theology, Hales Corners

This facility was dedicated on July 1, 1929 by the Society of the Priests of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Formerly known as the Convent of the Perpetual Rosary and owned by the Dominican Sisters, the facility was first used by the Priests of the Sacred Heart as a novitiate for both its clerical students and lay brothers. First called Sacred Heart Monastery in 1932, it became the permanent home of the major seminary program of the Priests of the Sacred Heart in the United States. Crowding caused the college program to be relocated at Loyola University in Chicago in 1955. The name was changed from Sacred Heart Monastery to Sacred Heart School of Theology in 1968 upon completion of a new facility. Today, it is considered "a professional school for the training and education of priests" (Rummel 1976:206).

Xaverian Missionary Fathers House of Formation, Franklin, Milwaukee County

In September 1957, a group of ten Xaverian students arrived in the Milwaukee Diocese. They temporarily resided in a Diocesan house through the arrangements of Archbishop Meyer, and in December moved to their present residence, a 60 acre tract at Xavier Knoll, Franklin. While attending St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee, the group began the establishment of a small seminary only to have it destroyed by fire in 1967. In 1976, the present "House of Formation" accomodated 13 college students and five theology students, each involved in preparation for the foreign mission field.

Holy Redeemer College, Waterford, Racine County (now closed)

Holy Redeemer College, a four year Redemptorist-sponsored institution emerged in 1968 from the union of the junior college division of the minor seminary (St. Joseph's College, Edgerton , 1959, see below) and the senior college divison of the major seminary (Immaculate Conception College, Oconomowoc, 1911).

St. Joseph's College, Edgerton, Rock County

St. Joseph's Preparatory College, located on the northwestern shore of Lake Koshkonong, can be traced to Chattawa, Mississippi where it was founded as a minor seminary of the Redemptorist Community in 1873. It moved to Kansas City, Missouri in 1888 and to Kirkwood, Missouri before establishing its present site at Edgerton in 1959. It has close ties with the four year Redemptorist college in Waterford (Holy Redeemer College, see above item) and conducts a retreat house and novitiate in Oconomowoc.

Holy Name Seminary, Madison

The cornerstone of Holy Name Seminary, a minor seminary of the Madison Diocese, was laid by Bishop William P. O'Connor on September 15, 1963. The facility received its first class of students the following year. From modest beginnings, the seminary developed from a three to a four year high school program and at one time operated a junior college program as well. At Holy Name, young men prepare for a life of Christian service, either as Christian laymen or as members of the ordained priesthood.

Ten four year college or university programs, most of them coeducational and offering broad liberal arts programs, are presently run by the Catholic Church in Wisconsin. A historical summary of each of these facilities follows below:

Marquette University, Milwaukee

An independent, coeducational facility, Marquette University emerged as a result of early efforts by Bishop Henni (1848) to obtain a grant for the establishment of a Jesuit college in the Milwaukee area. Through his success in bringing a Jesuit contingent to the Diocese, St. Aloysius Academy (later known as St. Gall's Academy) was established. In 1864, a state charter was granted to the Jesuits for Marquette College, and in 1881, the first class of 77 students was enrolled. It functioned a a purely liberal arts college until 1906 when the Milwaukee Medical College formally affiliated with it. In 1907, following amendment of the institution's charter, it became known as Marquette University.

St. Norbert College, De Pere

St. Norbert College, the only American Norbertine college, grew from humble beginnings. The first class of its Latin school was conducted by the Norbertine priest, Bernard Pennings, in a rectory kitchen in De Pere in 1898. The college today maintains a strong liberal arts tradition, and remains independent. Moreover, "its administration, faculty, and student body represent all faiths" (Rummel 1976:216). In 1953, women were admitted to the program.

Cardinal Stritch College, Milwaukee

Although initially intended to provide higher education for the Sisters of St. Francis and opened in the Motherhouse in Milwaukee, Cardinal Stritch College today is a coeducational, liberal arts college owned by the Sisterhood and conducted by both religious and lay personnel. It was chartered by the State of Wisconsin in 1937 as St. Clare College. In 1946, when the facility began receiving lay women, the name was changed to its present form. The college was moved to its present site in the Fox Point-Glendale area in 1962 and opened its doors to young men for the first time in 1970.

Mount Mary College, Milwaukee

The oldest women's college in Wisconsin, Mount Mary, developed with the arrival of Mother Mary Caroline Freiss and a handful of School Sisters of Notre Dame to Milwaukee in 1850. On Milwaukee Street, they opened St. Mary's Institute for the religious

education of young women. Sister Caroline received a request from General John Lawler at Fort Crawford (Prairie du Chien) in 1872 to draw plans for a girls' academy that would serve the growing demands of the Catholic community in southwestern Wisconsin. The facility became known as St. Mary's Academy. In 1913, it was chartered by the state as St. Mary's College and was the only women's Catholic college in Wisconsin at that time. Numerous requests to bring the school to Milwaukee were fulfilled on September 12, 1928 with the laying of the cornerstone of Mount Mary College on Milwaukee's northwest side. It is today a liberal arts, women's facility with a variety of professional preparatory training programs.

Alverno College, Milwaukee

Alverno College developed from three separate Milwaukee schools that trained young women for musical, teaching, and nursing careers in the School Sisters of St. Francis. These institutions included St. Joseph Normal School (1887), St. Joseph Convent College of Music and Sacred Heart School of Nursing. The latter two schools were founded in the first decades of the twentieth century. In 1936, St. Joseph Normal School became Alverno Teacher's College, and in 1937, St. Joseph Convent College of Music became Alverno College of Music. They merged in 1949 to form Alverno College and were joined in 1951 by the Sacred Heart School of Nursing. Today, it is a fully accredited, four year liberal arts women's college.

Marian College of Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac

Founded in 1936 as a teacher training facility by the Sisters of the Congregation of St. Agnes, Marian College has grown into a coeducational, liberal arts institution with the majority of its instructional staff members of the St. Agnes Sisterhood.

Viterbo College, La Crosse

Viterbo College is an outgrowth of a teacher training program begun by Mother Antonia Leinfelder-Herb of the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration in 1863. The program was formalized in the early 1890s with the founding of St. Rose Normal Training School. A college grade program was added in 1923, and in 1937, the facility's name was changed from St. Rose Junior College to Viterbo College. Today, the institution is a coeducational, liberal arts school, which conducts a strong nursing program in conjunction with nearby St. Francis Hospital.

Mount Senario College, Ladysmith

This four year, nonsectarian, coeducational and liberal arts college developed in the summer of 1930 when extension courses were offered to the Servite Sisters in Ladysmith by instructors from the Eau Claire Teachers College. Following years of affiliation with and staffing by both Viterbo and St. Scholastica colleges, Mount Senario College was established in 1962 as an independent four year institution and continues its close association with the Servite Sisterhood.

Edgewood College, Madison

When the Dominican Sisters of Sinsinawa opened St. Regina's Academy a block from the state capitol in 1871, they were laying the groundwork for the Diocese's only existing Catholic four year liberal arts college. Further, when Governor Cadwallader C. Washburn deeded his villa and its 55 acres overlooking Lake Wingra in Madison to the Sister Community in May 1881, the school received a permanent home. Although the Sisters called the first "campus" Sacred Heart Academy, most locals continued to refer to it as simply Edgewood. The present Edgewood High School was built in 1927, and a girls' junior college was organized and opened in the facility the same year. It became a four

year liberal arts college in 1941, and in 1970, became coeducational. Today, the lakeshore complex includes a nursery, elementary and high schools, and a college.

Silver Lake College, Manitowoc

This coeducational, liberal arts facility, located four miles west of Manitowoc, is the outgrowth of early efforts (1869) by the Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity to provide teacher preparation for young members of its Order. It received its charter from the state in 1885 as an academy and normal school and achieved college rank in 1935. The name was changed from Holy Family College to its present name in 1972.

SECULAR ORDERS AND INSTITUTIONS IN WISCONSIN

Lay organizations and institutions also have played a vital part in the ongoing mission of the Catholic Church. Although some members are ordained priests, secular orders are typically unions of unordained individuals who unite for benevolent or philanthropic purposes and who do not wear special attire or live a communal existence. For each of these groups, the promotion of Catholic interests is paramount, while the payment of sick benefits and funeral expenses of its membership is the primary thrust of its charitable work. Members are united in state, diocesan, and local societies and fall under the spiritual direction and guidance of the appropriate church authority. Heming's The Catholic Church in Wisconsin listed the existence of seven fraternal organizations or orders (Heming 1896:1070-1086):

Ancient Order of Hibernians is an Irish-dominated voluntary social and benevolent group that organized in Wisconsin on July 15, 1880 at Bay View, subsequently the seventeenth ward of Milwaukee. In 1896, the group, whose motto was " To Care for the Sick and Bury the Dead," claimed 35 divisions statewide.

Order of the Catholic Knights of Wisconsin organized in Green Bay on January 1, 1885. Its primary purpose was to unite for "social, benevolent, and intellectual improvement."

Catholic Order of Foresters was established in Chicago in 1881. It initiated its first Wisconsin branch in Milwaukee on September 11, 1887. The association, whose aim is to furnish insurance benfits to Catholic lay membrs, counted 81 divisions and 6,000 members in Wisconsin in 1896.

Catholic Total Abstinence Union organized in Watertown on June 18 and 19, 1872. It demanded that its members pledge to refrain from the use of alcoholic beverages and willingly work for the abolition of the same throughout their congregations and communities. Twenty-five branches and 1,200 members, most of them Irish, were tabulated throughout the state in 1896. (defunct)

German Roman Catholic Central Society emerged as a result of efforts in the mid-1850s to bring groups of German-Catholic benevolent societies, which were linked informally and without any central organization, into closer association.
Dozens of these organizations existed throughout the state. At a meeting of society representatives from around the country in Baltimore on April 15, 1855, the foundations were laid for the Roman Catholic Central Society. The Wisconsin Convention of the Central Society, whose purpose was to organize benevolent societies in all German Catholic congregations, was organized in 1889 in West Bend. Its first annual meeting was held the following year in Milwaukee (defunct).

Knights of St. George was established on May 15, 1879 by Captain A. Gmeiner, a noted Milwaukee businessman. The Knights were a military and benevolent association (defunct).

Leo's Benevolent Society was incorporated on December 23, 1879. Composed solely of Roman Catholic priests of the diocese of Green Bay, it was initiated for the "support of members in case of sickness or misfortune, and for the maintenance of infirm and aged Roman Catholic priests belonging to the diocese of Green Bay" (defunct).

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, missions, monasteries, abbeys, friaries, convents, bishoprics, rectories, retreat houses, camps, benevolent societies, novitiates, motherhouses, orphanages, charity houses, social halls, shrines, health care facilities, educational facilities, homes of prominent Catholics.

Locational Pattern of Resource Types. Roman Catholics are heavily distributed throughout Wisconsin. Nearly half the state's Roman Catholic population is situated within the ten county area of the Milwaukee Archdiocese.

Previous Surveys. No survey is known to have been undertaken to identify significant Roman Catholic resources in Wisconsin. However, the Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey does provide some information on the Catholic churches in that city and the Wisconsin Historical Records Survey provides some information on Catholic congregations throughout the state. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in the intensive survey reports also provide information on various localities; the Superior, Oshkosh, and Wausau intensive survey reports do a particularly fine job of this.

Research and Survey Needs. Identify those properties closely associated with the rapidly declining Catholic clergy population, e.g., monasteries, convents, and abbeys, and those structures affiliated with endangered Roman Catholic service agencies, e.g., orphanages, hospitals, and educational facilities

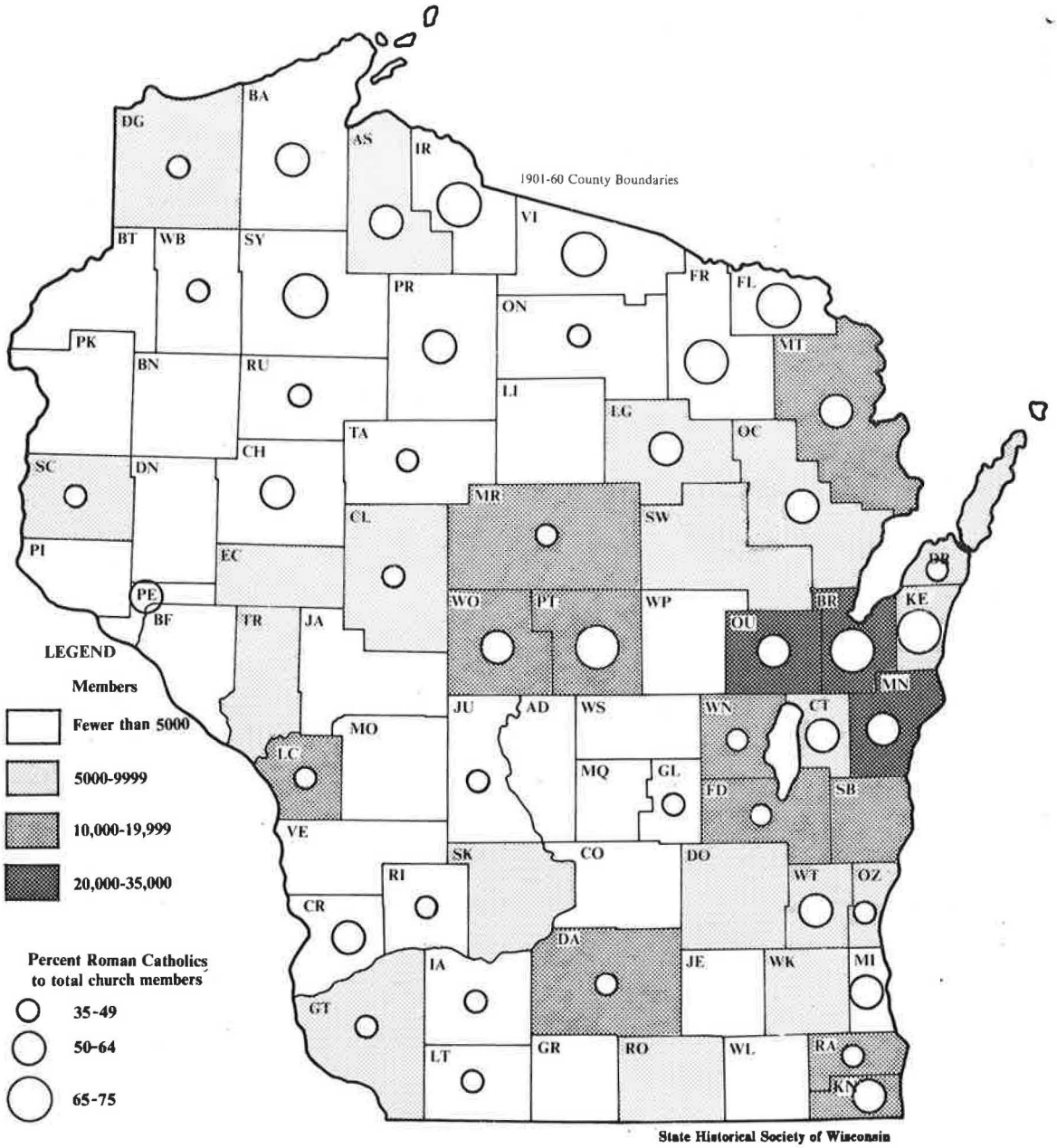
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

La Pointe Indian Cemetery (1836), South Old Main St., Town of La Pointe, Ashland County (NRHP 1977)
Marina Site, Town of La Pointe, Ashland County (NRHP 1978)
Holy Family Catholic Church and Rectory (1891, 1898), 232 N. First St., Bayfield, Bayfield County (NRHP 1980, Bayfield Historic District)
Holy Family Catholic School 1910), 231 N. First St., Bayfield, Bayfield County (NRHP 1980, Bayfield Historic District)
Notre Dame Church (1870-1872) and Goldsmith Memorial Chapel (1894), 117 Allen St., Chippewa Falls, Chippewa County (NRHP 1983, Notre Dame Parish Thematic Resources)
Durwood's Glen (1862 and later), Town of Caledonia, Columbia County (NRHP 1978)
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1893-1895), 812 N. Jackson St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1974)
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1888-1889), 404 E. Main St., Madison, Dane County (NRHP 1982)
St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (1901), Town of Springfield, Dane County (NRHP 1980)
St. Joseph's Catholic Church (1864), Town of Shields, Dodge County (NRHP 1980)
St. Joseph Orphan Home (1917), 1200 Fifteenth Ave., E., Superior, Douglas County (DOE 1984)
St. Patrick's Church (1885), 322 Fulton St., Eau Claire, Eau Claire County (NRHP 1983, Eau Claire MRA)
Sacred Heart Church (1928), 418 N. Dewey St., Eau Claire, Eau Claire County (NRHP 1983, Eau Claire MRA)
St. John the Baptist Church (1857), Town of Taycheedah, Fond du Lac County (NRHP 1980)

St. Wenceslaus Roman Catholic Church (c. 1863), Town of Waterloo, Jefferson County (NRHP 1973)
St. Augustine Church (1844), Town of New Diggings, Lafayette County (NRHP 1972)
Loretto Shrine Chapel (1870-1872), St. Nazianz, Manitowoc County (NRHP 1982, Colony of St. Gregory of Nazianzen Thematic Resources)
St. Gregory's Church (1864-1868), 212 Church St., St. Nazianz, Manitowoc County (NRHP 1982, Colony of St. Gregory of Nazianzen Thematic Resources)
St. Mary's Convent, 330 S. Second Ave., St. Nazianz, Manitowoc County (DOE 1982, Colony of St. Gregory of Nazianzen Thematic Resources)
Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church (Our Lady of Quadalupe) (1849-1850), 6055 S. Fourth St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1972)
Old St. Mary's Church (1846-47), 844 N. Broadway, Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1973)
St. John's Roman Catholic Cathedral (1847-1853), 812 N. Jackson St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1974)
St. Josaphat Basilica (1896-1901), 601 W. Lincoln Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1973)
St. Francis of Assisi Historic District, 1916-1938 N. Fourth St. & 327 W. Brown St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (DOE 1984, Brewer's Hill MRA)
St. John de Nepomuc Rectory (1859), N. Fourth St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (DOE 1984, Brewer's Hill MRA)
St. Vincent's Infant Asylum, 809 W. Greenfield Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (DOE 1978)
St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church (1870), 705 Park Ave., Oconto, Oconto County (NRHP 1980)
St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church (1899), 516 Brazeau Ave., Oconto, Oconto County (NRHP 1980)
Holy Cross Church (1914), 309 Desnoyer St., Kaukauna, Outagamie County (NRHP 1984, Kaukauna MRA)
St. Mary's Catholic Church (1898), 119 W. Seventh St., Kaukauna, Outagamie County (NRHP 1984, Kaukauna MRA)
St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church (1882-1884), 430 N. Johnson St., Port Washington, Ozaukee County (NRHP 1977)
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1924-1925), 1100 Erie St., Racine, Racine County (NRHP 1979)
Church of St. Thomas the Apostle (1885), 822 E. Grand Ave., Beloit, Rock County (NRHP 1983, Beloit MRA)
St. Mary's Catholic Church, 313 E. Wall St., Janesville, Rock County (DOE 1985)
St. Patrick's Catholic Church, 301 Cherry St., Janesville, Rock County (DOE 1985)
Flambeau Mission Church (1881, 1884, 1903), Town of Washington, Rusk County (NRHP 1979)
St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church (1877), Town of Sherman, Sheboygan County (NRHP 1983)
St. Peter's Church (1861), 1010 Newark Dr., Town of Farmington, Washington County (NRHP 1983)
St. John of God Roman Catholic Church, Convent, and School (1869, 1891), 1488 Highland Dr., Kewaskum, Washington County (NRHP 1979)
St. Joseph's Church Complex (1888), 818 N. East Ave., Waukesha, Waukesha County (NRHP 1983, Waukesha MRA)
Our Lady of Sorrows Chapel, 519 Losey Blvd., South, La Crosse, La Crosse County (NRHP 1986)

Context Considerations. Some Roman Catholic resources associated with early settlement may possess state-wide significance. Other Roman Catholic affiliated structures, particularly social services facilities, as well as abbeys, monateries, and convents, may be of statewide or national significance.



Members of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 703-705.

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Includes firgures on number of organizations and memberships for the major denominational bodies in the state; names and addresses of headquarters and leaderships. See pp. 1-4 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.

Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project
1936-1942 Church Directory of Wisconsin. Madison.

1941 Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Wisconsin. Madison.
Chronological, county, church and place name listings of churches by denominational status; includes names and addresses of church headquarters and leaderships.

1942 A Directory of Catholic Churches in Wisconsin. Madison.
Includes historical sketch, location (address), and list of priests for each Wisconsin parish by diocese; maps showing diocesan boundaries; bibliography of Catholic directories and almanacs.

Zawistowski, Theodore L.

1978 "The Polish National Catholic Church: An Acceptable Alternative." In Poles in America, edited by Frank Mocha, pp. 423-434. Worzalla Publishing Company, Stevens Point WI.
An alternative Catholic Church. Good summary of the group's evolution; includes bibliography.

CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST

Temporal Boundaries: c. 1880 - present

Spatial Boundaries: Slight distribution throughout the state, with concentration in the southeastern quarter of the state.

Related Study Units: None

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Church of Christ, Scientist--popularly referred to as Christian Science--has roots in New England Protestantism and is noted for its practice of divine healing. Its teachings were established by Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910), "a profoundly religious and lifelong student of mental and spritual causation," after an experience of healing from the effects of an accident in 1866. The experience, which she described as a spiritual "discovery," was followed by years of intense study of the Bible in an effort to understand and articulate the Science, or principle, underlying the healing ministry of Christ. In 1875, the first published statement of her new-found faith appeared, Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures. In her own words, Mrs. Eddy described the religion she founded as "divine metaphysics;" it is "the scientific system of divine healing" (Mead 1980:82).

Eddy formalized her faith in 1879 with the establishment of the Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, known today as The Mother Church. The church assumed its present form in 1892, with The Mother Church in Boston, and branch churches and societies--or the beginnings of churches--throughout the country and world. The branch churches and societies are autonomous and are governed democratically within the framework prescribed by the "Manual of The Mother Church," a thin volume of church bylaws.

Eddy founded the Massachusetts Metaphysical College in 1881 to teach the theology and methodology of healing through prayer as she understood it. Like most other radical religious movements, the young church evolved in the face of controversy from without and occasionally from within (Gottschalk 1973:175, 188). These struggles prompted a complete ecclesiastical reorganization before the turn of the century.

The church today has no ordained pastors. Although services originally included personal sermons, Eddy discontinued them at the time of the church's reorganization in favor of readings from the Bible and the denominational textbook, Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures. In religious doctrine, there are deep continuities as well as important differences between Christian Scientists and other Protestants. Christian Scientists accept the divinity but not the deity of Jesus. They acknowledge his virgin birth, healing ministry, crucifixion, bodily resurrecton, and ascension as historical facts. They place great emphasis on the spiritual nature of reality. Baptism and communion are not celebrated by ritual but are considered to be vital inner or spiritual experiences.

The death of Eddy in 1910 prompted neither a diminution in numbers nor a realignment or refocusing of organizational structure. In fact, the Christian Scientists have grown in unity and tenacity of purpose through the years, weathering considerable opposition to the present day (Gottschalk 1973:174-180).
This denomination is known for its lack of proselytizing. Information about Christian Science is freely made available through both the written and spoken work, most particularly, through the sponsorship of lectures, the provision of public reading rooms, the distribution of literature, and the sponsorship of special television and radio broadcasts. The church has endorsed high ideals of public responsibility in its publications, chiefly

through The Christian Science Monitor, a widely respected international daily newspaper founded in 1908. Though the prime emphasis in Christian Science is on individual regeneration and healing, the Monitor gives expression to broad based concerns (Braden 1958:chpt. 10).

Worship services are simple and unemotional, with a trained clergy dropped in favor of two Readers elected by each branch church who read alternatively from the Bible and the church's denominational textbook. The Sunday services are conducted by Readers and are essentially uniform in all churches on any given day, with Bible Lesson sermons covering 26 subjects, taken in succession twice yearly. Midweek meetings, which revolve around public healing testimonies from the parishioners, also include the reading of select scriptural passages together with correlative writings from the denominational textbook. While the passages in the Sunday lesson-sermon are selected by a committee at The Mother Church and thus are uniform in all Christian Science churches, the passages in the midweek meeting are chosen by the reader in each church conducting the service. Christian Scientists who have proven their effectiveness in healing others and who are devoting their full time to the healing ministry are listed in a monthly church periodical as Christian Science practitioners. They are available to help those wanting healing through Christian Science.

The denomination's educational system includes Sunday schools for children and a short but intensive class for adult members which is conducted by teachers selected and trained by The Mother Church's Board of Education. There are independent nursing homes and sanatariums which provide non-medical care for those relying on Christian Science for healing. The church has never sponsored men's and women's auxiliaries and other sociables, since it has felt this would distract from the church's primary purpose--the spiritual ministry. But Christian Scientists as individuals enjoy social events every bit as much as other Christians.

As in many main-line Protestant churches, a large share of the church's membership statistics, whether rising or falling--essentially because statistics are not felt to give an accurate indication of spiritual vitality--making accurate, up-to-date figures unavailable. No figures of membership have been published since 1936 when 269,000 members were distributed throughout approximately 2,000 churches and societies on a nationwide scale, though the actual number of adherents probably far exceeded those who were registered in the census (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1941:393).

CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS IN WISCONSIN

According to the federal census of 1890, Christian Scientists in Wisconsin gathered in 16 organizations, with 474 members statewide. The largest association, 120 members, was in Rock County. But Despite the membership, only one church building (Oconto) had been constructed by that date (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:299).

The organization of a Christian Science church association in Oconto in 1886 was followed by a decision to finance the construction of a meeting place, and in 1887 dedication ceremonies were conducted for "the first Christian Science church edifice anywhere in the world." "Although membership in the area is now small the first Christian Science church in Oconto is still active and in regularly scheduled use. This small edifice is not only an outstanding local and state landmark in itself, but is highly significant in the history of a major church denomination in the United States and beyond" (NRHP Nomination, First Church of Christ, Oconto, Oconto County 1974). The Oconto group, however, did not represent the only stirrings of the Christian Science movement in the state, for memberships were also tallied in Brown, Milwaukee, Rock, Barron, Calumet, Eau Claire, Juneau, La Crosse, Marinette, Outagamie, and Winnebago counties in the 1890 census of churches. These groups utilized rented halls and auditoriums until sufficient resources

could be pooled toward the construction of proper edifices.

About five years after the founding of the faith in Boston in 1879, the Christian Science movement became active in Madison, with the group meeting in private homes and area halls until monetary resources would permit the construction of a permanent facility. The present structure, constructed on Wisconsin Avenue in the late 1920s, is representative of "the architectural expression of early twentieth century Christian Science thought," and in terms of both spiritual and educational guidance, it has figured heavily in the Christian Science movement in Wisconsin for the greater part of the present century (NRHP Nomination, First Church of Christ, Scientist, Madison, Dane County 1982).

Christian Scientists are geographically dispersed throughout the state, but no county in 1926 recording more than 0.9 percent of its churched population as Christian Scientist. In absolute numbers, the Christian Scientists were most numerous in Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Rock, Winnebago, Dane, and Racine counties (see accompanying map and table). The group witnessed more than a doubling of its figures between 1906 and 1926, from 29 organizations and 1704 members in the former year to 70 organizations and 4,035 members in the latter. Membership gains continued into the 1930s with more than 5,000 members distributed between 71 organizations (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1941:393). Sixty-six congregations with an inclusive membership of 9,000 were active in Wisconsin in 1980 (Wisconsin Council of Churches 1980:1).

Christian Scientists in Wisconsin
1890-1980

Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1890	16	474
1906	29	1,704
1926	70	4,035
1936	71	5,094
1980	66	9,000

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:299; 1910:288-291; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311
Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980:1-4.

Christian Science Congregations in Wisconsin as of 1985

Place	Name of Congregation
Appleton	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Ashland	Society
Baraboo	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Beloit	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Brookfield	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Burlington	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Cedarburg	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Chippewa Falls	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Eagle River	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Place	Name of Congregation
Eau Claire	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Elkhorn	Society*
Evansville	Society
Fond du Lac	First Church of Christ, Scientist

Fort Atkinson	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Green Bay*	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Hartford	Society
Hartland	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Janesville	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
La Crosse	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Lake Geneva	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Madison	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Manitowoc	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Marinette	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Marshfield	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Medford	Society
Menomonie	Society
Merrill	Society
Milwaukee	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
	Second Church of Christ, Scientist
	Third Church of Christ, Scientist*
	Fourth Church of Christ, Scientist*
	Fifth Church of Christ, Scientist
	Sixth Church of Christ, Scientist*
	Society
Monroe	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Neenah	Society
Oconomowoc	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Oconto	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Oshkosh	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Platteville	Society
Plymouth	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Portage	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Racine	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
Rhinelander	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Ripon	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Shawano	Society
Sheboygan	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Sturgeon Bay	Society*
Superior	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Tomahawk	Society*
Two Rivers	Society
Waukesha	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Waupaca	Society
Wausau	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Wauwatosa	First Church of Christ, Scientist*
West Allis	First Church of Christ, Scientist
West Bend	Society*
Whitefish Bay	First Church of Christ, Scientist
Wisconsin Rapids	Society*
Woodruff-Minocqua	Society

*Asterisk indicates church building is probably more than 50 years old.

SOURCE:

The Christian Science Publishing Society, November 1985:86.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, reading rooms, auditoriums, nursing homes, sanitariums, homes of prominent Christian Science leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. The Church of Christ, Scientist, exhibits a slight distribution throughout much of the state. In absolute numbers of members it has been strongest in Milwaukee, Sheboygan, Rock, Winnebago, Dane, and Racine counties.

Previous Surveys. The Wisconsin Historical Records Survey includes some historical data on Christian Science churches in the state. The Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey also provide some data on Christian Science edifices in that city. The religious chapters in the intensive survey reports will also provide some information on Christian Science churches for specific localities.

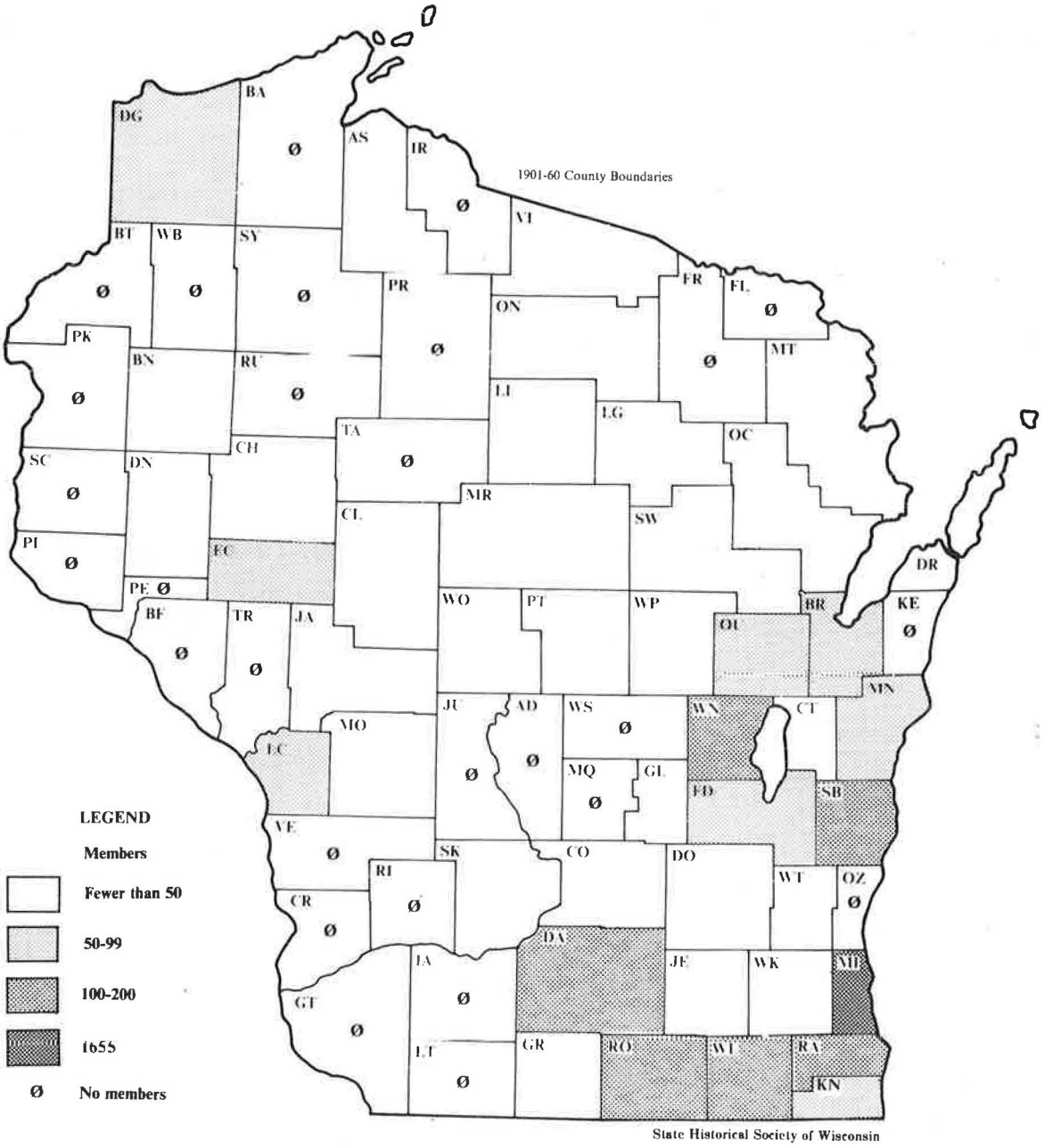
Survey and Research Needs. None have been identified.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

First Church of Christ, Scientist (1929), 315 Wisconsin Ave., Madison, Dane County (NRHP 1982)
First Church of Christ, Scientist (1886), Chicago & Main St., Oconto, Oconto County (NRHP 1974)
Second Church of Christ, Scientist (1913), 2722 W. Highland Blvd., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1985, West Side MRA)
Sixth Church of Christ, Scientist (1902), 1036 N. Van Buren St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1980)

Context Considerations. Those Christian Science Churches not already listed on the NRHP will possess local significance. A small number of reading rooms, often located in storefronts, may possess historical significance.



Members of Christian Science Churches in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 701-702.

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1958 Christian Science Today: Power, Policy, Practice. Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas.
Emphasis on development of the organization since Mrs. Eddy.

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Gottschalk, Stephen
1973 The Emergence of Christian Science in American Religious Life. University of California Press, Berkeley.
A chapter titled "Into the Mainstream" offers a useful comparison to other religious bodies, particularly on utility, structure, and belief.

Hardon, John A.
1969 The Protestant Churches in America. Doubleday and Company, Garden City, NY.
A survey of the beliefs and practices of the Protestant denominations in America; recent national statistics.

Hoekema, Anthony A.
1963 The Four Major Cults. William B. Eerdmans Publishing, Grand Rapids, MI.
Examination of Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormonism, and Seventh-Day Adventism; prime emphasis on doctrinal distinctions.

Martin, Walter
1977 The Kingdom of the Cults. Bethany House Publishers, Minneapolis.

Mead, Frank S.
1980 Handbook of Denominations in the United States. 7th ed. Abingdon, Nashville, TN.
A sketch of the denominations in America, includes useful bibliography.

Milmine, Georgine
1909 The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science. Doubleday, Page, and Company. Reissued 1971, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, MI.
Deals with the problems and intricacies of organizing her church.

National Council of Churches
1957 Churches and Church Membership in the United States. Series C, nos. 18-19. Office of Publication and Distribution, New York.
Denominational statistics by states (Wisconsin) and counties; number of churches and church members.

Peel, Robert
1958 Christian Science: Its Encounter with American Culture. Henry Holt and Company, New York.
Attention is given to the relation of Christian Science to its cultural milieu; how it has influenced, and, in turn, been influenced by the larger society.

1966- Mary Baker Eddy. 3 vols. Holt, Rienhart, and Winston, New York.
1977

Swihart, Altman K.
1931 Since Mrs. Eddy. Henry Holt and Company, New York.
Includes useful bibliography of official publications of the mother church, the work of Mary Baker Eddy, and many general sources.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census
1894 Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1910 Religious Bodies: 1906. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1919 Religious Bodies: 1916. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1930 Religious Bodies: 1926. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1941 Religious Bodies: 1936. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Weigel, Gustave
1961 Churches in North America: An Introduction. Helicon Press, Baltimore.
Sketches of all the major denominational bodies in North America. Useful for establishing a clear understanding and useful framework for further study.

Wisconsin Conference on Churches, comp.
1980 Wisconsin Religious Directory. Madison.
Includes figures on number of organizations and memberships for the major denominational bodies in the state; names and addresses of headquarters and leaderships.

Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project
1936- Church Directory of Wisconsin, Madison.
1942
Chronological, county, church and place-name listings of churches by denominational status.

1941 Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Wisconsin. Madison.
Chronological, county, church and place-name listings of churches by denominational status; includes names and addresses of church headquarters and leaderships.

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS

Temporal Boundaries: 1841 - present.

Spatial Boundaries: Scattered locations primarily in the southern half of the state.

Related Study Units: None.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The title "Mormon Church" is a popular and inclusive term for groups bearing variations of the official name, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, all of which are rooted in the visions of their founder and leader, Joseph Smith, Jr. Smith, a Vermont native, was led by heavenly visitations to Hill Cumorah near Palmyra, New York, where, by his own accounts, he removed from the ground a set of thinly hammered golden plates covered with hieroglyphic writing. With the aid of special tools and resources, Smith translated the plates into the Book of Mormon, and at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, in 1830 he founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Early in 1831, opposition began to develop against Smith and his followers in New York. This prompted the first move in the Mormon's long and troubled journey to find a safe haven. In the spring of 1831, a majority of the New York Mormons, following Smith's counsel, settled in and around the community of Kirtland, Ohio. That summer another Mormon colony was established in Jackson County, Missouri--near the town of Independence. As a result, between the summer of 1831 and the spring of 1838, there were two principal Mormon centers in the United States, one in Ohio, the other in Missouri.

As early as 1833, non-Mormons in Jackson County, Missouri, inaugurated a "reign of terror" designed to expell all Mormons from the area. In November 1833, approximately 1,000 "Saints" fled across the Missouri River and established a temporary settlement in Clay County, Missouri. A few years later, a new settlement was established at Far West in Caldwell County, Missouri.

The Mormons also met with harassment in Ohio. In 1838, Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders departed from Kirtland. A short time later, hundreds of Mormons, who had been living in eastern Ohio, migrated to northwestern Missouri, gathering in Caldwell and neighboring counties.

This large influx of Mormons into northwestern Missouri only exacerbated existing tensions with their non-Mormon neighbors. Unsubstantiated reports of Mormon atrocities soon reached the ears of Missouri governor, Lilburn Boggs, and in the fall of 1838, he issued an executive order of expulsion--all Mormons were to be driven out of Missouri or exterminated. During the winter of 1838-1839, it has been estimated that between 12,000 and 15,000 Mormons fled from Missouri into Illinois and Iowa.

Joseph Smith then reorganized his followers, purchased hundreds of acres of farmland located approximately 50 miles from Quincy, Illinois, and directed the "Saints" to assemble at the new gathering place. Within a few years of their move, the Mormon community of Nauvoo had become the largest city in Illinois with a population of approximately 15,000 (Backman 1970:320-326).

It was at Nauvoo that one of the most controversial doctrines of Mormonism was first publicly announced--the doctrine of plural marriage or polygamy. This concept was met

with limited acceptance among many of Smith's followers, and openly rejected by others. Ultimately, it played a key role in the fragmentation of the church.

In the meantime, however, the Mormon community at Nauvoo flourished. The church grew rapidly, chiefly through conversions in the East and in England. By 1844, it could claim nearly 25,000 members. The Nauvoo years, then, were of particular importance to the growth, organization, and doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints.

The peace and prosperity at Nauvoo were short-lived, however. In 1844, anti-Mormon agitation increased, and in June of that year a mob killed Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, at Carthage, Illinois (Backman 1970:327).

In the wake of Joseph Smith's pronouncement concerning polygamy, waves of schism had fragmented the ranks of the faithful, and with the loss of his leadership, defeated and disillusioned groups scattered throughout the American Midwest and Mountain states. Brigham Young ascended to the presidency of the church and led the largest group of "Saints" from Illinois to the Salt Lake Valley of Utah. This relocation en masse of tens of thousands of people, beginning in early 1846, proceeded in stages, with advance parties setting up waystations along the route, the largest being the Winter Quarters in Nebraska. Twenty thousand Mormons were tallied in the Salt Lake Valley in 1852 and 150,000 30 years later. Today, the Utah-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has developed into one of the most closely knit ecclesiastical groups in the country, with over 5,000,000 members assembled in 10,000 congregations. It is particularly strong in the Rocky Mountain states, with headquarters at Salt Lake City (Mead 1980:91-95).

Young's assumption of leadership was protested by a few small groups of Mormons who withdrew to form their own organizations and elect new leaders, each claiming to be Smith's rightful successor. Some "anti-Brighamites" followed James Jesse Strang, Prophet and King, to the Voree colony in Walworth, Wisconsin, and later to Beaver Island in Lake Michigan. Today, the Strangites number 300 in six churches (Mead 1980:98).

Another schismatic group, claiming that the Utah branch was not the legitimate offspring of the Mormon Church and denouncing their stance on polygamy and baptism of the dead, founded the settlement of Zarahemla (taken from the Book of Mormon), near Blanchardville, Wisconsin (Lafayette County) in 1852, and in 1860 received Joseph Smith III, the Prophet's son, as their rightful leader. The scattered members of this group, officially known as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, are found primarily throughout the Mississippi Valley. Claiming to be the "true and lawful" continuation of the original church, it has been served by a leadership in lineal succession from its founder. Joseph Smith III remained President for 54 years until his death in 1915 when he was succeeded by a son, Fredrick Smith, who, in turn, was followed by a brother, Israel Smith, in 1946. Today, the presidency of the Reorganized Church is held by Wallace Smith, a great-great grandson of the Prophet, Joseph Smith. Its headquarters is currently located at Independence, Missouri. Since this church repudiates polygamous behavior as well as several other controversial Mormon practices, its members have lived in virtual harmony with their "Gentile" neighbors, and today the church counts 160,000 members gathered in approximately 600 churches nationwide.

ECCLESIASTICAL DOCTRINE AND GOVERNMENT

Mormons derive their religious beliefs and practices from three principle sources: The Pearl of Great Price, which contains Joseph Smith's interpretations of the Bible (the Book of Moses and the Book of Abraham); The Doctrine and Covenants, covering Smith's revelations; and The Book of Mormon, which is based on Smith's translations of the hieroglyphics on the golden plates. Mormons consider The Book of Mormon as being equal

with and supporting, but not supplanting the Bible (Hardon 1969:159; Mead 1980:92).

Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints claim they are neither Catholic or Protestant, but many of their religious tenets are based on Reformation principles, especially the concept of appealing to the inner voice of God for private interpretation of the Bible (Hardon 1969:154). A factor that does distinguish Mormons from Protestants, however, is their insistence on the concept of the Church of Christ. Protestant churches do not believe that any one of them is the Church of Christ, but rather that all Protestant churches belong to the Church of Christ. In contrast, the Mormons believe that they alone are the church for our time (Weigel 1961:92).

Another difference lies in the Mormon's belief that three individual persons (or gods) comprise the Godhead--the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; the Father and Son have bodies as tangible as man's, but the Holy Ghost is purely a spirit. Two other practices--baptism for the dead and sealing in marriage for eternity are peculiarly Mormon. Baptism for the dead is based on the belief that those who died without a chance to learn about and accept the gospel cannot be condemned by a just and merciful God. Therefore, the gospel must be preached to them after death, the rite being performed with a living person standing proxy for the dead. Mormons are quick to point out, however, that this ceremony alone will not save the dead; faith and repentance are also necessary for salvation (Mead 1980:93-94).

Marriage for Mormons takes two forms: marriage for time (temporal marriage) and marriage for eternity (celestial marriage). The former is open to all members, the latter is permitted to those "Saints" who are judged worthy. Celestial marriages are performed in special secret ceremonies and the offspring of these marriages are considered the natural heirs to the preisthood (Hardon 1969:161).

Another concept often associated with the Mormons is polygamy or plural marriage. It was originally advocated by Joseph Smith on the strength of special revelation. Yet, because of its controversial nature, Smith initially reported his revelation to only a few of his closest associates. The practice was officially begun in 1841 when Smith took Louise Beeman as a wife, and it was publicly acknowledged by Brigham Young in 1852. Accepted by the Utah-based Mormons, polygamy proved to be a principal cause behind their troubles until the turn of the century (Hardon 1969:164; Allen and Leonard 1976:170). In 1890, the president of the Utah-based church issued a manifesto that ended the contracting of new plural marriages. Today, the Utah branch of the church maintains that while the practice was divinely revealed, it must be held in abeyance in order to avoid any confrontation with civil authority. Polygamy is still discretely practiced, however, by a schismatic fundamental element of the Utah school.

In contrast, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has always rejected the concept of plural marriage. This group denies there ever was a divine revelation on the subject. They contend that Smith was not a polygamist, that he never sanctioned plural marriage, and that the clearest evidence that the Utah-based church is not the true church is the solicitation and practice of polygamy by Brigham Young and his successors until it was forbidden by the federal government (Hardon 1969:165).

The ecclesiastical organization and government differ in detail among five Mormon denominations but agree in essentials. Two types of priesthood exist within the church: the Melchizedek, or greater priesthood, and the Aaronic, or lesser priesthood. The Melchizedek has authority over the offices of the church and holds the power of the First Presidency. Its officers include apostles, patriarchs, high priests, seventies, and elders. The Aaronic Order controls the temporal affairs of the church through its bishops, priests, teachers, and deacons.

The ecclesiastical structure of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is

extremely heirarchical. The highest office of the church is the First Presidency, composed of three high priests--a president and two counsellors. Its authority is absolute, binding in both spiritual and temporal matters. Below the First Presidency is the Council of Twelve Apostles, which supervises the work of the church and ordains all ministers, and the First Seventy, whose chief function is to proselytize. Beneath these offices, the administrative units of the church are separated into geographical divisions: stakes (districts), which are composed of a number of wards (parishes). High priests, assisted by elders, oversee the stakes, while bishops supervise the wards.

The prime source of revenue to the church is the tithing system, whereby members are required to contribute one-tenth of their yearly incomes. The ideal is that property be used for common social and economic ends, and members are urged to hold and use their property as stewards in service to God.

A defining feature of the church is the degree to which it enters into and influences every facet of the life of its members, including educational resources and recreation. The Mormon Church engages in constant and vigorous mission work; in 1980, some 28,000 members served as full-time missionaries in 170 mission stations worldwide (Mead 1980:94-95).

MORMONS IN WISCONSIN

The Wisconsin wilderness was a scene ripe for the expression of religious and communistic experiments, as evidenced by the large number of sectarian movements within state boundaries during the last century. The Mormons' most industrious experiment in Wisconsin was set in the upper valley of the Black River, and the most bizarre at Voree, Walworth County. But it was the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints that impacted most heavily during the nineteenth century. The connection of the Reorganized Church to Wisconsin's denominational history is intimate. Founded chiefly by Wisconsin men at odds with the church of Brigham Young, the Reorganized Church evolved from early Mormon inroads into Iowa and Lafayette counties.

In September 1841, a party of Mormons was sent from its headquarters at Nauvoo to the pineries along the Black River about 50 miles north of La Crosse to man the sawmills. Parties from St. Louis and Prairie du Chien had scouted the Black River as early as 1818, although there is no record of anyone trying to cut pine timber there until 1840 when Jacob Spaulding built the first sawmill on the site of present-day city of Black River Falls. The Yankee mills were purchased by the Mormon Church for a sum of $12,000 for the purpose of cutting timber, making shingles, and sawing lumber for their headquarters at Nauvoo, particularly toward construction of the temple and Nauvoo House. The Mormon operation, established at the Falls in 1841, was extensive and a real boon to the upbuilding of the lumber industry in the region. In addition to maintaining the mills, they built a commodious warehouse, and several dwellings, for concurrent with the sawmilling enterprise, was an effort to attract more Mormon settlers to the region. In 1843, a steamboat owned by the Mormon Church left Nauvoo for Black River Falls with a company of colonists, led by Lyman Wight (President), and George A. Miller (Bishop). They travelled several days by steamboat, leaving it near the mouth of the Black River at La Crosse, and finished their journey to the Falls in keel boats. But when the last raft of timber left for Nauvoo in July 1844, the lumbermen, Wight, and Miller returned to Nauvoo, followed by the pinery settlers (Sanford 1940:131-132; Davis 1948:374-375).

A group of 160 men, women, and children were led from Nauvoo to the southernmost coulee at the rear of the present city of La Crosse in the Fall of 1844. Their leader, Lyman Wight, was among those disaffected by the debates over the rightful ascendency to the Mormon presidency upon the death of Smith. Perhaps because of his earlier experience on the Black River and his knowledge of the lush valleys to the west, he led the 160-member band to Mormon Coulee which lies sandwiched between the bluffs along the

Mississippi River. Malaria had been rampant in the Illinois colony, and in a letter dated November 29, 1844, Wight explained his decision to head north ". . . to look for a more healthy part of the country than Nauvoo" (Sanford 1940:136). Once the band regained good health, plans were implemented to move to new ground in Texas. In the spring of the next year (1845), the group abandoned their claims in Mormon Coulee, set their winter cabins ablaze, and departed for Fredericksburg, Texas. Thus, the La Crosse settlement had proven to be only a stage or "preliminary step" on the longer and more arduous trek south, a move which may have been opposed in the beginning by the Nauvoo authorities (Sanford 1940:129-138).

The James Jesse Strang colony, first at the sacred city of Voree, Walworth County, from 1844 to c.1850, and then at Beaver Island (Michigan) in northern Lake Michigan, represents the most colorful side of Mormon history in Wisconsin. Strang was first exposed to the teachings of the Mormon Church by relatives at his Burlington, Wisconsin, home, and in 1844 he journeyed to Mormon headquarters at Nauvoo to receive instruction and baptism by the Prophet-Seer, Joseph Smith, Jr. With the assassination of Smith later that year, and the eruption of discord over Brigham Young's claim to leadership, a minority of disgruntled Mormons, under the direction of Strang, withdrew to his "Garden of Peace" (Voree) in southeastern Wisconsin.

Though claiming to be the divinely chosen successor of Smith, Strang did not attract a large following, as most followed Brigham Young to the haven of the Great Salt Lake Valley. Nonetheless, loyalists of the Strangite colony multiplied rapidly between 1845 and 1848, as did the power and influence of their Prophet-King. Explorations to the east brought about the eventual Mormon occupation of Beaver Island, Michigan. The colony coalesced slowly on the island, but by 1850 the "Saints" boasted 600 to 700 faithful in their tiny enclave. By 1854, their numbers had reached 2,500, with an additional thousand in Voree and elsewhere in Wisconsin, Michigan, and the East. But they were a beleaguered people, locked between internal discord and the inability of a "Gentile" society to tolerate their differences. In 1856, two dissatisfied followers assassinated Strang, and brought the group's brief tenure on the island to a close. Of the consequences Lewis wrote: "Without Prophet or leader, the "Saints" on Beaver Island fell victim to hostile Gentile mobs, and were driven from the Island, never to recover their property or faith." The death of Strang was a tremendous blow to his church (Lewis 1983:277; Burgess 1958:39-49). Yet, his church survived and remains active in Burlington, Wisconsin and Walworth County even though it lacks a prophet.

Southwestern Wisconsin emerged as the natural center of Mormon activity in the state, due, in part, to the early penetration of Mormons (from Nauvoo) to the Blanchardville area of Iowa, Lafayette, and Green counties, and the establishment in this area of the sacred City of God or "Zarahemla." The first tracts were taken by William Cline and Henry Harrison Dean who came to Wisconsin territory in the period 1846 to 1848 to avoid further confrontation with the Brighamites. Another early Mormon figure in southwestern Wisconsin was Zenus Hovey Gurley, Sr., a Mormon missionary who had travelled extensively among the Indians of northern Wisconsin, and who for a time took an interest in the Strangite colony. A dam, gristmill, log cabins, and a general store grew up in Blanchardville in the late 1840s and collectively were known as "Horner's Mill." The area was virtually untouched by Gentiles; the Mormons built the first school (on the east side of Graceland Cemetery in Blanchardville), church, and mill, and during these organizational years, "Zarahemla" was the religious center for all Mormons in the southwest, including those who had made inroads into the lead mining settlements.

The Blanchardville group made progress toward formal organization in 1852 when a general conference was held in Cyrus Newkirk's Mill in present day Blanchardville on the Pecatonica River. In the following year (April 6-8, 1853), the "Saints" convened to found the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, and until 1859 conferences were held twice yearly at Zarahemla, with representatives gathering from branch

churches in Beloit, Janesville, Potosi, Waukesha, and Blue Mounds. Contending that the Utah branch of the Mormon church had neglected the rule of lineal succession, the Reorganized Church resolved that their first and proper leader must be from Smith's own seed. Though reluctant at first to join them in Wisconsin, Joseph Smith III, accepted the leadership after receiving both face-to-face and written appeals from the Zarahemla group. He was ordained into the call in April 1860 at Amboy, Illinois, and all of his successors, in turn, have been descended from the founder.

Penetration of Gentiles into the Blanchardville area, coupled with the removal by death and relocation of key church figures, led to the virtual extinction of the the community by 1860. As the Gentiles took the reins of community leadership, many of the Mormons relocated south of town in an area they called Mt. Zion (Lafayette County) (Folkedahl 1952-53:122-125). The Reorganized Church retained its hold in the southwest, though other centers in southern Wisconsin grew in numbers and influence. The elder Jason Briggs attracted a group of the disgruntled from the Illinois colony to Beloit, where he founded the Beloit-Newark Branch of the Church as early as 1843. About 1845 to 1846, the Beloit branch renounced the Brigham Young faction in favor of the nearby Strangites, but Briggs soon became convinced that he was following a false leader, and after careful appraisal, he turned to the young Smith, and consequently, to the Blanchardville Branch for leadership. Other dissenters seceded from the Strangite colony to join the Reorganized Church, though the total defection was not great (Brookover 1952:310).

Just as it is impossible to prove the intricate processes of the pioneer mind, it is impossible to retrace the footsteps of all who came to this area, and of those who came but moved on. Most were followers of Smith from Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio who had become disillusioned with the turbulent situation at Nauvoo, while many others were converts after their arrival to Zarahemla. Between 1890 and 1906, the number of Mormons in Wisconsin grew remarkably, more than three-fold, from 342 members in seven organizations to 1,184 in 17. The Mormons travelled widely in the state in search of converts, and their success proved to be out of proportion to their numerical strength. The Indian nations of northern Wisconsin were a prime target, as were the foreign-born. There are records of newly-arrived Scandinavians being baptized into the Mormon fold along the banks of Lake Koshkonong, and of Mormon missionaries among Scandinavians in the Mississippi Valley (Main 1943:204-205). The Reorganized Church won an early and solid hold on the Mormon membership in the state, perhaps owing to its early appearance on the scene and the organizational zeal of its early leaders. By 1936, however, the original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints had made great strides, nearly matching the Reorganized Church in both number of organizations and memberships statewide.

In 1940, the Wisconsin District of the original Church registered five congregations, one each at Eau Claire, Fond du Lac, Green Bay, La Crosse, Madison, and Rhinelander. In the Northern Wisconsin District of the Reorganized Church, groups were counted at Appleton, Black River Falls, Chetek, Frankfort, La Crosse, Ladysmith, Sparta, and Wyeville. In the Southern District the Reorganized Church had congregations at Beloit, Evansville, Flora, Janesville, Madison, Milwaukee, and Soldiers Grove (see accompanying map and table).

Mormons in Wisconsin

Year	CHURCH JESUS CHRIST LDS		REORGANIZED CHURCH JESUS CHRIST LDS	
	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1870	1	no data		
1890	1	32	6	309
1906	4	323	13	861
1916	no data	no data	11	915
1926	5	640	14	833
1936	10	987	13	1,179
c. 1957	no data	730	11	1,249
1980	no data	no data	12	1,625

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:421-432; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
National Council of Churches 1957. Churches and Church Membership in the United States: 1957. Series, C, nos. 18-19.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980. Wisconsin Religious Directory, 1-4.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, stake houses, missions, homes of prominent Mormon church leaders and laymen; sites or districts of settlement associated with Mormon lumbering operations, sites or buildings associated with the abandoned settlements of Voree, Zarahemla, and Mt. Zion.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints displayed a very light representation throughout Wisconsin; historically, most congregations were located in the southern half of the state. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints exhibited a light representation throughout Wisconsin, with a slightly heavier distribution in the southern half of the state. Strangite Mormans were concentrated in Walworth County.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys are known to have been undertaken to identify historic Mormon churches in Wisconsin. The "Religion and Immigration" and "Settlement" chapters in the intensive survey reports may provide some information for specific locations.

Survey and Research Needs. Locate sites or structures associated with the Mormon associated lumbering settlement at Black River Falls. Survey sites and structures associated with the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints' settlements in the Blanchardville area (Zarahemla) and near Mt. Zion (Lafayette County). More research is needed in the area of Mormon missionary activity among the Indian tribes of northern Wisconsin and among nineteenth century immigrants.

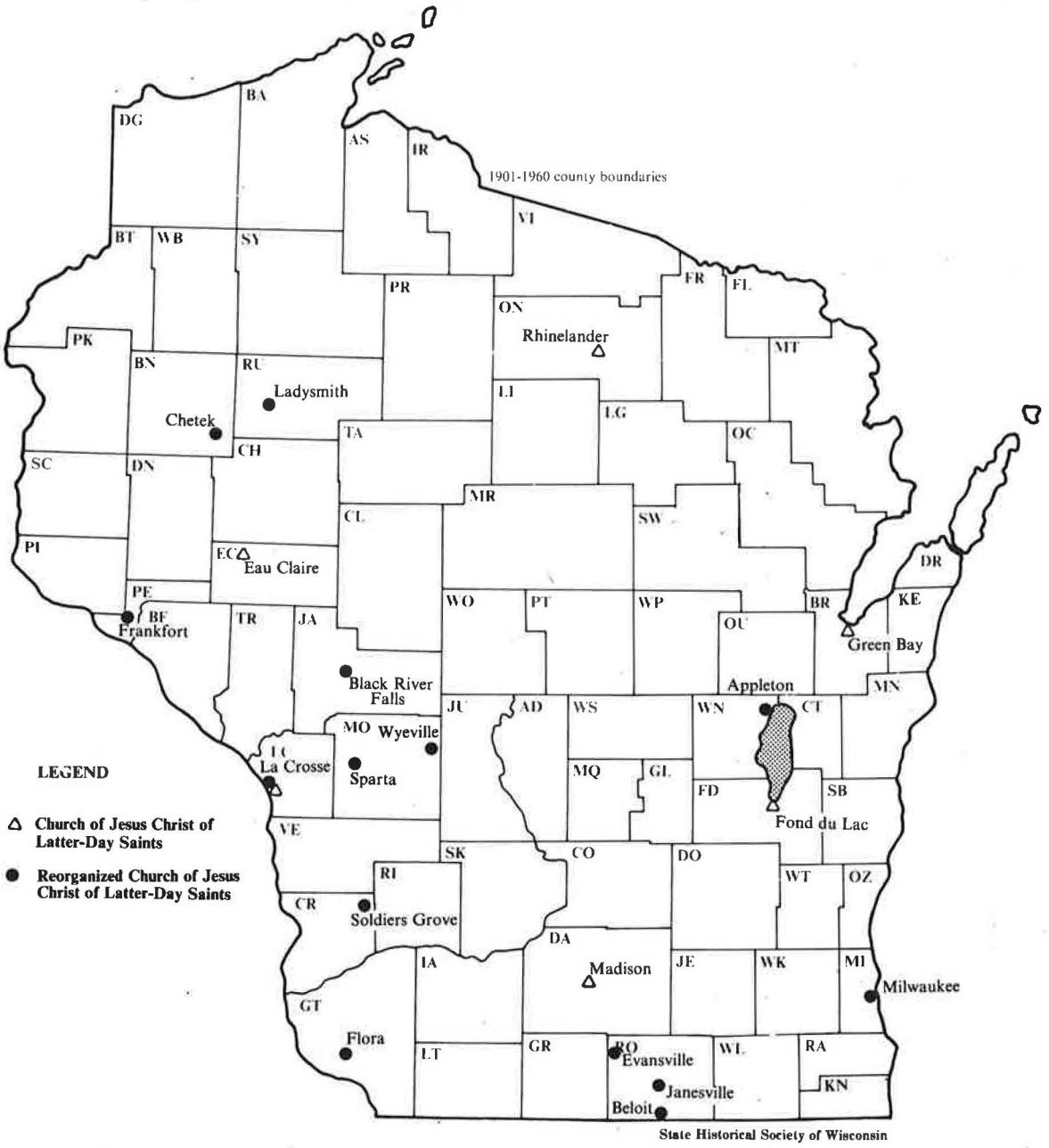
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

James Jesse Strang House (1844), Spring Prairie, Walworth County, (NRHP 1974)

Context Considerations. Because the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has such strong historical ties to southern Wisconsin, some eligible sites or structures may possess state-wide or even national significance. Strangite Mormon affiliated structures may alsomerit state-wide significance.

CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER - DAY SAINTS



Mormon Congregations in Wisconsin, 1940

Source: Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project, *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1941), pp. 60-62.

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Temporal Boundaries: 1830s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: The Congregational Church had moderate statewide distribution; the Christian Church was concentrated in the southwestern region of the state.

Related Study Units: Evangelical and Reformed churches, Presbyterian Church, private colleges.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Congregational or "Independent" Church evolved from separatist sentiment within the Church of England in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and is today recognized as a democratic and liberal representative of mainstream Protestantism. Commonly acknowledged as the Church of the Puritans, the Congregational Church developed from the religious foundations established by the settlers at Plymouth, Massachusetts (1620), and at Massachusetts Bay (1630), making it the second oldest Protestant body in America after the Anglican or Episcopal Church, established in 1607. In parts of New England it became the state church, but congregations were totally autonomous, meeting only occasionally on common concerns, and functioned without a national governing body until the formation of the National Council at Oberlin, Ohio, in 1871. With minor modifications the colonial pattern of a "free church," established and controlled by its members, continued to characterize the Church as it spread westward across the continent.

Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Congregational Church tended to be smugly provincial, and did not extend itself beyond New England--"...it was entirely too self satisfied with its past to seek new ways of doing things" (Sweet 1944:35). The church's lack of a centralized authority, coupled with its limited geographic distribution impeded its performance beyond the Hudson River Valley until the post-Revolutionary War period. Once that war had ended, however, the church began to expand into western New York and Pennsylvania. By the early 1830s it had become established in the Connecticut Reserve in Ohio, and from there spread throughout the midwest and west.

A Plan of Union, adopted by the Congregationalists and Presbyterians (New School) in 1801 for missionary activity in the developing territories, was first tested in central and western New York. Under the Plan, congregations were allowed to select a spiritual leader from either the Presbyterian or Congregational churches. However, most elected Presbyterian preachers, and many pioneers changed their religious affiliation to the Presbyterian church. Thus, the work of Congregationalists in some western areas was somewhat curtailed. Still, the successful exchange and equal acceptance of ministers and members between the two denominations was an inspiration to churchmen as they moved west. In Wisconsin territory, the Plan of Union was put into action in 1840.

The Congregationalists became involved in a number of interdenominational cooperative ventures. Representatives of the Presbyterian, Congregational, Dutch Reformed, and Associate Reformed Churches came together to form the American Board for Foreign Missions in 1810, the first foreign missionary association in the United States. In 1826 the American Home Missionary Society was founded, eventually becoming the prime mover and subsidizer in the founding of congregations throughout the Northwest.

Unlike the Baptists who employed farmer-preachers and the Methodists who used the circuit system, the Congregationalists followed a policy of supporting well educated "resident pastors," ordinarily stationed in one community and doing nothing but the work

of the Church. Emphasis on congregational autonomy, apart from any higher human authority, was the Church's most distinctive organizational tenet. The churches, in turn, were bound in associations or unions on local, provincial, and national levels, and had well defined democratic constitutions and administrative offices. Congregationalists accepted the fundamental tenets of Protestantism, but were not bound by any creedal statement, emphasizing instead freedom of individual conscience and interpretation.

The National Council of Congregational Churches (numbering 943,500 members nationally) merged with the General Convention of the Christian Church (97,000 members nationally), a group of similarly organized churches founded about the time of the American Revolution, to give birth to the General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches in 1931. The General Convention of the Christian Church (not to be confused with the Disciples of Christ-Christians) evolved from three independent groups that had split off from the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian denominations in the late 1700s and early 1800s in protest of the rigidities of ecclesiastical organization. The first step toward their organization was taken in 1809 in New England, but 24 years elapsed before a general conference, commonly known as the "American Christian Convention" was established. The Christian Church, or Christian Church-General Convention as it was subsequently called, was not bound by any creedal statement other than the Bible, had a church government which was congregational, and permitted complete freedom of belief.

The General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches, numbering 1.4 million members nationally, joined with the Evangelical and Reformed Church in 1957 to form the United Church of Christ. (See Evangelical and Reform Church study units). Ministers and laymen who objected to giving up the independent tradition of Congregationalism and who did not wish to join the united ministry, formed a separate association known as the National Association of Congregational Christian Churches in 1955. In close accord with the doctrine and practice of their united brothers, they are presently headquartered in Oak Creek and embrace more than 100,000 members on a national level. The United Church of Christ, which represents the fusion of elements of Congregational, Christian, Evangelical, Reformed, and Presbyterian churches, counts nearly two million members in more than 6,500 congregations nationally (Mead 1980:253).

CONGREGATIONALISTS AND CHRISTIANS IN WISCONSIN

The Congregationalists, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, began their ministrations in Wisconsin among the Objiwa Indians at La Pointe, Madeline Island (Bayfield County), in 1830. Frederic T. Ayer, arriving that year, started a school among the white children of the local fur trading population while preparing to launch a mission effort among the Indians. Like their Presbyterian counterparts, the Congregationalists maintained separate Indian and white evangelization programs, though there were occasions when facilities were shared. Ayer was joined by reinforcements from the east and from the nearby Chippewa Mission in the persons of the Rev. and Mrs. Sherman Hall, Elizabeth Campbell, the Rev. W.T. Boutwell, and Delia Cook, and together they founded at the La Pointe Mission the first Congregational church within the bounds of Wisconsin in 1833. The mission was moved to Odanah on the mainland in 1845, passed into the stewardship of the Presbyterians in 1870 and later to the Methodist Episcopalians (Dexter 1933:2-3).

The Stockbridge Indians, relocated near Green Bay from New York via Indiana in 1822, were a second focus of Congregational activity. The Reverends Jesse Miner and Cutting Marsh were chiefly instrumetal in building up a Congregational mission among the Stockbridge, but dissension within the tribe hampered their efforts and the mission dissolved completely in 1848. Subsequent expeditions to the Sauk and Fox tribes in the territory were not productive, and Marsh failed to establish any further missions. In 1851 he moved to Waupaca where he assumed responsibility for establishing churches and

Sabbath schools among the settlers living in the vast territory between the Fox and Wiscosin rivers and stretching from Portage to the northern line of settlement (Dexter 1933:3-12). In short, the earliest Congregational schools and missions in Wisconsin were founded in conjunction with early work among the Indians, or for the benefit of children at fur trading or military posts, especially at Fort Howard (Green Bay) and Fort Winnebago (Portage).

Congregational activities from 1836 to the close of the century centered around home missionary enterprises under the sponsorship of the American Home Missionary Society which represented several Protestant denominations, including the Congregationalists and Presbyterians who combined their western missionary efforts when their Plan of Union was adopted in 1801. The Reverend Aratus Kent, a missionary scouting from his home in Galena, Illinois, is credited with conducting the first regular services for the white population when a gathering of 200 received him in 1830 at Prairie du Chien. Eight years elapsed before he received missionary reinforcements from the Missionary Society, and before churches of the Presbyterian Congregational Convention were established in the cluster of lead mining counties.

A colorful character in the history of the Congregational and Presbyterian missionary work in Wisconsin was Stephen Peet (also a notable amateur archaeologist), who upon the urging of the Missionary Society, though chiefly by his own initiative, undertook a 600 mile horseback tour of the territory in the 1830s to investigate the condition of the wilderness churches and to propose prospective sites for additional missions. He was the first to reveal the missionary potential to the denominational leadership, and in 1841 he broadened his service by accepting the desired appointment as agent of the Wisconsin Missionary Society. The first permanent Congregational churches appeared at South Prairieville (Waukesha), Kenosha, and Beloit in 1838; tenadditional Congregational churches were founded by 1840.

The Presbytery of Wisconsin, formed in Milwaukee in 1839, was the first formal measure of church structure for the Congregational as well as Presbyterian churches in Wisconsin. It embraced the first Presbyterian Church (Milwaukee) and First Congregational Church (Waukesha). Later that year, the Presbytery voted to call for delegates "to confer and agree upon a plan of union and co-operation between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the Territory." (Dexter 1933:78). The formal Plan of Union for Wisconsin was consummated in 1840, and it remained the sole organization for both churches until 1857. The Plan experienced its greatest gains among the settlers of the lead region. Most were affiliated with the Presbyterian or Congregational churches before their arrival in Wisconsin. Due in large measure to the energy and resourcefulness of Union missionaries, by June 1842, 33 churches were registered in the convention, 17 New School Presbyterian and 16 Congregational, with an additional eight congregations that had not yet joined in the "Plan" (Smith 1973:601).

In 1844 the American Home Missionary Society (representing missionary activity of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches) described its work in Wisconsin as "without parallel in early establishment, rapid growth, and harmony of operation." (Smith 1973:602). Financial assistance was a critical part of the fostering support offered by the Mission Society. In 1850 only 10 of 126 Union churches were self supporting, and in the next decade, the Mission bore more than 90 percent of the total co-denominational expenditures in the state (Current 1976:138).

The extension of Old School Presbyterianism into Wisconsin, however, served to weaken the bonds of the Union, for this group, not having participated in the agreement, was especially attractive to those Presbyterian settlers who were suspicious of the Union's Congregational leanings. For the Congregationalists in Wisconsin, the rift between the Presbyterians led to a "more assertive and independent attitude," or in the words of Sweet, "greater independence than in any other previously formed western state" (Sweet

1964:34). Between 1836 and 1846, 53 Congregational and 32 Presbyterian churches became operative in the territory, and in recognition of the predominance of the Congregationalists, the name was changed to the Congregational Presbyterian Convention in 1874, and after a decade, to the Wisconsin Congregational Conference (1884) (Sweet 1964:36). The Congregational Church in territorial Wisconsin did not gain sufficient strength to operate independently and continued its affiliation with the Presbyterian church until the late nineteenth century.

Between 1836 and 1848, the Union established 102 churches in Wisconsin territory, reflecting an influx of Yankee settlers. The Methodists witnessed a slower start with 80, the Baptists 50, and the Episcopalians 31 (Dexter 1933:23-24). Of the effective outreach, Dexter notes: "The leading pastors of the state were strongly evangelistic in spirit and in practice, and they welcomed professional evangelists and so the evangelical tradition grew" (Dexter 1933:56). In the last decades of the nineteenth century, missionary evangelist George W. Nelson was active on the northern front and Rev. Thomas W. Cole in the central region, while Deacon Jackson Tibbits and Rev. John Willan were impelled to cover the timberlands.

In the late nineteenth century, the Rev. Russell L. Cheney, pastor at Bloomington (Grant County), introduced evangelistic meetings to the southwestern region, drawing together a team of four college men, the so-called "Cheney Quartet", and a Gospel Tent for summer evangelistic tent tours. While the "Cheney tent" was highly successful as a Church sponsored activity, the use of Gospel Tents, camp meetings, and other out-of-door methods was not widespread (Dexter 1933:57-58). Most "Grove Meetings", as the out-of-door activities were called, appeared where the congregation did not have the benefit of an edifice, and employed only rented halls or schoolhouses during the winter months. Parishioners traveled long distances for all day sessions, as many as four preaching sessions and a Sunday School. The Evangelists preached in localities where there was not as yet any church organization, but with prospects, and with the weaker churches where the local workers needed reinforcements and encouragement" (Dexter 1933:60). The Wisconsin Home Missionary Society, established in 1872 as an adjunct to the American Home Missionary Society, and Our Church Work, a denominational paper published in Madison, were enthusiastic backers of the Church's evangelistic policy, and played a dynamic role in interlacing the concerns and programs of missions and congregations throughout the state (Dexter 1933:57).

The immigrant population was a central target of the missionary evangelists in the nineteenth century. They succeeded in establishing several Congregational churches among them. Churches in the Welsh Congregational Association reached their peak in 1896 when 26 congregations with 630 members were counted; but when tallied 20 years later, the number had plummeted to five and 146 respectively. The beginnings of the Welsh Congregationalists were found in or near Delafield (1844), Dodgeville (1845), Watertown (1846), Nebo (Lemonweir Association-1849), Neenah (1849), Blue Mounds (1847), and Racine Pike Grove (1849). (See English, Welsh, Scotch study units). Among the oldest Scandinavian congregations were those at Clintonville, Navarino, and Maple Valley. Among the Swedes, congregations at Clear Lake, Glenwood City, Siren, and Wood Lake were initially affiliated with the Congregationalists. Success among the German settlers was limited and sporadic, but among the known affiliates were Bethelehem in Milwaukee (1894), Curtis (1897), St. Johns in Polar (1900), Ebenezer in Sheboygan (1911), Oshkosh (1911), North Milwaukee (1913), and Ebenezer in Racine (1916) (Dexter 1933:103-112).

Many Congregationalists were graduates of eastern academies and universities, and not surprisingly, their efforts toward the provision of higher education played an integral part in the history of the Congregational Church in Wisconsin. Three colleges, all beginning as academies and bearing a Congregational character, were established by Church missionaries. In the early 1840s, negotiations toward the opening of a college at Beloit

(Beloit College) got underway, though several years passed before the sentiments crystallized in the form of a charter, dated February 2, 1846, with the actual opening of the college held in the fall of the succeeding year.

Aware of the religious and educational needs in the Mississippi Valley, Captain David P. Mapes and Alvan E. Bovay scouted the territory and eventually staked out land for a college at Ripon where construction began in the spring of 1851 (Brockway, later Ripon College). Following its completion the board of trustees offered it to the Winnebago District of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, which eventually assumed prime responsibility for its programs, opening it in 1853, and upgrading it to a "college level" liberal arts institution in 1863 (Dexter 1933:146-148,160-163). Milwaukee Female Seminary (later Milwaukee College) opened in 1848 as a private non-sectarian institution, but shifted to the status of an incorporated institution in 1851. Legislative enactment effected the union of the Milwaukee school with a former Baptist school, the Wisconsin Female College of Fox Lake (after 1884 called Downer College) in 1895, in the form of Milwaukee-Downer College. In the same year a theological department was added to the facility, and though non-sectarian, it maintained close ecclesiastical ties, receiving the counsel of both the Congregational and Presbyterian leadership (Dexter 1933:176-177). Graduates of Beloit College were the prime figures in the founding of an academy at Ashland (Bayfield County) which was duly incorporated in October 1891 as "North Wisconsin Academy" or "Ashland Academy", but grew into Northland College with the inauguration of the first college grade department around 1906 (Dexter 1933:179-195).

A series of academies or preparatory schools, many the extended work of a local congregation or group of congregations, bore a Congregational complexion and benefitted from the Presbyterian-Congregationalist leadership. Platteville Academy, receiving a charter in 1839, began operation in 1842 as an outgrowth of the local Congregational church". Southport (Kenosha) Academy received its charter shortly after Platteville, also in 1839, and Rochester Academy followed several decades later, in the wake of the 1893 annual Convention of the Congregational Church of southeastern Wisconsin. Endeavor Academy was established in Marquette County by Congregational ministers R. L. Cheney and E. A. Childs in January of 1891. These men also established a church and platted a new village named Endeavor, on the site. The academy was plaqued with intermittent organizational and financial problems from the outset, but managed to survive until 1925. Academies founded at Milton and Prairieville (Waukesha) had their genesis with Congregational churches, but later grew into, and were succeeded by, Milton College and Carroll College discussed above (Dexter 1933:196-211). (See Secondary Educational study unit).

The Christian Church made weak advances into Wisconsin, arriving early (pre-1850), but not assembling the denominational framework necessary to sustain growth. The 1890 census of churches shows that they were most active in the southwestern sector, with 14 organizations in Richland County, three in Vernon County, and two in Sauk County, though Christian Churches were also found in Crawford, Dunn, Outagamie, Sheboygan, Waupaca, and Waushara counties. A sharp decline in the membership was recorded about the time of the First World War, and the church dwindled to only 156 members in nine congregations as they prepared for union with the Congregational Church in 1931. The Congregationalists, moderately spread throughout the state, exhibited their greatest numerical strength just prior to the union. (See accompanying map and table.) (Legreid)

Congregational and Christian Churches in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures

	CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES		CHRISTIAN CHURCHES		CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES	
Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850	38		5			
1860	112		8			
1870	157		13			
1890	182	15,841	25	579		
1906	257	26,163	21	470		
1916	270	30,534	8	585		
1926	218	35,031	9	156		
1936					186	34,961
c. 1953					185	48,323
1980*	69	20,934				

*Affiliated with the National Association of Congregational Christian Churches, a group that did not merge into the United Church of Christ in 1957.

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1853:pt. 2, 934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:279-290, 331-340; 1910:288-291, 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
National Council of the Churches of Christ 1953.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parsonages, missions, educational facilities, homes of prominent Congregational and Christian church leaders and laymen.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types.

Congregational Church displayed a moderate representation throughout the state during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Its earliest representations were at La Pointe (Ashland County) and Green Bay (Brown County), where Indian missions were established. Congregational churches were later established in settlements long the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and in the lead mining region. By the late nineteenth century it had established a number of churches in the southern half of the state.

Christian Church, which united with the Congregational church in 1931, had very light representation throughout Wisconsin. It was most active in the southwestern region, with an especially high concentration in Richland County during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

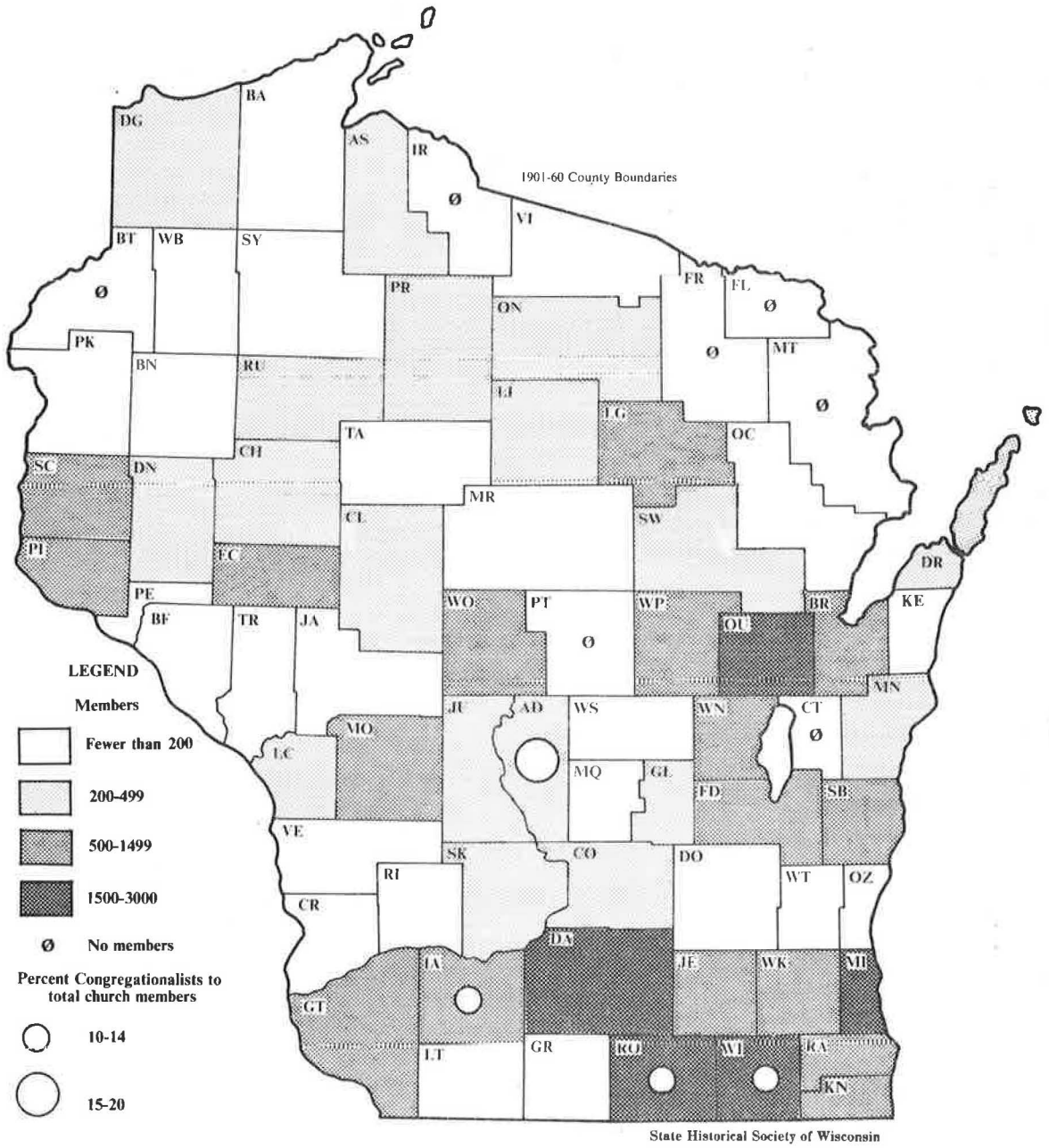
Previous Surveys. The Wisconsin Historical Records survey provides some historical data for Congregational and Christian churches throughout the state, while the Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey provides data on specific churches in that city. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in various intensive survey reports provides some information for specific localities. The "Religion" chapter of the Oshkosh Intensive Survey, for example, provides particularly fine coverage of the Congregational churches in that city.

Survey and Research Needs. Search for extant structures or sites associated with Congregational missionary activity among the Objiwa at Odanah in Ashland County. Identify ethnic Congregational Churches, eg. Welsh and Scandinavian Congregational churches. Because of the Congregational Church's historic emphasis on education, affiliated educational facilities should be identified.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Marina Site, Town of la Pointe, Ashland County (NRHP 1978)
First Congregational Church (1919), 310 Broadway St., Eau Claire, Eau Claire County (NRHP 1983 Randall Historic District, Eau Claire MRA)
First Congregational Parsonage (1915), 403 Third Ave., Eau Claire, Eau Claire County (NRHP 1983, Randall Historic District, Eau Claire MRA)
Community House, First Congregational Church (1914), 310 Broadway St., Eau Claire, Eau Claire County (NRHP 1974)
First Congregational Church of Ripon (1865-1868), 220 Ransom St., Ripon, Fond du Lac County (NRHP 1979)
First Congregational Church (1869), 80 Market St., Platteville, Grant County (NRHP 1985)
First Independent Congregational Welsh Church of Bay View (1873), 2739 S. Superior St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1982, Village of Bay View Historic District)
Fulton Congregational Church (1857-1858), Town of Fulton, Rock County (NRHP 1976)



Members of Congregational Churches in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 701-702.

Cooksville Congregational Church (1879), Main & Rock Sts., Cooksville, Rock County (NRHP 1973, Cooksville Historic District)
First Congregational Church (1862), 801 Bushnell, Beloit, Rock County (NRHP 1975)
Shopiere Congregational Church (1850-1853), Town of Turtle, Rock County (NRHP 1976)

Context Considerations. In most instances, eligible Congregational affiliated sites or structures will possess local significance. However, those sites and structures associated with early Congregational missionary activity among the Ojibwa Indians of northern Wisconsin and churches associated with the Scandinavian and Welsh ethnic groups may merit state-wide significance. Educational facilities associated with the Congregational Church, eg. Platteville Academy and Ripon College, may also merit statewide significance.

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DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

Temporal Boundaries: 1839 - present.

Spatial Boundaries: Slight distribution throughout state, with concentrations in the southwestern counties.

Related Study Units: None.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Disciples of Christ is an inclusive term for three closely related religious bodies, bound by a common origin, and typically confused in regard to name and denominational status. Today that body known as the Disciples of Christ or Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) is fully organized as a denomination and represents the more progressive elements of the three groups. It has a large following throughout the northern states, although only one Disciples of Christ congregation remains active in Wisconsin--the First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) in Janesville (Don Hochmuth, letter to SHSW, October 10, 1985). The second group, known collectively as the Christian Church, refused to follow the Disciples into a denominational organization. These independent congregations split away from the parent body and today constitute a fellowship; there is no formal organization other than the various local congregations, and there are no denominational societies, officials, or boards. While the Christian Churches are direct descendants of the Disciples of Christ and are still identified with that body, they tend to follow a more conservative, fundamentalist theology (Mead 1980:78). The third group, the Church of Christ, is strictly conservative, non-instrumentalist, and nondenominational. Historically, this group has had its largest following in the south and west, but has figured in Wisconsin's religious history, particularly during the post-World War II period.

Distinguishing between the groups is often problematic, since they are inclined to use each other's names interchangeably. Throughout the Midwest and South, for example, the Disciples of Christ commonly refer to themselves collectively as the "Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)," and local congregations, with few exceptions, assume the title "Christian." The Church of Christ, historically a rival group, uses the title "of Christ," but never "Disciples," in reference to individual congregations as well as to the church at large. The matter is further complicated by the existence of other "Christian Churches," some defunct, some absorbed by other denominations, and some functioning independently. Among the defunct "Christian" organizations, the most important was an offshoot of the present-day Church of Christ which joined the Congregationalists in 1931, and as a result of a merger in 1957, is now part of the United Church of Christ. Lesser "Christian" bodies, the largest of which are the "Holiness Church of Christ" (a Baptist derivative), and the "Christian and Missionary Alliance" have retained their separate identities (Hardon 1969:86).

Wisconsin churches did not escape the confusion associated with the multiplicity of denominational names. In the early 1940s, 63 churches of the Disciples of Christ used the name "Church of Christ," 16 used "Christian Church," and two defunct
bodies, one in Waupun and another in the Town of Willow Springs, Lafayette County, were known as "Disciples Churches" (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942:12). (Figures from the decennial census reports are not in accord with those from church yearbooks; it is probable that some churches did not report. See accompanying table for comparison.)

The Disciples had their genesis in a secessionist movement in the early part of the

nineteenth century, chiefly in Kentucky and Ohio, when several eloquent spokesmen rose to national prominence in their quest for the simple and pure evangelical Christianity. Thomas and Alexander Campbell, Barton Stone, and Walter Scott, all with Presbyterian backgrounds, played a leading and formative role in the Disciples of Christ movement. The two defining principles of the movement were, firstly, the view that denominationalism was un-Christian and thus an emphasis on Christian unity; and secondly, an aversion to all ecclesiastical authority and thus the complete autonomy of the local congregation. Those who became Disciples or Christians came primarily from the rolls of the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches.

Thomas Campbell, a minister of the secessionist branch of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland laid the cornerstone of the movement in the Upper Ohio Valley in 1809, and thus, is acknowledged as the "father" of the movement. Unable to garner support for union within his own church and among other denominations in Ireland, he immigrated to the United States in 1807 where he organized a branch of the Seceder Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. His official exposition of the faith, Declaration and Address, received a cool reception in the hands of his Presbyterian comrades, however; so upon the arrival of Campbell's son, Alexander, in 1809, the father-son team undertook to organize the Christian Association of Washington, Pennsylvania (1810), the first local church of the new denomination. The Campbells contended that schisms in the church were un-Christian, and argued eloquently for Christian unity and freedom of individual conviction. Following the elder Campbell's dismissal from the Presbyterian ministry, he was converted to the doctrine of baptism by immersion, immersed by a Baptist in 18ll, and began a 17 year association with the Baptist Church (1812-1829).

The Association grew rapidly, especially in the Midwest, though it staunchly opposed ecclesiastical organization during this formative period. Following the lead of the Campbells, it functioned as a branch of the Baptist Church for 17 years before altercation on the matter of baptism, and in particular, the younger Campbell's anti-creedal stance, antagonized the Baptist leadership to the point that the Campbellites were expelled. In 1832 the Campbellites entered into partial union with Barton Stone and his following at Lexington, Kentucky. In basic principles of Christian unity, the Campbells and Stone were in close, though not perfect, harmony. Stone, who championed revivalism, believed that Christians "could and should unite on the basis of simple faith in Christ and that the diverse doctrines and practices of denominationalism should be abolished" (Mead 1980:75). He had gathered a fellowship of Christians into churches simply called "Christian," with supposedly no denominational bias. His church at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, was the center of the Kentucky Revival (1801), and as a result of his contention at the time that "deeds are more important than creeds," disciplinary action was leveled against him by the Presbyterian Church. Stone withdrew from the church and reorganized his group under the name "Christian." His ministry gripped Kentucky and Ohio, and spread rapidly across the central states. A fourth spokesman for the movement, Walter Scott, "popularized the term 'restoration,' by which he meant the restoration of the New Testament pattern and practice," or in other words, a return to the "ancient order" of the church through an uncomplicated biblical faith (Mead 1980:76).

The first national convention of Disciples was held at Cincinnati in 1849 when 156 delegates from 11 states organized the American Christian Missionary Society. Cincinnati was selected as their headquarters, and Alexander Campbell was elected their first president.

The Disciples counted more than a million members nationally at the end of the last century, but dissension fragmented its ranks, and the subsequent secession of a large conservative element, the Churches of Christ, in 1906 dealt the Disciples organization a severe blow. At least six "mutually hostile and exclusive groups," broadly classified as either liberal or fundamentalist, differing on such matters as baptism, missions, church schools and the use of church music, participated in the debates (Hardon 1969:90).

The Disciples witnessed their most rapid growth in rural areas, so that rural and small-town churches predominated in membership and numbers well into the 1950s. The group found ready converts, particularly in the Middle West, throughout and following the Civil War, with congregations sprouting in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, and Missouri. Yet, with continued mistrust of ecclesiastical authority, formal organization eluded them. Of the situation a century later, a Disciples minister wrote: "Our cause is jeopardized today because our churches lack cohesiveness and cannot express themselves collectively and effectively" (From The Christian Evangelist, Sept. 8, 1938, cited in Wisconsin Historical Records Survey 1942). Its rapid growth and extension, nonetheless have been attributed, in part, to its success with the written word, especially through the widely read Christian Century.

Historically the Churches of Christ have differed from the Disciples by their opposition to the use of instrumental music in public worship, and thus they are often described as the "non-instrumental" segment of the parent body. Their chief source of unity has been a firm and steady resistance to the "human innovations" of religion, as found in first century Christianity. Neither are the two bodies in accord on ecclesiastical character. Whereas today the Disciples acknowledge the necessity of some denominational framework, the Churches of Christ view this as just another "human innovation," and prefer an amorphous existence. Their colleges, professional schools and publications are non-sectarian.

In church polity both the Disciples and Churches of Christ are strictly congregational, each church electing its own deacons and elders, calling its own ministers, and conducting its own affairs with no interference by an outside authority. The Churches of Christ have no judicial authority beyond the congregation, unlike the Disciples who are supervised by three ecclesiastical levels above the congregation, namely: district and state conventions and an international convention. Congregational representatives convene at state and district conventions with regard to the general affairs of the church, while the International Convention meets annually as a representative organ of all the congregations and fulfills a purely advisory role, chiefly on the operations of the philanthropic organizations of the church. A series of boards, e.g., the Board of Church Extension, the Board of Higher Education, and the Christian Board of Publications are delegated the chief responsibilities in overseeing the instrumentalities of Christian service and education. The Disciples are unionistic, taking a leading role in various inter-denominational activities.

Its worship is unliturgical, although some congregations are beginning to adopt form in their services. Members reject all creeds and summaries of faith, though in doctrine it is in close accord with other Protestant bodies, and only in a few respects, is it considered distinctive.

For over a century the Disciples were a loosely bound and somewhat poorly defined association of congregations. With no central ecclesiastical authority, the works of boards and agencies overlapped, and churchmen and parishioners alike called for a restructuring in the long-term interests of efficiency and economy. At Kansas City in 1968 a new organizational design was accepted, whereby the church now functions under a three-tiered polity: local or congregational, regional and general. The Disciples counted 1,256,849 in 4,377 congregations across the country (ca. 1980) and collectively they maintained 32 colleges, undergraduate schools of religion and foundations, 28 centers for older adults, and eight centers for children and retarded persons (Mead 1980:76-77).

In 1926 the Disciples, numbering about 1.4 million nationwide, were concentrated in the east and west north central states, with the greatest concentrations in Indiana (154,000), Missouri, Illinois, Kentucky, and Ohio respectively. Wisconsin's total of 3,769 fell far behind, and displayed a highly localized distribution, focused on the southwestern sector.

A striking exception is the very high percentage (14.3 percent of the total in all denominations) found in Rusk County (see accompanying map and table).

DISCIPLES IN WISCONSIN

The Disciples of Christ became active in Wisconsin in the late 1830s, with a report by Philip R. Campbell in 1839 of the presence of a 12-member Disciples organization in Grant County. The denomination did not make its formal appearance in the state until 1847, with the coalescence of congregations at Platteville (Platteville Christian Church, 1847-61 and 1865-c. 1910); Manitowoc (Manitowoc Church of Christ, 1847-62); and Waupun (Waupun Disciples Church, 1847-94).

Preeminent among the early churchmen in Wisconsin was Henry Howe, an Ohio Baptist turned Disciple, who spent a lifetime preaching and organizing congregations throughout northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin. In the words of one church historian: "No man in Wisconsin made greater sacrifices and endured greater hardships for the cause of Christ" (Brown 1904:294). He "arrived as an itinerant minister, to travel about by horse and buggy and hold services in town halls, schoolhouses, private homes, and even clearings and groves, while he and his family subsisted on a temporary stipend from the Disciples' missionary board and then on donations from converts" (Current 1976:546). Under the guidance of the Rev. Howe, the Center Church of Christ in the Town of Center, Rock County, was formally organized in 1853. "This church did more for the cause of Christ than any other in the state. Her ministers were. . . evangelists in all parts of the state. . ." (Brown 1904:293). Singly, or together with the growing corps of Disciples' ministers, Howe spearheaded the establishment of many congregations after mid-century. In the span from 1849 to 1863, 14 new congregations appeared, with an additional nine preaching places and one church in 1864 and two preaching places and two churches in 1865 (Historical Records Survey Project 1942:6-7).

Some Early Disciples of Christ Congregations in Wisconsin

Church	County	Founder	Years in Existance
Waupaun Disciples of Christ	Dodge	unknown	1847-1894
Name not identified	Grant	Rev. Henry Howe	1853-unknown
Platteville Christian Church	Grant	unknown	1847-1861 1865-c. 1910
Bethel Christian Church	Lafayette (near Darlington)	Rev. Henry Howe	1851-1888
Manitowoc Church of Christ	Manitowoc	unknown	1847-1862
Woodstock Church of Christ	Richland	Rev. W.S. Merrill	1856-1867
Berea (or Sabin) Church of Christ	Richland	Rev. J.H. Babb	1858-unknown
Center Church of Christ	Rock	Rev. Henry Howe	1853-unknown
Lima Church	Rock	Rev. A.P. Jons	1854-1855
Retreat Church of Christ	Vernon	Rev. William Purdy	1849-c. 1890
Springville Preaching Place	Vernon	Rev. D. Parkinson	1852-1856
Viroqua Church of Christ	Vernon	Rev. D. Parkinson	1853-1900
Sugar Grove Church of Christ	Vernon	Rev. D. Parkinson	1855-unknown

SOURCE:

Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project, 1942:6-10

The Wisconsin Christian Missionary Association of the Disciples of Christ Church was organized in 1853, and incorporated in 1895 at Platteville with the expressed purpose of promoting the spread of New Testament principle and practice throughout the state. The

call went out for evangelists, especially "persons who can speak in the Norwegian and German languages" (Brown 1904:294). Branches of the alliance emerged at Readstown in Vernon County (1902); Rib Lake in Taylor County (1902); Ladysmith in Rusk County (190l); and Manitowoc in Manitowoc County (1896) as a consequence of the efforts of state evangelist, J. H. Stark who represented the Missionary Association (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942:7-10).

The list of congregations and meeting places is long, and complicated by the fact that Disciples grouped, dissolved, and regrouped as the years passed. Ultimately, the Disciples founded a total of 122 churches and preaching places by 1940. (For a complete listing of Disciples' churches and mission groups, see the materials of the Historical Records Survey Project, 1942).

The Bible School Monthly, established in 1908 with the aim of promoting Bible study and Sunday School programs, was a real boon to the Disciples of Wisconsin. Wrote the editor in 1909: "The Bible School is slowly being recognized as the most important part of our religious work. . . We are gradually getting away from the old idea that the Bible School is a place for women and children to the new idea that Bible School furnishes the largest and best returns to the church life and growth" (From Bible School Monthly, March 1909; cited in Wisconsin Historical Records Survey 1942). As the years went by, the Bible School program was broadened to "include the Wisconsin work of the church in general" (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942:7).

The Disciples felt a pressing need for evangelistic work in areas of the state where they were not known, as well as those areas where Disciple churches had disbanded. In December 1909 an evangelist, the Rev. Frank L. Van Voorhis, assumed the role of Corresponding Secretary and State Missionary for the Disciples in the state. His missionary travels took him to outlying communities, as far north as Ashland and Superior where congregations had once been active. He gathered "scattered Disciples" into local churches, and reported a fine response when, for example, the members of the Hickory and Peshtigo Brook Churches cut, sawed, and transported lumber to Green Bay in a grand church building effort. A similar cooperative spirit was noted among the Beloit Disciples, where the "building-in-a-day" effort was celebrated in 19ll. Three hundred men, women, and children volunteered in concert to complete and dedicate a Disciples church within a day, giving true expression to the philosophy upon which the faith was founded: "In essentials, unity; in nonessentials, liberty; in all things, charity" (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942:l0).

As the evangelistic effort effectively opened new fields with the coalescence of numerous rural service groups, the church leadership offered this admonition on the shortage of a rural clerical force: "Only two ministers were giving full time work to the rural churches; the majority of country congregations were served as
outpoints, that is by nonresident ministers" (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942:10). A minister at Rib Lake, Taylor County, reportedly served a circuit of six county mission points (1913); many communities were too weak or remote to attract a prospective young pastor; and with approximately 30 congregations in the state in 1915, many groups were served infrequently and irregularly, or did not enjoy worship privileges at all. The state tent was in constant demand for summer evangelistic gatherings during this period, and the plea went out for more pastors and stronger denominational programs (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942:10-11).

Against difficult odds, the Disciples made considerable progress in staffing and outfitting the state. German and Polish missions were founded in 194l; and of the former, one was at Kenosha and the other at Milwaukee. A Polish mission was also established at Stevens Point, as well as a Polish religious paper called Sztander Chrzescianski (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey 1942:11).

In 1890 there were 24 organizations and 1,317 Disciples in Wisconsin, especially concentrated in the southwestern counties. Six of the organizations were in Richland County; four in Vernon County; three in Grant County; two each in Rock and Green Counties; and one each in Crawford, Douglas, Fond du Lac, Iowa, Lafayette, Milwaukee, and Waukesha Counties.

In 1906 there were approximately 1,700 Disciples in Wisconsin distributed between 15 counties. By 1916 the increase in numbers over the last decennial report was substantial, with 2,291 members and 28 organizations; and by 1926 the membership figures reached a new high of 3,769 in 32 organizations. After a slump in the 1930s, the 1940 figures showed a definite increase. The table of figures below sketches the group's numerical strength in the state for the period up to 1940.

The Disciples of Christ organization in Wisconsin experienced a period of tremendous upheaval during the late 1940s and early 1950s. During that time all but two of the Disciples of Christ Churches went independent and became known as Christian Churches. Wisconsin was unique among Disciples because even the state organization, the Wisconsin Christian Missionary Association, went independent.

Dissension between the two groups was based on matters of theological interpretation. One principal difference centered on the acceptance of denominational status--the Disciples have accepted it, while the more conservative Christian Churches follow no formal organization other than that of the local congregation. Another basic difference between the two bodies lies in their attitudes toward baptism. The conservative Christian element emphasizes baptism by immersion, while the more liberal Disciples of Christ are moving toward open membership and receive unimmersed believers into their fold.

More conservative than the Christian Churches, the non-instrumental Churches of Christ did not play a major role in Wisconsin religious history until mid-century. In 1906, for example, there was only one congregation with eight members in the entire state; and by 1936 there were only four congregations with a total membership of 852. Within the last 40 years, however, the Churches of Christ have come into the state, and now have a following approximately equal to that of the Christian Churches.

Disciples of Christ and Church of Christ Congregations in Wisconsin

Denomination	Year	No. Orig.	No. Members
Disciples of Christ	1870	36	1,450
Disciples of Christ	1890	24	1,317
Disciples of Christ	1906	25	1,715
Church of Christ	1906	1	8
Disciples of Christ	1916	28	2,291
Disciples of Christ	1926	35	3,842
Church of Christ	1926	3	73
Disciples of Christ	1936	29	4,102
Church of Christ	1936	4	852
Disciples of Christ	1940	35	c.4,800

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1872:505-526, 559-560; 1894:343; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942:12.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parsonages, preaching sites, missions, homes of prominent Disciples of Christ leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resources Types. During the mid-nineteenth century the Disciples of Christ were concentrated in rural areas and small towns of southwest sector of the state; during the early twentieth century, they expanded throughout the southern half of the state and into a few northeastern and northwestern counties, retaining greatest membership in rural areas and small towns.

Previous surveys. No thematic survey has been undertaken to identify Disciples of Christ churches in Wisconsin. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in the intensive survey reports may provide some information for specific localities. Data compiled from the Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project and the Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey should also be helpful.

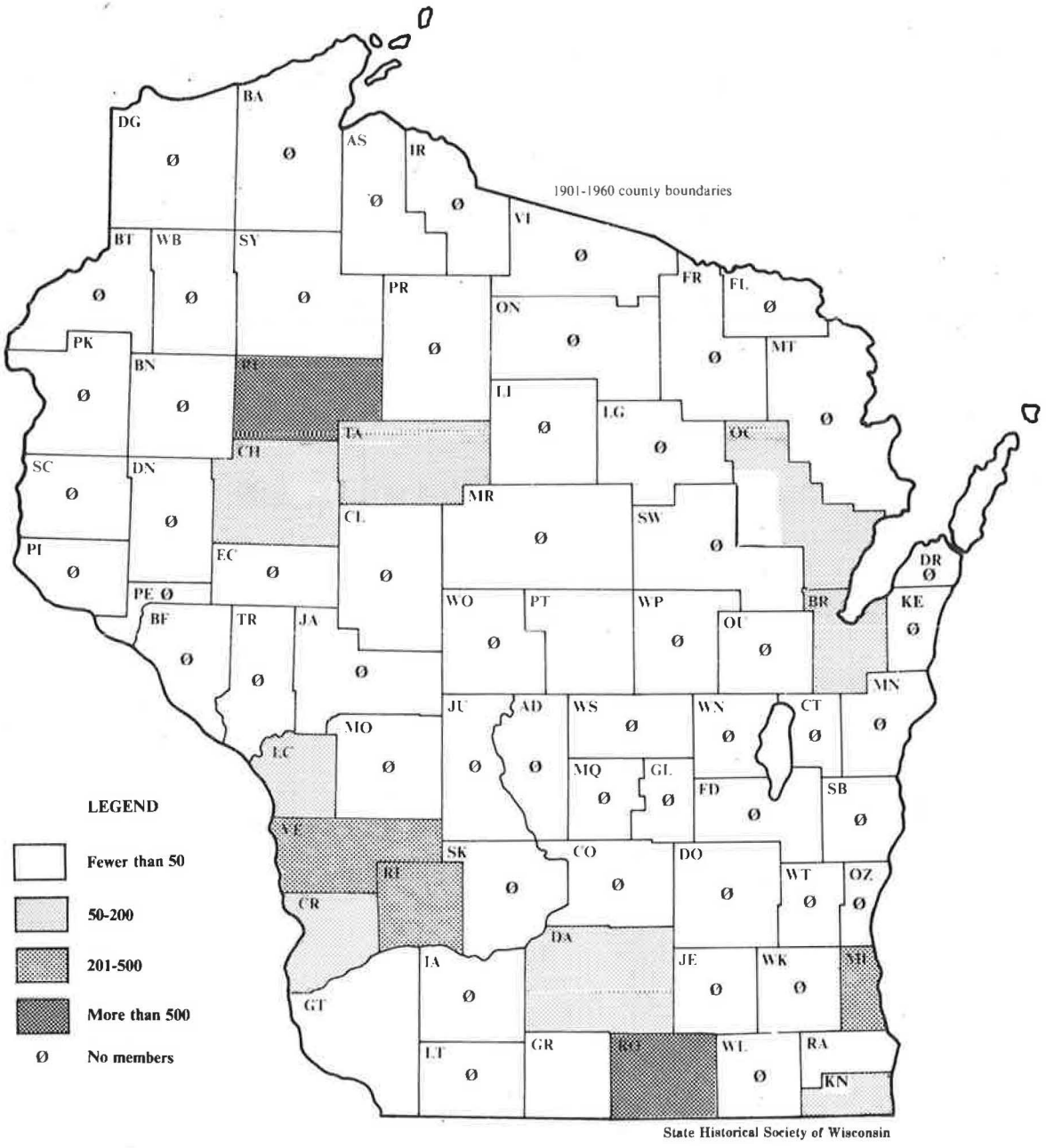
Survey and Research Needs. Identify significant sites and structures associated with early Disciples of Christ activities in the southwestern sector of the state.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None.

Context Conserations: The majority of sites and structures associated with the Disciples of Christ will merit local significance.



Members of Disciples of Christ Churches in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 701-702.

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Temporal Boundaries: c. 1900 to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Light sprinkling in most sectors of the state.

Related Study Units: Other Eastern European Settlement, Southern European Settlement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Orthodox Church is a fellowship of "autocephalons" churches, governed by their own chief bishops, with the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople holding titular primacy. The number of atuocephalons churches has varied throughout history. Presently, there are 15: the Church of Constantinople, the Church of Alexandria, the Church of Antioch, the Church of Jerusalem, the Church of Russia, the Church of Georgia, the Church of Romania, the Church of Bulgaria, the Church of Cyprus, the Church of Greece, the Church of Albania, the Church of Poland, the Church of Czechoslovakia, and the Church of America. The first nine of these churches are headed by "patriarchs," the others by archbishops or metropolitans (Encyclopedia Britannica (15th ed.) 1976:s.v. "Eastern Orthodoxy").

While each church is managed independently by a council of bishops called a "synod," they are united in doctrine and liturgy. This doctrine is founded on the Holy Scriptures, the Holy Traditions, and the dogmatic decisions of the seven Ecumenical Councils. The Holy Scriptures are interpreted solely in accordance with the teachings of the seven Ecumenical Councils and the Holy Fathers. The Nicea-Constantinopolitan Creed is followed in its original form, without the Roman Catholic Church's addition of the "filioque" phrase. The Eastern Orthodox Churches also recognize Christ as the only head of the church in heaven and on earth and completely reject the dogma of the pope as the special representative of Christ on earth and the infallible head of His earthly church. Also in contrast with Roman Catholicism, the Eastern Orthodox churches reject the doctrine of surplus merits of saints and the doctrine of indulgences (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Commerce 1941:550). They also reject the concept of purgatory, and in its place emphasize the beneficial aspects of prayer and the importance of both faith and works for justification (Backman 1976:22-23).

Eastern Orthodox Churches are governed by an episcopal system based on a synod of bishops over which an elected archbishop, patriarch, or metropolitan presides. The ministry consists of three orders: deacons, priests, and bishops. The deacons assist in the works of the parish and in the service of the sacraments. Priests and deacons are of two orders, secular and monastic. Marriage is permitted to candidates for the deaconates and the priesthood, but is forbidden after ordination. The episcopate is, as a general rule, confined to members of the monastic order. Ordinarily, Eastern Orthodox congregations are in the care of the secular priesthood, while monks and nuns are gathered in monastic colonies or are assigned to the mission field. While the Eastern Orthodox churches have actively sought converts throughout much of their history, the churches in the United States tend to be non-evangelistic.

The Eastern Orthodox Churches are noted for the glorification of time-honored traditions with elaborate worship rituals. No sculptured images or instrumental music are permitted, although there are pictoral representations of Christ, the apostles, saints, and scenes in Bible history in the form of icons (Backman 1976:23-31; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1941:551).

Historically, the Eastern Church was geographically concentrated in Southern and Eastern Europe as well as parts of Asia and North Africa, and divided along Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Albanian, Greek, and Georgian elements. The dispersal of Orthodoxy from its European and Asian core is a phenomenon of the past two centuries, beginning when a band of Russian missionaries founded missions in Japan, Korea, and Alaska (1794), and established churches in the continental United States during the last years of the eighteenth century. With the organization of the first permanent Orthodox church in London in 1838, and the first gathering of American Orthodox Christians in New Orleans in 1864, the Greek church also began its worldwide thrust. The greatest dispersal of Orthodox Christians came with the tidal wave of uprooted Russians, Ukrainians, Greeks, and others to American shores during the period 1906-1956, swelling membership in American Orthodox congregations from 130,000 in the former year to 2.4 million in the latter. In the following decade (1956-66) membership increased again by one-third to 1,450 congregations embracing 3.2 million members (Backman 1976:23-24). Today membership approaches 4,000,000. The communion of Orthodox churches in the United States has no single headquarters, and its members, still organized along national lines, are supervised by bishops of their respective nationalities.

The tide of Greek immigrants to America, primarily from 1890 to the First World War, pointed up the need to give organizational structure to the Greek Orthodox community, a process which began in 1918 with the arrival of churchman and synodical delegate, Bishop Alexander. In a synodical and patriarchal act known as the Founding Tome of 1922, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople founded the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America. With regard to matters of doctrine, polity, and worshop, it is in close accordance with other Eastern Orthodox Churches. During the late 1970s, it could claim 1,950,000 members in 535 churches nationwide (Mead 1980:115).

Russian organizational activity in the United States got underway in 1872 with the establishment of an episcopal "see" or seat of authority in San Francisco. As streams of Russians and other Orthodox Christians followed into cities along the Eastern seaboard, the "see" was transferred to New York in 1905. In a decisive move toward autocephaly, the Russian-American leadership assembled at Detroit in 1924 and asserted the Church's "administrative, legislative, and judicial independence of Moscow." Formally known as the Orthodox Church in America, during the late 1970s, it supported 13 archbishops and bishops in addition to 755,000 members in 352 congregations (Prof. Michael Petrovich. Interview with Randy Wallar, Historic Preservation Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 13 November 1985; Mead 1980:117-119). This church should not be confused with the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia. The latter organization holds that the patriarchate of Moscow has forfeited its right to be considered a true Orthodox Church because it acquiesces to the authority of the atheistic Soviet government. The group is made up of Russian exiles of the revolution and displaced persons of World War II. Its headquarters are presently located in New York City (Mead 1980:127).

Since Serbians were linguistically Slavic and their numbers were not great enough to maintain distinctly Serbian parishes, many found membership in the Russian Churches and accepted the ministrations of the Russian priests. From an early date, the Russian Orthodox Church had a Serbian priest high in its administrative councils, and the Serbians remained within the Russian communion until the changes wrought by the First World War. Shortly after the war (1921), the Serbian Orthodox Churches in the United States were organized into an episcopal diocese, and now have a national church administration and follow the same rituals and dogma as the Russian and other Eastern Orthodox Churches. Headquartered in Libertyville, Illinois, the Serbian Church registered nearly 65,000 members in 52 parishes across the United States in the late 1970s (Mead 1980:119-120).

The Syrians, like their Serbian counterparts, were initially under the supervision of the Russian Orthodox Church, but efforts toward group autonomy resulted in a divided allegiance. The Syrian Mission, containing the vast number of Orthodox Syrians, remained loyal to the canonical Russian authority while two groups split off and established independent jurisdictions. The Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Church was organized independently of Russian church authority in 1927, though it remained in doctrinal concert with its Orthodox neighbors. The Archdiocese of the Syrian Orthodox Church in the United States and Canada was established in 1957, and is today under the jurisdiction of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and All the East. It recorded a membership of 50,000 in 10 churches across America in 1972 (Mead 1980:120; Serafim 1973:24-46).

The Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church represents an interesting sidelight to the story of Orthodoxy in America, having particular relevance to the Wisconsin experience. The Carpatho-Russians or Ruthenes resided in the Carpathian Mountain regions of eastern Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Ukraine. Historically, they have identified with Russia, and their religious allegiances have been directed toward the Russian and Orthodox churches. For years, their mother church was engulfed in the controversy between Eastern Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. In the seventeenth century, it became politically expedient to become a "Uniate" church, with Eastern Orthodox rites and customs but under the "Uniate" or "Union" plan, recognizing the supremacy of the pope.

Centuries of turbulence and alienation ensued, since the Uniates' affiliation with Roman Catholicism was clouded by strong ethnic prejudice. It was only natural that a struggle to separate from Rome and to become completely Eastern should occur. This struggle was later transferred to the United States with the immigration of large numbers of Carpatho-Russians or Ruthenes, especially to industrial and coal mining areas.

A prominent name in the history of the Uniates in America was that of Father Alexis Toth, a dynamic missionary who pioneered the independence of the Greek Catholic Uniates by leading his Minneapolis church away from the American Roman Catholic hierarchy and back into the Orthodox Church in 1891. The New Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Diocese was established in 1938, and is headquartered at Johnstown, Pennsylvania. It could claim 68 churches with a collective membership of 108,400 nationwide during the mid-1970s (Mead 1980:112-113).

EASTERN ORTHODOX IN WISCONSIN

Greeks, Syrians, Serbs, and Russians were part of the ethnic transplantation to Wisconsin. While they were among the last groups to arrive and never numerically significant, each made notable contributions to the state's religious landscape.

A small number of Russians began immigrating to Wisconsin during the late 1890s and the early decades of the twentieth century. These immigrants can be distinguished geographically, culturally, and religiously into two groups. Those Russians settling in the urban areas of Wisconsin's lakeshore region came from widely scattered areas of the Russian Empire, principally the Ukraine and Volga regions. Those that settled in the rural areas of the northwestern sector of the state (Barron, Taylor, Chippewa, and Bayfield counties) were Carpatho-Russians or Ruthenes, who had originated in Galicia, a region which prior to the end of the First World War was included in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

These Carpatho-Russian immigrants were "Uniates," still part of the Roman Catholic Church. Many had originally settled in Minneapolis, but in 1897 had been attracted by advertisements in an ethnic newspaper, The Russian Orthodox Messenger, to a prospective colonization effort in Wisconsin's Barron County. A company of 50 families

ventured west into Polk and Barron counties around the turn of the century, eventually buying land in the Town of Vance Creek (Barron County), southeast of the village of Clayton. As Uniates they tended to be ignored by the Roman Catholic community, particularly because of their Slavic rites and married priesthood. As a result, they consciously sought to establish well-defined and exclusive communities and to perpetuate their ethnic character by a rural and somewhat segregated existence. They turned agriculture and lumbering for their livelihood. In 1909, the colonists came together abandoned their ties with the Roman Catholic Church and established Holy Trinity Orthodox Church, the first Russian Orthodox congregation to be formed in northern Wisconsin. Growth came through immigrant accessions, aided by the promotional efforts of the Minneapolis community, and was sustained well into the 1920s by migratory streams from Slovakia (Holmes 1944:269-270).

A group of Uniates out of Chicago moved into the Cutover on the south shore of Lake Superior at Siskiwitt Bay shortly after the turn of the century, relying heavily on nearby fishing opportunities, and to a lesser degree, on their modest farming operations for a livelihood. In 1910 an Orthodox Christian Church, St. Mary's, was established to accommodate the spiritual needs of additional numbers of Russians seasonally employed in nearby lumbering operations. The ethnic blend included Czechs, Slavs, Croatians, Galicians, Moravians, and Russians, and most joined with each other in spiritual fellowship. Between the years 1911-1915, both lumbering and church activities flourished, and church membership reached a high of 50, only to fall to 11 by mid-century. At that point, a priest travelled from Clayton to conduct divine services only on holidays (Holmes 1944:273 and Plesko 1980).

Similar events and circumstances promoted and guided the flow of East Europeans to Lublin in Taylor County and Huron in Chippewa County. Emigres from the foothills of the Carpathians, some from Galicia, and others from northeastern Hungary, entered Chippewa County in the 1890s. Many had come first to the Pennsylvania mines and then were attracted to the lumbering camps in northern Wisconsin. Though the first congregation to be founded by Russian Orthodox Christians in Northern Wisconsin was at Clayton, the Huron group built the state's first Orthodox house of worship, St. John's, in the years 1906-1907.

Poles, Slovaks, and Ukrainians began trickling into Taylor County (Lublin) in the 1890s and organized an Orthodox congregation by 1908. Their first church, Holy Assumption, was built in 1923. All the Russian Orthodox congregations of northern Wisconsin were initially included in the Archdiocese of Minneapolis, and though long affiliated with the Catholic Church as Uniates, they had since returned to Orthodoxy by joining the Russian Orthodox Church in America. Since 1970 the Orthodox Church in America has had complete autonomy from the Patriarch of Moscow. At mid-century the Russian Orthodox Christians in the state were concentrated at Huron, Lublin, Kenosha, and Milwaukee, proportionately the greatest in Taylor and Kenosha counties respectively (1936) (Holmes 1944:273).

The Serbians and Syrians, like the Russians, favored the industrial opportunities provided by the cities along the west shore of Lake Michigan, specifically Milwaukee, Kenosha, and Sheboygan, where they began arriving in small numbers about 1890. The Syrians, seeing in American cities the means to material betterment, left the motherland in much larger numbers between 1900 and 1915. Milwaukee's Syrian colony built St. George's Church on West State Street in 1917 under the leadership of its pastor, Father Peter Nahas. In the reports of the Historical Records Survey (1941) the only active Syrian parish, St. Elias, is listed at La Crosse, though no specific information was available concerning its establishment. Today all Syrian parishes must answer to the patriarchal authorities of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch and All the East (Perrin 1964:323).

Few Serbians entered Wisconsin before 1900, but eventually 4,500 settled in and around

Milwaukee, with smaller communities scattered at Butler, South Milwaukee, Wauwatosa, Silverdale, Racine, Cudahy, Mayville, Kenosha, Carrollville, and Tippecanoe. On Milwaukee's Third Street they came together in a small church in 1912 and founded St. Sava Serbian Orthodox Church, and began construction on the present cathedral in 1956, which was consecrated two years later (Holmes 1944:288, 291-292).

Wisconsin's eastern lakeshore district was the state's largest recipient of Greek immigrants, with the earliest colonization at Sheboygan. At the beginning of the twentieth century additional Greek settlements appeared in Milwaukee, Kenosha, Racine, Waukesha, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Green Bay, and in more westerly locations, at Madison and La Crosse. The largest and most permanently rooted Greek colony in Wisconsin was that in Milwaukee, where at least 1,100 had congregated by 1910, attracted to a great extent by employment opportunities in the city tanneries. About 1920 the Greek population in Milwaukee reached its peak--approximately 4,000 or 5,000. The majority of these were engaged in wage labor rather than in the business and professional classes. Milwaukee's Greek Orthodox churches became the social and spiritual focus of the Greek community, with the first parish, the Church of the Annunciation, formally organized in 1906, and Old Annunciation Church constructed in 1914. Its successor, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright and completed during the period 1959-1961 in the Milwaukee suburb of Wauwatosa, has drawn worldwide architectural reknown and is listed on the National Register of Historic Places (Perrin 1964:324; NRHP Nomination: Annunciation Greek Orthodox Church, Milwaukee County, Wauwatosa, 1974).

With regard to religious practice, the Greeks were among the most homogenous of the immigrant groups, and as their experience in Milwaukee attests, they were always alert to extend their ministry to other national groups, especially the Russians, Romanians, Serbians, and Bulgarians. But this homogeneity was to disappear during the period of the First World War.

Milwaukee's Greek population had maintained close ties with the Church of Greece, that state church of their motherland. In 1916, however, this closeness drew Milwaukee Greeks into the bitter conflict raging between the neutralist followers of King Constantine I (supported by the Church of Greece) and the pro-Ally liberal followers of Eleutherios Venizelos. The struggle had a paralyzing effect on the city's Greek community, and ultimately led to the creation of a rival parish. In 1922, Milwaukee's liberal faction went to court to maintain control of the old Annunciation parish. Shortly thereafter, a second Greek Orthodox parish, St. Constantine and Helen, was created to serve the needs of Milwaukee Greeks supporting King Constantine (Saloutos 1970:175-193).

Of the several Orthodox churches in Wisconsin, the Greek has displayed the heaviest and most widespread representation. Fifty-seven Greek Orthodox organizations were located throughout the state in 1940. According to the report of the Historical Records Survey: "In villages and cities where there is a Protestant Episcopal Church, the edifice is usually used for the Greek Orthodox service." (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:211-212). (For ethnic breakdown of Wisconsin churches see the Historical Records Survey and accompanying map and table.)

Eastern Orthodox Churches in Wisconsin

	GREEK		RUSSIAN	
Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1906	7	960	3	196
1916	2	2,700	3	190
1926	3	1,519	3	963
1936	6	3,458	6	1,029

	SERBIAN		SYRIAN	
Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1906	no data	no data	no data	no data
1916	no data	no data	1	no data
1926	1	1,200	no data	no data
1936	1	no data	no data	no data

See the Historical Records Survey (1941) for complete listing of Orthodox congregations.

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910:288-291; 1919:234, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:308, 595, 603.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, halls, parsonages, homes of prominent Eastern Orthodox leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Eastern Orthodox congregations constitute a tiny percentage of Wisconsin's religious bodies.

Greek Orthodox Church: Wisconsin's Greek immigrants tended to settle in the industrialized areas of the eastern lakeshore region, with the earliest settlement at Sheboygan. Later settlements occurred at Milwaukee, Kenosha, Racine, Waukesha, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Green Bay, Madison, and La Crosse. The largest concentrations of Greek Orthodox occurs in Milwaukee.

Russian Orthodox Church: Some Russian immigrants to Wisconsin preferred the urban areas of the eastern lakeshore district. Others, particularly the Carpatho-Russians, established scattered rural settlements in Chippewa, Bayfield, and Taylor counties.

Serbian Orthodox Church: Serbian immigrants located in the industrialized areas along the shore of Lake Michigan, especially Milwaukee, Kenosha, and Sheboygan.

Antiochan Orthodox Church: The Syrians, like their Russian, Greek, and Serbian counterparts, preferred the industrialized areas along Lake Michigan, particularly Milwaukee, Kenosha, and Sheboygan.

Previous Surveys. A thematic survey of Russian Orthodox churches was begun during the summer of 1985 by the Historic Preservation Division. Historical data concerning most Eastern Orthodox religious bodies can be found in the Wisconsin Historical Records Survey.

Survey and Research Needs. Information regarding Serbian and Syrian congregations within the state needs to be compiled.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Annunciation Greek Orthadox Church (1961), 9400 W. Congress St., Wauwatosa, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1974)

Context Considerations. In some instances, Eastern Orthodox churches will possess local significance; however those reflecting Eastern European design and construction techniques may possess statewide architectural significance. Churches associated with early settlement by Orthodox groups and those that housed active Orthodox congregations for long periods of time may be historically significant at the state level. Because of the rarity of Eastern Orthodox churches and related structures in Wisconsin, architectural integrity considerations may not be as high as for larger denominations in the state.

Eastern Orthodox Congregations in Wisconsin, c. 1940

Source: Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project, *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1941), pp. 211-214.

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1930 Religious Bodies: 1926. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1941 Religious Bodies: 1936. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project
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1941 Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Wisconsin. Madison. Chronological, county, church and place-name listings of churches by denominational status; includes names and addresses of church headquarters and leaderships.

Temporal Boundaries: Early 1820s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Moderate statewide distribution with an urban bias; heaviest concentration in the eastern counties.

Related Study Units: Other Scandinavian settlement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Episcopal Church, originally known in the United States as the Protestant Episcopal Church, was formally organized in Philadelphia in 1789 as the independent and self-governing successor to the Church of England, and is today an autonomous branch of the fellowship of Anglican churches around the world. In doctrine and ceremony it is closer to the Catholic Church than any other Protestant body, and is unique within Protestantism for its religious orders of monks and nuns.

Anglicans arrived in America with the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 and arrived in adjoining colonies as immigration increased. About 300 Church of England parishes existed at the beginning of the American Revolution, but they were widely distrusted as English institutions, and weathered persecution and decline during the Revolution. Ordinations and new members were few in number as clergymen fled to England and Canada or remained as Loyalists in the colonies. A serious weakness of the colonial Church was that it remained under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. Since only bishops were permitted to ordain priests and confirm church members, following the tradition of Apostolic Succession, colonial ministers were required to travel the expensive distance to England for ordination.

Ultimately, the colonial Church of England could not survive the American Revolution. In 1783, American Anglicans made their final separation with the Church of England, forming the "Protestant Episcopal Church" at a conference in Annapolis. At the First General Convention in Philadelphia in 1789, Episcopalians decided to adopt the liturgy of the Church of England, although they made some significant revisions to the English Book of Common Prayer. Many elements of the Anglican Church, and subsequently the Episcopal Church, were inherited from the Roman Catholic Church. The sixteenth century schism between the Roman Catholic Church and the English nation had resulted in their complete separation and the formation of the Church of England. Although the church was Protestant, it inherited some traditions from the Roman Catholic Church. Many of these traditions are also apparent in the Episcopal Church. Episcopalians retained the parish-diocese structural character of Catholic Christendom, with the national rather than the international church serving as the apex of the juridical pyramid in the United States. The ministerial order consists of bishop, presbyter, and deacon, with both clergy and laity involved in decision-making at the dioceses' annual conventions, and all are under the advisory supervision of the Executive Council and the General Convention.

Ecumenicity has become a central concern to the Episcopal Church, which was at the fore in the establishment of the World Council of Churches in 1948, and has taken an active part in the Consultation on Church Union with other Protestant groups. Social services and missions of the church are emphasized, both in the United States and abroad. Institutions sponsored by the church in this country include a university, nine colleges, 10 accredited seminaries, about 800 elementary and secondary schools, 69 hospitals and convalescent clinics, 108 homes for the elderly, and 91 facilities for child and youth care (Mead 1980:125-126).

The Episcopal Church in the United States exhibits substantial doctrinal variation, broadly grouped along three lines: the low church or Evangelical Protestant, the high church or Anglo-Catholic, and the liberal "broad" church. The low church segment downplays ritualism and has a more evangelistic emphasis (Mead 1980:125). The high church is characterized by more elaborate ritual; Wisconsin's Nashotah House Seminary was an expression of the latter emphasis. The Church has held greatest appeal for Americans of Anglo-Saxon descent and has always been strongest in urban areas. The Church is most heavily represented in the North and South Atlantic regions, with greatest numbers in New York and Pennsylvania (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930:575). The "Episcopal Church" was adopted in 1967 as an alternate name for the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A.," and in 1981 the church had 3,070,349 members in 7,494 churches across the country (Mead 1980:125).

EPISCOPALIANS IN WISCONSIN

By 1810 the Church had assumed its place in the development of the country with state organizations giving way to dioceses, but because it lacked the easy adaptability to frontier conditions, its westward trek was slow and often well behind the line of settlement. Aside from the general organizational unsuitability of the Church to the frontier, internal squabbles on matters of "mission responsibility" crippled the Church on the frontier, prompting the loss of many communicants who followed the line of settlement west of the Alleghanies (Albright 1964:186-206).

The formation of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society in 1820 extended Episcopal church work to the western territories. By that time, Ohio had its first bishop, Philander Chase. In 1835, Jackson Kemper was made the Church's first missionary bishop. Kemper had served parishes in Philadelphia and Connecticut for more than 20 years and was active in the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. As the first missionary bishop of the Church, he was responsible for the founding of churches in the vast territories of Missouri and Indiana. In 1838, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas were added to his jurisdiction (Reeves 1985:191-192).

The westward expansion of the Episcopal Church continued to the Pacific coast, impeded only briefly by the Civil War, though unlike a number of Protestant groups, the Episcopalians eluded schism on the issue of slavery. A separatist group, the Reformed Episcopal Church, arose in 1873 from disputes concerning ritualism in holy worship. Remarkably, it represented the only 19th century schism in the history of the Episcopal Church in America (Albright 1964:270-294). In 1976 another schism occurred over the ordination of women.

Though early white settlers in Wisconsin may have assembled on occasion to read from the Episcopal Book of Common Prayer, public services and an organized ministry were initiated with the arrival of Indians from the Eastern seaboard to territorial Wisconsin. Prior to the Revolutionary War, English missionaries in New York labored to draw the Oneida Indians into the Anglican fold. Even though missionary work with the Oneidas ceased for many years after the war, when it resumed a large number of the Indians remained receptive to the Christian teachings. The transplantation of this nation from central New York to the Duck Creek Reservation near Green Bay in 1822 was accomplished under the guidance of the colorful churchman and St. Regis Indian, Eleazer Williams, who served as their lay reader, catechist, and teacher (Nesbit 1973:100). (See Oneida study unit). One of the goals of his mission was fulfilled with the completion at Duck Creek in 1825 of the first known Episcopal and non-Catholic church in the state. A succession of ordained priests, all assigned by the Church's Department of Domestic Missions, served at Duck Creek and the mission eventually became the largest single Indian mission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

Further missionary work by the Episcopalians in Wisconsin began in 1829 with the opening of the mission boarding school in the vicinity of Green Bay by Father Richard F. Cadle. Following the resignation of Cadle, the school, which in its heyday offered instruction to 100 day and boarding Indians, operated in connection with the Episcopal Mission among the Oneidas at nearby Duck Creek. The school met with a series of hardships which led to the demise of its activities in 1842.

Growth in the white population of the state included a spattering of Episcopalians, most of them officers at Fort Howard (Green Bay), who with their families received the ministrations of the early churchmen. The first recorded worship service among white settlers was at Green Bay in 1826, where Father Norman Nash both led and organized the first Episcopal parish in the state (Wagner 1947:29-39).

The Wisconsin mission field fell under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Michigan until about 1838 when the territory was designated a part of the Right Rev. Kemper's vast missionary district of the Northwest. Between 1838 and 1847, Kemper made annual visits to the Wisconsin territory, reviewing and encouraging priests and missionaries in the field. At that time the focus was on three areas: 1) the Indian School at Green Bay under the direction of the Rev. Daniel Brown; 2) the Oneida mission at Duck Creek under the direction of the Rev. Solomon Davis; and 3) the southwestern sector with headquarters at Prairie du Chien.

Father Cadle, having left Green Bay in 1837, was the key figure in the development of the church in the southwest, holding occasional services at Mineral Point, Lancaster, and Cassville, and spearheading the formation of numerous parishes throughout the lead mining district. Cadle's work extended into the southeastern corner of the territory, where he occasionally crossed the border into Illinois to establish additional congregations. Cadle was an important force in the early development of the church in Wisconsin, devoting more than 15 years to its establishment.

Even with the acceleration of migration into the territory, the number of Episcopalians did not increase proportionately. This can be explained somewhat by the fact that Kemper's pastoral field was extensive, a situation exacerbated by the lack of a large clerical force and the difficulty of travel to the widely-scattered settlements. At the same time, eastern Episcopalians simply may have been a minority among the new settlers to Wisconsin. Even so, in 1847, the year the constituting convention of the Diocese of Wisconsin was held in Milwaukee, Kemper counted 25 congregations and 969 communicants under his jurisdiction (Wagner 1947:23).

Kemper was elected the Wisconsin Diocesan a year later, though he did not relinquish his missionary jurisdiction until 1854. In assuming the role as new "Provincial Bishop to Wisconsin," Kemper recommended that the Church establish a "see city" or seat of central authority. In 1866 he was given a coadjutor, and the authorization to organize the "see" and build a Cathedral. The Rev. William E. Armitage, Bishop Coadjutor, arrived in Milwaukee and in 1868 established All Saints Cathedral (Wagner 1947).

Recognizing the urgency of supplying the Wisconsin wilderness with a proper clergy, Kemper directed his attention to training young men for the ministry. Following interviews with several candidates at the General Seminary in New York, he found three men willing to initiate a missionary experiment in Wisconsin. The Rev. Messrs. William Adams, John Henry Hobart, Jr., and James Lloyd Breck, settled in the vicinity of Waukesha (then known as Prairieville), where in 1841 they completed St. John's in the Wilderness, from where they based their missionary efforts. According to Reeves, the three men traveled 1,851 miles on horseback and 736 miles on foot in their first 90 days in Wisconsin (Reeves 1985:193).

Following a visit by Bishop Kemper in February 1842, Nashotah House was established

on a 500 acre tract among the Nashotah Lakes, in order to improve the mission and to provide a training facility for the priesthood. Breck directed the work at Nashotah House until 1850 (Reeves 1985:193). Nashotah House is one of the oldest institutions of higher education in Wisconsin and the fourth oldest established by the Episcopal Church (Wagner 1947:155). A highly disciplined ascetic life was a part of the Nashotah House experience, and the institution included a seminary and the administrative center of the missionary program. By 1847 Bishop Kemper had ordained six Nashotah graduates into the priesthood, and the following year, under Breck's leadership, the school obtained a charter. Although Breck left the school for Minnesota in 1850, he had firmly established the spirit of the institution (Thomas 1985:193).

Swedish aristocrat, Gustaf Unonius, who founded the first Swedish settlement in Wisconsin at New Upsala, Waukesha County was the first graduate of Nashotah House and the first Swede to become an Episcopal minister in the United States (Forsbeck 1936:4; State Historical Society 1960:356). Unonius was intimately involved in a unique phase in the history of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin, the incorporation of two Waukesha County churches, the Norwegians of St. Olaf's and the Swedes of Pine Lake, into Kemper's Wisconsin Diocese. While retaining elements of Lutheranism, they received the services of an Episcopal priest and were under the complete jurisdicton of the Episcopal Church. Unionius' pastoral charge included 14 preaching stations among the Scandinavian settlers in southeast Wisconsin (Wagner 1947:54-55).

St. John's Hall was a preparatory school operated at Nashotah, with James De Koven as its warden. In 1859 the school merged with Racine College, established in 1852 on a 90 acre lakefront property and emulating "the great 'public schools' of England". By 1857 Racine College claimed 80 students who were taught "in an extreme high church atmosphere and with a strict Christian discipline" (Current 1976:172). De Koven headed the college after its merge with St. John's Hall in 1879. For the next 55 years after De Koven's death, the school shifted from grammar school to military academy to junior college. In 1935, two years after its demise, the property passed to the stewardship of a local sisterhood, the Western Province of the Community of St. Mary, the oldest Anglican sisterhood in America (Hardon 1969:121-122). The sisterhood expanded the usefulness of the facility to include a broad range of religious responsibilities, and incorporated the project under the name of "The De Koven Foundation for Church Work" (Wagner 1947:159-162).

Following the establishment of Nashotah House in Wisconsin in 1842, 53 different religious orders of the Episcopal Church were founded nationwide, with 26 of them active in 1969 (Hardon 1969:121-122).

In 1884 the Rev. Sidney Smythe, a former pupil of De Koven, opened St. John's Military Academy at Delafield, which developed into "one of the leading preparatory schools in the United States" (Wagner 1947:163). Bishop Kemper also took the lead in opening St. John's Home, a refuge for the destitute, in 1868 in answer to a plea by several "philanthropic-minded" women in the Milwaukee Church Union. Known as "Kemper Hall" after the churchman's death in 1870, the girl's boarding school founded in Kenosha in 1865 was considered a "living memorial" to Bishop Kemper. In 1879 the school passed into the care of the Community of St. Mary's, and in 1883 the entire management of the school passed to the sisterhood. Episcopalian churchmen also saw the need for a camp home and summer retreat, and in 1914 the Holiday House at Green Lake, Wisconsin was opened (Wagner 1947:169-173).

Under Kemper the state was divided geographically into Convocations (Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Madison, and La Crosse), each presided over by a rural Dean. Kemper's vision was that someday each of the convocations would evolve into an independent diocese. This dream was partially fulfilled. The Diocese of Wisconsin, born in 1847, included the entire state, but a division in 1875 created the Diocese of Fond du Lac (formerly the Fond

du Lac convocation), and another in 1886 established the Diocese of Milwaukee (formerly the Milwaukee convocation). The Diocese of Eau Claire (formerly the La Crosse convocation), ceded by the Milwaukee and Fond du Lac dioceses, was established in 1928 (Wagner 1947:84). The three dioceses exist today, with a membership of about 22,000 (Reeves 1985:188).

The membership of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin was greatest in proportion to the overall population between 1870 and 1890. By the latter year the Church had penetrated a great number of counties, with Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Door, and Brown counties reporting the most members. Although the number of congregations declined in the first decade of the twentieth century, the membership continued to gain strength, reaching its peak in 1926. Since World War II, Episcopalians, most numerous in urban areas, have been distributed in moderate numbers over most of the state, with highest concentrations in the eastern counties. (See accompanying map and table.)

Protestant Episcopalians in Wisconsin

YEAR	NO. ORGANIZATIONS	NO. MEMBERS
1850	19	no data
1860	45	no data
1870	82	no data
1890	133	10,457
1906	160	16,527
1916	154	18,451
1926	138	30,273
1936	134	28,472

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1853:934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:705-732; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, chapels, missions, vicarages, rectories, deaneries, parish houses, guildhalls, educational facilities, seminaries, convents, poor houses, retreats, homes of prominent Episcopal leaders.

Locational Pattern of Resource Types. Episcopalians display a moderate statewide distribution with a concentration in the urban areas of the eastern counties, particularly Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Door, and Brown counties.

Previous Surveys. None

Survey and Research Needs. Undertake an archeological and historical investigation of the Oneida Indian mission site at Duck Creek in Door County; undertake an intensive survey of Nashotah to determine which buildings associated with the Episcopal Church are significant.

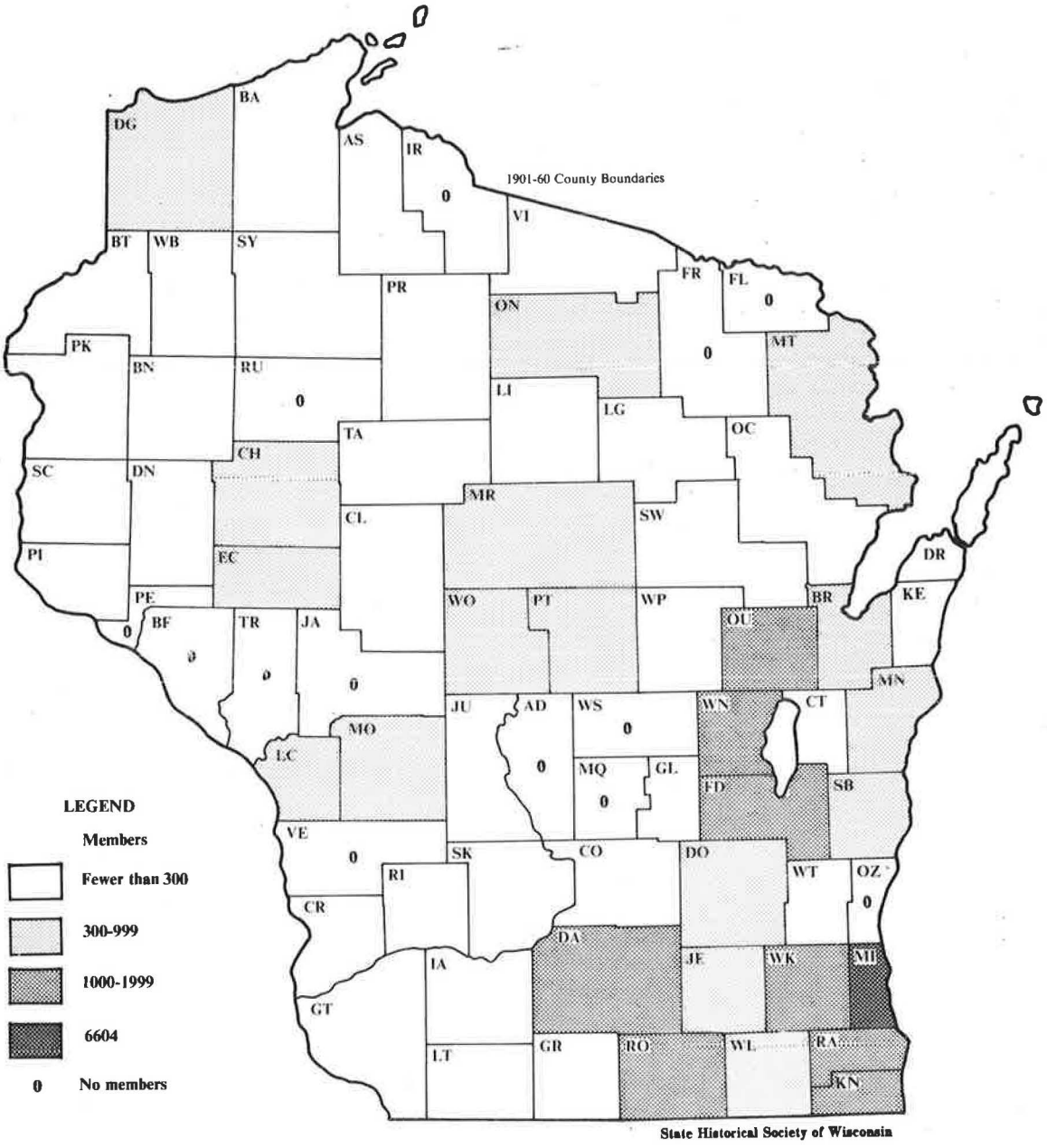
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Christ Episcopal Church (1870), 121-125 N. 3rd St., Bayfield, Bayfield County (NRHP 1974)
St. Ann's Episcopal Church, 435 N. Broadway St., DePere, Brown County (NRHP 1983, N.) Broadway St. Historic District)
Grace Episcopal Church (1855-58, 1868-70), 6 N. Carroll St. Madison, Dane County (NRHP 1976)
St. Mark's Episcopal Church (1858), 130 E. Maple St., Beaver Dam, Dodge County (NRHP 1980)
Church of the Atonement (1878), Fish Creek, Door County (NRHP 1985)
Christ Church Cathedral and Parish House (1910), 510 S. Farwell St., Eau Claire, Eau Claire County (NRHP 1983, Eau Claire MRA)
St. Peter's Episcopal Church (1860-61), 217 Houston St., Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac County (NRHP 1974)
St. Paul's Episcopal Church (1859), 413 S. Second St., Watertown, Jefferson County (NRHP 1979)
Kemper Hall (1861), 6501 3rd Ave., Kenosha, Kenosha County, (NRHP 1976)
St. Matthew's Episcopal Church (1872-79), 5900 7th Ave., Kenosha, Kenosha County (NRHP 1979)
Christ Church of La Crosse (1898-1899), 831 Main St., La Crosse, La Crosse County (NRHP 1985)
All Saint's Episcopal Cathedral Complex (1868-69), 804-828 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1974)
Forest Home Cemetary & Chapel, 2405 Forest Home Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County
(NRHP 1980)
St. James Episcopal Church (1867-68), 833 W. Wisconsin Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1979)
St. Paul's Episcopal Church (1882-90), 904 E. Knapp St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1974)
St. John's Episcopal Church (1863), 400 N. Water St., Sparta, Monroe County (NRHP 1983)
St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Guild Hall and Vicarage (1900, 1866-73, 1871), 408 Park Ave., Oconto, Oconto County (NRHP 1985)

St. Luke's Episcopal Church/Chapel/Guildhall and Rectory, Racine, Racine County (NRHP 1979)
St. Paul's Episcopal Church (1848-51), 212 W. Grand Ave., Beloit, Rock County (NRHP 1978)
Bishopstead, 153 W. Oakwood Dr., Delafield, Waukesha County (NRHP 1984)
St. John Chrysostom Church (1851-53), 1111 Genesee St., Delafield, Waukesha County (NRHP 1972)
St. John's Military Academy Historic District (1884), Genessee St., Delafield, Waukesha County (NRHP 1977)
Chapel of St. Mary the Virgin (1859-66), Town of Summit, Waukesha County (NRHP 1972)
St. Mathias Episcopal Church (1851), 111 E. Main St., Waukesha, Waukesha County (NRHP 1983, Waukesha MRA)
Trinity Episcopal Church (1887), 203 Algoma Blvd., Oshkosh, Winnebago County (NRHP 1974)

Context Considerations. Many Episcopal churches are listed in the National Register, namely for architectural significance. The historical significance of resources should also be considered, despite the fact that few have ethnic associations. Points of historical significance may involve the role of a resource in the statewide development of the church, its educational role, or how well it portrays the particularly Wisconsin brand of the Episcopal Church.



Members of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 703-705.

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Chronological, county, church and place-name listings of churches by denominational status.

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EVANGELICAL CHURCH AND CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST

Temporal Boundaries: 1830s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Evangelical (Association) Church: Moderate statewide distribution; heaviest in Green, Dodge, Washington, Sauk, Outagamie, Milwaukee, Marquette, and Buffalo counties. Church of the United Brethren in Christ: Over time, represented in 40 Wisconsin counties, with the heaviest concentration in Richland and adjacent southwestern counties.

Related Study Units: Methodist.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST

The Church of the United Brethren in Christ is a native American body that coalesced around 1800 out of the desire of German-speaking settlers, centered in Pennsylvania, to maintain a spiritual life distinct and apart from their native Reformed and Mennonite churches. At present there are two remaining bodies of United Brethren in the United States, which should not be confused with the Moravian United Brethren (or Unitas Fratrum) (See Moravian study unit). A conservative element of the United Brethren, under the leadership of Bishop Milton Wright, desiring to adhere to the original Brethren Constitution and Confession of Faith, seceded from the parent body of United Brethren in 1889 to form the United Brethren in Christ-Old Constitution. Today, the group claims a membership of 28,035 in 281 churches, including some Wisconsin congregations. The smaller of the existing Brethren groups, the United Christian Church, split off from the original United Brethren parent body in 1864 following disputation on matters of both a doctrinal and practical nature. Today it has 430 members in 11 churches nationwide, though no adherents are found in Wisconsin (Mead 1980:70). The greater share of the original Brethren body no longer exists as a separate church. The United Brethren in Christ-Revised Constitution, merged with the Evangelical (Association) Church in 1946, and together they were absorbed into the Methodist fold in 1968. All of the Brethren bodies, past and present, are Methodistic with regard to doctrine and polity, and share common strains of development from the evangelical movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Swiss-born Reverend Michael Schlatter was sent in 1746 under the general supervision of the Synod of Holland as a missionary to the German Reformed churches in Pennsylvania. He was joined in his ministerial field by Philip William Otterbein (1726-1813), a native of Nassau, Germany, and a missionary for the German Reformed Church. Otterbein assumed Lancaster, Pennsylvania as his field of labor, which brought him in personal contact with Martin Boehm (1725-1812), minister of the Mennonite communion, and together they set about winning converts from among the Reformed and Mennonite German colonists of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. As the new group grew more cohesive, plans were laid for a conference at Frederick, Maryland (1800), and through the joint efforts of Otterbein and Boehm, a new and distinct ecclesiastical body was established under the name "United Brethren in Christ." This new group thus represented concessions by both the Reformed and Mennonite parties, in which each sacrificed to the other the freedom to retain certain personal convictions. Boehm and Otterbein were elected bishops, and under the guidance of Christian Newcomer, a former Mennonite, the church became fully organized and prepared to move westward. In the

period 1800 to 1810, the Church witnessed a tremendous westward thrust, as preaching places were counted west of the Alleghanies in Ohio, Inidana, and Illinois (Drury 1924:89-314).

United Brethren in Wisconsin. The Church of the United Brethren made an early contribution to Wisconsin's religious fabric, for at its height as many as 304 preaching places dotted the landscape of 40 counties. Rural fields of labor served by circuit riders were the rule rather than the exception, and since ministers were compelled to keep riding, their work was often small-scale and ephemeral. For the most part the United Brethren utilized private homes, halls, and schoolhouses, building comparatively few edifices around the state. The United Brethren (pre-1946) had a sparse statewide distribution, with the greatest resources centered in Richland, Vernon, Crawford, Green, Rock, and Juneau counties. In 1940, the number of defunct churches far outdistanced the number of existing or "active" churches by a ratio of ten to one. The conservative "Old Constitution" sect, a part of the Iowa Conference, recorded six organizations in 1940, all in Richland County (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1941:305-307).

Newcomer, the first circuit rider and third bishop of the United Brethren, entered into the Northwest Territory in July 1810. He was able to effect an organization that met as the first Annual Conference of the United Brethren Church in Ross County, Ohio, on August 13, 1810. Concurrent with the Ohio work the Brethren were gathered in Indiana by the Rev. John G. Pfrimmer, though not before 1830 did the Indiana group convene for their first Annual Conference. The work in Wisconsin was a natural outgrowth of the early organization in Indiana, specifically with the carving out of the Wabash Conference in 1834. The removal of United Brethren families to Wisconsin territory in the period 1836 to 1848 opened up new fields of labor, and on the heels of their departure, the Wabash authorities assigned a corps of missionaries to the new "Wisconsin Mission". This "Mission," also known as the North District, was not self-supporting, but relied on financial backing from the Wabash Conference for its early clerical force. In 1844 the Wisconsin Mission was partitioned into the Monroe circuit, served by the Rev. J.A. Mast, and the Rock River Mission, with no clerical assignment. The Illinois Conference was cut from the Wabash Conference in 1845 and was given full responsibility for the Wisconsin work. When its second session convened at Spring Grove, Green County, Wisconsin in 1845, the Brethren reported vigorous activity in the Monroe circuit as well as at Sugar River, Wisconsin River, and Fox River, the three missions. By 1853, when another conference, the Rock River, was carved from the Illinois Conference, work was reported at two circuits, Monroe (Green County) and Union (Rock County), and five missions, i.e. Sugar River (perhaps Dane County), Richland (Richland County), Coon Creek (perhaps Monroe County), Sauk Prairie (Sauk County), and Jamestown (Grant County) (Drury 1924:289-314).

The earliest known pioneer of the Church of the United Brethren in Wisconsin was G.G. Nickey, although the first society (location unknown) was drawn together by the Rev. James Davis, often called "the Father of the Wisconsin Conference". Davis, representing the Wabash Conference, entered the "Wisconsin Mission," in 1842, and for the remainder of the decade served as the presiding elder of the Wisconsin work. As more and more missionaries entered Wisconsin from Indiana and Illinois, their efforts attracted the attention of the denominational leadership, the General Conference, which in 1857 directed that boundaries for a new conference be drawn up. Organization of the Wisconsin Mission Conference was effected and the first session conducted at Rutland in Dane County on September 16, 1858 with Bishop Lewis Davis presiding. At that time the group registered 1,461 members (Berger 1910:606).

The fledgling Wisconsin Mission Conference grew quickly and vigorously, with a phenomenal 288 preaching places and 34 clergymen at its height in 1860. A year later it achieved financial independence from the Illinois Conference, the word "mission" was dropped from its title, and it was partitioned, the southern portion retaining Wisconsin in

its title and the remainder designated the Fox River Mission Conference. The conferences became one again in 1885.

The territory of each Annual Conference was divided into districts, with each of the districts supervised by a "minister," now called a district superintendent. Three groups constituted the Annual Conference, namely: ordained ministers or elders, unordained ministers licensed to preach or "licentiates," and lay representatives. Collectively these individuals were under the supervision of a bishop assigned to the respective districts by the General Council. The General Conference was the central governing and legislative body, and consisted of both lay and ministerial delegates.

There were several additional landmarks in the history of the United Brethren in Wisconsin. The Elroy Seminary, co-educational and housed in a simple two story square structure in Elroy, Juneau County, opened its doors in 1874, but within a decade, struggling under the weight of financial obligations, it ceased operation (1882). In 1881 lay delegates, which were to sit on an equal level with the clergy, were admitted to the sessions of the Wisconsin Conference. A ruling in 1888, permitting women for the first time to be licensed as ministers or "licentiates", and subsequently to be ordained as "elders", was passed by the Wisconsin Conference.

From its inception the United Brethren in Wisconsin, as elsewhere, were torn by internal controversy, chiefly with regard to four questions: 1) slavery; 2) secret societies; 3) revision of the Confession of Faith; and 4) the amendment of the Constitution. In 1889, the Wisconsin Conference acted in support of the amended Constitution and Confession of Faith at its meeting in Union Church, Green County, and in doing so alienated a minority of the Brethren membership who disagreed on the necessity of revision. The matter dealt a sharp blow to the Conference when a group of dissidents withdrew into the "Old Constitution" Church. The struggle abated in the early 1890s, with the greatest turbulence recorded at Fennimore (Grant County), a secession at White Creek (Adams County), and the appearance of other groups in Richland and Grant counties ((1890) (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1940:3-9). Nowhere was the loss substantial, and overall the loss amounted to less than four percent of the original membership. The original group recorded 44 organizations in 14 counties in the census of 1890, with the heaviest aggregation in Richland County (5), followed by Vernon (6), and Grant (5). Membership in the "Old Constitution" faction grew most rapidly between 1890 and 1906 when an increase of 129 percent was registered. The growth of the parent body was most significant in the next decade, increasing 47 percent. (See accompanying map and table.)

THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH

The Evangelical Association or Church came into being about 1803 when Jacob Albright (1759-1808), a one-time Methodist, was elected into the leadership of a loosely-bound group of lay Methodists in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. When Albright petitioned Bishop Asbury of the Methodist Episcopal Church for recognition and acceptance of his German-speaking band of Methodists into the Church, the bishop declined, stating that it was unwise to mix this element with the English work. Consequently, Albright and his German following organized independently, and by century's end they had become the most numerous of any branch of Methodism among the foreign population in this country. Albright, who was elected bishop of the new denomination in 1807, drafted the Church's Book of Discipline shortly before his death in 1808. A split in his church in 1894 gave rise to the United Evangelical Church, but the two factions reunited in 1922 as the Evangelical Church and, aside from that, there was little turbulence in the Albright Church (Stein 1966:38-61).

Evangelical (Association) Church in Wisconsin. The German Methodist gospel was first preached in Wisconsin under the auspices of the Evangelical Association in 1840,

when John Lutz, on a scouting expedition out of northern Illinois, took up a mission field among the Germans of Milwaukee. The first "class meeting" or organization was effected in the Town of Greenfield, Milwaukee County, in 1840. In 1844, a small log church was erected by the Greenfield Congregation on land donated by Friedrich Hegelmeyer; and the first "proper" edifice of the Evangelical Associaton in Wisconsin went up in Milwaukee on the corner of Fourth and Cedar Streets in 1846 (today the Memorial Community Church) (Blake 1973:40-43). A year later an Evangelical church was raised at Jefferson and in 1848 at Racine. The flow of increasing numbers of Germans into the state prompted visits from other Association ministers, namely Adam Stroh, Charles Lintner, F. Wahl, and G.A. Blank.

Inspired by the example of their early church fathers, "circuit riders" blanketed the southern and eastern reaches of the state, speaking in homes, halls, schools, or ministering in the open air. Some notable circuit riders of the era (1840s) were the Reverends Joseph Harlacher, Levi Heisz, J.G. Miller, and his brother, Jacob J. Miller, and it was chiefly through their labors that the Church achieved its impressive gains in the eastern and southern counties. In 1844, the Church, chiefly through the efforts of Bishop Seybert, facilitated the founding of the Pennsylvania German settlement near Menomonee Falls, and in 1849, it hosted its first camp meeting among the Wurtembergers in Greenfield Township, Milwaukee County. In 1848 the Milwaukee District of the Evangelical Association, the first in Wisconsin, was designated by the Rock River Conference. After 1851, "preaching places" were established in rapid succession, particularly in the period 1855 to 1857, when they sprang up in outlying Monroe, Buffalo, Brown, and Manitowoc counties. When a few Evangelicals in 1856 moved into Buffalo County from their earlier homes in Prairie du Sac, "their glowing descriptions of the new country drew others of their brethren after them...establishing new units of that church" (Quaife 1924:169). The Wisconsin Conference was demarcated in 1857, new churches were consecrated in the Conference districts, and in 1860 the Alsatians of Sharon, Walworth County, received the services of an Evangalical Mission (Quaife 1924:164-66).

Since Evangelical preachers often officiated in both English and German, growth was rapid and ultimately the Evangelicals proved to be a potent force in attracting the German-speaking elements into the state. By 1889 the Church claimed congregations in all the principal cities and towns, and in 49 counties a ministerial corps of 80 and a total membership of 11,588. Their numbers were heaviest in the southern and eastern sectors, with Green County at the fore (13 organizations), followed by Dodge (11), Washington (9), Sauk (9), Outagamie (9), Milwaukee (9), Marquette (9), and Buffalo (9) (U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census 1894:375).

EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN

As early as 1813 and again in 1816, attempts to fuse the United Brethren with the Evangelical Association had proved futile, and though similar people were ministered to in similar ways, organic union eluded them until 1946. At Johnstown, Pennsylvania in that year a merger between the Church of the United Brethren in Christ-Revised Constitution and the Evangelical Church resulted in the formation of the Evangelical United Brethren Church. The united denominations came together with many common strains--they both originated among German-speaking people of eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia following the American Revolution; had antecendents in the evangelistic movements of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth century; used German in their worship services; were essentially Methodist in doctrine and polity; and claimed a long history of cordial relations with the Methodist Church, while remaining separate and distinct. The United Brethren-Revised Constitution were found predominantly in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, and as they entered into union with the Evangelical Church they numbered about 376,000 nationwide. The Evangelical Association, slightly smaller at 212,446 nationally, was overwhelmingly concentrated in Pennsylvania, followed by

sizable memberships in Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1941:96, 621).

On the local scene, talks toward union between the Evangelical Church and the United Brethren commenced in the 1930s. A vote on the so-called "Plan of Union" was carried out in the Wisconsin Conference in 1945, and in the 1946 general session of the Wisconsin Conference (Evangelical Church) delegates cast a unanimous vote to combine the two bodies. While the parent groups were thus indissolubly united, the Conferences remained apart until 1951 when a single conference, the Wisconsin Conference of the Evangelical United Brethren, was created (Blake 1973:231).

In April 1968 following a long history of negotiations and ill-fated attempts toward unification, the Evangelical United Brethren consummated their union with the Methodists at the Uniting Conference in Dallas, Texas, thus forming the United Methodist Church in the United States. At the point of merger, the Evangelical United Brethren embraced 750,000 members nationally. The following year the three Wisconsin conferences (East Wisconsin-Methodist; West Wisconsin-Methodist; and Wisconsin-Evangelical United Brethren) became one (Blake 1973:280-281).

Evangelical (Association) Church and United Brethren in Wisconsin

Year	CHURCH OF THE UNTED BRETHREN IN CHRIST		CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST-OLD CONSTITUTION	
	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1870	34			
1890	47	1,687	4	63
1906	45	2,036	9	144
1916	46	2,997	3	94
1926	31	3,249	3	75
1936	33	3,876	3	108

Year	EVANGELICAL (ASSOC.)CHURCH		EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN*	
	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1890	224	12,553		
1906	222	13,280		
1916	214	14,076		
1926	176	16,107		
1936	143	16,353		
c. 1957				25,049

*Formed in 1946 by the merger of the Evangelical (Association) Church and the Church of the United Brethren in Christ.

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:779-794; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
National Council of Churches 1957. Churches and Church Membership in the United States-1957. Series C, nos. 18-19.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, halls, parsonages, preaching places, camp meeting sites, educational facilities, homes of prominent Evangelical and United Brethern in Christ leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Historically, the Evangelical (Association) Church had congregations in all the state's principal towns and cities as well as rural areas. It was particularly concentrated in the southern and eastern sectors, with its heaviest representation in Green, Dodge, Washington, Sauk, Outagamie, Milwaukee, Marquette, and Buffalo counties. The Church of the United Brethern in Christ displayed a very sparse distribution in Wisconsin. Its congregations were concentrated in the rural areas of Richland, Vernon, Crawford, Green, Rock, and Juneau counties.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys have been conducted for either the Evangelical (Association) or United Brethern in Christ churches. Historical data regarding both organizations may be found in the Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey and the Wisconsin Historical records survey. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in the intensive survey reports also provide some information on affiliated structures in specific localities.

Survey and Research Needs. Locate and identify extant structures associated with the United Brethern's Elroy Seminary, located in the city of Elroy, Juneau County.

EVALUATION

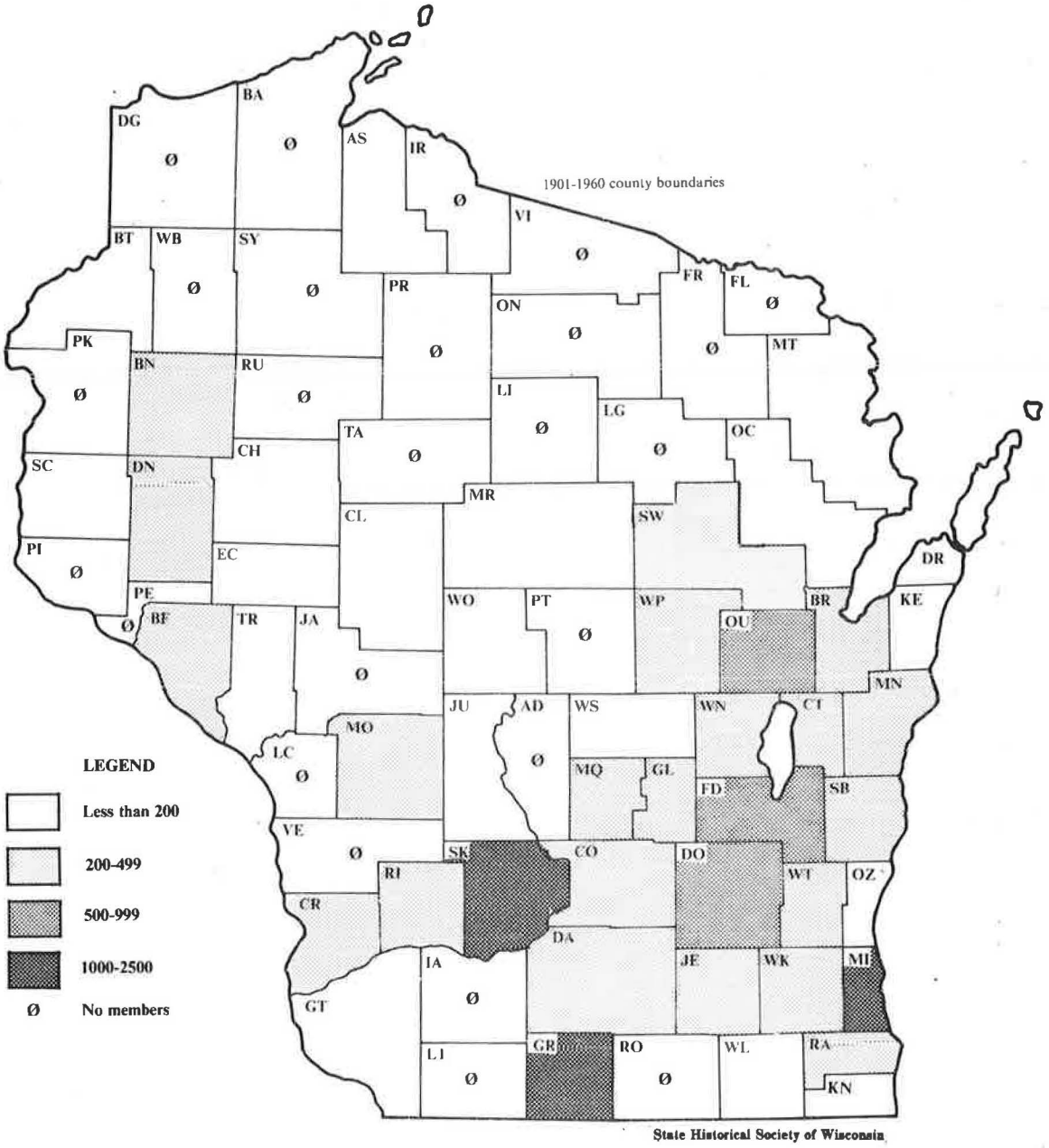
National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

United Laymen Bible Student Tabernacle (1927), 924 Center St., Racine, Racine County (NRHP 1983)

Christ Evangelical Church, W188N12808 Fond du Lac Ave., Germantown, Washington County (NRHP 1983)

Context Considerations. Nominated sites and structures affiliated with the Evangelical (Association) Church and the United Brethern in Christ Church will generally merit local significance.

EVANGELICAL CHURCH AND THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST



Members of the Evangelical Church in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 701-702.

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1973 Cross and Flame in Wisconsin; The Story of United Methodism in the Badger State Worzalla Publishing Company, Stevens Point, WI.
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A sketch of the denominations in America; includes useful bibliography.

National Council of Churches
1957 Churches and Church Membership in the United States. Series C. nos. 18-19. Office of Publication and Distribution, New York.
Denominational statistics by states (Wisconsin) and counties; number of churches and church members.

Ragatz, Lowell J., ed. and trans.
1923 "A Circuit Rider in the Old Northwest: Letters of the Reverend John H. Ragatz." Wisconsin Magazine of History 7(1):93-102.
A Swiss-born pastor of the Evangelical Association in Wisconsin; ordained in 1847.

1935 "Memoirs of a Sauk Swiss." Wisconsin Magazine of History 19(2):182-227.
A pastor of the German Evangelical Association who began his ministerial career on the Jefferson circuit of the Illinois conference in 1853.

Roeseler, John S.
1921 "The Evangelical Association on Lomira Circuit." Wisconsin Magazine of History 4(4):392-416.
The Lomira circuit was composed of a half dozen churches in northwestern Dodge County; (settlement commenced in the mid-1840s); discussion of early associations, camp meetings and conferences.

Smith, Alice
1973 The History of Wisconsin (vol. 1): From Exploration to Statehood. State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

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1966 "Church Unity Movements in the Church of the United Brethren in Christ until 1946." Methodist History 5(1):38-61.
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1974 "With Parallel Steps: The Evangelical United Brethren and the American Scene." Methodist History 12(3):16-39.
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Thompson, Henry Adams
1889 Our Bishops, a Sketch of the Origin and Growth of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ as Shown in the Lives of its Distinguished Leaders. Elder Publishing Co., Chicago.
Chiefly biographical; tables of comparative statistics (1813-1888).

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1872 Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Statistics of Churches. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

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1910 Religious Bodies: 1906. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1919 Religious Bodies: 1916. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1930 Religious Bodies: 1926. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1941 Religious Bodies, 1936. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

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1936-1942 Church Directory of Wisconsin. Madison.
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1940 Church of the United Brethren in Christ. Madison.
Historical sketch of church, including its appearance in Wisconsin; sketches on individual congregations; chronological, county, church and place-name listings.

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Chronological, county, church, and place-name listings of churches by denominational status; includes names and addresses of church headquarters and leaderships.

HOLINESS-PENTECOSTAL SECTS

Temporal Boundaries: mid-1890s-present.

Spatial Boundaries: Sparse distribution statewide; most members lived in rural areas and in small towns.

Related Study Units: None.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

"Holiness-Pentecostal" is a catchall term for a large number of revivalistic American sects, assemblies, and churches which arose in the last half of the nineteenth century, drew heavily upon the principles of Wesleyan Methodism, and today share a common emphasis on the post-conversion religious experience or "sanctification." The precise antecedents of the various churches which constitute these Protestant religious communions cannot be easily determined, although all arose from the innumerable revivals of the previous century. The "Holiness" movement, associated with the religious quickening in the pre-Civil War North, led to the formation of many churches, including the Churches of God and the Church of the Nazarene. It was the forerunner of another movement fired by the religious unrest of the post-Civil War era, Pentecostalism. The Assemblies of God are the offspring of the latter movement.

These "Holiness-Pentecostal" churches, whose names are often used interchangeably, have their most devoted following among the rural and lesser-educated in the South, West, and Midwest, run the gamut of size from handful gatherings to mass meetings, are fervently mission-oriented and fundamentalist, and employ a wide range of names, not always including "pentecostal." The groups generally reject man-made innovations, including denominational structure, and thus, are not united in a single denomination. They are governed by a highly congregational system, though there are associations of congregations for common purposes and central organs which advise on general church affairs (Anderson 1979:114-136).

The denominational crazy quilt in Wisconsin received contributions from several of these Holiness-Pentecostal churches, foremost of them: (1) the Church of God-Indiana; (2) the Assembly of God; and (3) the Church of the Nazarene. The Assemblies of God at 6,632 members in 1957 were four times more numerous in the state than the Nazarenes, and nine times more numerous than the Church of God-Indiana (see accompanying maps and table).

CHURCH OF GOD

More than 200 independent bodies, classified as "Holiness-Pentecostal" incorporate the words "Church of God" into their titles, and surprising numbers of them have their separate headquarters in common locations as, for example, the three groups headquartered at Cleveland, Tennessee. The earliest, and subsequently the smallest, of the Holiness-Pentecostal groups in Wisconsin was the Church of God, the sect most often charged with religious extravagances in the form of the so-called "Holy Roller" fervor. The largest representative of this body in the state has headquarters at Anderson, Indiana, and the second largest at Cleveland, Tennessee. Nationally, these are two of the largest bodies bearing the title "Church of God," the former (Indiana) with 174,399 members and the latter (Tennessee) with 382,229 members (Mead 1980:85,87).

The Church of God-Anderson, Indiana, traces its roots to 1880 when the fundamentalist

spirit invaded and lured many away from existing congregations in the East. Extension of the church into the states of the lower Midwest, almost without fail, was accomplished by a nucleus of believers who moved westwardly from homes in eastern Pennsylvania and Maryland (Yahn 1926:45). Members of this group are today concentrated in the South Atlantic and East South Central States, with Tennessee, Florida, and Georgia at the fore (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930:320).

The principal Cleveland (Tennessee) group, with greatest concentrations in the South Atlantic states, began on August 19, 1886, in Monroe County, Tennessee, under the leadership of Richard G. Spurling, and received A. J. Tomlinson as its general moderator in 1903. As many as 44 "Holiness" groups owe their origin to Tomlinson, an Indiana-born Bible Society colporteur, who in 1896 was stirred by the Pentecostal revivals being conducted by the Spurlings in western North Carolina. Most of his success was won in the hills of Carolina and Tennessee, where people were poor, illiterate, and whose spiritual longings were easily swayed by the emotional fervor of his preaching (Anderson 1979:114-136).

The Holiness churches are most distinctly similar in their stance on one of the great issues in the Christian faith, namely, the persistence of sin after conversion. They believe that once conversion is effected, the Holy Spirit will offer a special blessing of sanctification in which the body is cleansed of all sinfulness, thus the granting of "instantaneous perfection." The blessing is sought with intense prayer and emotionalism. Church services and prayer meetings are held almost nightly, often lasting far into the morning, and are laced with lengthy scriptural discussion and intense witnessing. The "Holy Roller" fervor is characteristic of many believers as is the whipping of young members into religious frenzy and the emotional scenes associated with "speaking in tongues." Strict outward standards are established by the church, forbidding members to use tobacco, alcohol, and unnecessary adornment, standards which are ultimately associated with personal holiness and perfection. Believers adopt footwashing as one of their sacraments, are required to tithe, and are encouraged to engage in regular Biblical meditation. Though it is not incorporated doctrinally, faith healing is commonly practiced, for it is believed that God will heal all illness apart from medical intervention. Worship services have no set form, but are emotional, and are usually conducted in temporary and or humble surroundings. The willingness of believers to worship without elaborate structures and a general indifference toward an educated clergy, have freed human and monetary resources for a more intensive and extensive mission outreach than is commonly practiced by the older and more sedate denominations (Mead 1980:85-90).

CHURCH OF GOD IN WISCONSIN

Very little documentation exists to retell the story of the pioneer church in Wisconsin, though it can be assumed that many of the early church Elders and evangelists visited the area from their assignments in adjoining states and from denominational headquarters in Indiana. At the close of the Church's pioneer era (c. 1917), only three churchmen served in state calls, namely: Addison Kriebel (1857-1939), Charles R. Millar (c. 1867-?) at Racine, and Harry Tyler (1876-?) at Merrimac in Sauk County (Brown 1951:207). The group did not appear in the census record until 1926 when 11 organizations and 344 members were tallied statewide (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930:270-273).

A name which figured prominently in the upbuilding of the denomination in Wisconsin was that of Fred L. Hahn, who spearheaded the publication of the Gospel Trumpet in Milwaukee in the 1890s, and established some of the first churches across the state. Like a "silent evangelist," the Gospel Trumpet spurred the beginnings of church organization at rural Reedsburg (Sauk County) about 1894. Following a visit by Hahn, the work extended to Baraboo and into Reedsburg, which the first resident pastor recorded at the latter place in 1908. A Racine congregation, most probably initiated by Hahn, erected a

chapel in 1911. Blind evangelist, Frederick Jacobson, oversaw the beginnings of congregational life at Rice Lake, Barron County, in 1894. The Good family, migrants from Rochester, Indiana, in 1914, founded a Church of God congregation at Cornell, Chippewa County, where a stone meeting house was erected in 1939. A congregation also coalesced at Stanley, Chippewa County, in 1937. The Wisconsin branch of the Church's evangelistic society was organized in 1921; and camp meetings, held annually at Rock Springs (Sauk County), have played an important role in the promotion and sustenance of local church programs (Brown 1951:206-208).

By 1940, 21 congregations affiliated with the Church of God-Indiana were dispersed statewide:

Church of God - Indiana Congregations in 1940

Community	County	Number of Congregations
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	3
Racine	Racine	2
Ableman	Baraboo	1
Cornell	Chippewa	1
Crandon	Forest	1
La Crosse	La Crosse	1
Madison	Dane	1
Norwalk	Monroe	1
Pittsville	Wood	1
Reedsburg	Sauk	1
Rice Lake	Barron	1
Sheboygan	Sheboygan	1
Sparta	Monroe	1
Springbrook	Barron	1
Stanley	Chippewa	1
Tomah	Monroe	1
Yarnell	Sawyer	1

SOURCE:

Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1941:60-62.

Again, it is worth noting that "Church of God" was the name applied to more than 200 Pentecostal bodies nationwide. In 1940 Wisconsin claimed adherents of several additional holiness bodies, comparatively weak in number. The Church of God-Tennessee, was represented by groups in Beloit, Big Flats (Hancock, Adams County), Fond du Lac, Janesville, and Oshkosh. The Church of God Christ-Wisconsin, was represented in Oconto Falls (Oconto County), Suring (Oconto County), and Waupauca. The Church of God in Christ-Colored, had five organizations in Milwaukee and one each in Beloit, Racine, and Waukesha (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1941:60-62).

ASSEMBLY OF GOD

The General Council of the Assembly of God was the first Pentecostal movement to assume denominational structure, is numerically the largest single Pentecostal body in the United States today (1.3 million members in 9,291 churches), and was formed by the fusion of numerous Pentecostal churches and assemblies at Hot Springs, Arkansas in 1914. Specifically, the body owes its existence to a company of revivalists who received the Pentecostal spirit in 1901 at Topeka, Kansas, and who subsequently concentrated their evangelistic fervor in the Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas region. Recognizing the need for a centralized organ to formulate and direct church policy, a group of ministers under the leadership of the Rev. E. N. Bell convened at Hot Springs in 1914 to map out and formalize the General Council of the Assemblies of God. No doctrinal tenets were adopted, and the body was not intended to assume juridical authority over the free Pentecostal bodies. Their expressed purpose was to "seek a closer bond of Christian unity and a Scriptural basis for fellowship, work, and united business for God" (Flower 1948:5). Following the formulation in 1916 of the Church's "Statement of Fundamental Truths," which follows the dictum that the Bible is the "all-sufficient rule for faith and practice," many heretofore uncommitted Pentecostal ministers and independent assemblies asked to join the Council. From 517 ministers in 1917 the Assembly spirit spread remarkably to register 4,159 ordained ministers, 4,348 assemblies, and 209,549 members nationally by 1940. Total membership doubled in the period 1930-1940 (Historical Records Survey Project 1942: Assemblies of God: 4).

Assembly church polity is a peculiar blend of presbyterian and congregational patterns. Local congregations are generally autonomous, and in addition to local ministers, a corps of district officers are charged with the promotion of home missions and the supervision of pastoral responsibilities. Fifty-five districts, each with a District Council and subject to supervision of the parent General Council, exist across the country, "each with a distinct presbytery that examines, licenses and ordains pastors" (Mead 1980:198). Both ordained pastors and lay delegates constitute the General Council, which is responsible for the election of officers, the definition of doctrinal standards, and the drawing of plans for church extension and development. The Church's work is promoted by the weekly periodical, The Pentecostal Evangel, a busy church press, eight Bible colleges, a liberal arts college, a graduate school of theology in Springfield, Missouri, and an international broadcast, "Revivaltime." Evangelism and missions are the crucial vehicles for the promulgation of Assembly doctrine and practice, and the Church has been successful in both home and foreign missions far out of proportion to their numbers. Moreover, special evangelistic services have "a continuous existence within the life of the assembly" (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942: Assemblies of God:15).

ASSEMBLY OF GOD IN WISCONSIN

The Town of Dallas, Barron County, was the scene of the first known manifestation of the Pentecostal movement in the state. Here in 1900 the Dallas Gospel Tabernacle, later called the Dallas Assembly of God, was organized. The group functioned independently until 1940 when it applied for affiliation with the Wisconsin and Northern Michigan District Council. The precise number and location of early Pentecostal bodies in the state at that time is not easily determined, as many disbanded after a short time and left little trace of their existence. The next group on record is the Gleason Gospel Tabernacle, later changed to the Gleason Assembly of God, formalized in Russell Township, Lincoln County, in 1908. The third record of organization was at Wausau, Marathon County, in 1914, the Full Gospel Mission, later changed to the Christian Assembly (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942: Assemblies of God:4). In 1926 the religious census recorded three organizations with an inclusive members of 817 (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1930:270).

The Wisconsin groups came under the supervision of the North Central District, which

required the formation of individual state conventions. In accordance with these regulations, Wisconsin organized its State Convention in 1932, and at the fall meeting of the Convention it was resolved that a "field evangelist" be appointed "to travel over the State in the interest of the assemblies; to promote cooperation and fellowship; to help weak assemblies and pastors in difficulties" (Minutes of the Wisconsin State Convention, November 1932, cited in Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1942: Assemblies of God:5). A Full Gospel congregation was organized on the Stockbridge Indian reservation in 1932, and though there was discussion of expanding missionary activity to the Indian nations of Wisconsin, action to implement these measures was delayed for a time. The spring assembly held at Bethel Tabernacle in Milwaukee in 1933 commended the progress of the statewide evangelism effort, citing the number of fields opened, tabernacles built, and procurement of alternative meeting houses.

A pivotal point for the Church came at the fall State Convention of 1933 held at Gospel Tabernacle, Stevens Point, when the Wisconsin groups resolved to withdraw from the North Central District Council and organize a District Council with headquarters at Oshkosh. The new Council would include groups from the upper Peninsula of Michigan. At the Convention held at Gospel Tabernacle in Appleton in 1934 the ministerial and lay delegates from both states agreed on the title, the "Wisconsin and Northern Michigan District Council of the Assemblies of God." A constitution and by-laws were adopted, it was agreed to adopt the words "Gospel Tabernacle" in all congregational names, and measures to promote the development of Bible and Sunday schools and Christ's Ambassadors (a young people's organization) were accepted. At the 1936 District Council, 57 ordained ministers, 37 licentiates, and 34 Christian workers were reported in the District. Beginning in 1936 the District published a bimonthly paper, Full Gospel Tidings. In 1938 it was recommended that churches change their titles to "Assembly of God," in order to avoid confusion and association with other religious organizations who included "Gospel Tabernacle" in their names.

Progress in the work of the Church was impressive, with tremendous gains registered between 1936 and 1957. From 46 organizations with a combined membership of 2,464 in 1936, the figures increased two and a half times to 101 organizations and more than 6,600 members in 1957 (see accompanying map and table). The Assemblies are widely and fairly evenly distributed throughout Wisconsin, with considerable numbers in the central counties bordering the Wisconsin River and in Milwaukee. They exhibit a weaker showing in the southwestern, north-central, and west-central sectors.

THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

The Church of the Nazarene, a more sedate and middle-of-the-road Holiness-Pentecostal body was formed by the fusion of eight separate groups, several of them the products of prior mergers. The formal date of beginning for the Church is placed at October 8, 1908. Four Holiness groups form the backbone of the present church. An eastern group centered in New York and New England, the Association of Pentecostal Churches in America, effected union with a western group centered in California, the Church of the Nazarene, in 1907 and assumed the title "Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene." In an attempt to disassociate themselves from the extremist Pentecostal groups, the word "Pentecostal" was officially eliminated from the name in 1919.

The Midwest is appropriately called the "Heartland of the Nazarenes," for in 1920 the states of the Upper Mississippi Valley and the plains states of Nebraska, Kansas, and Oklahoma, housed 40 percent of the total Nazarene membership. The church came late to the Midwest, yet it was here that it saw its greatest fruition, for "holiness" preachers were slower to abandon their established churches in America's heartland than elsewhere. The Nazarene strength grew chiefly from "discontent within the Methodist fold," with growth most phenomenal after 1910, when the controversy between fundamentalism and modernism gripped religious circles. "In the beginning (the

Nazarenes) operated within a framework of loyalty to the old denomination," writes Smith, "but they soon developed religious activities and programs which pointed to the new" (Smith 1962:237).

The church is in close doctrinal harmony with the other Pentecostal bodies, having rekindled the old revivalist Wesleyan spirit of eighteenth century England. Their doctrinal emphasis rests on the experience of entire sanctification, and their belief in personal perfectionism is manifested in their abstinence from tobacco and alcoholic beverages. In their avoidance of the extreme position and practice of other Pentecostalists, this church does not emphasize speaking in tongues or healing without medical intervention, and has drawn more heavily from the middle class, especially persons of rural backgrounds. They accept baptism by sprinkling as well as by immersion, and prefer more form and less emotion in their worship services than other Pentecostalists. The congregations once worshipped almost exclusively in storefronts, but have shifted to more conventional meeting houses in recent decades. They prefer ritualistic simplicity and unadornment in church activities, and are governed by a congregational system. The congregations voice their common interests in 74 district assemblies nationwide, which in turn, elect a general council to supervise the extension work of the church. The mission of the church is broadened through a variety of educational facilities and publications; more specifically, in the maintenance of eight liberal arts colleges, a theological seminary at Kansas City, Missouri, bible colleges worldwide, and a publishing house in Kansas City. Evangelism and missions figure heavily in the work of the church, which supports 580 missionaries in 60 world areas. On a national scale, the approximate 4,800 congregations and 455,100 members have their greatest concentrations in Oklahoma, Indiana, Ohio and Texas respectively (Mean 1980:99-100).

Church of the Nazarene in Wisconsin

The Church of the Nazarene began its organizational work in Wisconsin in 1913 when New York evangelist, the Rev. Earl E. Curtis, conducted a revival meeting at Forest Center, Dunn County, resulting in the first Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene in the state. Congregations followed at Janesville, Milwaukee, and Racine in 1914, and at Durand (Pepin County), Livingston (Grant County), Martintown (Green County), and Marinette (Marinette County) a year later. As late as 1921, the state was described in the annual church proceedings as an "almost untouched field," for evangelistic inroads displayed slow and sporadic development. Not until 1922, when a second Racine group organized, was a ninth congregation recorded. But between 1923 and 1929, a number of congregations were established in communities across the state.

Church of the Nazarene: Congregations Established in Wisconsin, 1923-1929

Congregation	County	Year Established
Madison	Dane	1923
Richland Center	Richland	1923
St. Croix Falls	Polk	1923
Oconto	Oconto	1923
Clam Falls	Polk	1924
Hutchins	Shawano	1924
Antigo	Langlade	1925
Cumberland	Barron	1925
Ashland	Ashland	1925
Iron River	Bayfield	1925
Brodhead	Green	1926
New Richmond	St. Croix	1926
Oak Ridge	Vernon	1926
Superior	Douglas	1926
Whitcomb	Shawano	1927
Beloit	Rock	1928
Oshkosh	Winnebago	1928
Chippewa Falls	Chippewa	1928
Neenah	Winnebago	1928
Wausau	Marathon	1928
Washburn	Bayfield	1928
Germania	Shawano	1928
Dallas	Barron	1929
Evansville	Rock	1929

SOURCE:

Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1941: Church of the Nazarene, 5-8.

Between 1930 and 1935, ten new organizations joined the Nazarene forces, seven churches and three missions, and by 1940, the total stood at 32 with approximately 800 adherents (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 194l: Church of the Nazarene, 5-8).

Revivals were a common and effective tool for the Nazarenes in Wisconsin. District Superintendent, C. T. Corbett, reported in 1937: "This has been a year of revivals. Almost every church has had from one to three campaigns. . ." (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey 1941: Church of the Nazarene:10). The next year the Superintendent reported: "We spent the fall and winter largely in strengthening the new and smaller churches. Toward spring we began the development of prospective fields for organization. Two new tents were purchased from our home mission funds and these have been kept in continual use along with other tents" (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1941: Church of the Nazarene:10-11).

The 1930s and 1940s were characterized by vigorous church-founding activity. In the 20 year period between 1936 and 1957, the Wisconsin Nazarenes more than doubled in numbers of organizations and members. Churches of the Nazarene appear in most sectors of the state, especially in lines along the western and northern boundaries, and in the southeastern counties. In the central and north-central counties they are sparsely distributed (see accompanying map and table).

Holiness-Pentecostal Bodies in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures

Year	CHURCH OF GOD-INDIANA		ASSEMBLY OF GOD		CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE	
	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1916			2	1,000	6	122
1926	11	344	3	817	15	409
1936	13	452	46	2,464	17	733
c. 1957	15	768	101	6,632	42	1,605

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1919:306-311; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.

National Council of Churches. Churches and Church Membership in the United States:1957, series C, no. 18-19.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parsonages, camp meeting sites, missions, homes of prominent church leaders and laymen.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. There are a number of Holiness-Pentecostal sects in Wisconsin, including a variety of Church of God organizations, Assembly of God congregations, and the Church of the Nazarene. All exhibit a relatively sparse statewide distribution, with most congregations located in small towns and rural areas.

The various Church of God sects exhibit a very sparse distribution throughout the state:

Church of God-Indiana, the most prominent of the Church of God organizations in Wisconsin, was centered in the cities of Milwaukee and Racine as well as Monroe and Chippewa Falls.

Church of God-Tennessee was best represented in the urban areas of Beloit, Fond du Lac, Janesville, and Oshkosh.

Church of God Christ-Wisconsin was strongest in Oconto and Waupaca counties.

Church of God Christ-Colored was strongest in the cities of Milwaukee, Beloit, and Racine.

Assembly of God was distributed throughout the state, with concentrations in the small towns and rural areas of the central counties bordering the Wisconsin River and in the city of Milwaukee.

Church of the Nazarene appeared in most sectors of the state, with sizeable concentrations along the western and northern boundaries and in the southeastern counties.

Previous Surveys. No thematic survey has been undertaken to identify structures associated with the Holiness-Pentecostal sects in Wisconsin. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in the intensive survey reports provide some information for specific localities. The Wisconsin Historical Records Survey also provides some historical data pertaining to these sects as does the Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey.

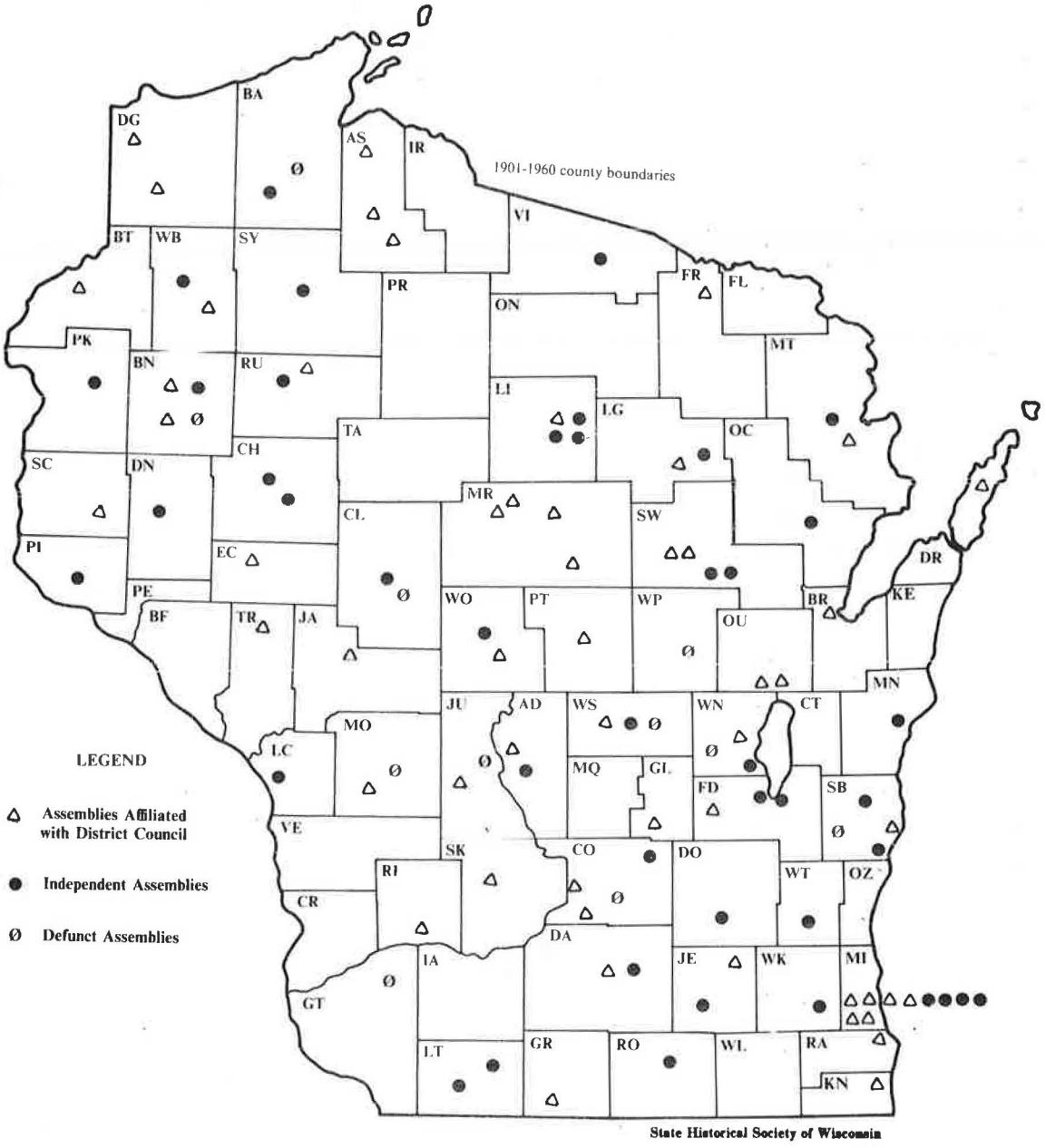
Survey and Research Needs. Research the black population's affiliation with the various Holiness-Pentecostal sects within the state.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None.

Context Considerations. Most sites and structures associated with the various Holiness-Pentecostal sects will merit local significance.



Assemblies of God in Wisconsin, 1940

Source: Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project, *Assemblies of God*, (Madison, 1942), p. 17.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Adventism, deeply embedded in Hebrew and Christian prophesies, is a general term referring to the belief in the second coming of Christ, the so-called Millennial (1,000 year) Kingdom. This concept is the essential and most distinctive trait of the Adventist faith today. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the question of the advent was the focus of a widespread "Adventual Awakening," which engulfed the spiritually-minded on both sides of the Atlantic, although its greatest fruition came in the United States under the leadership of William Miller (1782-1849).

Miller, a farmer in New York and later a Baptist minister, twice failed in his attempt to predict the end of the world (March 21, 1844 and October 10, 1844), and yet indirectly laid the groundwork for a large American denomination. His lectures on Biblical prophecy between 1831 and 1846, specifically on the return of Christ in a fiery conflagration, drew upwards of 100,000 followers, dubbed "Millerites," primarily from the Methodist, Christian, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches. In re-examining the Biblical prophecies, some of Miller's followers arrived at an ingenius explanation for the failed apocalyptic prediction, and in the end, this simple reinterpretation of scripture put a damper on criticism and saved the movement from ruin. The explanation offered was that on the predicted day of Christ's return, Christ had only entered the celestial sanctuary and there begun his examination of all the names in the Book of Life in preparation for the judgment day, thus the concept "investigative judgment." At his second coming he would undertake to separate the saints from the wicked and thus inaugurate his Millennial Kingdom in heaven.

Following the failure of Miller's prophecy, the Millerites splintered. A small group remained faithful to Miller and later organized as the Evangelical Adventists (1845-1926). The largest faction, led by Jonathan Cummings, evolved into the Advent Christian Church (1860), which differed most distinctly from the parent body on the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. A third dissenter group, the Life and Advent Union (1862), differed from the Millerites on the doctrine of Sabbatarianism (the Sabbath as the first day of the week); and there were other shades of difference which set off the Church of God-Adventist (1866) and the Church of God General Conference (1888). Dominant among the personalities who devoted themselves to the Millerite cause in the face of ongoing and sharp criticism were Joseph Bates (1792-1872), James White (182l-1881), and his wife, Ellen Harmon White (1827-1915), the latter exalted for her prophetic abilities and widely-known for her prolific writings and lectures. These Millerites founded the Church's first magazine, the Adventist Review and Sabbath Herald (now the Adventist Review), set up headquarters at Battle Creek, Michigan in 1855, and evolved as an official denomination, the Seventh-Day Adventists, in 1863 (Hoekema 1963:89-108, Martin 1977:411-419).

The Seventh-Day Adventists were the largest and most significant outgrowth of the Miller legacy, though at first it was loosely-knit and hampered by economics and the derisive light in which it was viewed. Though their convictions were clearly defined during the Miller years, especially in meetings held near Washington, New Hampshire, they owed

their existence primarily to the Seventh-Day Baptists of colonial New England and the Old World. In its peculiar blend of Old Testament tradition and futuristic outlook, the church is often labeled "the church that looks both ways." It affirms the basic tenets of conservative Christianity, and the entire thesis of the group is focused on the prophecies of the Biblical books of Daniel and Revelation. According to the Church's teachings, the soul does not ascend into heaven at death but passes into complete unconsciousness. With the return of the Christ all true believers will be resurrected and received into heaven for 1,000 years, leaving earth as an uninhabited wilderness. There is no eternal hell in the Seventh-Day Adventist doctrine, for after the 1,000 years Christ will reappear on earth to destroy the wicked, and the resurrected will be returned to a purified and glorified earth for eternity.

Doctrinally, Seventh-Day Adventists are evangelical conservatives. Their standard statement of belief, published annually in their Yearbook, emphasizes a faith in a transcendent, personal, communicating God, as revealed through the Holy Trinity (Mead 1980:21). Much attention is given to the Old Testament, best evidenced by their insistence on retaining Saturday as their day of worship.

Seventh-Day Adventists have no formally adopted creed and their worship is unliturgical. They stress a literal interpretation of nearly every scriptural statement and believe in the gift of prophesy in the church. Because they consider the human body to be a temple of the Holy Spirit, there is a tendency to follow healthful living habits, including strict dietary rules (many are vegetarians) and the abstinence from tobacco and alcoholic beverages (Mead 1980:21, Hardon 1969:34 38).

The Seventh-Day Adventist church is hierarchical, yet extremely representative. The chief administrative body is the executive committee of the General Conference, which is chosen by delegates from the various church organizations in quinquennial sessions of the General Conference. Functioning below it are three lesser government units: the Divisions, which administer church affairs in different continents; the Union Conferences, which make up the Divisions; and the State or Local Conferences, the smallest administrative units.

On a local level, the Seventh-Day Adventist church is essentially congregational. As long as each congregation stays within the guidelines of church policy, it maintains control of the its own affairs. Each congregation, therefore, elects its own lay leaders, deacons, and other church officers. However, it does not have complete control over the selection of its pastor (Mead 1980:22, Hardon 1969:40).

Seventh-Day Adventists have an established reputation as "the most generous church-givers" in the United States. All members are instructed on the duty of tithing and are expected to provide financial support to the best of their abilities. This money goes to support missions, local church expenses, and a variety of other church projects (Hardon 1969:29).

The Seventh-Day Adventist Church supports 10 liberal arts colleges, two universities, a theological seminary, professional health care schools, elementary and secondary schools, radio broadcasts, correspondence courses, and evangelism in over 1,000 languages in 200 countries. In spite of the anti-ecumenical writings of the early churchwoman, Ellen H. White, the Seventh-Day Church has shown interest in the ecumenical movement in recent years by conversations with the World Council of Churches. The main governing body of the Seventh-Day Church, the General Conference, is headquartered today in Washington, D.C., having been moved in 1903 from Battle Creek, Michigan. As of 1977, membership lists, which include only active adults, showed 551,884 Seventh-Day Adventists grouped into 3,729 congregations in the United States and Canada; their heaviest concentration is in California, followed by New York and Pennsylvania (Mead 1980:22-23).

A smaller group, the Advent Christians, centered in Aurora, Illinois, differ most markedly from Seventh-Day Adventists in their stance on the doctrine of immortality of the soul and their observance of Sunday as the Sabbath Day. Though its spokesman disclaimed any intent of separate denominational status, the Advent Christian Association was consolidated at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1860. In 1964 it united with another minor group, the Life and Advent Union. In polity the church is congregational, with local congregations grouped into five regional districts and associated in the larger Advent Christian General Conference of America. As of the late 1970s, more than 31,000 members were gathered in 381 congregations in the United States and Canada (Mead 1980:23).

A very minor Adventist group represented in Wisconsin, the Church of God-Adventist (Oregon, Illinois), fused several independent Adventist groups with common strains of belief and background. They were brought together in a national organization at Philadelphia in 1888, but due to a disagreement on issues of congregational autonomy and authority, the church ceased operation until 1921. At that time, the present general conference was organized at Waterloo, Iowa. A board of directors, elected by church delegates, direct the general conference and oversee the business of the church. The latter includes a Bible college, a publishing firm, the Berean Youth Fellowship, a department of missions, and a division of Sunday schools. Approximately 7,600 members were registered in 135 congregations nationwide as of 1977 (Mead 1980:24).

ADVENTISTS IN WISCONSIN

Wisconsin has played host to three different Adventist groups throughout its history. While none of the groups have been large, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church has been the most dominant, in both numbers and influence; as of 1980 it had 7,205 members in 78 congregations. Much smaller is the Advent Christian Church with only 516 members in 8 congregations, as of 1980 (Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980:1-2). Smaller still is the Church of God-Adventist. The latest figures available concerning its membership date from 1936 and show only 85 members congregated in five churches (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1941: 306.)

The number of Adventist or "Sabbath-keeping" organizations in Michigan, original seat of the denominational leadership, both predated and outdistanced those of its Great Lakes neighbors, but Wisconsin followed closely behind. Elder H.S. Case brought the Seventh-Day Adventist doctrines to Wisconsin in 1851, laboring especially in the southern and western parts of the state throughout his career. The first Adventist groups coalesced at Beloit (Rock County) and Hebron (Jefferson County) in 1852. Converted Baptist J.H. Waggoner and Waterman Phelps accepted the Advent doctrines from Case in the period 1851-1852 and began ministries that canvassed the greater share of southern Wisconsin. Waggoner was joined by converts Isaac Sanborn (1852), whose preaching spread from Green County into adjacent states, and W.S. Ingraham, for a time a partner of Sanborn. Waggoner also succeeded in converting J.M. Stephenson and D.P. Hall, a camp meeting team that subsequently evoked the fury of the Battle Creek leadership and shook the foundations of the church by expounding divergent views of prophecy during the 1850s. Stephenson and Hall advocated views contrary to Adventists beliefs, specifically, the "Age to Come," which "taught that Christ would reign on earth during the millenium and give sinners a second chance" (Chilson 1976:15). Stephenson penned articles on "Age to Come" questions for the Adventist journal, Review, and when some articles were rejected by Elder White, Stephenson tried unsuccessfully to take control of the Review. Many disaffected members joined Stephenson's following. They published an "Age to Come" journal, Messenger of Truth, travelled throughout the state "poisoning minds," and generally engaged in a fierce battle for the hearts of Adventists.

Despite the controversy surrounding Stephenson Hall, Wisconsin ties with church

leadership in Michigan were intimate, and several of the old Michigan churchmen (James White, Joseph Bates, John Loughborough and M. E. Cornell) toured Wisconsin periodically on church-strengthening missions. Fearing that Stephenson and Hall would make havoc of the Adventist work in Wisconsin, the church leadership in 1855 commissioned Bates to visit Hebron, Lake Mills, and Aztalan (all located in Jefferson County), the centers of greatest disruption. Other volunteers came from Michigan to help the few discouraged churchmen make order of disorder, and though the long-term effect of the strife was not great, the work of the church in Wisconsin was temporarily eclipsed.

Owing chiefly to the efforts of churchman Waggoner, who concentrated his ministry in an area stretching west of Lake Winnebago, 14 congregations existed in the state by 1853: three in Rock County, three in Fond du Lac County, two in Jefferson County, and one each in Waushara, Green Lake, Green, Marquette, Winnebago, and Polk counties. Increases were small but steady, as evangelists worked by way of tents in the summer and schoolhouses, homes, and makeshift quarters in the winter. When the Illinois and Wisconsin Conference was officially formed in 1863 at Avon, Rock County, the membership tallied 390. For the first decade and a half the Church in Wisconsin was plagued with internal conflict, miscarried church foundings, and fanaticism. Hastily-formed congregations often did not fare well as traveling preachers were forced to leave fledgling churches to function on their own, and though they claimed 1,500 converts in hundreds of pioneer communities, the number was actually far less (Olson 1925:225-232).

Camp meetings and tent evangelism were highly effective vehicles for spreading Adventist doctrine. The church introduced tent evangelism to Wisconsin in 1855, a practice which proved most effective during the Church's organizational period. "Tent meetings in the early days were held mostly in villages or small towns, often right out in the country, where the attendants were nearly all from the farming class" (Olson 1925:227). In 1867 the first camp meeting in the state was held at Johnston Creek, Rock County, and in the period between 1870 and 1885, these meetings "achieved the most decided results in the upbuilding of the denomination" (Olson 1925:277). Believer homes, often called "Adventist hotels," provided temporary accomodation for hundreds of other Sabbath-keepers who were often on the road several days at a time to attend camp gatherings. In 1927 the Wisconsin Conference secured Camp Silver Lake (near the city of Portage) as a permanent site for its annual convocation (Chilson 1976:146).

James White of Battle Creek, Michigan, was the driving force behind the incorporation of quarterly meetings into the Church's activities in Wisconsin. Believers living within a 30 mile radius, for example, were expected to participate in weekend retreats or so-called "high days of fellowship," or risk expulsion from the church. Thus, clusters of Adventist churches appeared on the landscape, as for example, the nine churches within a 20 mile radius at Westby, Coon Slough, Viroqua, Victory, Bad Axe, Liberty Pole, Kickapoo, Viola, and LaFarge, in west central Wisconsin.

A small party of Norwegians at Oakland, Jefferson County, repulsed by the stagnancy of their homeland church and later expelled by the Methodists, were the first practicing Adventists among the foreign population in the state. Held together in the first years by their own Bible study, in 1855 the company received the services of Waterman Phelps who lived in nearby Koshkonong. Isaac Sanborn and W.S. Ingraham organized the tiny congregation in 1861, which in turn, built the first Adventist parsonage in the state and the first Norwegian Seventh-Day Adventist Church in the world (1864) (Chilson 1976:49-65).

Former Danish-Baptist, John G. Matteson of Wisconsin, known in the religious community as "The Apostle Paul of the Adventists," was successful as an itinerant evangelist in building churches in the rural districts of Wisconsin and Minnesota, primarily among the Scandinavians. The growing number of Scandinavian Adventists pointed up the need for

a foreign language press and Matteson, later called "the Father of Scandinavian Adventist literature," single-handedly set the type for the first Scandinavian language denominational tract, Det Nye Testamente Sabat. Advent Tidende, the first foreign language periodical was edited by Matteson, and made its appearance in 1872 out of the denominational publishing house in Michigan. Aside from sparking interest in Denmark and Norway, the periodical prompted the Church leadership to take a more serious view of foreign language publications and programs. Literature in German, French, and Dutch followed almost immediately. Multi-lingual settings also hampered tent evangelism; therefore, in 1889-1890, Adventist schools to train Norwegian, German, and French spiritual laborers were established at Battle Creek. Longer-term programs aimed at equipping the foreign laborers resulted in the erection of Union College, Nebraska, which included departments in German, Swedish, and Danish-Norwegian. In 1905 the General Conference organized a separate department for foreign work in the United States, with assigned leadership among the various nationalities. At the turn of the century, the Church organized a mission among the Oneida Indians of Outagamie County, which included a mission school until 1936. Thus, just as the Adventists descended from a broad spectrum of religious communions, they found a following among a wide selection of groups in the state. By 1920, 14 Danish-Norwegian, five French, five German, one Italian, one Polish, and one Swedish church were tallied in the Adventist fellowship in Wisconsin. The earliest and most rapid growth was registered among the Scandinavians, while the Germans saw their earliest and most vigorous fields in western Kansas (Chilson 1976:116-119).

Calls for spiritual leadership in Scandinavia intensified in the 1870s and 1880s, with the result that in 1877 Matteson sailed for Denmark to begin his ministerial labors, which eventually extended into Norway and Sweden. Matteson and his gospel missionaries were host to enthusiastic camp meetings; mission schools were begun and the Christiania Publishing House (Oslo, Norway) was established to supply the ever-increasing demand for denominational literature. Matteson initiated schools for colporteurs who carried religious tracts on their current travels and gospel laborers, the first of these training institutes in Oslo in 1886. Thus, the flow of information between the sending and receiving countries swelled, giving even greater impetus to the migratory flow into Wisconsin (Chilson 1976:25-41).

Debating was the order of the day, and Adventist clergy were often heavily involved in controversy with other clergy, especially on the question of the Sabbath, as recorded, for example, in the annals of the Disciples' churches in southwestern Wisconsin and among the Lutherans at Koshkonong. The Adventists' divergent view of the Sabbath, coupled with their religious fervor, often caused some sectarian feeling in the towns and communities they visited. Charges and countercharges of transgression of church boundaries were frequent; in rarer cases, sheriffs allowed itinerant pastors to stay only long enough to finish the evangelistic meeting. Tent meetings in Milwaukee (1910) evoked strong reaction from the Catholic population when the Pope was labeled the "anti-Christ" (Chilson 1976:141).

The itinerants extended their journeys throughout the state, first to the "fringe" counties of central Wisconsin, the Door County Peninsula, and the Icelanders of Washington Island, and then into the timberlands of the far north. The first Frenchmen to serve as gospel messengers were the Bourdeau brothers, Augustin and Daniel, who ministered to the 20,000 French nationals at Green Bay beginning in 1872. A number of Adventist communities grew up around lumber-based operations as, for instance, in Marathon County where a few Sabbath-keeping families formed the nucleus of an early lumber operation that was the private operation of Adventist Zimri Moon, established in the 1890s. Their operation met with phenomenal success when they were joined by a rush of their Adventist brothers, who had seen their plea for increased membership in the Adventist weekly, the Wisconsin Reporter, published in Fond du Lac.

Iron and copper mining along the North Shore provided a comparable lure. In 1897 Adventist Elders began meetings at Ashland, the Danes organized at about the same time in Superior, and in 1911, three Scandinavian-born Elders teamed-up for meetings among fellow Scandinavians at Washburn on the Bayfield Peninsula. The Church began its evangelistic work at Cumberland (Barron County) in 1910, and in 1916 conference leaders voted to divide the existing conference, with a second headquarters located at Ashland. A zig-zag line was drawn between Oconto and Eau Claire, with the eight counties of Michigan's Upper Peninsula added to the new conference. Yet, by the close of the First World War, Adventist churches were like sparse polka dots across the northern landscape, and their relative strength was never great (Chilson 1976:80-89).

From the outset the mission of the Church in Wisconsin was sustained through "message-filled periodicals and books." The Review and Herald, the weekly journal or "silent evangelist" of the Seventh-Day Church, reached isolated homes, inspiring people to band together to share their new-found faith, provided a channel for member input, and successfully laced together the Adventist communion throughout the state. A wagon loaded heavily with books, an "Adventist Book Center," appeared at annual camp meetings, and colporteurs made their rounds dispensing the latest church literature (Chilson 1976:106-107).

Adventist doctrine made slow inroads into urban settings, as churchmen directed their ministries to the more responsive rural districts. Twenty-six years after the introduction of the doctrine into Wisconsin, the Milwaukee English Adventist Church was organized in 1877. The German Concordia Adventist Church, also in Milwaukee, was organized in 1890, an Italian organization appeared in 1923, and there was heavy lay evangelism among other groups, in particular, among the Hungarians. There is no record of evangelism in Madison, described as "this wicked city," until 1871, and no formal organization of the group until almost two decades later. In the sharing of meeting facilities, the development of the Madison congregation closely paralleled activities at the nearby Madison Sanitarium, begun by the Adventists in 1903 on the south shore of Lake Monona. In 1919 the General Conference moved the Church's main offices from Fond du Lac to property adjoining the sanitarium, but plagued by debt and unable to raise funds, the Church sold the health facility in 1922 (Chilson 1976:116-126).

Parochial schools paralleled the development of Adventist congregations, with the first program implemented in 1867 at Monroe (Green County). As the century drew to a close, sentiments for a broadened educational program crystallized in the form of several new religious schools. In 1899 the Woodland Industrial School, later called Bethel, in Wood County, was opened for the purpose of training elementary school teachers for Adventist schools. Bethel Academy remained open until 1943 when the teacher-training program was transferred to a facility being developed at Columbus in Columbia County (Wisconsin Academy). Walderly Academy, also with an industrial training emphasis, and located near Hawthorne in Douglas County, commenced operation in 1908. When the Northern and Southern Conferences of the Wisconsin Church reunited into a single conference in 1927, however, activities at the school ceased, and the focus shifted to Rockland in La Crosse County, the site of Hylandale Academy, begun about 1921 (Chilson 1976:127-133).

The Adventists, nominally represented in the state, were scattered broadly within its boundaries but displayed a somewhat heavier distribution in the eastern sector. In 1890 the Seventh-Day Adventist Church was spread widely between 32 counties, while the Advent Christians, only one-third the size of the former, found homes in only 15 counties; the Church of God-Adventist had one congregation in Jefferson County and was never numerically significant. In both number of organizations and total membership, the Seventh-Day Adventist Church saw its most rapid development between 1890 and 1906, and at its peak in the latter year, was most heavily represented in Wood, Milwaukee, and Vernon counties respectively. The Advent Christian Church, slower to reach its peak (1916), showed its greatest strength in Jefferson and Door counties (see accompanying

map and table).

Adventists in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures

	SEVENTH-DAY		ADVENT CHRISTIAN		CHURCH OF GOD-ADVENTIST	
Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1870	10	650	no data	no data	no data	no data
1890	58	1,892	20	613	1	36
1906	105	3,194	17	651	1	21
1916	91	2,140	18	1,100	no data	no data
1926	79	3,185	13	645	3	31
1936	81	3,040	9	726	5	85
c. 1957	81	4,507	no data	no data	no data	no data
1980	78	7,205	6	516	no data	no data

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:331-340, 279-290; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
National Council of the Churches of Christ 1957. Churches and Church Membership in the United States. Series C, nos. 18-19.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980. Wisconsin Religious Directory.

Seventh-Day Adventist Congregations in Wisconsin in 1984

Name	County	Date Established	Founder
Almond	Portage	1858	S. Wellcome
Antigo	Langlade	1884	H.W. Decker
Appleton	Outagamie	c.1880	not known
Arpin	Wood	1884	not known
Ashland	Ashland	1884	not known
Baraboo	Sauk	1876	not known
Berg Park	Douglas	1951	not known
Bethel	Wood	1899	not known
Chippewa Falls (Danish)	Chippewa	1908	P. Hanson
Clear Lake	Polk	1897	W. Covert
Clearwater Lake	Oneida	1903	W. Covert
Columbus	Barron	1910	C. Edwardson
Durand	Pepin	1863	W.. Ingraham
Eau Claire	Eau Claire	1883	
Fish Creek	Door	1876	not known
Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac	1914	Wm. Lewsodder
Fort Atkinso	Jefferson	1853	W. Phelps
Frederic	Polk	1925	P. Herwick
Green Bay	Brown	1876	A. Olsen
Janesville	Rock	1899	C. Olds
Kenosha	Kenosha	1910	M.H. Serns
La Crosse	La Crosse	1890	not known
Ladysmith	Rusk	1910	P.M. Hanson
Lancaster	Grant	1884	not known
Lena	Oconto	1880	A. Olsen
Madison (East)	Dane	1926	not known
Madison (West)	Dane	1888	not known
Marshfield	Wood	1901	W. Shrene
Menominee	Dunn	1931	A. Beazley
Merrill	Lincoln	1901	H. Stebbeds
Milwaukee (English)	Milwaukee	1877	not known
Milwaukee (German)	Milwaukee	1890	not known
Milwaukee (Italian)	Milwaukee	1923	not known
Milton Junction	Rock	1884	not known
Moon	Marathon	1892	W. Saunders
New London	Waupaca	1878	H.W. Decker
Oakland	Jefferson	1861	A. Olsen
Oconto	Oconto	1894	D. Bourdeau
Oshkosh	Winnebago	1896	not known
Oxford	Marquette	1901	B.J. Cady
Portage	Columbia	1859	Steward & Wellcome
Pound	Marinette	1895	R. Schultz
Poy Sippi (Danish)	Waushara	1864	J.G. Matteson
Prentice (Danish)	Price	1905	not known
Racine	Racine	1880	not known
Raymond (Danish)	Walworth	1868	not known
Reedsburg	Sauk	1927	not known
Rhinelander	Oneida	1905	not known
Richland Center	Richland	1910	Hanson & Lewis
Shawano	Shawano	1878	A. Olsen

Name	County	Date Established	Founder
Sheboygan (German)	Sheboygan	1915	G. Gaede
Sparta	Monroe	1875	I. Sanborn
Spooner	Washburn	1917	C. Edwardson
Stevens Point	Portage	1879	not known
Sturgeon Bay	Door	1876	H.W. Decker
Superior	Douglas	1898	S. Swinson
Tomah	Monroe	1882	not known
Tomahawk	Lincoln	1929	Q. Lyberg
Watertown (German)	Jefferson	1919	G. Gaede
Waukesha	Waukesha	1897	W. Sharp
Waupaca	Waupaca	1921	Frahke & Westermeyer
Wausau	Marathon	1899	not known
Wautoma	Waushara	1871	Sanborn & Downer
Wisconsin Rapids	Wood	1879	H.W. Decker
Withee	Clark	1931	not known
Wittenberg	Shawano	1923	C. Vories

SOURCE:

Chilson 1976:183-186

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parsonages, camp meeting sites, camps, educational facilities, missions, health care facilities, homes of prominent Adventist leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types.

Seventh-Day Adventist Church exhibited light representation throughout Wisconsin, with a slightly heavier distribution in rural areas of the southern and eastern regions of the state.

Advent Christian Church displayed representation in only 15 Wisocnsin counties at its peak; its largest following was in Jefferson and Door counties.

Church of God-Adventist had little representation in Wisconsin.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys concerning Adventist churches have been undertaken in Wisconsin. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in some intensive survey reports provide information for specific localities.

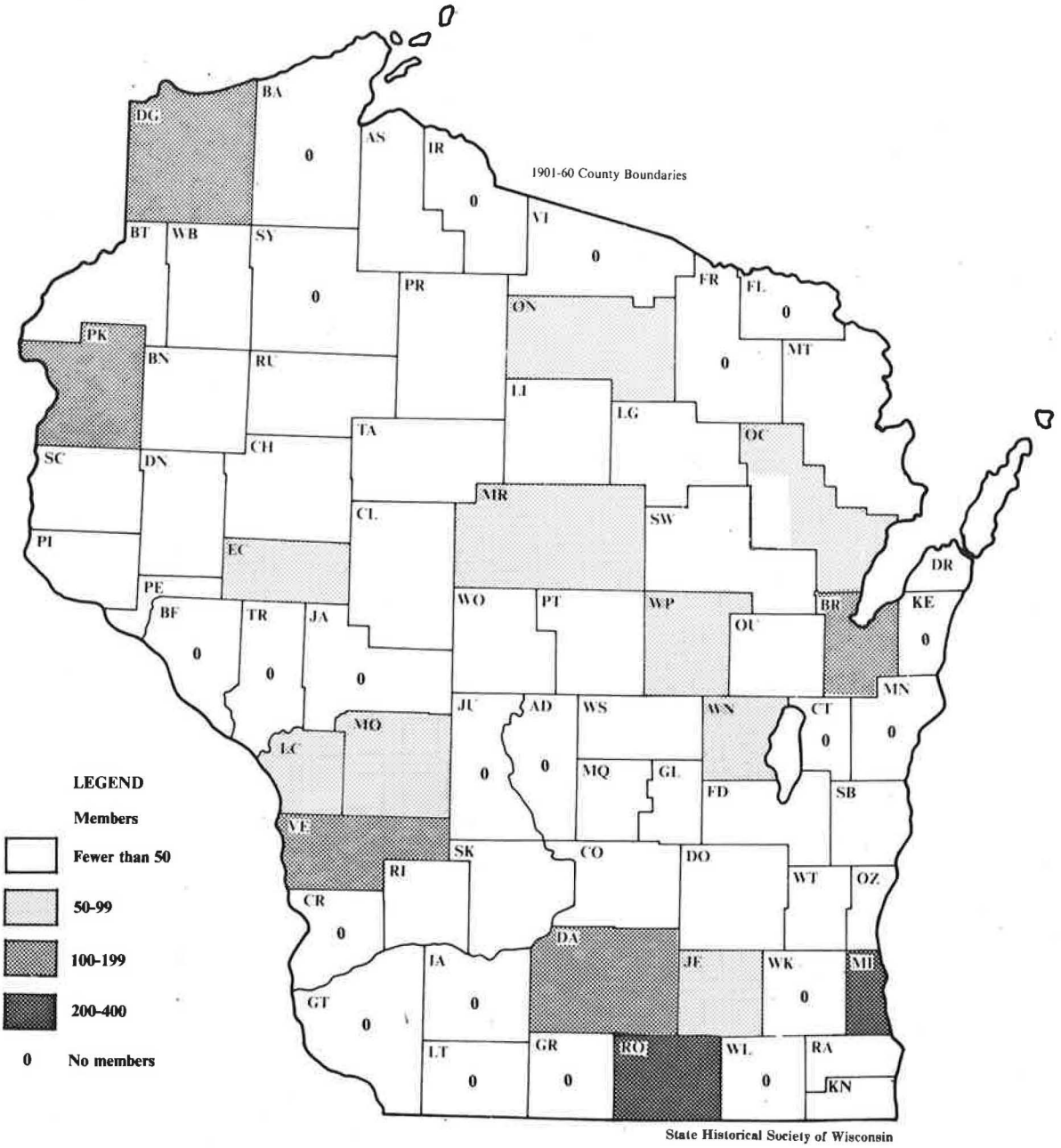
Survey and Research Needs. Identify sites and structures associated with Scandinavian, French, and German Seventh Day Adventist congregations as well as Seventh Day Adventist educational facilities and lumbering operations in northern Wisconsin. Research Seventh Day Adventist missionary activities among the Oneida Indians in Outagamie County.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

None

Context Considerations. In most instances, eligible church related structures will possess local significance. Some Seventh-Day Adventist structures may merit statewide or national significance, eg. Oakland's Seventh-Day Adventist Church (Jefferson County), which is reputedly the first Norwegian Adventist Church built in the world.



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Temporal Boundaries: 1839 - present.

Spatial Boundaries: Heavy statewide distribution; some smaller synods displaying a highly localized pattern along the lines of immigrant colonization.

Related Study Units: Norwegian Settlement, Other Scandinavian Settlement, German Settlement, Eastern European Settlement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Lutheran Church is a Protestant denomination based on the doctrinal and institutional precepts formulated by Martin Luther (1483-1546) in the sixteenth century, and today stands as the oldest and largest branch of Protestant Christianity. The first permanent colony of Lutherans in America grew up among the Dutch on Manhattan Island (1623), although the Swedes on the Delaware (New Sweden-1638) were the first fully independent colony of Lutherans in America. The Lutheran influx of the eighteenth century was overwhelmingly German, the majority settling in Pennsylvania, where at mid-century four-fifths were of German extraction and one-fifth were Swedes. The first of a large and powerful family of Lutheran synods in America, the Pennsylvania Ministerium, was organized in 1748 by German-born minister Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg. Since the Ministerium could not adapt speedily enough to the peculiarities of the language, national and ecclesiastical differences, and the exigencies of the frontier, the need for further organization became paramount, resulting in the formation of additional regional synods and of the General Synod in 1820 (Mead 1980:157).

High tides of European immigrants forced the General Synod to extend its labors westward across the continent, absorbing German, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, and Finnish Lutherans as they poured into the country. Because the immigrant groups varied distinctly along both national and linguistic lines, it was inevitable that each group of Lutherans founded its own congregations and synods. A myriad of synodical bodies was born, from the German Missouri and Iowa Synods in 1847 and 1854 respectively, to the Norwegian Synod in 1853 and the Swedish Augustana Synod in 1860.

Thus, the early history of the Lutheran Church in America was characterized by a proliferation of independent synods, which prompted the church leaderships to work toward a unification of these disparate groups into larger general associations, among which were the aforementioned General Synod (1820), the United Synod of the South (1863), and the General Council (1866) (officially English-language groups). Although the General Council was a conservative and confessional church body, those synods holding a stricter view of confessionalism and a more conservative interpretation of doctrine could not accept the position of the new associations, and thus came together in 1872 in Milwaukee to establish the Evangelical Lutheran Synodical Conference of America. Included in the new federation were the Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, the Synod of Ohio, the Synod of Wisconsin, the Synod of Minnesota, the Synod of Illinois, and the Norwegian Synod. The Illinois group was subsequently absorbed into union with the Missourians, and the Ohio and the Norwegian synods withdrew in 1881 in opposition to the Missourian stance on predestination.

Historically, Lutherans have been bound by faith and practice rather than organization, but since 1910 there has been a consistent push toward structural unity among Lutherans in America. By the close of the First World War, linguistic and cultural divergence was on the wane, and these trends were both accompanied and facilitated by a complicated

series of mergers that today account for the 12 existing synodical bodies. In short, three Norwegian groups were fused in 1917 into the Norwegian Lutheran Church of America; several of the Midwestern German groups merged to form the Joint Synod of Wisconsin in 1918; 45 synods affiliated with the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South fused into the United Lutheran Church in 1918; and the predominantly German synods of Iowa, Ohio, and Buffalo came together to form the American Lutheran Church in 1930.

Synodical distinctions among Lutherans frequently draw fire from non-Lutherans who cite the handicap of such "denominational divisiveness," but in reality, Lutherans have shared more common strands of doctrine and practice than is immediately evident or acknowledged even by practicing Lutherans. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Lutheran spectrum included some 150 synodical shades, but through fusion and federation the number has been reduced to 12 (1980), with three of those accounting for 95 percent of all Lutherans on the continent today. The three leading synods are described below:

The American Lutheran Church was formed through the union of the American Lutheran Church (German origin), the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Norwegian origin), and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish origin) in 1961. They were joined in 1963 by the Lutheran Free Church, also of Norwegian origin. The Midwest is the heartland of the Synod which counted 2.5 million members and operated 5,239 churches nationally in a recent poll (Mead 1980:160).

The Lutheran Church in America was created by the union of the United Lutheran Church in America (formed in 1918 by the union of 45 synods in the General Synod, the General Council, and the United Synod of the South), the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish origin), the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church (Suomi Synod), and the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church (Swedish origin) in 1962. The bulk of its strength lies east of the Mississippi River, and in the early 1970s it embraced about three million in 5,800 churches.

The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, organized in 1847 by a predominantly German group, has a wide and relatively heavy national distribution. By the early 1970s, it registered 2.8 million parishioners in 5,700 congregations. Approximately 20,000 Slovak Lutherans have merged with the Missourians today.

The spirit of Lutheran unity has heightened in the 1980s as two of the largest elements, the Lutheran Church in America (1962), and the American Lutheran Church (1961), together with the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches or the AELC (created after a doctrinal dispute within the Missouri Synod in the early 1970s) prepare to be joined into common administration and fellowship in 1988.

Worship in the Lutheran Church is liturgical, though no specific forms are prescribed as mandatory; and with regard to polity, the Church has been particularly free to adopt forms of organization and practice as best suited the time and place. A central principle of Lutheranism is the "universal priesthood of all believers," with pastors filling an "office" rather than constituting an order separate from the laity. The congregation is the basic governing unit, all of which are united in conferences, territorial districts or synods, and denominations, or general church bodies at the national or international level.

LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

Though destined to become the largest Protestant group in Wisconsin, the Lutherans, beset with altercation and division, were slow in marshaling their forces toward structural solidarity. A complex synodical web was spun both nationally and locally, based more on strife than harmony, and tested by differences in language, belief, and national

background. The initial flow of Lutherans into Wisconsin came directly from Europe, but it was quite some time before they had successfully severed ties with the homeland churches and established good working relations with the old Lutheran groups in Pennsylvania and other Eastern centers. In the early years, the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods, the most conservative of the religious spectrum, and the old Norwegian Synod, surfaced as the predominant Lutheran groups in the state. Though based primarily on German Lutheranism, the religious mosiac of Wisconsin also included a long list of lesser Lutheran groups.

In this unit, synodical patterns by major ethnic group will be identified and described, with particular emphasis on the appearance of early footholds in the state and subsequent institutional development. While a wide array of synodical affiliations was possible, it should be noted that these immigrant groups were neither completely nor uniformly churched, since many immigrants were not enthusiastic backers of institutionalized religion. "It is estimated that only seven percent of the Danes joined any church, not more than 20 percent of the Swedes, and somewhat less than 30 percent of the Norwegians" (Wentz 1933:259). Finally, this discussion will not be exhaustive of the many fusions, federations, and cooperative ventures within and between the ethnic devotionalists; nor will it attempt to isolate the particulars of the contending parties.

Nationally, the Lutherans numbered 400,000 and placed fourth in numerical standing among the Protestant groups in America in 1870. In the next 40 years the membership figures leaped a staggering 1.75 million as the deluge of German and Scandinavian immigrants spread from coast to coast in the northern band of states. The increase in the number of Lutheran congregations in Wisconsin between 1870 and 1890, a phenomenal 422 percent is a reflection of the torrent of Scandinavian and German Lutheran immigrants to the state in the 1880s.

Summary of Synodical Patterns in Wisconsin in 1926

The Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States (German origin), with 146,373 members, was the preeminent Lutheran body in Wisconsin following the First World War, with its greatest strength in Milwaukee (30,617), Jefferson (8,333), Manitowoc (8,322), Dodge (7,848), and Outagamie (7,351) counties. The second largest group was the Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States (German origin) with 123,346 members and a double stronghold in Milwaukee (28,335) and Sheboygan (13,455) counties, followed by much weaker representations in most of the remaining counties. Next strongest, the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, recorded 101,480 members statewide, with Dane (12,089), Trempealeau (9,092), and Vernon (7,900) counties in the lead. At 30,885 members the Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States (German origin) ranked a distant fourth, with its strongholds in Marathon (4,771), Winnebago (3,540), Waushara (3,098), Outagamie (3,095), and Shawano (3,048) counties. At 25,840 members distributed between 27 counties, the Synod of Iowa and Other States (German origin), like the Ohio Synod, displayed a more sparse and scattered distributional pattern than the other aforementioned groups, its strongholds were in Fond du Lac (4,364) and Winnebago (2,374) counties. Following closely at 23,331 members, the United Lutheran Church (English language group) was even more limited in its spatial distribution, with Milwaukee County (8,051) unchallenged for the lead, followed by Racine (3,558), Kenosha (1,657), Winnebago (1,598), and Dane (1,488) counties. The Swedish Augustana Synod followed well behind with 10,942 members statewide, centered in Polk (1,941), Douglas (1,144), and Marinette (772) counties. More than 7,000 were registered in the United Danish Church, with Racine (2,179), Polk (1,158), Waupaca (759), and Brown (669) counties out in front, naturally, in accord with the pivotal points of Danish life and activity in Wisconsin. The Lutheran Free Church (Norwegian origin), the smallest synodical body to be recorded on a county by county basis, tallied 6,664 members in 17 counties, the largest numbers in Lafayette (1,212), Marinette (910) and Polk (630) (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1919:702-703).

GERMAN-SPEAKING LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

With minor exceptions, Wisconsin's German Lutherans were affiliated originally with five large and influential German-led synods. At first, only the Buffalo, New York, Synod was organized, but after mid-century, the Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Ohio bodies were formed. By the early 1880s, the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods had achieved preeminence, overseeing an estimated 80 to 90 percent of the German Lutheran membership in the state. The synodical histories of the German Lutherans in Wisconsin are both intricate and inseparably bound, for each group was engaged almost continually in doctrinal and procedural polemics, and, as a consequence, most of them suffered losses through a rash of shifting synodical affiliations and/or schism.

The Missouri Synod

The first company of German (Prussian) Lutherans arrived in Milwaukee from the provinces of the Kingdom of Prussia, specifically Silesia and Pomerania, in 1839. Although a mix of economic and sociological factors underlay this exodus, the immediate cause was religious. In 1817, at the urging of the king of Prussia, the Reformed Church united with Lutheranism, up to that point the official religion of Prussia, to form a new state church, the Union Church. Many conservative Lutherans, known as Old Lutherans, objected to this religious union, and despite mounting government pressure, refused to participate in the new services. By the mid-1830s, growing religious oppression forced many of these Old Lutherans to immigrate to the United States. Army captain and lay leader Heinrich von Rohr and J. A. A. Grabau, a pastor in Saxony, were the leaders behind this migration, of which the Wisconsin party was only a part. More by circumstance than choice, some of the Prussian emigres remained in the vicinity of Buffalo, New York, while von Rohr and a vanguard of about 40 families moved on to Wisconsin. Milwaukee served as a temporary staging area for the new arrivals, a so-called "home base" from which parties explored the countryside in search of prospective settlement sites. After a time, claims were entered at the land office, and the settlers regrouped to venture north into the forests of Washington and Ozaukee counties. There in the unscarred wilderness they founded the Pomeranian settlement of Freistadt (referring to freedom), now a part of the city of Mequon in Ozaukee County, and shortly thereafter, organized Trinity Lutheran Church in Freistadt in 1839, the oldest Lutheran congregation in the state (Suelflow 1967:8-21).

Limited by their personal resources, many could not purchase land immediately, and thus some remained behind in Milwaukee, clustering in the downtown area where they founded a second Trinity Lutheran Church. One of those who remained behind, F. Krueger, built a "striking building in the German 'Fachwerk' style" on the city's west side, and there, the first formal Lutheran worship in Wisconsin was observed in September of 1841. The exercise was conducted by the first Lutheran pastor in the state, German-born L. F. E. Krause, who subsequently played a leading and formative role in the development of German Lutheranism in the state. For a time, this church was considered a joint parish with Trinity in Freistadt.

The flow from 1839 to 1843 brought 3,000 "Old Lutherans" to Wisconsin, and with few exceptions, they established homes in the countryside of Ozaukee, Washington, and Dodge counties and in and around the City of Milwaukee. Most followed the pattern of the first Lutheran colonization, as entire congregations with their pastors at the fore transplanted to the Wisconsin countryside. In 1843, a large group of dissenters from the Reformed Church of Germany (also "Old Lutherans") settled in the vicinity of Kirchhayn, seven miles from Freistadt, and near Watertown in Dodge County, with other successful colonies appearing at Lebanon (Dodge County) and Ixonia (Jefferson County) at a later date.

Organized in 1845 in Buffalo, New York, by the German-born pastor, J. A. A. Graubau,

who lamented the union of the Reformed and Lutheran faiths in nineteenth century Germany, the Buffalo Synod made an early appearance in Wisconsin, and Trinity Church in Freistadt was among the participating congregations in its incorporation. Dissatisfaction with the Rev. Krause and the leadership of the Buffalo Synod, chiefly for its "legalistic tendencies," prompted a split in the Milwaukee congregation into Missourian and Buffalo factions, and in 1847 the dissidents issued a pastoral call to the Missouri Synod. Answering the call was the Rev. Ernst Gerhard Keyl, who included in his field the Freistadt and Mequon congregations, and with his acceptance, "the wedge of separation was driven deep between the Missouri Synod and the Buffalo Synod" (Suelflow 1965:55). Keyl built a model Lutheran parish in Milwaukee, and was remarkably successful in motivating most of the Grabau congregations of the Buffalo Synod in the Milwaukee area to reaffiliate with the Missourians. "Trinity, Milwaukee (1839) was received into synodical membership in 1848, while Trinity, Freistadt (1839) and Immanuel in Kirchhayn (1847) near present day Jackson joined in 1849" (Suelflow 1967:77).

Keyl was succeeded by the Rev. Friedrich Lochner in 1850, a moving spirit for more than a quarter century in the work of the Missouri Synod in Wisconsin, particularly in the establishment of the private teachers' seminary in Milwaukee in 1855 (Milwaukee Teachers' College). Another influential personality in the vanguard of Missourian pastors in Wisconsin was the Rev. Ottoman Fuerbringer, who was chiefly responsible for smoothing the remaining differences between the Old Lutheran (Grabau) congregations and the Missouri Synod. Both Fuerbringer and Lochner were thoroughly evangelical and charismatic, and both must be credited with easing the tension between the Buffalo and Missouri Synods and for launching the first major missionary outreach program to outlying sectors of the state (Suelflow 1967:5l).

Another historical center of the Missouri Synod in Wisconsin was Watertown, established in the 1850s. From this center, a third missionary figure, Heinrich Dulitz, made mission expeditions to Madison in the period 1855 to 1856, although no lasting Missourian work resulted until several decades later. In short, the first successful outreach of the Missourians in Wisconsin (during the 1850s) was executed almost exclusively by Dulitz, Lochner, and Fuerbringer from their bases in Watertown, Milwaukee, and Sheboygan.

Although many of their accomplishments cannot be documented, congregations were established in Grafton, Cedarburg, Town of Hermann (Sheboygan County), Sheboygan, Oshkosh, Sheboygan Falls, Winchester(Winnebago County), Racine, Whitewater, and Janesville. From the synodical bases, early Lutheran work also appeared in northern Dodge County, and farther to the north, the Town of Bloomfield in Waushara County, emerged as a key center of outreach. Thus, from the southeastern tier of counties the earliest extensions were spontaneous, each missionary or pastor ministering where the opportunities presented themselves. The virtual flood of German immigrants to the state was clearly overtaxing the existing synodical staff, which meant that countless missionary opportunities were relinquished to the other synods of German Lutheranism, particularly to the Iowa Synod in the southwestern sector of the state.

The Synod of Iowa and Other States dates from August 1854 when a handful of German churchmen and their followers, disgruntled by views of the Missourian clergy at Saginaw, Michigan, migrated to Iowa (1853). They settled at St. Sebald and subsequently established Dubuque Seminary (later called Wartburg Seminary). A leading representative of the Iowa group, Ludwig Habel, was the first to introduce the Iowa Synod into Columbia, Dane, and Sauk counties. He is credited with founding the German Lutheran congregation (Immanuel) at Cottage Grove (Dane County), and St. Michaels in Lewiston near Portage in 1856, the latter a "mother" church to many subsequent Iowa affiliates in the area.

By the time of the Civil War, the Missouri Synod had recognized that some form of organized and coordinated program was necessary in order to minister effectively to

outlying communities of Germans. A turning point for the Synod came in 1873 when a domestic missions board was established, thus allowing for an elaborate network of itinerant preachers and preaching stations. By 1873 the mission field of the Missourians in Wisconsin was roughly equivalent to the present-day Southern Wisconsin District, which encompasses 18 counties from the Illinois-Wisconsin line to the northern shores of Lake Winnebago.

As more and more settlers pursued lumbering and mining opportunities in northern Wisconsin after 1870, Lutheran mission responsibilities became more strongly emphasized. Synodical realignments proved to be the key to expanding fields of outreach, and at a joint colloquy with the Wisconsin Synod in 1868, the Missourians entered upon a new phase of their work in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin-Missouri cooperative ministry brought unprecedented harmony to local German Lutheranism, and on a national scale, other large and conservative Midwestern synods (the Ohio and Norwegian) entered into federation with the Wisconsin and Missouri Synods in the Synodical Conference (1872). In the words of Suelflow: "It is obvious that the Synodical Conference had noble objectives. It is also obvious that the Lutheran leaders of the time realized the dangerous pattern into which Lutheran synods had haphazardly grown, and they were making a serious attempt to overcome this" (Suelflow 1967:115).

Unfortunately, the Lutheran synods in Wisconsin were not linguistically compatible, and this, together with doctrinal distinctions, spelled a reduced roll for the Conference. Lutheran synods especially differed on the issue of "predestination." Some Lutherans maintained the belief that God had predestined or "elected" certain individuals to receive eternal life, without regard to personal faith. Others held an opposing view that man is elected in view of his faith. During the predestination controversy of the 1880s, the Conference was shattered by factional strife, first by the withdrawal of the Ohio Synod and then by the loss of the Norwegian Synod. The Missouri and Wisconsin Synods remained solidly together throughout the theological debates, working in "a positive note of cooperation and harmony." By 1882 these two synods embraced 80 to 90 percent of the German Lutheran membership in the state (Suelflow 1967:120-121).

The Northern District of the Missouri Synod, one of four that was delineated in 1854, included all of the work in Wisconsin and Michigan. In 1875 the first convention of the Northwestern District, which now included Wisconsin with its neighbor Minnesota, was held. In 1882, as the work expanded westward, a separate Wisconsin District was carved from the Northwestern District. This arrangement remained intact until 1916 when the present Southern and Northern Wisconsin Districts were demarcated, with the dividing line fixed at the northern boundaries of La Crosse, Monroe, Juneau, Adams, Waushara, Winnebago, Calumet, and Manitowoc counties (Suelflow 1967:147).

Although the Ohio Synod was not among the vanguard of German synods in Wisconsin, a few dissidents from the Missouri and Wisconsin groups joined with the Ohio block of congregations. Twenty five organizations with a collective membership of 7,356 were spread between 15 Wisconsin counties in 1890, with Winnebago, Brown, Marathon, and Outagamie Counties at the fore in membership. The Synod did not maintain any known institutions within the state (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:466-468).

As major realignments of the Lutheran synods began to crystalize in the period between 1890 and the First World War, the voice of the Missouri Synod in Wisconsin took on a different tone from its pioneer era. Both the Missouri and Wisconsin Synods assumed a more introverted stance, declining any involvement in the twentieth century mergers with fellow Lutherans. Indeed, it has been suggested that the present friction between the Missourian and Wisconsin groups and the internal strife of the Missouri Synod, are due primarily to the introversion of the Synodical Conference (which contained these two groups) during the First World War (Suelflow 1967:140).

Aside from a modified attitude toward inter-synodical cooperation, mission outreach underwent a noticeable shift, from a concentration of resources in northern Wisconsin to vacant fields in Minnesota and the Dakotas. By 1882, the western districts had separated, leaving the Wisconsin District to function independently, but with a reinvigorated missions program. For decades, the mission work in northern Wisconsin had been handicapped by a small clerical force, but by 1894, the missions board reported seven active pastors, 20 congregations, 19 preaching places, and 552 members in the district of the north.

A new approach to missions, "stadtmission" (city mission) was adopted in 1894 as well, and it was not long before "the mission thrust was not only directed to the objective of founding regular congregations, but also was channeled into what we today call institutional missions" (Suelflow 1967:141). Religious exercises were extended into soldiers' homes, asylums, county poor houses, and facilities for the deaf. In 1896 a special ministry was developed in the form of the Children's Friend Society in Milwaukee. In 1903, the Missouri Lutherans of Watertown donated land for the Bethesda Home, a facility intended to care for the crippled and elderly (Suelflow 1967:146). Now known as Bethesda Lutheran Center, it is a residential treatment facility serving mentally retarded persons. In Milwaukee two Walther League hospices for boys and girls were opened in the period before the First World War, and in 1917, the American Lutheran Association, which later constructed the Lutheran Center, was organized in Milwaukee in an attempt to provide greater opportunities for Christian fellowship among young people.

Charitable activities also took the form of hospitals. A good example is the Milwaukee Hospital, founded in 1863 by Dr. W. A. Passavant, a General Council member. The Missourians also founded the Children's Home in Wauwatosa in 1896, and the Home for Aged Lutherans in Milwaukee in 1906. Lutheran Manor, also a Milwaukee home for the aged, was dedicated in 1958 (Suelflow 1965:191-192).

Educational Efforts of the Missouri Synod. As a conservative religious group, the Missourians placed heavy emphasis on Christian education via parochial schools. As early as 1855, the Synod clergy drew up plans for a training program for Lutheran parochial school teachers. This small normal school, Milwaukee Teachers' College, "was the mother of all Missouri Synod normal schools, and one of the earliest schools of that type in America" (Suelflow 1965:186). Preparatory training for prospective seminarians was also a central concern, and at a meeting of the Illinois and Northwestern Districts of the Synod in 1881, it was resolved to open a school in Milwaukee for the preparation of clergy, and from this action, emerged Concordia College. Thus, the Southern Wisconsin District of the Missouri Synod was fortunate in "having the single most important preparatory school in its midst" (Seulflow 1967:184).

According to the Historical Records Survey of 1941, the Missouri Synod supported the following institutions: the Evangelical Lutheran Kinderfreund Society (the Children's Friends Society), established in Milwaukee in 1896; the Evangelical Lutheran City Mission of Milwaukee and Milwaukee's Lutheran High School (both with the Wisconsin Synod); and the Walther League Lutheran Men's Home and the Walther League Lutheran Women's Home, both in Milwaukee. The American Lutheran Church (German origin), established by the union of the Iowa, Ohio, and Buffalo Synods in 1930, maintained two institutions in Wisconsin in 1941, namely: the Lutheran Deaconess Motherhouse in Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee Hospital (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:106,166).

English Synod or English District of the Missouri Synod. With regard to missionary outreach among other foreign-speaking groups, the German Missourians made minor inroads, for only rarely did Lutherans extend their ministry to non-Lutherans in their native languages. Only gradually, after World War I did German give way to English.

More far-reaching in its consequences was the limited mission work among English-speaking Lutherans, begun just before the turn of the century. The Church of the Redeemer in Milwaukee (1890), which was founded for the accomodation of English-speaking Americans of German descent and the spouses of Lutherans of mixed marriages, was the first English Lutheran church in Wisconsin.

Because the newly organized English churches were denied membership in the Missouri Synod, they associated amongst themselves in a loose fellowship known as the English Synod of Missouri, and joined with the Missourians only in the larger Synodical Conference. The English congregations were later denoted as the English District of the Missouri Synod, however, where they remained until the late 1960s when factional strife led to a secession of the majority of the English District pastors from the "mother" Missouri Synod. The English churches have not had a Wisconsin headquarters, but in 1940 five of the seven congregations of the District were located in Milwaukee. In 1988, the former English District, now a part of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (AELC), will participate in a union with the American Lutheran Church (1961) and the Lutheran Church in America (1962) (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:147).

The Wisconsin Synod

In 1846, in answer to an appeal from a Milwaukee area farmer, the Langenberg Missionary Society (a German organization made up of Lutherans and Reformed Church members trying to aid immigrants to the United States) sent one of its "gospel heralds" to Wisconsin and was successful in persuading John Muehlaeuser to transfer his ministry to Wisconsin from New York. In May 1850, four representatives of this society, John Muehlhaeuser, Johann Weinmann, W. Wrede, and P. Meiss, led in the creation of a new synod, The German Evangelical Ministerium of Wisconsin, later called the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (Wisconsin Synod). The new Wisconsin Synod was unique, for it was the first Lutheran organization to maintain the center of its work in the state, and unlike the Buffalo and Missouri groups who had pressing concerns elsewhere, the Wisconsin Synod was both based and interested in Wisconsin almost exclusively. The Synod drew its membership primarily from the sons and daughters of settlers who had arrived in Wisconsin in the late 1830s and 1840s, and unlike the experience of the Missouri, Buffalo, and Iowa Synods, there was no planned Lutheran migration to the state which served as the nucleus of its formation.

For upwards of a decade, the Synod depended upon missionary societies in Germany for its clerics, but recognizing the long-term benefits of training pastors in America, the churchmen in 1863 established a college and theological seminary at Watertown, Wisconsin (Northwestern College). By 1870, the pastoral roster of the Synod had swelled to 52, with the German missionary societies continuing to supply a small back-up force to the more numerous American-trained clergy (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930:745-747).

The initial efforts of the Wisconsin Synod were centered on the southeastern sector of the state, chiefly in the larger cities, although after 1870, missionary pastors sought out and organized German Lutherans in northern rural communities as well. Before 1880 the Synod did not extend beyond Wisconsin boundaries, which was due primarily to the existence (since 1860) of a separate Minnesota Synod. Both Minnesota and Michigan for some time had called upon the Wisconsin-based Synod for a supply of seminarians and monetary support, and finally, in 1892, the three synods were fused into the Joint Synod of Wisconsin. The missionary thrust into neighboring states began in 1881 when Nebraska was chosen as a field of work, and this was followed in the next decade by the launching of a missionary program in the Pacific Northwest. Until the turn of the century, the Wisconsin Synod confined its work to German-speaking communities, and from the outset, allocated a large proportion of its resources to the upkeep of Christian day schools, high schools, homes for the aged, academies and colleges, and a seminary.

Aside from large outlays for the operation of a denominational publishing firm in Milwaukee (Northwestern Publishing House), the Wisconsin Synod in 1980 maintained five schools of advanced learning, including Wisconsin's Lutheran Seminary at Mequon and Northwestern College at Watertown, Wisconsin. In recent decades the Synod has also operated a junior college department for prospective teachers at Wisconsin Lutheran High School in Milwaukee (Schmidt 1968:l6-23). In a recent tally, the Wisconsin Synod, headquartered at Milwaukee, recorded a baptized membership of 402,573, and operated l,l05 congregations in 47 states. About two-thirds of the Synod congregations lie within Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan (Mead 1980:l67).

Two other small Lutheran groups had their roots in the Wisconsin Synod. The Protestant Conference (Lutheran) was established in 1927 by Wisconsin Synod dissidents seeking to correct the "spirit of self-righteousness and self-sufficiency" in that synod. By the late 1970s, its membership numbered approximately 1,400 (Thorkelson 1978:62).

In 1957 other Wisconsin Synod ministers and congregations, who felt the synod was too slow in cutting ties with the Missouri Synod, broke away to establish the Interim Conference. In 1960 this group organized as the Church of the Lutheran Confession (Wiederaenders and Tillmanns 1968:135). By the late 1970s, this group could claim about 10,000 members (Thorkelson 1978:62). The Church of the Lutheran Confession maintained its headquarters and some schools at Eau Claire until c.1975 (Thorkelson 1969:41).

NORWEGIAN LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

The nineteenth century was a time of intense religious awakenings and ferment in Scandinavia. Quite naturally, the same enthusiasm animating Norwegian society characterized and conditioned the founding of congregations on the North American frontier. The conflicts and emphases inherited from the Church of Norway were inextricably bound with new issues and arguments unique to the American scene, helping to shape the spatial distribution and synodical affiliations of immigrant congregations. Since the Lutheran State Church of Norway did not undertake the spiritual care of its immigrant countrymen, there was no longer any single force operating among the immigrants as a unifying factor in church matters, and consequently, the group gave full expression to its divergent tendencies. By 1890, six synods were competing for the loyalties of the immigrant population, namely: the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America or Eielsen's Synod (1846); the Norwegian Synod of 1853; the Norwegian Augustana Synod of 1860; the Norwegian-Danish Conference of 1860; the Hauge Synod (reorganization of Eielsen's Synod 1876); and the Anti-Missourian Brotherhood of 1887. Before mid-century three main groups had coalesced in southern Wisconsin.

Hans Nielsen Hauge, the principal leader of the religious revival that gripped Norway at the close of the eighteenth century, left a lasting imprint on the "low church" or pietistic element of the Lutheran Church in America, beginning with the ministerial labors of Elling Eielsen in the Fox River Valley of Illinois and in southern Wisconsin. Lay preacher Eielsen was received by the Fox River Valley settlement in 1840, the first and largest Norwegian colony in America at that time. He was, thus, the first of the immigrant lay preachers and embodied the most serious effort to transfer the "low church" point of view to the communities in America. Together with representatives from several pioneer congregations, Eielsen led a conference at Jefferson Prairie, Rock County, in 1846 from which emanated the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America or the Eielsen Synod, the first Norwegian Lutheran synod in America.

Hauge's Synod claimed more than two-thirds of its strength in Minnesota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. In 1890, 28 congregations with 2,165 communicants were counted within Wisconsin borders, with Dane (four organizations), Columbia (three), Pierce (three),

Trempealeau (three), Vernon (three), Barron (two), and Buffalo (two) in the lead organizationally (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:469-470). The Eielsen followers were extreme in their pietistic views, and their lay preachers were not typical of the Haugeans in Norway. Many Haugean lay people, therefore, associated with the Hauge Synod rather than the Eilsen Synod.

Wisconsin's Muskego (Waukesha County) settlement, the second major concentration of Norwegian immigrants in America, displayed an early dependence upon lay preachers, a so-called "middle of the road" effort, but after a time, they came under the direction of a Danish preacher, Claus L. Clausen. Clausen, sent by the Haugeans in Norway to instruct their spiritual comrades in America, arrived at the Muskego settlement in 1843 and was ordained there in October of the same year. In the saga of Norwegian-American Lutheranism, Muskego was destined to become the most famous of the Norwegian settlements because of its priority in time. In 1843 Clausen organized the people of Muskego and with local skills and monetary support, built the first Norwegian church in America. The renowned Muskego Church, dated 1844, now rests on the grounds of Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary (of the American Lutheran Church) in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Division within Norwegian-American church communities became apparent when the first university trained "high" churchman, J. W. C. Dietrichson, arrived at Koshkonong (Jefferson County) in 1844. Hans A. Stub joined Dietrichson in his field of labor in 1848, and A. C. Preus, long-time president of the Norwegian Synod, arrived from Norway in 1850, and collectively they organized the Synod for the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of America or the famed "Norwegian Synod" at Koshkonong in 1853. The Norwegian Synod enjoyed a "vigorous growth" during the 1850s and 1860s, for added to the original 17 congregations (1853) were 21 in 1855, two in 1857, 11 in 1859, and 18 in 1861, chiefly in the southern and western counties of Wisconsin. Thus, by 1861 the total number of Synod congregations stood at 69, although an overall total of 95 Norwegian Lutheran congregations and groups were a part of the many networks served by the Synod pastors.

The clerical staff was faced with a monumental task, as summarized here for the Rev. B. J. Muus who arrived on the scene in 1859: "Rev. B. J. Muus preached at twenty-two stations scattered over an area more than two hundred miles long, his parish equaling modern Denmark in size" (Rohne 1926:180-182). When the Rev. Laurentius Larsen, long-time president of the Synod's Luther College (Decorah, Iowa), traveled to Norway to appeal for university-trained clergymen in 1860, there were eight vacant parishes and eight on the verge of formal organization (for a list of additions to the ministry in Wisconsin from this period, see Rohne 1926:180-181).

With the veritable flood of immigrants to the Midwest after mid-century, substantial numbers of pastors and lay persons were also drawn to the middle way or "broad" church in an effort to mediate the orthodoxy of the Norwegian Synod and the pietism of the Hauge and Eielsen elements. By 1870 a well-defined middle-way had surfaced in the form of new ecclesiastical bodies, namely, the Norwegian Augustana Synod and the Norwegian-Danish Conference (organized at St. Ansgar, Iowa), both of which had separated from the Scandinavian Augustana Synod (organized in 1860). (See section dealing with the Swedish Augustana Synod.)

The Norwegian Synod, representing the conservative "high church" point of view; the Conference representing the "broad church;" and the Haugean Synod, representing the revivalist or "low church" element, were the three dominant synods of Norwegian-American Lutheranism in 1880. The "broad church" made the greatest extension across ethnic lines, principally to Danes in the Conference and Swedes in the Augustana Synod, while the Norwegian synod was constituted almost exclusively of Norwegian stock. Of these the orthodox Norwegian Synod, often called the "daughter of

the State Church of Norway," enjoyed preeminence, essentially unrivaled until internal dissension over the election or predestination issue produced a schism and reduction of its membership in the late 1880s.

The Norwegian Synod had no longterm interests in proselytizing among other national groups; their mission efforts were confined, with few exceptions, to ministering to Norwegian immigrants and founding and building up congregations. Only the pietistic Haugean Synod actually made a concerted effort to "promote . . . evangelistic work," and then only within its own districts. "The Norwegian Synod believed the parish pastor was the only evangelist required and thus made no provision for any type of synodically-promoted evangelism" (Nelson and Fevold 1960, vol. 1:99;101-102).

The Synod's emphasis on a resident ministry and the congregation as the only tool for evangelism, therefore, hindered the expansion of the Synod in areas void of Norwegian Lutherans. Missionary efforts outside of the congregations or synodical districts were ordinarily directed toward satisfying the needs of their migrating countrymen or of gaining new members among the unchurched. The Norwegian Synod set up a special missions board in 1864 and delineated specific "mission districts." By visiting young settlements in the backwoods and encouraging them to organize proper congregations, church leaders and home missionaries induced frontier congregations to call rightly ordained pastors. This conservative strategy was thus in marked contrast to the Methodists, for example, who extended rapidly across the frontier by a system of lay or untrained local preachers and an ordained "circuit ministry," winning souls via "contact conversion."

In contrast to the missionary outreach of the Norwegian Synod, the smaller synods of Norwegian Lutheranism had neither the manpower nor the financial resources to minister to a broad field. Rather, synods like the Haugean, the Conference, and the Norwegian Augustinians concentrated principally on the most promising areas, which in most cases meant Minnesota, the Dakotas, and to a lesser extent, a few young communities on the west coast. Overall, the synods of Norwegian Lutheranism in America were quite similar in home mission outreach, but the broad church and revivalist groups did make greater use of lay preachers (Nelson and Fevold 1960, vol. 1:275-279).

The contrast between the synods of the Norwegian immigrants was most apparent in the vein of institutional development, as summarized below: "In few things were the differences between the Synod and the other bodies so markedly contrasted as in the matter of schools. Schools were placed first on the Synod's program, with home-missions among their countrymen in America second, and foreign missions third. The other two concentrated their interests in a sliding scale on home missions, foreign missions, and schools" (Rohne 1926:183). In any and all cases, however, the immigrants were left to their own resources as the Norwegian State Church often was unable and somewhat reluctant to respond to their educational and missionary needs.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the German Missourians were the foremost representatives of confessional Lutheranism, and the Norwegian Synod turned to them almost instinctively for the preparation of its clerics. As early as 1859, prospective Norwegian pastors were being trained at the Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, and the Synod turned to them repeatedly in later years for advice and support, ultimately, getting entangled in the strife and secession surrounding the question of predestination. The secession of a large number of Anti-Missourians (or those opposed to the Missouri and Norwegian synods' belief in predestination) in the period 1888 to 1889 reduced the old Norwegian Synod by a third of its pre-secession strength, with two-thirds of the remaining members located in the states of Minnesota and Wisconsin. Wisconsin recorded 95 congregations and 15,037 members in 1890, the synod displaying its greatest strength in Dane, Vernon, La Crosse, Trempealeau, and Columbia Counties, respectively, all early and firm footholds of Synod Lutheranism (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894: vol. 2, 470-472).

Beginning in 1887 negotiations toward union were proposed by the Anti-Missourians, with the result that the Norwegian-Danish Augustana Synod (1870), the Conference of the Norwegian-Danish Church (1870), and the Norwegian Anti-Missourian Brotherhood (1887) were merged into the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America, which then outdistanced the old Norwegian Synod as the leading body of Norwegian-American Lutheranism. (See below). Following the union, a total of 187 congregations and 28,717 members were counted in Wisconsin, principally along the contours of Norwegian colonization. In regards to memberships, Dane County (4,088) was at the fore, followed at some distance by Trempealeau (2,319), Vernon (1,441), Eau Claire (1,430), Lafayette (1,305), Waupaca (1,227), Shawano (1,185), and Barron (1,122) Counties (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:478-480).

Disagreement between the trustees of Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, and the United Norwegian Lutheran Church (1890), on the matter of the transfer of property and management, led to the organization in June 1897 (Minneapolis) of the Lutheran Free Church, a predominantly Norwegian body in full accord with the tenets of Lutheranism. In the beginning this "seminary faction" had only a loose and voluntary organization known as the "Friends of Augsburg," but with official organization in 1897 came the adoption of the name, "The Norwegian Lutheran Free Church." In 1926, Wisconsin included 40 congregations and 6,664 members of this sect (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930:808-813).

The Church of the Lutheran Brethren was organized in Milwaukee in 1900 by a small group of Lutherans of Norwegian background. It is non-liturgical, "low church," mission-minded, and emphasizes personal salvation. In 1926 there were seven organizations and 249 members of this group in Wisconsin. Today its national figures stand at 9,010 members in 97 congregations (Mead 1980:164).

All in all, by 1900 the Norwegian immigrant population had founded no less than 14 synodical bodies, several of them representing the short-lived fusion of existing synods, and not before 1917 were the major units of Norwegian-American Lutheranism organically fused. (For a complete list of the Wisconsin churches by synodical affiliation see Norlie's double-volumed Norsk Lutherske Menigheter i Amerika.)

History will say that June 9th, 1917, was the "biggest day" in the saga of Norwegian-American Lutheranism, for the three major synods (Hauge's, Norwegian, and the United) were brought together at Minneapolis into the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America or the NLCA. Further, a major turning point in the later history of American Lutheranism came on January 1, 1961, with the official union of the Evangelical Lutheran Church (Norwegian origin-1917), the American Lutheran Church (German origin-1930), and the United Evangelical Lutheran Church (Danish origin-1896), with the new body taking the name "The American Lutheran Church" or the ALC. As a result of the earlier merger in 1917, the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America included about 90 percent of the Norwegian-American Lutherans. In 1963 the Lutheran Free Church merged with the newly formed ALC, and thus the reunion of the vast majority of Lutherans of Norwegian extraction was complete. Four very minor synods of Norwegian lineage continued to function independently, among them the reorganized Norwegian Synod.

Those who refused to follow the old Norwegian Synod into the 1917 union, resolving instead to continue their work along "thoroughly conservative lines," reorganized as the Norwegian Synod of the American Evangelical Lutheran Church in 1918. In 1926 Wisconsin counted seven organizations and 1,587 individuals of this synod, which today is centered at Bethany College and Seminary in Mankato, Minnesota, and embodies 19,634 members and 108 churches nationally (Mead 1980:165). It is currently known as the Evangelical Lutheran Synod.

Three of the oldest Norwegian Lutheran institutions of learning had their genesis in Wisconsin. The first of these, Luther College, was founded at Halfway Creek, La Crosse County, in September of 1861, with professors Laur. Larsen and Missourian, F. A. Schmidt at the helm. Following only a year of operation, it was removed to a new site at Decorah, Iowa, where it is today a four-year liberal arts college under the auspices of the American Lutheran Church (1961). Lay preacher Elling Eielsen, although never able to popularize higher education among his congregation, was the prime mover in the early development of facilities for Christian education in the Midwest. In 1854 the Ellingians established the first school for the education of teachers and preachers among the Norwegians in America at Lisbon, Illinois. Eielsen's purchase of 120 acres of land near Deerfield (Dane County), Wisconsin, in 1864 for the development of a small "layman's college," was a second educational enterprise. When a suitable replacement for principal could not be found, the school ceased operation after only two years (1865-1867). The Ellingian enterprise was taken up again at Red Wing, Minnesota, but was not completed at that time. (Hauge's Synod opened Red Wing Seminary in 1879, including preparatory, college, and theological departments). Instead, a school was begun at a Chicago location. Within a few years, the cornerstone of "Hauge's College and Eielsen's Seminary" was laid (1871), although that facility, too, suffered under the weight of administrative and financial difficulties like its predecessors and closed after a short term of operation (Rohne 1926:188-189).

In 1869 Augustana College Seminary in Paxton, Illinois, of the Scandinavian Augustana Synod divided along national lines, with the Norwegian section, Augsburg Seminary, transplanted to grounds at Marshall (Dane County), Wisconsin (1869-1881). A year later the schism between the Swedes and the Norwegians in the Synod was complete, as the Norwegians withdrew to form the Norwegian-Danish Conference (Rohne 1926:191). The Norwegian Augustanans at length gained possession of the Marshall, Wisconsin, property, and removed the theological school to Beloit, Iowa, where it merged with United Church Seminary in 1890. They moved the college and academy to Canton, South Dakota (Rohne 1926:192). In time, the college department merged with another school in Sioux Falls to form Augustana College. Augustana Academy continued at Canton for many years.

The theological seminary of the Norwegian Synod was established in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1876, and remained there for a dozen years before it was reopened in a suburb of Minneapolis in 1859. In 1899, it was moved to St. Paul, Minnesota. Today, having merged in 1917 with Red Wing Seminary and the United Church Seminary, it is known as Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary of the ALC. Monona Academy (Dane County) was operated by the Norwegian Synod from 1876 to 1881. The Bethany Indian Mission and Industrial School at Wittenberg (Shawano County) was opened by the Norwegian Synod in 1884 and served a mix of children from the Winnebago, Oneida, Chippewa, Stockbridge, and Mohawk Indian nations. Control of the facility passed to the federal government in 1895, although members of the Norwegian Synod continued to hold administrative positions.

The Stoughton Academy and Business Institute (Dane County) began its work in 1888 under the auspices of the Norwegian Synod. The United Norwegian Synod spearheaded the development of the Mount Horeb Academy (Dane County) in the fall of 1893. The Scandinavian Academy at Scandinavia (Waupaca County) was also begun in 1893 by the United Church. Albion Academy (Dane County), Beloit College (Rock County), and Gale College (Trempealeau County), which for a time was owned by the Norwegian Synod, drew chiefly from the Scandinavian-American population for their enrollments. Fully nine-tenths of the enrollees of the aforementioned institutions were of Norwegian birth or parentage (Skordalsvold 1900:129-133).

From the beginning the Norwegian Synod recognized the importance of its cultural and religious heritage, which it aimed to preserve and perpetuate through the vehicle of Christian education. Among the various synods, the Norwegian Synod undertook the first

effort to establish a network of congregational or parochial schools, designed to function independently of the public school system but met with limited success. On the other hand, the Conference and Haugean churches exhibited greater appreciation for the merits of an English language education, at least in the first quarter century, and neither initiated large-scale parochial school programs.

Maanedstidende, or Monthly Times, commenced publication in March 1851 as the chief literary organ of the Norwegian Synod and the first Norwegian Lutheran church paper in America. Printed in Racine during its first year and then moved to Inmansville (Luther Valley), the paper was edited during its developmental years by some of the pillars of the Synod leadership, i.e., A. C. Preus, C. L. Clausen, H. A. Stub, G. F. Dietrichson, and H. A. Preus. After a brief suspension, publication of the paper was resumed in 1855 as Kirkelig Maanedstidende and after 1874 as Evangelist Luthersk Kirketidende, or the Evangelical Lutheran Church Times. The paper's earliest critic and arch rival, Kirketidende, or Church Times, was issued from Racine by O. Hatlestad from 1851 to 1854 (Rohne 1926:138-139). In addition, there was a large and strong family of Norwegian-American newspapers and periodicals, many of which challenged their readers on both political and religious issues.

As of 1940 the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America provided the financial sustenance for eight social welfare societies and institutions in Wisconsin, namely: Luther Hospital of Eau Claire; the Lutheran Home in Madison; the Lutheran Welfare Society in Milwaukee; the Martin Luther Children's Home in Stoughton; the Skaalen Home for the Aged in Stoughton; the Homme Children's Home in Wittenberg; the Homme Home for the Aged in Wittenberg; and the Indian Mission in Wittenberg (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:123-124).

SWEDISH LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

The first considerable stream of Swedish immigrants flowed onto the Midwestern prairies in the early 1840s, and with it came a central concern for the spiritual welfare of the participants. The majority of Swedes were ultimately accomodated within the Swedish Augustana Lutheran Synod, but denominational competition flourished across the American frontier. Considerable numbers were lost to the Baptist, Methodist, Evangelical Covenant and Evangelical Free groups. The first two decades of the Swedish experience in America were fraught with religious altercation and debate, but in the end, the Lutherans, and specifically the Augustana Synod, reaped the greatest harvest.

The rigid and somewhat stagnant practices of the Scandinavian State Churches invited sharp criticism, and from the great religious revivals that swept Sweden, Norway, and Denmark in the last century, a number of "free" churches and missionary societies were organized outside of the established ecclesiastical community. When people stirred by these religious quickenings immigrated to America, they organized similar churches, such as the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant Church which was formed in 1885 by the merger of the Mission (Friends) Synod and the Ansgarius Synod. The Mission Friends, known for their spontaneous gatherings and lay preaching, represented the "extreme puritans" among Swedish churchgoers in America and saw in the Augustana Synod the excesses of "man-made ordinances and forms" which they chose to avoid (Stephenson 1932:267).

Although it appeared somewhat later than the Augustana Synod, the Mission Covenant Church (1885) was the most formidable opponent and competitor of the Synod. While a direct offshoot of Lutheranism, this sect represented a compromise between Presbyterian and Congregational forms, had no binding doctrines, expounded the virtues of consecretated living and personal salvation, and placed primary emphasis on evangelization through missions. In 1868, Midsummer's Day, the first company of Mission Friends entered Wisconsin, settling at Lund and worshipping in the Lutheran

church until a separate organization and facility could be arranged. In 1873, the Swedish Mission Church of Lund was formally organized, calling the Rev. P. Undeen as its first pastor. In 1930, there were 17 Swedish Mission Covenant congregations in the state (Westman 1931, vol. 1:128-129).

Partial Listing of Swedish Mission Covenant Congregations in Wisconsin in 1930

Community	County	Year Established
Ashland	Ashland	1892
Beloit	Rock	1913
Ellsworth	Pierce	1878
Hudson	St. Croix	1910
Lund	Pierce	1873
Marinette	Marinette	1888
New Richmond	St. Croix	1890
Poplar	Douglas	1894
Port Wing	Bayfield	1896
River Falls	Pierce	1908
Spirit	Price	uncertain
Star Prairie	St. Croix	1890
Stockholm	Pepin	1887
Superior	Douglas	1887

SOURCE:

Westman 1931, vol. 1:128-129.

Even though the Swedish Augustana Lutheran Synod was the principal ecclesiastical home of Swedish immigrants in America and its foundations were laid by men trained by the homeland church, Stephenson has noted that "nothing could be more unhistorical than to designate the Augustana Synod as the 'daughter' of the Church of Sweden," for it mirrored more of the organizational and procedural characteristics of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists (Stephenson 1932:176). While its internal politics were somewhat stormy, the only major break in the Synod was the cordial departure of the Norwegians in 1870 to form the Norwegian-Danish Lutheran Conference.

The majority of the Swedes in Wisconsin belonged to the Augustana Synod, with the Mission Covenant and Baptist churches attracting the next largest followings. Additionally, "several large and a few small" Methodist and Swedish Free Churches were at length woven into the local denominatinal tapestry. The first Swedish Lutheran congregations in America (eventually affiliated with the Augustana Synod) appeared in New Sweden, Henry County, Iowa, in 1848, and at Andover, Henry County, Illinois, in 1850. An energetic company of Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, German and American Lutherans convened to form the precursor of the Augustana Synod, the Synod of Northern Illinois in 1851, a body that functioned harmoniously until 1860 when the Swedish and Norwegian elements withdrew in protest. The Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod of North America was "formally launched" by the protestors on June 5th, 1860, at Jefferson Prairie, Rock County, Wisconsin, in a little frontier church no longer in existence. The congregation at Stockholm in Pepin County, established in 1868, is the oldest Swedish Lutheran congregation in the state. In 1930 there were 48 congregations of the Augustana Synod operating within Wisconsin borders (Westman 1931, vol. 1:127-128).

Partial Listing of Wisconsin Congregations Affiliated with the Augustana Synod in 1930

Community	County	Year Established
Stockholm	Pepin	1868
Trade Lake	Burnett	1870
Apple River	Polk	1870
Pepin	Pepin	1873
West Sweden	Polk	1873
Hager City	Pierce	1875
Bay City	Pierce	1881
Falun	Burnett	1882
Eau Claire	Eau Claire	1883
Wood River	Burnett	1884
Grantsburg	Burnett	1884
Cumberland	Barron	1885
Ashland	Ashland	1885
Ashland	Ashland	1908
Bayfield	Bayfield	1885
Rice Lake	Barron	1886
Washburn	Bayfield	1887
Superior	Douglas	1888
Superior	Douglas	1892
Superior	Douglas	1894
Superior	Douglas	1896
Shell Lake	Washburn	1888
Clayton	Polk	1888
Amery	Polk	1892
Hudson	St. Croix	1895
Poplar	Douglas	1895
Bennett	Douglas	1894
Port Wing	Bayfield	1895
New Richmond	St. Croix	1901
Frederic	Polk	1905
Centuria	Polk	1909
McKinley	Polk	1912
Clear Lake	Polk	1918
Winter	Sawyer	1920
Ojibwa	Sawyer	1921
Siren	Burnett	1921
Draper	Sawyer	1925
Keene	Portage	1929

SOURCE:

Westman 1931, vol. 1:127-128.

The relatively low percentage of churchgoers among the Swedish immigrant population (estimated at only 20 percent) left the door open for the appearance of a broad spectrum of social, fraternal, and cultural organizations in sharp competition with the time honored traditions and offerings of the church. The religious community responded to the proliferation of secular societies by the organization of competing organizations, usually in the form of women's and men's auxiliaries and youth clubs.

In Wisconsin, Swedish Lutherans were not vigorous supporters of educational, health care, and social service institutions. The only known Swedish Lutheran affiliated social service

facility is the Luther Home for the Aged in Marinette (Benson and Hedin 1938:151).

DANISH LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

The preservation of "Danskhed" or Danishness was a timely concern to the newly arrived immigrants, although comparatively few sought to work through the mechanism of their churches. Moreover, very little was accomplished by the Danish Lutherans during the pioneering phase in America, for they were numerically weak and scattered, and the Norwegian church leadership had already taken the initiative to supply the spiritual needs of their Danish brothers and sisters. Although the first considerable immigration from Denmark commenced in the early 1860s, nearly a decade elapsed before the Church of Denmark undertook to care for her offspring on the American frontier. Like their Scandinavian cousins, the Danes in America were cast primarily upon their own resources, and at length, they, too, would pay the price of factional strife.

At Neenah, Wisconsin, in the summer of 1872, five Danish pastors and several laymen assembled to organize the "Kirkelig Missions Forening" (Mission Association), the oldest body of Danish Lutheranism in America, in total conformity with the State Church of Denmark, and the natural precursor of the Danish Evangelical Lutheran church in America. Ultimately, the Church came to concentrate in a belt stretching across the northern portion of the country, and by 1890, more than half of the 10,181 communicants and 131 organizations were within the bounds of Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois and Minnesota. Wisconsin, with 16 organizations and an inclusive membership of 2,076, registered congregations in Polk (3), Brown (2), Racine (2), Waupaca (2), Adams (1), Kenosha (1), Marinette (1), Oconto (1), Waukesha (1), Waushara (1), and Winnebago (1) Counties (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:473-474).

Although born into the Lutheran State Church of their homeland, the Danes were divided in America by severe difficulties between members of the Grundtvigian "mother" church and the more pietistic Inner Mission group. The various religious emphases of the Danish State Church were all present in the Danish American communities and existed in relative harmony during the formative years. Indeed, a desire for security and companionship may have overshadowed subtle distinctions in group polity and belief. But as communities grew and matured, both doctrinal and national distinctions became more strongly emphasized (Christensen 1928-1929:19-40). A heightening of national consciousness lay behind the withdrawal in 1884 of a group of Danish ministers from the Norwegian-Danish Conference to form the Danish Church Association. Minnesota and Nebraska were clearly the heartland of the new Association, although Wisconsin also tallied 395 members in four organizations in 1890, one each in Polk, Racine, Waupaca, and Winnebago Counties (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:475-476).

In 1894, conflict within the "mother" synod led to the secession of 19 pastors, 37 congregations, and 3,000 communicants (nationally) to form the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America. In 1896, it joined with the Danish Church Association to form the United Danish Lutheran Church. In short, the split in 1894 allowed the Grundtvigians to remain in possession of the Danish church, while adherents of the Inner Mission movement seceded to join their brothers and sisters from the Norwegian-Danish Conference in the United Evangelical Church.

The original Grundtvigian group retained 53 congregations and approximatey 5,000 communicants nationally, and continued to expand under the name the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. In 1926 Wisconsin had six congregations with 1,100 communicant members. This faction eventually assumed the name the American Evangelical Lutheran Church, and in 1962 it joined with other synods of German, Swedish, and Finnish heritage to form the Lutheran Church in America or LCA. The more pietistic element, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, participated in a union with German and Norwegian elements to form the American Lutheran Church or ALC in

1961.

Although Hartland in Waukesha County was the first Danish community in America, and an early focus of Danish-American cultural and religious life, the Racine Church, founded in 1851 by a group of Danish and Norwegian Lutherans, was the first expression of Danish Lutheranism in the United States. Five present day congregations in Racine owe their existence to the foresight of the Danish and Norwegian churchmen, with four of them affiliating originally with the United Evangelical Church. In 1938 they collectively constituted 2,000 of the Synod's 30,000 members (Nielsen 1981:105).

Chief among the promoter-publicists of the immigration was the Danish-born clergyman, Claus Clausen, and although he centered his ministry in predominantly Norwegian congregations in Wisconsin, in 1867, he returned on a successful trip to Denmark to extend his plea for Lutheran missionaries. By the 1870s, the church's mission field in Wisconsin was larger than in any other state, and embodied preaching stations at Racine, Kenosha, Neenah, Oconto, Marinette, Oshkosh, Maple Valley, New Denmark, Fort Howard, Ledgeville, Waupaca, Roche a Cri, Pine River, New London, Masonville, Necedah, Big Flats, Orange, Tomah, Sparta, Bangor, Lewiston, and West Denmark (Luck) (Vig 1899:40). With the election of a "committee on colonization" in 1884, the Danish Lutheran Church in America undertook to select sites, reserve acreages, and gather Danish immigrants into so-called "church-sponsored enclaves." The first of these at Tyler, Minnesota, commenced in 1885 and involved the purchase of 35,000 acres, the organization of a congregation (1886), and the construction of a folk high school (1888). In 1893 the Church began a colony at Withee, Wisconsin, and similar practices were followed by both Danish synods in the western states after the split of 1894 (Nyholm 1963:119).

By 1908, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, or the "original" synod, had eight congregations and 1,361 members in the state. (The schism of 1894 makes it difficult to pinpoint the precise location of these congregations from the 1890 census of churches) (Vig 1899:162-163). In 1899, the United Danish Lutheran church had congregations in the communities listed below.

United Danish Lutheran Congregations in Wisconsin in 1899

Community	County
Waupaca (2)	Waupaca
Oregon	Dane
Rutland	Dane
Clinton (2)	Rock
Oconto	Oconto
Racine (3)	Racine
New Lisbon	Juneau
Big Flats	Adams
Kenosha	Kenosha
Denmark	Brown
Hartland	Waukesha
Poy Sippi	Waushara
Saxeville	Waushara
Maple Valley	Oconto
Gillett	Oconto
Belmont	Lafayette

Neenah	Winnebago
Luck (3)	Polk
Milltown	Polk
Cushing	Polk
Shennington	Monroe

In addition there were synod mission churches located at Corlis, Roche a Cri, Bear Creek, and Manches.

SOURCE:

Vig 1899:162-163.

With a comparatively weak Lutheran church, except in heavily Grundtvigian areas, parochial school programs did not stir great interest and met with only temporary success before their passing in the 1890s. A similar and more successful project was the organization of folk high schools, including Wisconsin's West Denmark facility, located on the shores of Little Butternut Lake in Polk County. Organized in 1884 as the third Danish folk high school in the United States, the facility operated for only a year before dissolving into use as a seminary of the Danish Lutheran Church. Hartland Seminary, founded in 1887, was the first theological school of the Danes in America, but its fate was inseparably bound to the fate of the Synod, and factional strife forced its closing in 1892. But from "the ruins of the ill-fated seminary," rose a new Danish institution, Grand View College in Des Moines, Iowa (Hansen 1977:l).

In a related venture, the United Evangelical Lutheran church founded Racine's Luther High School and College in 1902, but intra-group squabbling and financial stress brought about its demise a decade later. According to the compilations of the Historical Records Survey in 194l, the only facility maintained solely by the Danish Lutherans in Wisconsin (United Evangelical Lutheran Church) was the Bethany Children's Home in Waupaca. Its sister synod maintained a church press at Withee, which issued the paper Kirkelig Samler, or Church Gatherer. Danskeren, another church paper was first issued from the Jersild Publishing Company in Neenah in 1892, but seven years later the paper was sold to the United Church and moved to the Danish Lutheran Publishing House in Blair, Nebraska (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:125-126).

FINNISH LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

Although they founded fewer synods than the Norwegians, the Finns were a highly divisive and competitive lot, and in the words of Timothy Smith, their "extreme ethnic particularism precluded any inclusive national organization." Finnish churchmen splintered into a dozen factions, all highly suspicious of one another, and each claiming "absolute authenticity" in the propagation of the Christian faith (Smith cited in Jalkanen 1972:250). In 1936 there were 25 Finnish Lutheran congregations with a combined membership of about 2,000 in Wisconsin, with only a few of the group defecting, chiefly to Baptist and Pentecostal bodies.

The Lutherans were grouped along three distinct lines, namely: l) The Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church, emanating from the early nineteenth century Laestadian revival movement which was noted for its abhorence of ritual and its preference for lay preachers and conventicles. 2) The Suomi Synod, founded in Calumet, Michigan, in 1890 as the cohort of the State Church of Finland. The Suomi Synod evolved into the strongest and most liberal of the Finnish American Lutheran groups. 3) The Finnish National Lutheran Church, founded in Wyoming in 1898, was sharply defiant of the Finnish State Church tendencies and depended for some time on a lay ministry. In 1920 l2.9 percent of the foreign-born Finns voiced membership in the Suomi Synod, while the others were distributed between the National and Apostolic Churches.

Many Finns that emigrated to the Copper Country of Upper Michigan from the impoverished provinces of northern Finland brought with them a Lutheranism heavily influenced by the Laestadian revival of the early nineteenth century. In 1867, they joined with the Norwegians and Swedes to form the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran church, but owing to their participation in a lay or conventicle ministry, the Laestadians quickly fell into disfavor with their Scandinavian brethren. The tensions culminated in the withdrawal of the Laestadians to form the Apostolic Church in 1872, thus severing their relationship with other Lutherans, including the majority of their Finnish countrymen. "The story of American Laestadianism," wrote Kukkonen, "is one of revivals, internal conflicts and divisions, attempts at reconciliation and new conflicts." At present five brands of Laestadianism can be found in the United States and together they account for a comparatively small allegiance of about 7,000 members in 64 congregations (Kukkonen in Jalkanen 1972:106; and Mead 1980:163-164). The Finnish Apostolic Church extended its influence into Wisconsin with congregations at Maple, Marengo, Oulu-Iron River, Silver Creek-Ogema, and Superior (Kolehmainen and Hill 1951:156-160).

The Suomi Synod, clearly associated with the Lutheran State Church of Finland, was born from the efforts of four Finnish clergymen who assembled at Hancock, Michigan, in December 1889 to draw up preliminary plans for synodical structure and who participated in a constituting convention at Calumet, Michigan, a year later. In a climate of total religious liberty, the Synod experienced a tenuous beginning, yet it survived and grew into the strongest and most stable of the Finnish Lutheran bodies in America, by 1919 claiming more than 35,000 members nationally.

By defining itself as the "authentic offshoot" of the Church of Finland, the Synod found it impossible to tolerate viewpoints other than its own, particularly Laestadianism and the Evangelical tendencies, yet it managed to penetrate all major areas of Finnish settlement in the country, and was effective in fostering a strong sense of group consciousness along with the propagation of its Christian ideals (Ollila in Jalkanen 1972:166). In 1926, Wisconsin housed nine congregations and 761 members (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930:803-807). The name and date of founding of the Suomi affiliates in Wisconsin are provided below: Brantwood (1903); Brule (18930; Iron Belt (1890); Marengo (1906); Oulu-Iron River (1903); Owen (1915); Phelps-Eagle River (?); Superior (1894); Turtle Lake (?); and Westboro (1921) (Kolehmainen and Hill 1951:156-160).

Dissatisfaction with the rigidity of the Finnish State Church and a desire for greater responsibility amongst the immigrant laity were the basis for the development of the Finnish Lutheran National Church of America. The movement was given its organizational trappings at Rock Springs, Wyoming, in June of 1898, and later was incorporated at Ironwood, Michigan. Wisconsin claimed a sizable allegiance, specifically at Brantwood (1901); Brule (1919); Clifford-Tripoli (1902-1922); Iron Belt (1898); Maple (1897); Marengo (1906); Owen (ceased operation in 1939); Phelps-Eagle River (1911-1923); Silver Creek-Ogema (1902); Superior (1908); and Washburn (1905). The Finns also found spiritual homes in the Swedish-Finnish Lutheran Church at Ashland, and in the Evangelical Lutheran Union Church at Saxon (1937) (Kolehmainen and Hill 1951:156-160).

SLOVAK LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

The Hungarian Lutheran Church made no provision for the spiritual care of its Slovakian offspring in America, and thus, the group turned to non-Slovakian pastors and other Lutheran synods, for their spiritual sustenance. Some Slovaks joined the Slovakian and Hungarian Reformed Churches as a satisfactory compromise, especially in those cases where they were numerically too weak to sustain a distinctly Slovakian church. Organized at Connorsville, Pennsylvania, in September 1902, the Slovak Evangelical Lutheran Synod at long last provided the organizational familiarity so desperately desired

by the Slovak Lutherans in the United States. According to the 1926 census of religious bodies the Slovaks operated three affiliates in the State of Wisconsin, which were situated at Boyceville, Cudahy, and Racine, and collectively numbered 650 parishioners. In addition, the Historical Records Survey Project listed an affiliate of the Slovak Zion (Lutheran) Synod in Kenosha (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:167,172).

ADDITIONAL INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Social welfare concerns have been undertaken recurrently on a combined basis by the various Wisconsin synods. In 1940 the Lutheran "Synodical Institutions" included: The Deaconess Home and the Deaconess Hospital in Beaver Dam; Lutheran Hospital in La Crosse; Memorial Hospital in Sheboygan; Bethesda Deaconess Home, Home for the Aged, Lutheran Home, and Sanitorium in Watertown; the Evan Kinderfreund Society of Wisconsin in Wauwatosa; and the Lutheran Altenheim in Wauwatosa. The Lutheran family in Wisconsin has always included a number of independent congregations, which collectively have supported at least two institutions, namely, the Layton Home for Invalids and St. Luke's Lutheran Hospital in Milwaukee. The Homme Press of Wittenberg has been a literary instrument of the local independents (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:175,169).

Lutherans in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures

Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850	23	no data
1860	117	no data
1870	171	no data
1890	894	160,919
1906	1,383	284,286
1916	1,435	313,685
1926	1,534	484,348
1936	1,527	513,160
1980	1,588	952,409

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1853:934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:435-482; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980:1-4.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, chapels, missions, preaching stations, motherhouses, educational facilities, health care facilities, children's homes, retirement homes, fellowship halls, publishing firms, homes of prominent Lutheran leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Lutheran bodies, encompassing a wide range of synodical connections, are heavily distributed throughout Wisconsin.

Joint Synod of Wisconsin and Other States was concentrated in the southeastern region of the state, especially in Milwaukee, Jefferson, Manitowoc, Dodge, and Outagamie counties.
Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States was most heavily represented in Milwaukee and Sheboygan counties.
Norwegian Lutheran Church in America was concentrated in Dane, Trempealeau, Vernon, and Eau Claire counties.
Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States had its strongest representation in Marathon, Winnebago, Washara, Outagamie, and Shawano counties.
Synod of Iowa and Other States was located predominantly in Fond du Lac and Winnebago counties.
United Lutheran Church was concentrated chiefly in Milwaukee County, with slightly fewer numbers in Racine, Kenosha, Winnebago, and Dane counties.
Swedish Augustana Synod was centered in Polk, Douglas, and Marinette counties.
United Danish Church was most strongly represented in Racine, Polk, Waupaca, and Brown counties.
Lutheran Free Church was concentrated in Lafayette, Marinette, and Polk counties.

Previous Surveys. The Wisconsin Historical Records Survey includes historical data on Lutheran churches and other Lutheran affiliated institutions. The Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey also provides information on Lutheran churches located in that city. The "Immigration and Settlement" and "Religion" chapters in various intensive surveys also provide some data on Lutheran churches for specific localities. The "Religion" chapters of the Reedsburg and Superior intensive survey reports describe the various Lutheran groups particularly well.

Survey and Research Needs. Undertake intensive surveys of Muskego (Waukesha County) and Koshkonong (Jefferson County) to identify sites and structures affiliated with historically significant Norwegian Lutheran settlement and religious life.

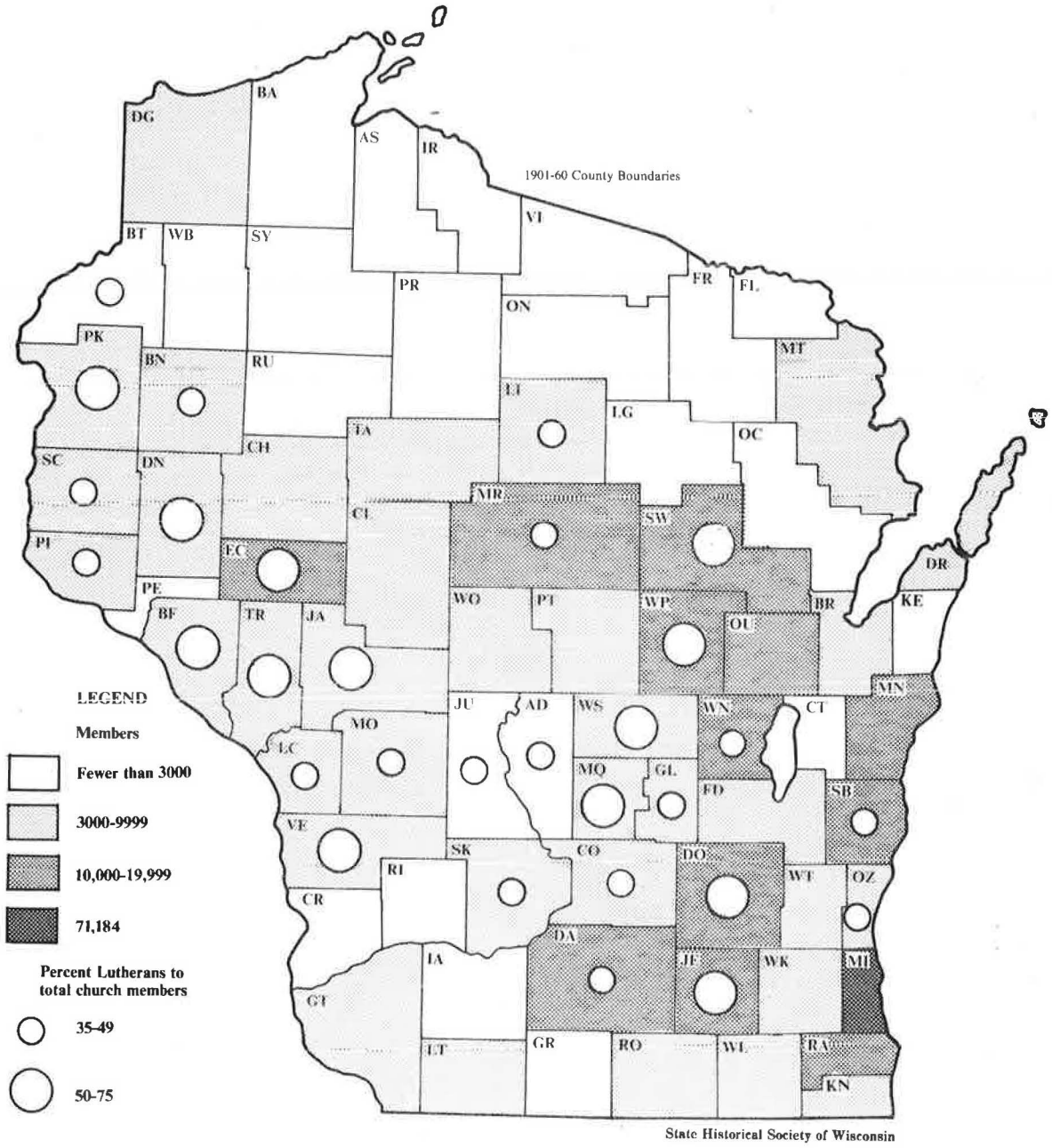
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Hauge Log Church (1852), Town of Perry, Dane County (NRHP 1974)
Free Evangelical Lutheran Church (1882), 3028 Church St., Ephraim, Door County (NRHP 1985, Ephraim MRA)
Peter Peterson House, 10020 N. Water St., Ephraim, Door County (NRHP 1985, Ephraim MRA)
St. John Evangelical Lutheran Church (1870-1871), Town of Auburn, Fond du Lac County
(NRHP 1986)
Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Church (1878-1880), 1046 N. Ninth St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1979)
Heg Memorial Park and Norway Evangelical Church, Heg Park Rd., Town of Norway,

Racine County (NRHP 1980)
West Luther Valley Lutheran Church (1871-1872), Town of Spring Valley, Rock County (NRHP 1980)
Norwegian Lutheran Church (1896), Church St., Cooksville, Rock County (NRHP 1973, Cooksville Historic District)
St. Paul's Lutheran Church, 169 S. Academy St., Janesville, Rock County (DOE 1985)
Lutheran Indian Mission (1901-1908), Town of Red Springs, Shawano County (NRHP 1980)
Heart Prairie Lutheran Church (1855-1857), Town of Whitewater, Walworth County (NRHP 1974)
Zion Lutheran Church, 912 North Oneida St., Appleton, Outagamie County (NRHP 1986)
Christ Evangelical Lutheran Church, 2235 West Greenfield Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1987)
Salem Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1025-1037 South 11th St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1987)
St. Martini Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1557 Orchard St., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1987)
St. Peter's Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1204, 13, 14, 15, South 8th St., Milwaukee Milwaukee County (NRHP 1987)

Context Considerations. Lutheran affiliated structures associated with Norwegian, Danish, and German immigration, social services, and education, may possess statewide or national significance. The vast number of Lutheran churches will possess local significance. When identifying Lutheran sites and structures, it is important to identify the specific synod with which that site or structure is connected.



State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Members of the Lutheran Church in Wisconsin (Major Synods), 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 702-703.

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1965 A Plan for Survival. Greenwich Book Publishers, New York.
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1941 History of the Southern Wisconsin District of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States. Madison.
Includes sketches on early Missourian congregations and institutions; bibliography.

Temporal Boundaries: Late 1820s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Spread heavily throughout most of the state, with smaller denominations concentrated in specific localities.

Related Study Units: Evangelical Association Church and Church of the United Brethren in Christ, German Settlement, Danish Settlement, Swedish Settlement, Norwegian Settlement, Black Americans.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Founded in eighteenth century England, Methodism is a Protestant denomination which subscribes to the principles and practices espoused by John Wesley, an Anglican revivalist clergyman. Today, the United Methodist Church in the United States and the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion in England are the most important representatives of the evangelical movement which began at Oxford University in 1729 under the leadership of John and Charles Wesley, George Whitefield, and a number of other converts. Methodism was transplanted to American soil by Irish immigrants, converts of Wesley, and in 1784 at a Baltimore conference of traveling preachers, the closest American relative of the Wesleyan Movement in England, the Methodist Episcopal Church, was founded as an autonomous body.

For a half century the Church made a phenomenal advance westward, led by "circuit riders," lay preachers and pastors who moved from one appointment to another within a "circuit" or group of congregations for maximum efficiency. From some 61,000 communicants and 272 clergy in 1799, the Church exhibited remarkable growth, swelling to 4.5 million members and more than 20,000 clergy by 1920. Methodism was spread principally by a combination of pastoral eloquence and ceaseless travel, with the Church adopting and refining several methods of outreach, foremost of which were the "circuit riders" and "camp meetings" which moved with the frontier as religious exercises in homes, halls, barns, and in the fields. The Methodists and Baptists were at the fore in frontier revivalism, and if success is measured by sheer numbers touched by the Protestant gospel, Methodism emerges the victor among all American denominations. The camp meeting, once a Presbyterian instrument, was adopted by the Methodists as they began their westward trek and though it was never formally incorporated as such, it has been aptly called "a Methodist institution" (Sweet 1944:128-132).

The Methodists and Baptists were also protagonists of the Sunday School and daily vacation Bible School movements. Beginning in 1789, the Methodist Book Concern put denominational literature into the saddlebags of circuit riders, a crucial tool in the promulgation of the frontier gospel. The Methodists' greatest educational feats, however, were at the university and college level; they established, for instance, Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin. Their contributions in social services have also been widespread and effective. As Americans became more settled, Methodism shifted its emphasis away from evangelism and to the enunciation of the "social gospel," promoting civic betterment through legislative reform. Along with this work came careful planning and organization, making the Methodist Church one the best organized and most tightly controlled religious groups in the country.

The Methodists have an indigenous missionary concern as evidenced, for example, by their pioneering work among Wisconsin's Oneida Indians. They are further characterized by a simple, but dignified, pattern of worship and a preference for simplicity in church

architecture. Historically, those who have desired the more emotional and enthusiastic religion, by and large, have joined the Holiness groups which had their genesis in Methodism. The Church's constituency is composed primarily of members of the middle class, but considerable support also is garnered from other elements in society. The Church consists of two ordained orders, deacons and elders, with the term "local preacher" applied to the unordained man "on trial" in the annual conferences. While the British churches are non-episcopalian, the American tradition is episcopal, with each area presided over by a bishop and divided into districts, each with its own superintendent. Though governed by a highly centralized and somewhat authoritarian system, individuals are given full expression, and historically parishioner witness played an integral part in the Church's operation.

During its first 50 years, the Methodist Episcopal Church was particularly hard hit by strife and secession, with no less than seven branches of Methodism making their appearance, three of them formed by black Americans. Between 1813 and 1817 several groups of dissatisfied blacks, who had weathered the pain of discrimination in the segregated "mother" church, seceded to form separate denominations, among them the African Methodist Episcopal and Negro Methodist churches. Opposition to episcopal powers and the campaign for lay representation in church government, spawned the Methodist Protestant group in 1830. Agitation on the slavery question and opposition to the powers of the episcopacy were the basis for withdrawal of a group to form the Wesleyan Methodist Connection or Church in 1843. In 1845 the Methodist Episcopal Church-South emerged as a separate entity, a schism generated by strong anti-slavery sentiment. A later secession, that of the Free Methodists in 1860, was grounded in disputes concerning matters of discipline, doctrine, and sympathies for secret societies. Primitive Methodists, an independent sect founded in England, first came to the United States in 1829 (Stoody 1964:581-590).

In 1939 the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church-South, and the Methodist Protestant Church came together to form the Methodist Church. In 1968 following a history of cordial exchange and several beginnings of a plan toward union, the Methodist Church was joined with the Evangelical United Brethren Church to form the United Methodist Church. At 10 million members in 1970, it was the largest Methodist group in the country (Mead 1980:177). (See United Brethren study unit).

METHODISM IN WISCONSIN

Methodism spawned upwards of 20 sectarian groups (first differentiated in the religious census of 1890), and of that number, at least eight of them were established in Wisconsin. Several of the minor Methodist groups came to show highly localized spatial patterns, but taken as a whole, the Methodists displayed a lavish and relatively even statewide distribution. By 1899 the numerically dominant Methodist Episcopal Church had penetrated nearly every Wisconsin county (67). (See accompanying map and table)

Methodist Episcopalians in Wisconsin

Methodism in the form of the Methodist Episcopal Church (M.E.), forerunner of the present United Methodist Church, entered Wisconsin about 1830 at two focal points: around Green Bay in the northeast, and at Platteville and its environs in the southwest. Eventually, a third seat of evangelization emerged among the German population in the port city of Milwaukee, and in the succeeding years, this third center, statistically speaking, assumed the lead.

An unordained "local preacher" by the name of Aaron Hawley is believed to have been the first Methodist to hold religious exercises in the state. He settled near the Cornish mining town of Wiota (Lafayette County) in 1828, which at that time housed some 200 to 300 persons. The first itinerant to penetrate Wisconsin, however, was John Dew, an early

circuit rider out of Galena, Illinois. Neither left any organizations in their wake. The earliest permanent Methodist organizations grew up in the vicinity of Green Bay, a natural consequence of the actions of the Philadelphia General Conference of 1832, which resolved that a missionary thrust be directed toward the Indian territory of the west and northwest. The Methodists, unlike some evangelistic brethren, did not draw distinctions between missionary enterprises aimed at Indians and those aimed at the white population, for all fell under the jurisdiction of the General Conference.

The New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church commissioned John Clark to serve as missionary to Green Bay in 1832. He was preceded to the region by Colonel Samuel Ryan, a layman who had been transferred by the military to the garrison at Fort Howard. Upon his arrival, Clark founded the first permanent Methodist organization in Wisconsin (1832), properly called a "Class meeting," a group which has since evolved into the First United Methodist Church of Green Bay.

Clark proceeded to the Oneida village of Smithfield (in Kimberly) to act as a missionary among the tribespeople, and there he consecrated Wisconsin's first Methodist church, which was also the first to be built between Lake Michigan and the Pacific, on September 15 and 16, 1832. At the same site a school and Methodist Sunday School program were initiated, with Electa Quinney, a Stockbridge Indian, teaching a class of thirty local Indians. When the Smithfield Oneidas relocated at Duck Creek (Brown County), the Methodist mission and school moved with them. Clark went on to establish preaching stations at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, and Kewanon on the Keweenaw Peninsula, and to found missions among the Indians at the mouth of the Menominee River and on a branch of the Chippewa River at Lac Court Oreilles (Sawyer County). While on his Wisconsin circuit, Clark visited Milwaukee, and was responsible for sending a circuit rider, Mark Robinson, who organized the first Methodist class in 1837.

While the initial purpose of missionaries west of Lake Michigan was to carry the gospel to the Indian nations, early efforts were also directed toward the spiritual needs of Wisconsin's lead mining district in the southwest. The appointment of a traveling missionary by the Illinois Conference in 1828, John Dew, laid the groundwork for early organization in the mining region, with the first Methodist societies organized at Platteville by John Mitchell in 1833 and at Mineral Point in 1834. Regular preaching points sprang up at nearby Gratiot's Grove (Lafayette County) and at other mining centers. With the appointment of the Rev. Alfred Brunson as missionary to the Indians of the Mississippi Valley in 1835, work increased among the Indian tribes near Prairie du Chien, and missionaries made a great push into the Upper Mississippi Valley. But while their work among Indians was statistically disappointing, the effort did meet with substantial progress among the white population, and in 1847, a Methodist mission grew up in the timberlands bordering the Black River (Blake 1973:18-29).

Perhaps the most notable of the early Methodist clergymen was Alfred Brunson who moved to Prairie du Chien in 1835 after twenty years of riding circuits in Ohio and Pennsylvania. In the Wisconsin territory, his circuit extended from Rock Island, Illinois to Minneapolis (1835-1839). After a career as an Indian agent at La Pointe, Brunson returned to church work in 1850 in Mineral Point, and in 1853, he was appointed presiding elder with headquarters at Prairie du Chien (State Historical Society of Wisconsin 1960:55).

When Wisconsin and northern Illinois were designated part of the Rock River Conference in 1840, there were 17 pastoral fields, a goodly number of preaching places, 22 ministers, and nine Indian missions in territorial Wisconsin. When the Wisconsin Conference was set off as a separate administrative unit, and convened for its first conference in 1848, there were 57 pastoral fields and a membership of 6,934, "making it the largest Protestant denomination in the state." (Smith 1973:604). The strength in numbers was a result of the fervent evangelism of the church. "The quarterly meetings of Methodists sometimes expanded into revivals which might last for days. Wisconsin never experienced

such a widespread surge of religious excitement as spread through the South and the Ohio Valley at the opening of the nineteenth century, but individual church societies frequently drifted into revivals or voluntarily encouraged them." On special occasions demonstrations entered into a cooperative ministry as, for example, when a Methodist Epsicopalian bishop visited Green Bay in 1842, and Congregationalists and Presbyterians joined the Methodist revival type meeting that stretched over most of a week (Smith 1973:620).

The first espousers of the Methodist gospel in Wisconsin were overwhelmingly English-speaking, especially in the period 1832 to 1839 when emigration from New York, New England, and Ohio to the eastern lakeshore was heavy. Fewer Methodists migrated north to the lead mining area from Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri during the same period. The decade of the 1840s brought an acceleration of settlement to both areas, still predominantly English-speaking, but with a heavy influx of settlers from German-speaking lands as well as from Norway, Denmark, and Sweden (Blake 1973:50).

German-speaking Methodist Episcopalians in Wisconsin

Work among the German newcomers was an important branch of Methodist evangelism in early nineteenth century Wisconsin and was carried on by both the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Evangelical Association. The latter group had its genesis in Pennsylvania in the first years of the nineteenth century under the guidance of a "local preacher" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Jacob Albright. When Albright petitioned the church for recognition and acceptance of his German-speaking band into the established church, the request was denied on the grounds that it was unwise to mix a "foreign" element with English work. Consequently, Albright and his German Methodists organized independently and became the most numerous of any branch of Methodism among the country's foreign population by the century's end. (See Evangelical Association Church and Church of the United Brethren in Christ study unit for details).

But other Germans remained within the fold of the Methodist Episcopal Church, founding their first German affiliate in Milwaukee in 1846. The years ahead were a time of great challenge for German-speaking evangelism, and the camp meeting continued to be a prime vehicle for the conveyance of the gospel. Following a long courtship the Evangelical Association or Church was wed to the Church of the United Brethren in Christ in 1951 to form the Evangelical United Brethren Church. This church, in time, became a part of the United Methodist Church (1968). (See Church of the United Brethren in Christ and German Settlement study units).

Scandinavian Methodist Episcopalians in Wisconsin

As the line of settlement pushed northwesterly across the state, the Methodists remained conscious of their mission responsibility. An important missionary outpouring in the 1850s was aimed at the Norwegian population, and to a lesser extent, at other Scandinavian groups. At Cambridge in Dane County a Norwegian-Danish congregation was organized by Christian B. Willerup in 1851. A church building, still in use, was erected the following year. It is the oldest Scandinavian Methodist Church in the world. Paralleling Willerup's pioneering efforts were those of Ole Peter Petersen, a Norwegian. Willerup and Petersen thus became co-founders of Norwegian-Danish Methodism nearly thirty years before the organization of the Norwegian-Danish Conference at Racine in 1880. Both were sent abroad, appointed by American bishops, to establish Methodist missions, Petersen to Norway in 1853 and Willerup to Norway and Denmark after 1856. In 1878, the State Conference embraced two Norwegian Districts, designated as the Chicago and the Milwaukee. Other developments within Scandinavian Methodism in the state are summarized below:

Swedish Methodist churches were administered through their own conferences

beginning in 1876. Four years later (1880) the Norwegian-Danish Conference (M.E.) was organized, and, like the Swedish, had a fair number of charges within the Badger state...In 1942 the Central Northwest (Swedish) Conference merged with the English conferences in its territory. Three churches came into the Wisconsin Conference (M.C.), one already inactive, and five merged into the West Wisconsin Conference (M.C.)...The final session of the Norwegian-Danish Conference (M.C.) was held in 1943 in Trinity Church, Racine--the same church in which it had been organized in 1880. Pastors and churches within the state were welcomed into the Wisconsin conferences a few weeks later (Blake 1973:230) (See Norwegian Settlement and Other Scandinavian Settlement study units).

With the influx of Germans and Scandinavians in unprecendented numbers in the 1870s and 1880s, the ethnic composition of the state changed, prompting the Methodist and United Brethren churches to undergo a relative decline. The Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church reported 12,248 members (of which 618 were in the Norwegian District) in 1870. Eleven years later there had been a net growth of only 610 in the English-speaking sector (Blake 1973:104). The waves of immigration, which reached a zenith in 1907, brought with them cultures and religions which clashed with the Methodist groups, and not surprisingly, the strength of Methodist, Evangelical, and United Brethren churches experienced a diminution.

Educational Outreach of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Wisconsin

Despite a lack of growth in the late nineteenth century, Methodism in Wisconsin - like Methodism everywhere - profited from circuit riding and evangelism. Educational facilities and publications, like the revivals, were effective evangelistic tools. The periodical most widely read and promoted among the Methodists was the Western Christian Advocate, published in Cincinnati, beginning in 1834. In 1851 the Wisconsin Conference petitioned the General Conference (M.E.) to establish a Book Concern in Chicago, and with the new firm, a local journal, the North Western Christian Advocate, appeared in Wisconsin.

The Methodist Church developed a strong Sunday school program. Already in 1850, Wisconsin's Methodists had 144 Sunday schools with nearly 5,000 pupils. From the outset the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church backed the Evansville Seminary (Rock County), and by 1859, five secondary schools were associated with the West Wisconsin Conference, including the Mineral Point Seminary, Gale University in Galesville (1854-1876), Tomah Institute, Mount Hope Institute (Grant County), and Bronson Institute (Adams County). (See Secondary Education Study Unit). In 1854 the Wisconsin Conference established Hamline University at Red Wing, Minnesota.

The major educational project of the Methodists during their formative period, however, was the Lawrence Institute (University) at Appleton. The institution arose out of the generous contributions of an eastern philanthropist, Amos Lawrence, who was "induced by leaders in the Methodist Rock River conference to bestow $10,000 upon the church trustees, on condition that they obtain matching funds" (Smith 1973:591). Though chartered in 1847, this institution did not begin operation as a prep school until two years later; it has been supported substantially by all the Wisconsin conferences throughout its long history. From the 1930s onward, however, there was a lessening of ties between the Methodist conferences and the college, and though there have been periods of revived interest and concern for the strength of the church on campus, the intimate contacts of the formative period have not been reestablished. Wesley Foundations or Wesley Fellowships, aimed at serving the spiritual needs of university students, were a major development statewide following the Second World War. (See Private Colleges study unit).

Health and Social Services of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Wisconsin

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Methodist Church made some important institutional strides. Bellin Memorial Hospital in Green Bay was established in 1909. Plans were formulated in 1919 for a Methodist Hospital in Madison. Lakeside Hospital in Rice Lake was dedicated in 1922, and Richland Center dedicated its new hospital in late 1924 or early 1925. By 1926 the La Crosse Methodist Hospital was functioning with nearly as many patients as the Madison hospital. Deaconesses of the German Evangelical Association operated Dr. Loofboro Hospital at Monroe for a number of years. Homes for the aging appeared at Sparta (Morrow Home) and Milwaukee in the 1910s, and the Milwaukee Methodist Manor (Elmore Home) opened in 1925. Goodwill Industries was initiated and actively supported by the Methodist Church, beginning in 1920. At the time of the Uniting Conference (1969), the United Methodists maintained six homes for the elderly, Wesley Foundations at 13 univeristy and college sites, five camps, three hospitals, and a Children's Service, centered in Madison (Blake 1973: 13-14, 180-181). (See Hospitals study unit).

Primitive Methodists in Wisconsin

The Primitive Methodist Church was born as a revival movement within Wesleyan Methodism in early nineteenth century England. It reached America in 1829 and eventually concentrated in the northern tier of states. A characteristic feature of Methodist revival work in the eighteenth century, particularly in the American South and West, was the camp meeting. Word of this growing activity returned to Wesleyan England, and in the wake of a visit by an American camp revivalist, Lorenzo Dow, English camp meeting societies appeared across the English landscape, most significantly at Mow Cop, Staffordshire, in May 1807. When admission of these societies to the Wesleyan Connexion was denied, Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, founders of the Primitive Methodist Church and its leading spokesmen, were expelled from the Methodist body in 1808 and 1810 respectively.

Emigration to America resulted in the spread of primitive societies and churches across the frontier. The first missionaries arrived in 1829 and entered Wisconsin 13 years later. In doctrine it is essentially like that of the other bodies of Methodism, though in polity there are more obvious differences. The lack of centralized authority implies that the church is very democratic, and the General Council, the chief legislative body, is composed of an equal number of ministerial and lay delegates. Today more than 10,000 members gather in 88 churches nationally (Mead 1980:185).

The Primitive Methodists made the most rapid ratio of increase of any Methodist group in the world, especially in the northern tier of states, with an astonishing 2,267 per year drawn together by a handful of poor and comparatively uneducated men in the first 30 years of their existence (Acornley 1909:15). The Primitive Methodists "heartland" in Wisconsin was the southwestern tier of counties, the lead mining region, where work was always considered somewhat of a "missionary venture" and focused on small towns and open country settings. The gains in southern Wisconsin began with the Rocky Ford (Illinois) Conference that extended into Lafayette County which included two rural circuits in Benton and Pleasant View. Platteville was the focus of activity in Grant County, though there were also the circuits of British Hollow and Little Grant. Iowa County activity was centered at Mineral Point, Dodgeville, Ridgeway, Mifflin, and Floyd's Schoolhouse. Other groups appeared at Mazomanie in Dane County, Albion in Jefferson County, Janesville in Rock County, Oxford in Marquette County, and Waukesha in Waukesha County (Tyrrell 1976:34).

The foundations of the Western Conference of the Primitive Methodist Church, which included the Wisconsin territory, were laid in 1842 by a band of ten Primitives who settled in the lead mining region near Galena, Illinois, foremost of whom was "local preacher" John Leekley. At their first Quarterly meeting held at Grant Hill, near Galena, on February 25, 1843, Christopher Lazemby was hired as the itinerant preacher, and before

the end of the year, Frederick Dobson (later of Rewey, Iowa County) was engaged as a second itinerant. The vast circuit then included New Diggings, Shullsburg, Platteville, and several other sites in northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin. In 1843 when the first Preachers' Plan was printed and the first regular day's meeting was held at Grant Hill, Illinois on June 4, 1843, the pastoral reports included two itinerant pastors, 11 local preachers, 14 preaching places, and 70 members.

The first Primitive Methodist Church in the Northwest was dedicated at Vinegar Hill, Illinois in the fall of 1843, and within a few months (1844) another church was consecrated at Platteville (Grant County). At New Diggings and Shullsburg in Lafayette County the Galena Primitives established their third and fourth societies in 1846. At that time there were four ministers, Richard Hodgson, Christopher Lazemby, James Alderson, and one unknown, and 20 local preachers seeing 180 members in the Western Conference, almost exclusively in the lead mining region. At a hundred dollars a year, life as an itinerant minister had its share of hardship and privation; sermons were preached every night year round and travel was by horseback or on foot the long distances between services. Preaching appointments were established in homes and schoolhouses. There was no denominational structure or supervision, and most of the work was carried out by local preachers. The sale of religious literature, particularly the American Primitive Methodist Magazine, was heavily promoted and circuit saddlebags were the early vehicles for its distribution.

Adhering to the doctrines and procedures of the English Primitive Methodist Connexion, John Leekley implored the parent body to accept the loosely-bound bodies of the Mississippi Valley. The request was declined and at the Grant Hill Convention (1843), the churches were joined into the Rocky Ford Circuit. The first Annual Conference of the Western Conference was held at Platteville in May 1845, with urgent invitations put out by the Illinois and Wisconsin groups for spiritual leadership. Though the English mother church never granted official acceptance to the churches of the Western Conference, it did send a long line of missionaries and pastors to its struggling countrymen in the west. The Primitive School of Theology in the United States was for a time affiliated with Taylor University in Upland, Indiana but then sought a new Alma Mater when it "became affiliated with LaCrosse College, formerly Gale University in Galesville (Trempealeau County) which had earlier been associated with the Methodist Church." When change was necessitated, the Primitives turned finally to Providence University of Oak Hill, Ohio, for the preparation of its clerical force (Acornley 1890:389).

The very intense efforts launched by the Primitives in southwestern Wisconsin are illustrated by this excerpt from an early history (c. 1870):

> A blessed revival was in progress at Mineral Point, the influence of which was widespread, and scores were forward for prayer. The services continued for eight weeks, and the results were lasting and gracious. Rev. J.P. Sparrow was made exceedingly useful on his circuit, 129 having been led by him to Christ. At Mifflin 60 were converted during a protracted effort of six weeks duration. There was a general awakening on Shullsburg Circuit, a good work at Kewanee (Illinois), and a gracious outpouring of the spirit at Dodgeville... (Acornley 1890:92)

By and large the societies of the Primitive Methodist Church were founded in mining areas, where populations were transient, causing many churches to slide into poor condition and close their doors as miners moved west to the gold fields. The mission of the Church was further hampered in its failure to attract parishioners of diverse national backgrounds, and naturally, by the appeal of the larger and more affluent congregations of competing denominations. The constituency of miners and farmers, moveover, could not afford large missionary projects, and there was no central body, as with most denominations, to bear the financial burden of such undertakings (Tyrrell 1976:36-37).

In the last years of the nineteenth century, the Western Conference struggled for survival as "dissolution agitation" ripped it from within and a number of churches were lost to the Congregationalists. Relative calm settled over the Conference in the early years of this century; in 1927 the union of local churches in the Wisconsin Conference joined the larger Pennsylvania Conference. When the Eastern Conference merged with the Pennsylvania Conference in 1948, all Primitive Methodists were named in one body, the "Primitive Methodist Church in the United States" (Tyrrell 1976:41).

In sum, this secession from the main body of Methodism made comparatively small advances into Wisconsin, focusing principally in the southwestern corner. In the minutes of the forty-fifth Congress (1889), the Church reported 13 active pastors, 38 local preachers, an "approved" membership of 1,249, 33 edifices, and 27 Sunday schools. The Historical Records Survey (1941) tallied 16 Primitive congregations, with Lafayette County at seven and Iowa County at five in the lead. From a height of 25 organizations and 1,158 parishioners in 1906, the numbers waned to 11 organizations with 710 parishioners in 1980. (See accompanying table.)

Wesleyan Methodists in Wisconsin

As with the other American Methodist bodies, the Wesleyan Connection or Church inherited a history and literature from the period of John Wesley's conversion in eighteenth century England. Staunch opposition to slavery prompted the voluntary withdrawal of both ministers and lay persons from the parent Methodist Episcopal Church, some of them convening to form the Independent Michigan Conference or the Wesleyan Conference in 1841, and in 1843 at Utica, New York, the Wesleyan Methodist Connection was born. In the earliest period this movement drew about 6,000 from the Methodist Episcopal Church, chiefly in the northeastern states, but ardent missionary and evangelistic efforts built up churches across the continent. Doctrinally this sect is based on historic Methodism, and with the single exception of a lack of an episcopacy, it conforms in its polity to the Methodist Episcopal Church. In June 1968 it was united with the Pilgrim Holiness Church at Anderson, Indiana, to form the Wesleyan Church (McLeister and Nicholson 1976:649).

Though the Wesleyan element in Wisconsin was never strong, it was established early and solidly by an ambitious corps of Methodist churchmen. The General Conference of the Wesleyan Connection in 1844 authorized the formation of a Wisconsin Conference, which was to be carved from the old Miami Conference (Ohio) to and include several affiliates in Iowa. No brethren from the Wisconsin territory attended the first session of the Conference at Burlington, Iowa. Instead, they requested that a second session by held at Prairieville (Waukesha), Wisconsin, in October of 1845, the date and place most commonly recognized as the inception of the Wisconsin Conference. In 1849 clerical appointments were made in Milwaukee, Lisbon, Waupun, Walworth, Racine, Richland, Mineral Point, Dodgeville, Liberty Prairie, Elba, the Fox River, Hudson, and Sugar Creek missions among other places. At the annual session of the same year membership figures were put at 33 ordained ministers, 28 licentiates, and 489 lay persons for a total of 550.

An influential pioneer for the Church in Wisconsin was the Rev. John Wesley Markee, who left Ohio with his family in 1855 for the Wisconsin Conference. He molded a congregation at Burr (Vernon County), while giving of his ministerial services to other groups in the area. The Burr Church lay close to the Wesleyan campground, Burr Ridge (Vernon County), which was eventually developed to serve the southern sector of the state (McLeister and Nicholson 1976:582-583).

The Wisconsin Conference, while never strong, suffered a serious setback during the 1860s, in large part a consequence of the war spirit and the preference of many Wesleyans for the Methodist Protestant Church. Thus, while many churches were

weakened by the loss of their members to the volunteer war effort, the most deadly blow for some came when "most of the preachers and many of the members of the Wisconsin Conference left...to find homes more congenial to their views." (Pegler, Life and Times, 1879:491, cited in McLeister and Nicholson 1976:584).

A second Wisconsin Wesleyan conference, the West Wisconsin, existed from 1860 to 1868, with A.C. Hand, George Pegler, and S.D. Delap serving at various times in the office of the presidency. At a uniting session in October 1868, at Lindina, four miles south of Mauston (Juneau County), the West Wisconsin Conference returned to the parent conference. At the point of merger the pastoral charges included Fox River (Fond du Lac County), Lemonweir (Juneau County), Jacksonville (Monroe County), Hillsboro (Vernon County), and Eau Claire Mission. The reconstituted conference held 226 members and nine Sunday schools with 205 students. As the century ended (1890), the Wesleyan Methodists numbered 427 in Wisconsin. Sauk and Vernon counties each had three Wesleyan Methodist organizations, while Dodge, Dunn, Fond du Lac, Richland, and Trempealeau counties each had two. Barron, Monroe, and Waupaca counties each contained one such organization.

When the Rev. and Mrs. Joseph B. Clawson entered Wisconsin in 1911, they found the churches in a faded and discouraged condition. Membership had dwindled to less than 200, and property values had reached a low of 8,000 dollars. The churches in desperately needed reinvigoration. Clawson was instrumental in revitalizing the Wisconsin Conference. During his tenure as Conference president (1917-1945), a score of churches were purchased or built, and camp meetings which began during his term fueled the spiritual fires. In 1923 the "continuing site" of Wisconsin's camp meetings, Burr Ridge near Hillsboro in Vernon County, was procured, and a new tabernacle built in time for the 1925 meetings. At Hayward in Sawyer County a second camp facility was purchased in 1927 and was maintained as a church campground until 1954.

The presidential term of the Rev. G.M. Hahn (1945-1950) has been singled out as a particularly productive time for the church for the success it claimed in securing new clergymen to the Conference and in the opening of a few additional "pioneer fields" (sites not named). "In the administration of his successors, the loss of rural churches which were closing was more than offset by pioneering ventures into the metropolitan areas." (McLeister and Lawson 1976:585)

The Historical Records Survey (1941) tallied 21 Wesleyan congregations, with the lead held by Vernon (five), Sauk (four), Washburn (four), and Richland (three) counties. (See accompanying table.) In a recent tally of church membership (1968), the Wesleyans claimed 1,197 members (1,004 of them "full" members), in 25 congregations, with 2,823 enrolled in Sunday School programs (McLeister and Nicholson 1976:585).

Methodist Protestants in Wisconsin

A breach in the Methodist Episcopal Church between the Methodist reformers and established churchmen in the early nineteenth century culminated in the formation of the Methodist Protestant Church which was defined as a "democratic Methodism with a Congregational slant" (Stephenson 1964:38). The geographical dispersion of the Church paralleled that of its numerically superior mother church, with Pittsburgh as the center from which the faith expanded into the western states and territories. In its comparative indifference to tradition and its aversion to English authoritarianism, it held broad-based appeal along the frontier. In a comparative light, the Methodist Protestants in the northern and western sectors of the country were more independent in spirit and less denominationally conscious than their counterparts in the east and south. Their attitude was attributable to some degree to the nature of membership, derived from varying denominational backgrounds, and thus composed of individuals less familiar with the principles and structural characteristics of Methodism.

A key figure in the development of the Methodist Protestant Church in the west was Bishop Robert R. Roberts, who settled in Lawrence County, Indiana, and extended his ministerial labors from that point. The majority of Methodist ministers of the time had a minimum formal education and lay persons, often with training or ability commensurate with their clerical associates, took a leading role as gospel messengers on the frontier. Methodist Protestants in the Midwest were found especially in rural areas and small towns, as was the case in Wisconsin.

The Church began its labors in Wisconsin at midcentury, organizing the Wisconsin Conference in 1851 and the first and only congregation at Marcellon, Columbia County, the same year. The existence of other Methodist Protestant bodies in the state has never been determined, and when the three-way union of the Methodist Episcopal churches and the Methodist Protestant Church was effected in 1939, no congregation of the last named remained in the state. The Historical Records Survey, which was undoubtedly completed about the time of this union, recorded one organization of this branch, namely a Sauk county assembly of 12 (Blake 1973:62).

From its inception to the early years of the twentieth century, the Methodist Protestants constituted a prosperous organization; but with the new century, the group lost their distinctiveness, for the several issues which had distinguished them from other Methodists were accepted by the two episcopal Methodisms. Further, the controversies concerning the importance of denominational structure and theology were on the wane, and quite naturally, the Methodist Protestants dissolved into union with the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1939 (Stephenson 1964:33-42).

Free Methodists in Wisconsin

Agitation against the Methodist Episcopal Church in the Genessee Conference, New York, and criticism that it had become too radically removed from historic Methodism, resulted in the formation of the Free Methodist Church in Pekin, New York, in August 1860, chiefly under the guidance of the prominent clergyman, the Rev. Benjamin T. Roberts. Many of the reasons underlying its formation paralleled those which prompted the Wesleyan secession in 1843, with one notable distinction: whereas the Wesleyans withdrew voluntarily, the Free Methodists Church was organized by pastors who had been expelled from their conferences and laymen who had been "read out" of their congregations. With the exception of a few doctrinal distinctions, including a stricter view of judgment, it bears a very close resemblance to the Methodist Episcopal Church in both polity and doctrine. Today there are more than 75,000 members in the U.S. and Great Britain (Mead 1980:184).

From the movement's inception in the early 1860s, the Free Methodist faction found sympathizers in Wisconsin, albeit the record they have left behind is sketchy and incomplete. About 1863 or 1864 the first Free Methodist group organized at Sugar Creek in Walworth County, and in 1868, the first church edifice was built in Whitewater. A prominent name in the development of the organization in Wisconsin was George H. Fox, a former member of the Wisconsin Conference of the parent church.

In 1889 the Wisconsin Conference of the Free Methodist Church had on its rolls 27 pastoral charges, 722 communicants, and 756 Sunday School scholars (Bennett and Lawson 1890:463). The census of religious bodies (1890) listed 40 congregations with a collective membership of 864. Grant County with five organizations was at the fore. The counties of Sauk (four), Barron (four), Columbia (three), and Dunn (three) followed, with an additional 19 counties recording this branch of Methodism. The Church registered its height in number of organizations in 1906, and the most recent statewide statistics indicate the presence of 12 organizations with an all time high membership of 1,666. (See accompanying table.)

African Methodists in Wisconsin

In April of 1816, Richard Allen, a well-to-do black from Philadelphia, called together 15 dissenting black Methodists in Philadelphia and organized an autonomous Negro church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. In both polity and doctrine this body stands in substantial agreement with the United Methodist Church. In 1951 they counted 1.2 million members nationally (Mead 1980:181). The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church dates from 1796 when a group of blacks withdrew from the John Street Church in New York City in protest of racial discrimination. Approximately 1.3 million members assemble in 5,000 churches at present (Mead 1980:181).

Wisconsin's black population was principally Methodist, and most preferred to worship in their own congregations. The record of Black Methodism in Wisconsin includes affiliates of both the white-dominated Methodist Episcopal Church, for which integration was a major issue, and the synods of African Methodism. Though segregation was the rule, cooperation between white and black Methodists did exist as, for example, when the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Milwaukee in 1873 issued a plea for financial support to all Methodists. In 1867, as another example, the Wisconsin Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church contributed to the building fund of the "colored" people of Janesville (Blake 1973:561).

St. Mark's African Methodist Episcopal Church, established in 1869, and St. Matthew Christian Methodist Episcopal Church are a part of the long history of Black Methodism in Milwaukee. A smaller group, named Clement Memorial and also in Milwaukee, was an early affiliate of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. In the census of 1890 a Milwaukee affiliate of the Evangelist (Methodist) Missionary Alliance with 48 members was also listed. This was a "colored" Methodist body formed in 1886 by ministers and laity in Ohio who withdrew from the African Methodist Episcopal Zion synod. Information which might link this church to one of the aforementioned is not readily obtainable. The Wisconsin Historical Records Survey (1941) made note of five African Methodist congregations, specifically two in Kenosha County, and one each in Dane, Milwaukee, and Racine counties. In 1980 11 organizations with a combined membership of 5,700 were on record, a seven-fold increase in membership from 1926. (See Black Americans study unit).

Methodists in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures

	1890	1916	1936	1980
	Organizations/ Members	Organizations/ Members	Organizations/ Members	Organizations/ Members
Methodist Episcopal	706/41,360	396/63,331	472/70,440	526**/172,073
African Methodist Episcopal	3/118	5/319	no data	11/5,700
African Methodist Episc./Zion	1/102	2/34	no data	no data
Methodist Protestant	1/12	no data	no data	no data
Wesleyan Methodist Connection	19/427	10/256	12/410	no data
Primitive Methodist	13/756	22/256	16/627	11/710
Free Methodist	40/864	39/689	29/663	12/1,666
Totals	783/43,696	874/65,354	529/72,140	560/180,149

**Figures are for the United Methodist Church.

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:501-621; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1940:306-311.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches. 1980 Wisconsin Religions Directory.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parsonages, missions, educational facilities, preaching sites, camps, health care facilities, retirement homes, homes of prominent Methodist church leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Methodists display a relatively even statewide distribution, both in rural and urban areas. The largest of the historic Methodist sects, the Methodist Episcopal Church, was represented in nearly every Wisconsin county. Smaller Methodist organizations displayed more localized spatial patterns:

The Primitive Methodist Church was concentrated in the small towns and rural areas of the southwestern lead mining district.
The Wesylan Methodists were strongest in Vernon, Sauk, Washburn, and Richland counties.
The only known Methodist Protestant church in the state was located at Marcellon (Columbia County), but a few other congregations may have existed.
The Free Methodists present a rather sketchy record in Wisconsin, but seem to have been strongest in the rural areas and small towns of Grant, Sauk, Barron, and Columbia counties.
Black Methodist organizations tended to form in the urban areas of Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha counties.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys have been conducted. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in the intensive survey reports provide some information on Methodist churches for specific localities; the "Religion" chapters in the Wausau and Oshkosh intensive surveys are particularly good in their coverage of Methodist congregations. Other pertinent information may be found in the Wisconsin Historical Records Survey and the Milwaukee House of Worship Survey.

Survey and Research Needs. Because so many Scandinavian immigrants were attracted to the Methodist Church, Scandinavian affiliated sites and structures should be identified. Locate and identify sites and structures associated with Methodist missionary activity among Wisconsin's Indian population. Identify significant sites and structures affiliated with Black Methodist congregations.

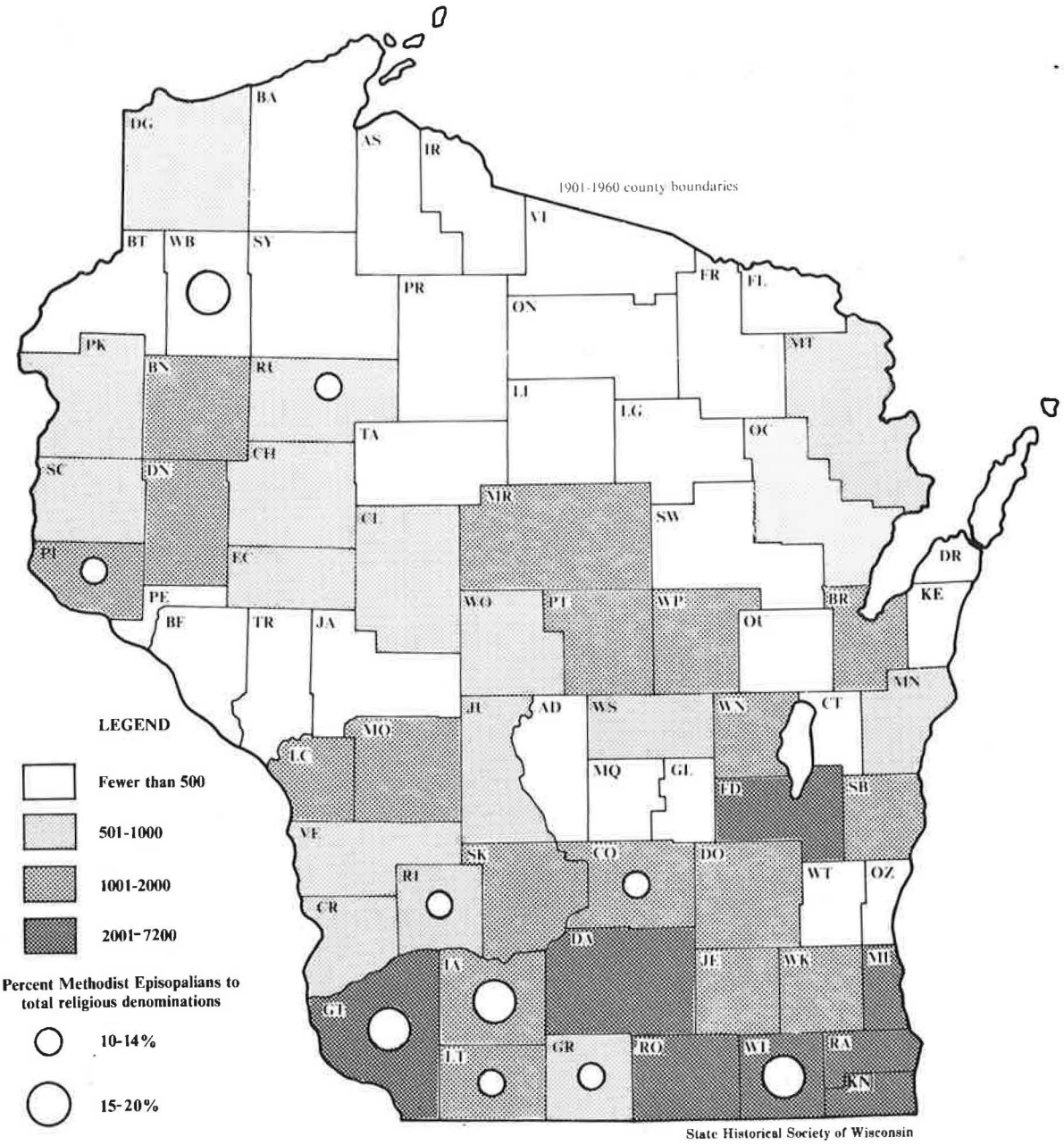
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

First Methodist Church (1869), Eleventh St. at Fourteenth Ave., Monroe, Green County (NRHP 1975)
Linden Methodist Church (1851 and later), Main & Church Sts., Linden, Iowa County (NRHP 1978)
Old Plover Methodist Church (1862-1887), Madison Ave. & Willow Dr., Plover, Portage County (NRHP 1980)
Court Street Methodist Church (1868, 1906), 36 S. Main St., Janesville, Rock County (NRHP 1977)
First Methodist Church (1895-1898), 121 Wisconsin Ave., Waukesha, Waukesha County (NRHP 1983, Waukesha MRA)
Algoma Boulevard Methodist Church (1890), 1174 Algoma Blvd., Oshkosh, Winnebago County (NRHP 1974)

Context Considerations. The majority of sites and structures associated with the various Methodist organizations will possess local significance; however, there will be important exceptions. Methodist affiliated educational facilities (eg. Lawrence University at Appleton) and health care facilities (eg. Bellin Memorial Hospital at Green Bay) could merit statewide significance for their contributions to the fields of education and medicine, respectively.

Sites and structures affiliated with black Methodist congregations may possess statewide significance because of their contributions to Wisconsin's black heritage. Structures that lack architectural significance may be eligible because of historical significance.



Members of Methodist Episcopal Churches in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 701-702.

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Temporal Boundaries: Late 1840s - present

Spatial Boundaries: A few scattered locations, chiefly in Jefferson, Door, Wood and Brown counties.

Related Study Units: Eastern European Settlement.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Moravian Church or "Unitas Fratrum" (Unity of Brethren) is an outgrowth of the Hussite evangelical reform movement of fifteenth century Bohemia and Moravia, its members inspired and led by the martyr John Hus, yet its principle components derive from the German Pietistic Movement of the eighteenth century. Next to the Waldesians, the Moravians are the oldest Protestant body in the world, and although they have remained numerically insignificant, they have impacted significantly upon modern Protestantism in the areas of worship, evangelism, missions, and theology. In Europe, where they are known today as Herrnhuters and function within the Lutheran or Calvinistic State churches, the Moravians were a pervading force in the religious quickening that spread over Europe in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the diaspora policy of settling scattered colonies outside Moravia and strong ecumenical commitments of the church have left an indelible mark on the development and sustenance of a vast network of Protestant missions worldwide. In North and South America, Britain, Africa, and Asia, the membership is assembled in seventeen Provinces of one denomination, the largest of which is the Moravian Church in America. Historically speaking, the Moravian Church was an ascetic movement, with experiments in disciplined communal living taking precedence over theological concerns. Even though "communal Jesus mysticism" remains the distinguishing mark of the church, it stands today in the mainstream of American Protestantism, set apart most distinctly by its lavish use of music and hymnody.

The "Unitas Fratrum," the forerunner of the Moravian body, was founded in the Bohemian village of Kunvold under the guidance of Gregory the Tailor about 1458. Gregory, who had studied the writings of several puritan-primitivist Hussites, laced a following together by emphasis on a communal existence and acceptance of the Bible as the "single rule of life." In the beginning the church remained within the Catholic fold, served by sympathetic Catholic priests, but in 1457, the selection of separate priests began, and by 1550 there were more than 100,000 of the faithful, including barons and scholars, in Bohemia and Moravia. They spilled over into Poland, their numbers growing steadily until the outbreak of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) when persecution by the Hapsburgs nearly brought about their extinction. In 1624 the Moravians, like other non-Catholic groups, were officially outlawed in their homeland. The revival of the Unitas owed primarily to the German Pietistic Awakening, and more specifically, to the invitation by the Count of Zinzendorf in 1722 to take up refuge in Saxony. There they established the town of Herrnhut, and with the religious and administrative genius of the County, established a disciplined common life patterned on the Unitas, marking the birth and unification of their congregation in 1727. Zinzendorf became a bishop in the church in 1737, and implemented his diaspora program in 1742, turning resolutely westward to the possibilities of the American continent (Hamilton 1967:60-67).

In North America the Moravians had some difficulty implementing their churchly ideals on the free-wheeling frontier, though mission activity among the Indians was from the outset a central and successful concern. Indeed, the Moravians built up a reputation as the most effective colonial church among the Indian population. Missionary zeal took the

first group of Moravians to the American colonies in the late 1730s, first among the Indians in Georgia. Fighting over the Florida border, however, precluded any effort at permanent settlement, and in 1740 the Moravian missionaries accepted the invitation of English evangelist, George Whitefield, to direct and accompany him to Pennsylvania. With the founding of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, the Moravians laid the groundwork for what would become the pivotal points for the Church in North America. In the mid-eighteenth century the Pennsylvanian Moravians maintained a common economic system; and in 1741 Bishop Zinzendorf himself arrived to commend and encourage their new towns and Indian missions, both of which were increasing rapidly. Following the relocation in Pennsylvania, the entire continental membership was mobilized for mission work; all production was held in common and channeled toward support of the Moravian missionaries. A second focus of Moravian life in North America was established in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in 1753, and is today the headquarters of the Southern Province of the American Church (Hamilton 1967:82-93).

With regard to scripture and creed, the Moravian Church is generally regarded a next-of-kin to Lutheranism, with no doctrines peculiar to itself. The Church's distinctiveness lies in the extravagant use of music and hymnody in its liturgy, which may all but replace spoken discourse and prayer. For the past century Moravian polity has been very loose, with a General Synod overseeing the common interests of individual congregations, yet those congregations assuming prime responsibility for their own affairs. The ministry consists of three orders, namely: bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with the last-named authorized to preach and administer the sacraments. The Moravian episcopacy is only spiritual, meaning that bishops, elected by provincial and general synods, do not serve in administrative posts.

Just as missions brought the Moravians to North America, they remain a major focus of church resources. The mission work of the Moravian Church is large scale relative to its size, and is always backed by the motto: "In essentials, unity; in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, charity." Similarly, the church has given high priority to education, maintaining two colleges, an academy, and a theological seminary, as well as to ecumenical concerns, where it has been involved in the push toward Protestant unity.

The Moravian Church in the United States has four provinces, a Northern focused at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and a Southern, focused at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as well as two missionary programs in Alaska and Labrador and 13 outside of the continental United States. Each of the provinces is administered by a provincial synod composed of ministers and laymen. In the United States the church has approximately 56,000 members in 168 congregations, more than 4,000 of those members Eskimo (Mead 1980:189).

MORAVIANS IN WISCONSIN

The wilderness areas of Wisconsin were an open invitation to the zealots of the Moravian Church who entered into the territory at the close of the 1840s, and provided the spiritual backbone for the emergence of three distinct strongholds of Moravianism in the state, namely: 1) at Green Bay and Ephraim in Brown and Door counties in northeastern Wisconsin; 2) in the vicinity of Watertown, Jefferson County in southern Wisconsin; and 3) in and around Wisconsin Rapids, Wood County in central Wisconsin. Movement into other sectors of the state was spotty, usually in the form of tenuous "preaching places," which usually consisted of a hall or home set aside to receive the pastor as he made his rounds. These meetings met with varied success as traveling pastors and missionaries were unable to attract the nucleus of a permanent congregation.

The arrival of John Frederick Fett, a pioneer missionary for the Moravian Home Missionary Society, to America in 1848 coincided with a growing awareness by the Bethlehem leadership of the need for missionary activity among the Germans in the west.

His assignment to Milwaukee was followed by the formal organization of a church among a group of Scandinavian Moravians in 1849, the first Moravian congregation in Wisconsin; and a year later, of the ordination of the group's leader-organizer, Norwegian-born Andrew M. Iverson. Iverson, who had identified himself with the Moravian Church in Norway, arrived in Milwaukee from Norway on June 29, 1849, with a loyal following of his Moravian countrymen. From the start the group's central concern was a proper clergy, and they immediately issued a plea to the Bethlehem leadership to ordain their leader-guide. As Iverson began ministering to his Scandinavian congregation, Fett's attention turned to whetting the spiritual appetites of the German community.

The Milwaukee parish was followed at intervals by other parishes, at Green Bay and Cooperstown (Brown County) in 1850 (Guth 1938:20-21), and a great proliferation of parishes in the following decade, specifically in Door, Brown, Jefferson, Manitowoc, and Oconto counties. In the 1860s, Marinette and Outagamie joined the roster, and before the century closed, congregations had coalesced in Fond du Lac, Shawano, Dane, Wood, and Clark counties. A congregation among the Swedes at Stockholm in Pepin County, and one in Portage County were late-comers. By 1890 there were 19 congregations with a collective membership of 1,477, but while the number of congregations leveled off at about 20, membership mounted steadily into the twentieth century, with an 84 percent increase in members between 1890 and 1906 (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1938:2-3).

Another Norwegian, nobleman-missionary Nils Otto Tank, figured prominently in the early history of the Moravian Church in Wisconsin. Tank, who had adopted the Moravian creed while recuperating from a travel accident in the home of a Moravian clergyman in Saxony, and then married the clergyman's daughter, answered the invitation of the Rev. Mr. Frueauff to join him in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. When Tank and his wife, both missionaries, arrived in Bethlehem, they were assigned to Milwaukee and asked to direct the extension work in Wisconsin. Tank supposedly brought his fortune with him to Milwaukee (estimated at $1.5 million in gold), and as an "idealist and visionary," set out to establish a religious communal colony, a Utopia, based on Moravian principles. Tank would assume full control, and supply the land, implements, and all that was required for a common existence. Of the experiment Titus writes: ". . . all the products of toil (would) go into a common granary, and all food and other supplies (were) to be drawn from community warehouses" (Titus 1939:390). Tank purchased a large tract of land on the west bank of the Fox River adjacent to Fort Howard (Green Bay), dubbed it "Ephraim" ("very fruitful") and sent out an invitation to all Moravians to join him in his spiritual enclave. Each willing family was assigned a 10 acre tract, and each colonist a task, with Tank providing all of the buildings, tools, and livestock. In August 1850, Iverson relocated the Milwaukee Moravian congregation to Ephraim, near Green Bay. A few others from the state were lured to the experiment, and by the end of two years, the prospering colony claimed 500 participants. Tank set up a school, covering the secular subjects himself, with the Rev. Iverson teaching the rudiments of the faith. Tank's hopes to expand the school into the Fort Howard Moravian College were dashed when the Provincial Elders' Conference of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem rejected his plan on financial grounds. The Tank school, nonetheless, is considered to be the first "strictly Norwegian" school in Wisconsin (Titus 1939:391). (Tank's cottage, originally built by a French fur trader in 1776, is considered the oldest existing house in Wisconsin. It was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1979.)

Differences between Tank and Iverson, however, spelled doom for the experiment at Fort Howard. When Tank refused to answer demands that he give up the deeds to the property held by the colonists, the group defected with Iverson at the helm to the shores of Green Bay in Door County (c. 1851). At this second site, also called "Ephraim," the settlers quickly re-established themselves in a close-knit community, and while Tank's effort had met with extinction, Iverson and his group prospered unobtrusively (Schafer 1940:25-38).

The wilderness acres were both a challenge and an opportunity to Iverson and the Moravian Church. Iverson travelled widely throughout northern Illinois and eastern and northeastern Wisconsin, establishing missions and preaching places and revitalizing others, some of which later mothered permanent congregations. After time away at Leland, Illinois, Iverson returned to Fort Howard in 1866 to reorganize the Fort Howard Moravian Church, later known as Green Bay, West.

John Frederick Fett, who had been drawn by idealistic impulses to the Tank colony near Green Bay, drew a congregation together among the Germans on the east side of the Fox River and formalized their congregation in 1851. Fett, operating a day school in conjunction with the church (Green Bay, East as it was later known), also undertook to establish preaching places in outlying communities. His successor, the Rev. Michael G. F. Uecke, following along the same lines, established a number of preaching places at least one of which became an organized congregation (Freedom near Appleton).

A second seat of activity, populated chiefly by persons of German extraction, was the Watertown area of Jefferson County. The Rev. John Kaltenbrunn, often called "the father of the Moravian Church in Wisconsin," was responsible for the inception of several Watertown-area congregations. Beginning in 1853 Kaltenbrunn organized a congregation at Ebenezer (near Watertown) and a preaching place at Lake Mills, the latter becoming a congregation in 1856 (Centennial History of the Moravian Church of Lake Mills, Wisconsin 1956). Ixonia, near Pipersville in Jefferson County, held the designation "preaching place" before its birth as a congregation in 1860. The Watertown and Oakland congregations, originally preaching places, developed as offshoots of the Ebenezer group, and they in turn, gave root to other preaching places. The exit of Moravians from Milwaukee in the early 1850s was followed by several ill-fated attempts to re-establish a center for Moravian fellowship. The Watertown area remained the focal point of church activity in Wisconsin's southeast.

Centralia, now Wisconsin Rapids in Wood County, was another Moravian stronghold. Failed attempts to found a Scandinavian mission there in 1888 by the Rev. Christian Madsen, on assignment by the Missions Board, were followed the next year by a successful effort among the Germans. The Scandinavians carried through on their second attempt in 1897, founding the "Scandinavian Moravian Church," later called Trinity Moravian Church, and together with the Germans, maintained several filial charges nearby (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1938:5-7).

Thus, by the close of the nineteenth century, the spatial arrangement of Moravians in the state was firmly established, with upwards of 20 congregations lumped into three well-defined and easily discernable centers. In 1957 Jefferson County housed the largest and tightest concentration of Moravians in the state, with 2,238 members in five congregations; Door County with 1,544 members in four organizations, ran a distant second, followed by Wood County at 1,114 members in five organizations. At mid-century Wisconsin was included in the Western District of the Northern Province with headquarters in Watertown. In 1940 the headquarters were transferred to Madison, where it has since remained. (National Council of Churches 1957).

Moravians in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures
The Moravian Church in America (Unitas Fratrum)

Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850	1	
1860	4	
1870	13	
1890	19	1,477
1906	20	2,713
1916	20	4,294
1926	20	4,648
1936	22	4,442
1960	19	4,892
1984	20	4,961

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1853:pt. 2, 934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:625-627; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
Wisconsin Council of Churches. Annual Assembly, January 19, 1960: 2.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches. Wisconsin Religious Directory.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parsonages, missions, educational facilities, preaching places, homes of prominent Moravian leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. There are three principal historic Moravian centers in Wisconsin: (l) Brown and Door counties, especially in and around Green Bay and Ephraim; (2) Jefferson County, in the vicinity of Watertown, and (3) Wood County, in the vicinity of Wisconsin Rapids.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys have been conducted. The Ephraim Intensive Survey, however, provides a significant amount of historical and architectural information about the Moravin colony established at Ephraim in l853.

Survey and Research Needs. Search for sites or buildings at Green Bay. While there seems to be a good deal of information concerning the Norwegian Moravians, more information is needed on Swedish and German Moravians to assess the historical significance of associated structures.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Tank Cottage (1776), Heritage Hill State Park, Town of Allouez, Brown County (NRHP 1970)

Andreas Iverson House (1853-1864) and First Public School (1858), 9966 Moravia St., Ephraim, Door County (DOE 1985)

Ephraim Moravian Church (c. 1857; moved 1883), 9970 Moravian St., Ephraim, Door County (NRHP 1985)

Context Considerations. Most structures connected with the Moravian Church will possess local significance. However, the Moravians played a historically important role in the early settlement patterns of Wisconsin so there may be some structures that possess state-wide significance. When evaluating histroical significance Moravian structures, architectual integrity considerations may not be as high as for some of the larger religions denominations within the state.

Moravian Congregations in Wisconsin, c. 1940

Source: Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project, *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Wisconsin* (Madison, 1941), pp. 206-207.

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Schafer, Joseph
1940 "Scandinavian Moravians in Wisconsin." Wisconsin Magazine of History 24(1):25-38.
Development and demise of Otto Tank's Moravian religious commune near Green Bay and A. M. Iverson's re-establishment of the "experiment" at Ephraim, Door County; includes sketches of churches at Sturgeon Bay and Green Bay.

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1919 Religious Bodies: 1916. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1930 Religious Bodies: 1926. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1941 Religious Bodies: 1936. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

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PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Temporal Boundaries: 1830s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Moderate statewide distribution.

Related Study Units: The Congregational and Christian Churches.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

American Presbyterianism, which today counts four million people in ten denominations, is traceable to Scottish, Scotch-Irish, and English Presbyterianism, one of the many transplanted offspring of the Protestant Reformation. With French lawyer John Calvin as their leading exponent, churches of Presbyterian complexion appeared in France, Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and thus were transplanted to the New World in the seventeenth century by Dutch Reformed immigrants in New Netherlands, English Puritans in New England, German Reformed settlers and a host of others. The Scots and Scotch-Irish who entered Delaware, Maryland and neighboring colonies in the last decades of the seventeenth century left the greatest numerical impact on the early American church.

One of the primary exponents of the faith in America, often called "the father of American Presbyterianism," was Reverend Francis Makemie. He was a primary force in the establishment of the first general presbytery (1706), a representative body which eventually evolved into the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. The Church was active in missionary work west of the Alleghenies, spurred on by the success of early camp-meeting revivals (later dropped, but taken up by the Methodists), the proliferation of educational institutions, and most notably, by a highly successful plan of union (1801-1857) with the Congregationalists, in which Presbyterian and Congregational lay persons and preachers worked and built in concert to reduce competition on the frontier. Like the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians maintained a strict policy of stationary or "resident" pastors, devoted exclusively to preaching and teaching in an assigned setting. Though they made greater inroads into frontier communities than the Congregationalists, Presbyterian preachers, somewhat handicapped by a rigid doctrine and polity, did not ordinarily enter communities of non-Presbyterian settlers, and thus did not draw from a broad cross-section of western society. Likewise, the Presbyterians lagged well behind the Methodists and Baptists in the development of programs toward conversion. Today the Presbyterian constituency is drawn chiefly from the middle class, with its greatest following in the Middle Atlantic states.

In the United States, conflicts within the Presbyterian Church on matters of discipline, mission expenditures, and other issues created serious divisions . Questions concerning the educational qualifications of the ministry prompted a group of disputants to secede in 1810 to form the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. A larger split shortly followed, between the "Old School" Presbyterians, who defended strict Calvinism, and the "New School" Presbyterians, with a congregational slant, who separated in 1837. And yet another schism developed over the question of slavery, causing the pro-slavery southern element to secede from both the New and Old churches in 1857 and 1861 respectively; in 1865 these two southern groups resolved their differences and merged into the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The Old School - New School differences were resolved in the North by 1870. The re-unified northern church merged with the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination in 1906 and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in 1920 to form the Presbyterian Church in

the U.S.A.

Between the 1920s and 1950s this church contended with two major issues: one was theological, seen in the struggle between liberal and conservative dogma, while the other centered on Presbyterian unity. The latter issue was evident in the proposed merger with the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was not realized, and in the 1958 merger of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. with the United Presbyterian Church of North America, resulting in the creation of the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. (Mead 1980:207-209).

The rift between the southern and northern Presbyterian churches was not healed until 1983, when the Presbyterian Church in the United States, popularly known as the Southern Presbyterians, merged with the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. to form the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) with 3.2 million members (Coffman: letter to Barbara Wyatt, 30 August 1985).

At least two other Presbyterian sects were active in Wisconsin. The Orthodox Presbyterian Church, organized in June 1936 in protest to the "modernistic tendencies" of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, today claims 15,800 members in 133 churches and 36 chapels nationally. The Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, organized at Philadelphia as the Reformed Presbytery in 1798, fused with the Associate Presbyterian Church of North America in 1969, and also can claim a small constituency in the state (Mead 1980:217-218).

Locally, these smaller groups appeared mostly in the southern portion of the state, and most were already in place by 1890. The United Presbyterian Church of North America peaked with seven organizations in that year, two each in Columbia and Waukesha counties, and one each in Marquette, Racine, and Rock counties. It had five remaining groups in the state in 1941, located in Caledonia (Columbia County), Lisbon (Waukesha County), Rock Prairie (Rock County), Vernon (Waukesha County), and West Allis (Milwaukee County). The Reformed Presbyterian Church had one Waukesha County parish of 62 members in the census of 1890, and the Orthodox Presbyterian Church had organizations in Cedar Grove, Milwaukee, and Morgan Siding (c. 1940) (Historical Records Survey Project 1941:224-226).

WELSH PRESBYTERIANS (THE WELSH CALVINISTIC METHODIST CHURCH) IN WISCONSIN

By way of introduction to the saga of the Presbyterian Church in Wisconsin, a few notes should be offered concerning the pioneering phase of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in the state, which dissolved into union with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in 1920.

The 1840s saw a wave of Welsh immigrants arrive in Wisconsin, giving rise to large and relatively compact settlements in Dodge, Columbia, and Waukesha counties, and scattered colonies in Winnebago, Green Lake, Waushara, Iowa, Dane, Rock, Milwaukee, and Racine counties. Among the early churches was the Old Log Church, a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist congregation, organized in 1842 and located in Wales, Waukesha County. But the Pike Grove church in Racine County holds the distinction of being the oldest Welsh church in Wisconsin. Early in 1842, the Rev. Richard Davis organized a group of 15 persons into the Pike Grove Calvinistic Methodist Church, and in the span of a decade (1842 to 1852) the number of Welsh congregations, all fully organized in Presbyteries and a Welsh Synod, mounted to 32, with 26 of them in rural settings. In the succeeding decade (1851-1861), 13 additional congregations were established, and almost without exception, these churches were established by local people without the aid or intervention of missionary boards. Several church members guided the establishment of the Welsh Presbyterian Church in Wisconsin, most notably, the Rev. Thomas Roberts in Green Lake County, the Rev. John J. Roberts in the Columbus area, and the Rev. R. Daniel in Dodge

County (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1951:47-48). More specifically, in the period 1840 to 1851, 31 Welsh churches were added to the Presbyterian family in Wisconsin, namely:

Welsh Presbyterian Congregations
Formed 1840-1851

Congregation	Location	Year
Log Chapel	Wales (Waukesha County)	1842
Pike Grove	Racine County	1842
Tabernacle	Racine	1843
Skunk Grove	Mount Pleasant (Racine County)	1843
Engedi	near Randolph (Columbia/Dodge counties)	1844
Bethel	near Columbus (Columbia County	1845
Union	Rock County	1845
Zoar	Delafield Township (Waukesha County)	1845
Bethesda	near Wales (Waukesha County)	1845
Ixonia	Jefferson County	1845
Watertown	Jefferson County	unknown
Emmet	(perhaps Dodge County)	unknown
Milwaukee	Milwaukee County	1845
Welsh Hollow	near Dodgeville (Iowa County)	1845
Proscairon	north of Randolph	1846
Lake Emily	Dodge County	1846
Salem	Rock Hill (Green Lake County)	1846
Moriah	near Columbus (Columbia County)	1847
Zion	Cambria (Columbia County)	1847
Jerusalem	near Cambria (Columbia County)	1847
Bethesda	near Oshkosh (Winnebago County)	1848
Caledonia	unknown	1847
Salem	Columbia County	1848
Bera	Scott Township (Columbia County)	1849
Bethania	near Wales (Waukesha County)	1849
Carmel	near Cambria (Columbia County)	1850
Sharon	Neenah (Winnebago County)	1850
Bethel	Blue Mounds (Dane County)	1850
Tekoa	Waushara County	1851
Salem	near Wales (Waukesha County)	1851
Dodgeville	Iowa County	unknown

SOURCE:

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1951:75

Years of cordial exchange and cooperation led naturally to the union of the Calvinistic Methodists (Welsh Presbyterians) with the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. in May of 1920, and with that union the Welsh churches in Wisconsin were welded into one presbytery, with the larger Wisconsin Synod of the Presbyterian Church (1934) (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1951:68-71).

THE (NEW SCHOOL) PRESBYTERIANS IN WISCONSIN

The saga of the Presbyterian Church (New School) in Wisconsin divides naturally into three phases. During the first phase, the pioneer church established footholds at defense ports along Wisconsin's inland waterway, the lake ports, and the mining district of the southwest (1830-1840). During this period, the first Presbyterian churches appeared in Green Bay (1836), Milwaukee (1837), Belmont (Lafayette County) (1838), Mineral Point (1839), South Prairieville (1839), Racine (1839), Pike Grove (Racine County)(1839), Geneva (Walworth County)(1839), East Troy (Walworth County)(1839), and Potosi (Grant County)(1840), and when the Church entered into the Plan of Union with the Congregationalists in 1840 all but one of the nine participating ministers were Presbyterian. David A. Sherman, Moses Ordway, Otis F. Curtis, Solomon Chaffee, Lemuel Hall, Jeremiah Porter, Cyrus Nichols, J.U. Parsons, and Stephen Peet formed the leadership which established both Presbyterian and Congregational churches in territorial Wisconsin. In the second phase, of the church's history (1840 to 1851), the organizational machinery of the Presbyterian Congregational Convention was established, at first making great strides on the principle of a noncompetitive and cooperative ministry, and then fading into dissolution as dissatisfaction and dissension ripped at the fiber of the Union. Phase three embraces the post-Union Presbyterian Church, which moved ahead independently, building in accordance with its traditional standards of polity and procedure (1851 to the present). To avoid duplication of phases one and two, the reader is referred to the Congregational Church study unit, especially the segment dealing with the combined ministry of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the Plan of Union (1801). In effect, Congregationalism in Wisconsin owed a great debt to Presbyterian polity, methods and churchmen for its ultimate prominence and prosperity, for alone its inroads would have been far less impressive (Kennedy 1938-1940, Vol. 18:139-166).

The failure of the interdenominational Union in 1851 marked the birth of the New School Presbytery of Milwaukee, the first authentically Presbyterian (New School) organization of presbyteries in the state. In the wake of its formation, the clergy and laity of the Columbus and Berlin churches collectively formed the Presbytery of Fox River, and due to the phenomenal growth of congregations within its jurisdiction, the Presbytery of Columbus was born in 1856. A year later the Presbytery of Superior was added, and all were bound into the newly-organized Synod of Wisconsin in October of 1857 (Brown 1900:147-152). Aside from taking over the care of the Baraboo Female Seminary and continuing their association with the Congregationalists in the administration of certain academies and colleges, the Presbyterians (New School) geared their resources toward bringing the Gospel to their members in the Wisconsin backwoods. At the 1861 session of the Synod, Daniel Clark was appointed the first Synodical missionary and he was joined in 1864 by the Rev. B.G. Riley. "Many entire counties within our limits are without either a minister or a church of a Calvinistic faith", noted one churchman at mid-century. Gains were slowest among the foreign population, but aided by the ubiquitous "Sabbath School" and general missionaries, the outcome was favorable. When the century closed, a Presbyterian organization had been planted in "almost every city and village in the State" (Brown 1900:150, 155).

THE PRESBYTERIANS (OLD SCHOOL) IN WISCONSIN

Princeton Seminary graduate, Thomas Fraser, deeply moved by the appeal for Presbyterian pastors in the West, ventured into Wisconsin territory in June of 1845. "His first impression on landing at Milwaukee was that the settlements were all occupied by Convention ministers and churches, and that the only chance for his church might be certain out-of-the-way places and in larger towns where two churches might not be duplication" (Presyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1951:61). Scouting for prospective congregation and mission sites as far west as Madison and Portage and north to Green Bay, Fraser hit upon communities and clergymen receptive to Old School Presbyterianism. By summer's end, churches were in the works at Milwaukee, Port Washington, Prairieville (Waukesha), and Grafton (Ozaukee County), and there were a number of promising sites for others. His encouraging reports to the Board in New York stirred synod interest in the state, and his contagious enthusiasm affected several Princeton graduates who subsequently followed his lead and helped secure the foundations of the Church within Wisconsin boarders. They were A.L. Lindsey, D.C. Lyon, and John Buchanan (Brown 1900:153-157).

The Old School Presbytery of Wisconsin was organized in affiliation with the Synod of Illinois on June 18, 1846, composed of the churches at Prairieville (Waukesha), Lynn, Hebron, and Neepersink. Within five years, the Presbytery grew to include 30 churches and 807 members and had multiplied into three Presbyteries--the Dane, Milwaukee, and Winnebago--all united in the new Synod of Wisconsin (October 1851). A fourth presbytery, the Presbytery of Chippewa, was affiliated with the Synod of St. Paul until 1870 when it merged with the Synod of Wisconsin. Congregations affiliated with the presbyteries of the new Wisconsin Synod in 1851 (and those of the Chippewa Presbytery at the time of its merger in 1870) are listed below.

Old School Presbyteries in Wisconsin:
Location of Churches in 1870

Milwaukee Presbytery

Port Washington (Ozaukee County)
Mount Pleasant (Racine County)
Linn (Walworth County)
Hebron (Jefferson County)
Prairieville (Waukesha County)
Marango (Illinois)
Grafton (Ozaukee County)

Dane Presbytery

Cambridge (Dane County)
Decatur (Green County)

Winnebago Presbytery

Winneconne (Winnebago County)
Waukau (Winnebago County)
Burnett (Dodge County)
Dodge Center (Juneau County)
De Pere (Brown County)
Bloomfield (Waushara County)
Neenah (Winnebago County)
Horicon (Dodge County)
Fort Winnebago (Portage/Columbia County)
Wyocena (Columbia County)

Chippewa Presbytery

Black River Falls (Jackson Co.)
Hixton (Jackson County)
North Bend (Jackson County)
La Crosse (La Crosse County)
Eau Claire (Eau Claire County)
Chippewa Falls (Chippewa County)
Galesville (Trempealeau County)

SOURCE:

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1951:63-65.

*Another congregation at Hudson (1855) was a part of the Presbytery of St. Paul, Synod of St. Paul (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1951:63-65).

Meeting educational needs has been a central concern of the Presbyterians throughout their history in Wisconsin, for since 1846, "the Classical Institute of Portage, Poynette Academy, Gale University (Galesville, between 1876 and 1901), Downer College (Milwaukee), Beloit College, and Carroll College (Waukesha) have at one time or another been associated with Presbyterianism in Wisconsin." Carroll College, the first college in Wisconsin (chartered on January 31, 1846), and an offspring of Prairieville Academy (Waukesha), has retained its ties to the Presbyterian Church (Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. 1951:49-54).

The graduation of several promising young scholars from Prairieville Academy in mid-century prompted principal Eleazor Root to propose that the academy program be elevated to college status, and in 1852 the newly-formed Wisconsin Synod-Old School took Carroll College under its wing, "with a view of nourishing, within its bounds, a seminary of learning" (Fowler 1945-1946:139). Several personalities of the Old School persuasion were intimately involved in laying the foundations of the institution, the Reverends Thomas Fraser and Aaron L. Lindsley, and more importantly, they were instrumental in luring several scholars from Presbyterian institutions in the East to seats on the faculty. The first phase in the history of Carroll College ended in 1860 when deficit problems brought instruction to a halt, and suspensions were commonplace throughout the century as the trustees struggled to meet the institutions's severe financial crises. Thus, the school's first quarter century was fraught with financial strain and uncertainty, for while the Presbyterian leadership put forth a great effort to establish and sustain a church-controlled college, the rank-and-file Presbyterian church member did not share the same enthusiasm. Instruction during this period was three-tiered, with primary, preparatory, and two-year collegiate divisions. "In 1903 Carroll College was designated the 'Synodical College of the State of Wisconsin', and was recognized as the 'only existing Presbyterian institution within its bounds.'"(Fowler 1945-1946:148). It was raised to total college rank and accredited by the North Central Association in 1909. (See Congregational Church study unit).

THE PRESBYTERIANS (REUNITED OLD AND NEW SCHOOL) IN WISCONSIN

The wounds of an earlier era (1837) were healed in 1870 with the national reunion of the Old and New School Presbyterians into the Reunited General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. At the time of merger the Old School synod was numerically superior to the New School in Wisconsin, claiming 55 churches and 3,321 communicants as against only 36 churches and 1,982 New School communicants.

The result of their union was growth and expansion in the last quarter of the century, from only 91 congregations in 1870 to 193 by 1906. They reached a pinnacle of 225 organizations about 1926, having the highest proportionate membership in Florence (14.6 percent), Columbia (11.2 percent), Douglas (8.9 percent), Marquette (7.5 percent), and Forest (7.3 percent) counties, though in general they displayed a moderate and quite even statewide distribution. (See accompanying map and table.) Prior to the 1958 union of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A and the United Presbyterian Church, the former had six Wisconsin presbyteries, i.e. the Chippewa, Winnebago, LaCrosse, Madison, Milwaukee and Welsh.

Presbyterians in Wisconsin

Year	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.		UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA		ORTHODOX PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH	
	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850						
1860	85		1			
1870						
1890	131	11,019	7	432		
1906	193	18,077	7	546		
1916	207	23,459	6	630		
1926	225	34,932	6	678		
1936	183	34,900	5	647	6	877
c.1957	188	48,602	6	1,302		

Year	REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A.		WELSH CALVINIST METHODIST		TOTAL	
	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850					40	
1860	1				87	
1870					96	
1890	1	62	41	2,641	180	14,154
1906	1	41	39	2,547	240	21,243
1916			35	2,543	248	26,632
1926					231	35,610
1936					194	36,424
c.1957					194	49,904

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1853:934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:279-290, 331-340; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
National Council of the Churches of Christ 1957. Churches and Church Membership in the United States: 1957, series C, nos.18-19.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches 1980. Wisconsin Religious Directory.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, parsonages, educational facilities, health care facilities, homes of prominent Presbyterian leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Historically, Welsh Presbyterians (the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church) were located throughout the southern half of the state, with significant concentrations in the rural areas of Waukesha, Racine, Iowa, and Columbia counties. Historically, the New School Presbyterians established at lake ports, inland waterway ports, and in the southwestern mining district. During the mid-nineteenth century the Old School Presbyterians established in the Lake Michigan counties as well as Winnebago, Dodge, and Columbia counties. By the late nineteenth century they had established a number of churches in the west-central counties of the state. Currently, the Presbyterians display a moderate statewide distribution, with significant concentrations in Florence, Columbia, Douglas, Marquette, and Forest counties.

Previous Surveys. No specific thematic surveys have been undertaken. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in the intensive survey reports provide some information on Presbyterian churches for specific localities. Pertinent data may also be found in the Wisconsin Historical Records Survey.

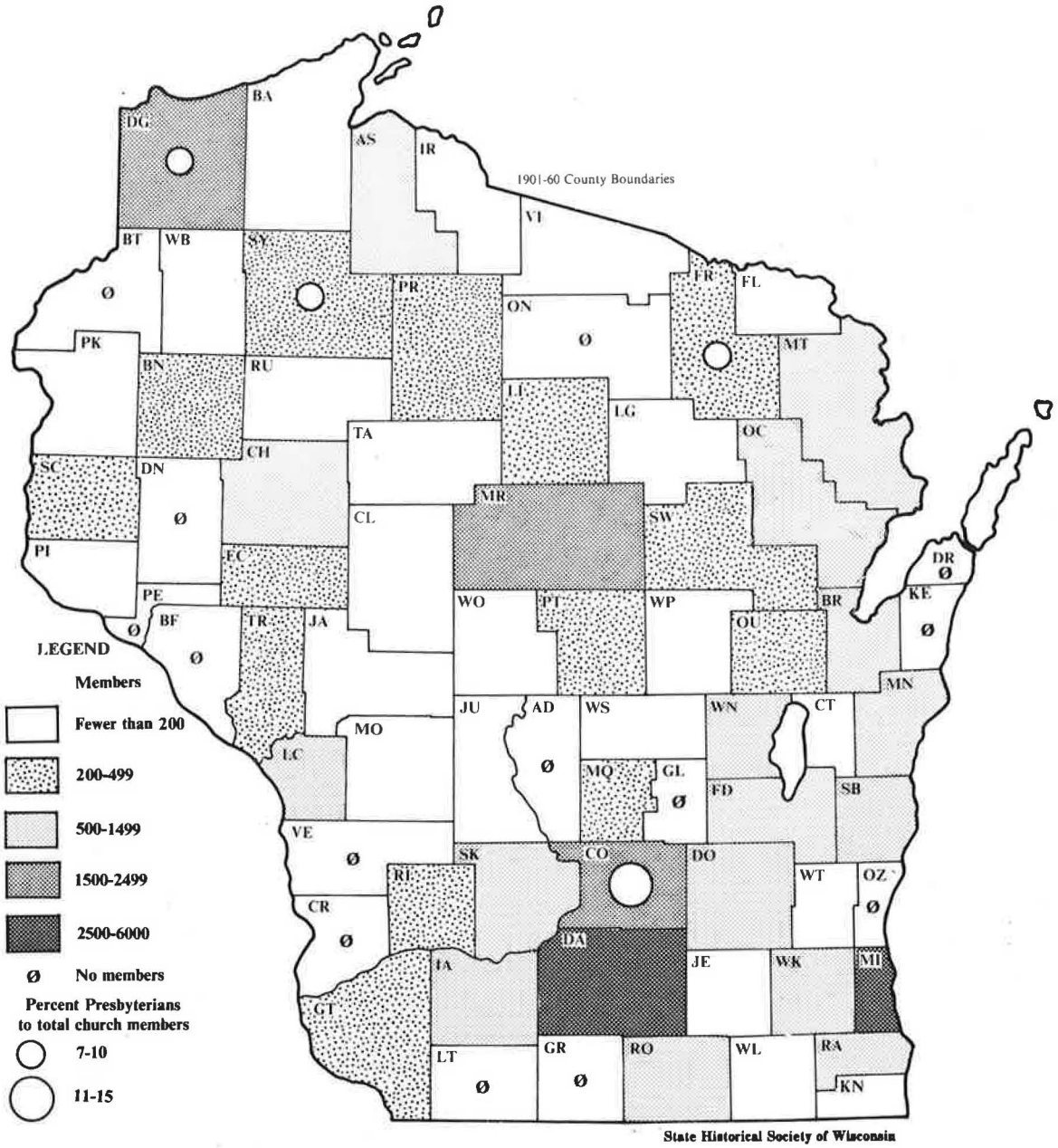
Survey and Research Needs. Extant Welsh Presbyterian churches should be identified, with special attention given to the Pike Grove Calvinistic Methodist Church (Racine County), reputedly the oldest Welsh Presbyterian church in Wisconsin. Because of the Presbyterian church's traditional emphasis on education affiliated educational facilities should be identified.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Pardeeville Presbyterian Church (1863-1865), 105 S. Main St., Pardeeville, Columbia County (NRHP 1980)
Immanuel Presbyterian Church (1873-1875), 1100 N. Astor St., Milwaukee County (NRHP 1974)
First Presbyterian Church (1851-1852), 716 College Ave., Racine, Racine County (NRHP 1973)
First Presbyterian Church (1893), 110 Church Ave., Oshkosh, Winnebago County (NRHP 1974)

Context Considerations. In most cases, Presbyterian affiliated properties will possess local significance. Some exceptions may include major educational facilities and those sites and structures associated with historic Welsh Presbyterian congregations.



Members of the Presbyterain Church in Wisconsin, 1926

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 701-702.

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Temporal Boundaries: Early 1840s to the present.

Spatial Boundaries: Moderate distribution in the eastern and southern regions, along German and Dutch lines of settlement.

Related Study Units: German Settlement, French and Swiss Settlement, Low Countries Settlement, Congregational Church.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Churches emanating from the Reformation, aside from the Lutheran bodies, were known as "Reformed" in Holland, Switzerland, and Germany, as "Presbyterian" in England and Scotland, and as "Huguenot" in France, with other continental groups assuming national titles as, for example, in Bohemia and Hungary. The transplantation of these Reformed offspring to American soil gave rise to 40 different groups of churches. The Reformed (Dutch) Church in America and the Christian Reformed Church represented the transplantation of two groups from the Netherlands. The Reformed (German) Church in the United States, composed of Swiss and German immigrants and initially under the supervision of the Dutch Reformed Synod of North and South Holland, was rooted in the German Palatinate and is now joined with the Evangelical, Congregational and Christian churches in the United Church in Christ (See Congregational and United Church of Christ study units). A Hungarian group evolved into the Free Magyar Reformed Church in America. (See Other Eastern European Settlement study unit). Each of the Reformed groups embodies conservative Calvinism and is governed by a modified Presbyterian polity (Mead 1980:218).

THE REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH IN WISCONSIN

The Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, considered to be the "oldest Presbyterian organization in America" claimed an unorganized membership along the banks of the Hudson River (Albany, New York) as early as 1614, though 180 years elapsed before the guidelines for the general synod were drawn up in 1794. Following the War for Independence, Scotch, English, and German immigrants joined in increasing numbers, thus providing a spark to the heretofore slow development of the new synod. The newcomers were welcomed into the Church, which by the end of the nineteenth century, stretched from coast to coast along the northern tier of states.

Doctrinal and disciplinary differences led to the secession of a group of Dutch immigrants who in 1847 initiated the Christian Reformed Church, the more motherland-oriented of the Dutch Reformed churches in America. The Dutch also defected to the Presbyterian Church, whose Dutch membership was confined largely to the Wisconsin communities, and which in polity and procedure was barely indistinguishable from the Reformed. Thus, today the Wisconsin Dutch hold membership in three Protestant denominations, the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, the Christian Reformed, and the Presbyterian. Wisconsin is one of three core areas of Dutch Protestantism in the United States, the others are situated on the east shore of Lake Michigan and in southern Iowa (Mead 1980:221).

The first Dutch Reformed organizations in Wisconsin were short-lived, appearing in 1843 at Caledonia (1843-1846), and at Sun Prairie (1843-1849). In 1847 the Hollanders of Milwaukee organized the First Reformed Church, with the next enduring organization founded at Oostburg in Sheboygan County three years later (Vanden Berge

1966:229-332). By 1860 there were 15 Reformed (Dutch) congregations in Wisconsin, six in Sheboygan County, three each in Milwaukee and Columbia counties, two in Fond du Lac County, and one in Grant County (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1866:490-493). (A more complete account of the Dutch Protestant experience in Wisconsin is provided in Low Countries Settlement study unit).

The Dutch Reformed Church peaked in numbers of organizations in 1890, although membership continued to grow into the first quarter of the new century. In 1940 the Christian Reformed Church had organizations in Alto (Fond du Lac County), Baldwin (St. Croix County), Birnamwood (Shawano County), Delavan (Walworth County), Kenosha (Kenosha County), Milwaukee (Milwaukee County), Oostburg (Sheboygan County), Racine (Racine County), Randolph [two] (Dodge County), Sheboygan (Sheboygan County), Vesper (Wood County), and Waupun (Dodge County), while the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America had 19 organizations in its Wisconsin Classis (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1941:236-237). A complete list of the Reformed Church in America congregations to the present day, including their location and date of establishment and dissolution, is given below:

Reformed (Dutch) Church in America in Wisconisn

Community	County	Congregation	Date Established-Date Dissolved*
Baldwin	St. Croix	First	1905
Brandon	Fond du Lac	Bethel	1936
Caledonia	Racine	Caledonia	1843-1846
Cedar Grove	Sheboygan	First	1854
Cedar Grove	Sheboygan	Faith	1965
Clinton	Rock	Emmanuel	1938
Eden	Fond du Lac	Eden	1859
Fond du Lac	Fond du Lac	Grace	1938
Franklin	Milwaukee	Franklin	1851-1925
Friesland	Columbia	Friesland	1893
Greenbush	Sheboygan	Plymouth	1883-1911
Hingham	Sheboygan	Hingham	1890
Kenosha	Kenosha	Kenosha	1896-1905
Kewaskum	Washington	Kewaskum	unorganized
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	First	1849
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Trinity	1960
New Amsterdam	La Crosse	New Amsterdam	1877
New Berlin	Waukesha	Calvary	1963
Oostburg	Sheboygan	First	1850
Racine	Racine	Racine	1891-1892
Racine	Racine	Racine	1929
Randolph	Dodge	First	1908
Ringle	Marathon	Forestville	1905
Sheboygan	Sheboygan	Hope	1891
Sheboygan	Sheboygan	Bethany	1958
Sheboygan Falls	Sheboygan	First	1856
Sheboygan Falls	Sheboygan	Gibbsville	1856
Sun Prairie	Dane	Sun Prairie	1843--1849
Waupun	Dodge	Alto	1857
Waupun	Dodge	First	1887
Waupun	Dodge	Emmanuel	1941
Waupun	Dodge	Trinity	1955
Wisconsin Rapids	Wood	Faith	1917

*Congregations dissolved prior to 1966

SOURCE:

Vanden Berge 1966:229--332.

THE REFORMED (GERMAN) CHURCH IN WISCONSIN

The Reformed (German) Church in the United States is a lineal descendent of the German and Swiss Reformed Churches, and was transported to Pennsylvania and adjacent territories by an influential group of Dutch and French Huguenot pioneers in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The first congregations were founded by Johann Philip Boehm in a line extending from Boyertown to Philadelphia. In 1747 Michael Schlatter, who had been sent to America by the Synod of North and South Holland, organized the Coetus (or synod) in Philadelphia and in 1793 the group declared its independence from the Church of Holland, reorganizing under the name of "The Synod of the German Reformed Church".

The first religious exercises of the German Reformed Church in Wisconsin were held at New Berlin, Waukesha County, in 1842, though the first church organization had been formalized among the Swiss of New Glarus two years earlier. The Church's next foothold, and ultimately the strongest, was among the immigrants from the tiny principality of Lippe-Detmold who had taken up land and commenced to carve away the wilderness in the Town of Herman, Sheboygan County, beginning in 1847 (Quaife 1924:164). The Lippe-Detmold company of 13 families and seven orphaned children were guided to the county by the pietistic leader, Friedrich Reineking. Reaching the shores of Milwaukee, they were approached by land agents who directed them to the relatively inexpensive forest lands of Sheboygan County, a more realizable goal than their first choice, the expensive Iowa prairies. Initially, the Lippe-Detmold settlement rimmed the shores of the county lakes, in the words of one historian, "a settlement of lake fishermen"; but the decade of the 1850s saw both numerical and spatial expansion as more dissatisfied Christians arrived from the principality, causing the settlement to grow away from the lakeshores and into the neighboring townships of Sheboygan Falls, Centerville, Newton, Monel, and Rhine (Jaberg 1962:4-5,15-16).

Although the Lippe settlement contained a "nucleus of dedicated Christian lay people," church organization was not immediate, and in spite of vigorous efforts, the American Baptist and Methodist churches did not succeed in gaining the group's allegiance. A traveling missionary, known only as A. Berky, under the auspices of the German Reformed Church, arrived to attend to the spiritual yearnings of the group about the time the contacts with the American churches had failed. Swiss-born minister, Caspar Pluesz, believed to be the first Reformed pastor in Wisconsin, arrived in Sheboygan in 1849 to take up a field of labor, thus becoming the first resident pastor among the Lippe folk. Sheboygan received the ministrations of H.A. Muehlmeir, a representative of the Tiffin Classis in 1853, and that same year Muehlmeir spearheaded the formation of the Zion Reformed Congregation. The early years of the Reformed group in Sheboygan, however, were beset with difficulty, particularly in the form of the German "freethinkers" whose avowed purpose was to abolish Christianity.

Pluesz was followed at length by emissaries of the German Reformed Church, namely Hermann A. Muehlmeier, Jakob Bossard, and Hermann A. Winter, who organized the Sheboygan Classis, or church district, and laid the groundwork for the theological school, Mission House, near Sheboygan about 1860 (Jaberg 1962:17). With Bossard's arrival came the authorization by the Ohio "mother" Synod (granted July 1854) to establish a new classis, the Sheboygan, and with this move, the Lippe settlement became the nourishing core of the Reformed Church in the West. At its inception the Sheboygan Classis was small, encompassing only a few congregations at Sheboygan, Newton, and

Milwaukee. When it was three years old, it numbered only 347 members in four congregations who were served by four Reformed ministers. The Wisconsin clergy and laity felt themselves abandoned by the mother Synod, whose resources were limited and concern for the "stepchildren" in the West highly questionable. In the end, the missionary challenge was met from within the local Reformed community, a significant departure form church polity, but one which served their needs and promoted their cause in an admirable fashion. A local Mission Committee, meeting within the Sheboygan Classis, was assembled in 1859, and within four years eight missionaries had settled into fields of labor in the Midwest, with impressive gains to the Sheboygan Classis in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa (Jaberg 1962: 27-31).

The most prodigious project of the little Classis, a product of the fierce missionary zeal of the Rev. Winter, was the Mission House. Winter, who traveled widely throughout the network of mission fields, established at least a dozen new congregations across Wisconsin, and led an additional nine into the fold of the Classis, recognized the importance of establishing a German institution of higher learning. The germ of the idea took hold at a meeting of the Classis in December 1857, and at a special session of the Mission Committee held July 1, 1860, the decision was made to build the Mission House in the Immanuel Parish, Town of Herman, Sheboygan County (Jaberg 1962:31-33). Bossard would provide the academic backbone, while Muehlmeier would complement the program with instruction in the practical aspects of a frontier ministry. The Mission House was completed and opened for use in 1864, with the Rev. Muehlmeier acting as housefather, and by 1865, the school was fully operational, complete with two resident professors, extensive and farmable grounds, and a small body of prospective clergymen (Jaberg 1962:41-49). "The history of the Mission House", in the words of a church historian, "...is an essential aspect of the westward expansion of the German Reformed Church, of unprecendented missionary effort by the German-speaking branch of that church beginning with the establishment of the Sheboygan Classis and later expanding into the larger work of the three German synods in more than seven states." (Jaberg 1962:xvi).

Agitation among the pastors and laity of the German-speaking congregations for an independent German synod approached fever pitch in the 1860s, and the message was well-taken by the Ohio Synod leadership, for in 1866 they authorized the formation of the German Synod of the Northwest. The German classes of St. Joseph, Indiana, Sheboygan, Heidelberg (Ohio), and Erie (Pennsylvania) were thus united in the Northwestern District Synod in December of the succeeding year (1867). At birth the Synod embraced five classes, or districts, which in turn housed 83 pastors, 162 congregations, and 8,660 confirmed members. By 1880, six new classes had been added prompting the Synod in 1881 to opt for division into the Wisconsin-based Northwestern Synod and the Ohio-based Central Synod. A charter, the final draft dated May 15, 1888, passed the Mission House preparatory school, college, and seminary from the jurisdiction of the local Synod to the "entire German constituency (three synods) of the Reformed Church in the United States" (Jaberg 1962:83).

As an evangelical body, the Reformed Church was always alert to opportunities among the unchurched. The Mission House had long been visited by wandering Indians, and since no Christian denomination had yet established a mission among the Winnebago tribe, the Sheboygan Classis moved in 1878 to begin work among them, appointing the Rev. Jacob Hauser as sole teacher and missionary. In December of that year, he opened a Reformed day school among the Winnebagos in the Jackson County "Cutover" (seven miles from Black River Falls); within a year the County had donated 120 acres of land, and in 1882 a chapel was built. Even though the Indian children were regularly enrolled in the Mission school and the adults gathered for the preaching sessions, 20 years passed before a convert was gained through baptism. In the course of time, the Mission property was improved, the house was enlarged, and a barn, sheds, and pens added to house the farm animals and implements. As the surrounding territory was bought by white settlers,

the Indians were forced to move away from the Mission grounds, causing day school enrollments to dwindle and necessitating the conversion to a boarding school (1917). Since the Sheboygan Classis could not bear the financial strain of the school, it was transferred to the Tri-Synodic Board of Home Missions of the Reformed Church in the same year that it was converted to a boarding institution. In 1921, the Winnebago mission school was removed to the outskirts of Neillsville in Clark County to a 33 acre plot, and at length, the school came to include a manual training facility, a main building, barns, and a superintendent's home (Bollinger 1922:18-39).

In the second quarter of this century the Misson House College and Seminary passed from the care of the four German synods into the hands of the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. The college and seminary branches of Mission House separated in 1956, whereupon Mission House College became officially "Lakeland College" (Jaberg 1962 165-166). In 1962 Mission House Seminary merged with Yankton Theological School to form United Theological Seminary in Minneapolis-St. Paul. Lakeland College continues at the Sheboygan County location (Mohr: Letter to Barbara Wyatt, 15 November 1985).

THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF NORTH AMERICA IN WISCONSIN

As a consequence of the actions of Frederick William III of Prussia, the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of his realm were united in the early 1800s, and when the merged Church was transported to America it was reorganized in 1840 at Gravois Settlement near St. Louis as the Evangelical Synod of North America. Many independent congregations of either Lutheran or Reformed German-speaking background came to identify themselves as affiliates of the new denomination.

In Wisconsin, the Synod advanced with the German line of settlement, registering 63 organizations with an inclusive membership of 11,410 by 1890. Twenty-three counties, principally in the eastern half, embraced members of the Synod, the largest number in Washington County (ten organizations), followed by Sheboygan (seven), Milwaukee (six), and Fond du Lac (five). The Synod attained its greatest numerical strength in 1916 with 29,136 members in 112 organizations (see accompanying table) (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:403-410). In 1934, the church merged with the Reformed Church in the United States, and a 1957 merge with the Congregational Christian churches resulted in its absorption in the United Church of Christ.

THE EVANGELICAL AND REFORMED CHURCH IN WISCONSIN

The Evangelical and Reformed Church was the product of a 1934 merger between two groups of German and Swiss Calvinistic lineage, the German Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed (German) Church in the United States. Upon merger the Synod embraced 281,598 persons nationally, while the Reformed Church, slightly larger, counted 348,189 members (Mead 1980:249). In 1936 Green County at 27.9 percent (of the total in all denominations) was at the fore, trailed by Washington County at 15.9 percent and Lincoln County at 9.5 percent. By the mid-1950s the Church tallied 48,589 members in 165 Wisconsin congregations, exhibiting its greatest showing in the eastern tier of counties.

In 1957 this body, numbering 810,000 nationally, united with the Congregational and Christian Churches to form the United Church of Christ, often regarded as the "newest" denomination in America. When the Congregational, Christian, Evangelical and Reformed denominations were joined, it represented the first time in American Church history that two groups with different national backgrounds and with different church polities had merged. Thus the merger in 1957 had drawn together seemingly disparate groups of Lutherans and Puritans, descendants of Germans and Englishmen, and New Englanders and Pennsylvania Dutch. (See Congregational Church study unit).

Evangelical and Reformed Churches in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures

Year	German Evangelical Synod of North America		Reformed (Dutch) Church	
	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850			2	
1860			15	
1870			5	1,015
1890	63	11,410	31	3,931
1906	99	9,133	14	1,163
1916	112	29,136	13	2,291
1926	106	24,511	14	4,180

Reformed (German) Church

Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1860	3	
1870	18	3,260
1890	55	5,966
1906	64	4,148
1916	73	4,431
1926	79	13,142

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census 1853:934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:403-410, 735-748; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273; 1941:306-311.
Current 1976:547.
National Council of Churches. Churches and Church Membership in the United States: 1957, series C, nos. 18-19.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, chapels, parsonages, missions, educational facilities, homes of prominent Reformed Church leaders and laymen.

Locational Pattern of Resource Types. The Reformed Church exhibits a moderate distribution in the eastern and southern counties, and is particularly concentrated in historic German and Dutch settlements.

Reformed (Dutch) Church was historically strongest in Sheboygan, Milwaukee, Fond du Lac, Racine, and Dodge counties.

Christian Reformed Church was primarily distributed thoughout the southeastern tier of counties.

Reformed (German) Church) was primarily concerntrated in the southeastern part of the state.

German Evangelical Synod of North America had its strongest representation in the eastern half of the state, with the largest following in Washington, Sheboygan, Milwaukee, and fond du Lac counties.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys have been undertaken for any of the Reformed denominations. Some historical information regarding these groups may be found in the Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey and the Wisconsin Historical Records Survey. The "Religion" and "Immigration and Settlement" chapters in some intensive survey reports also provide information on churches in specific localities.

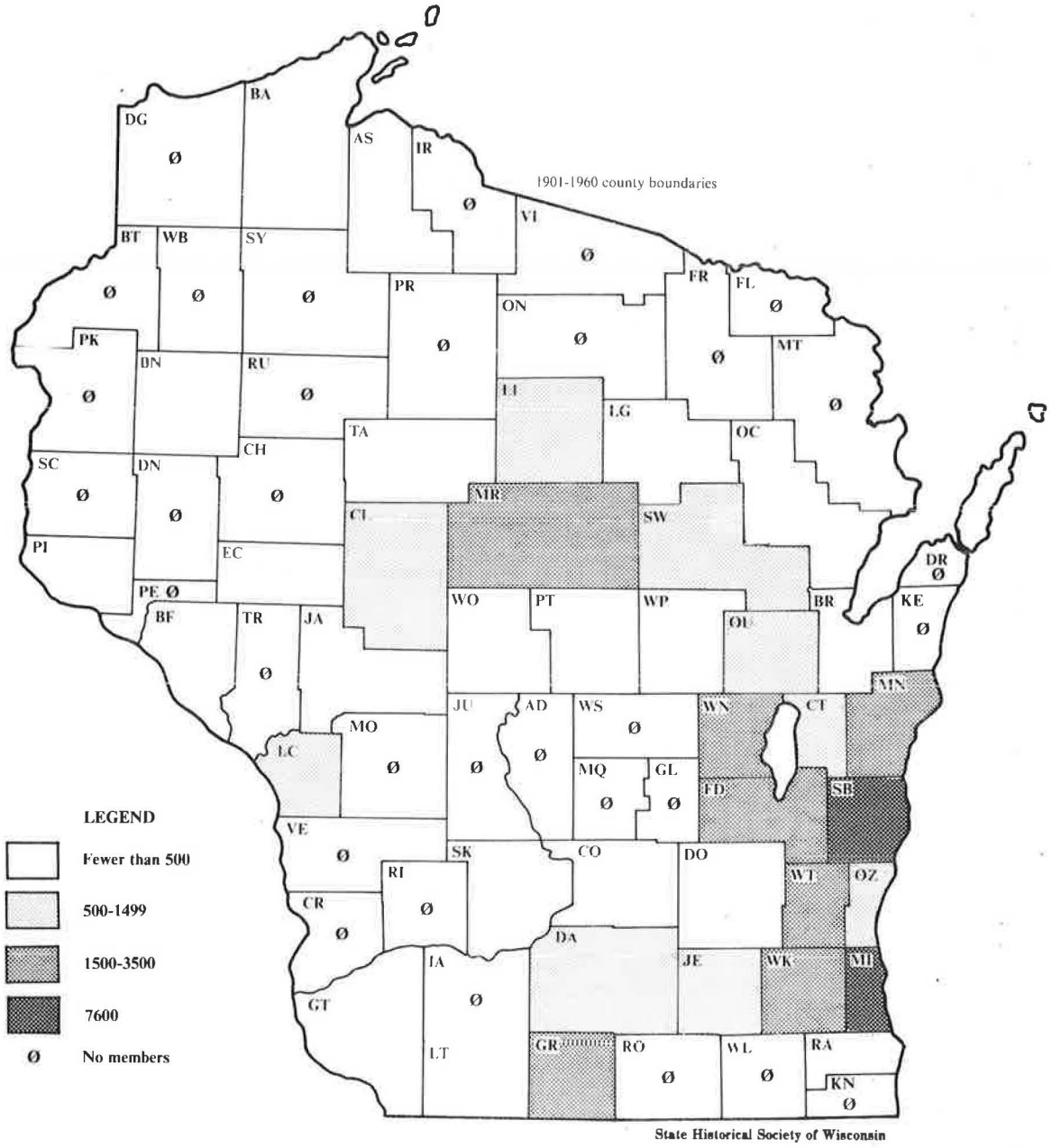
Research and Survey Needs. Historically, Wisconsin has been a principal area of Dutch Protestantism in the United States. Accordingly, significant sites and structures affiliated with the Reformed (Dutch) Church should be identified. More research on the historically significant Lippe-Detmold settlement, Town of Herman (Sheboygan County), and its ties to the Reformed (German) Church is needed as well.

EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Mission House Historic District, Town of Herman, Sheboygan County (NRHP 1978)
Zion Reformed Church, 600 Erie Ave., Sheboygan, Sheboygan County (DOE 1981)

Context Considerations. Nominated sites and structures associated with the various Reformed Churches will generally merit local significance. Because the Reformed (Dutch) Church was historically important in Wisconsin, some affiliated sites and structures may merit statewide significance. When evaluating these Dutch Reformed affiliated structures, architectural integrity considerations may not be as high as for some of the larger denominations within the state.



Members of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (German) in Wisconsin, 1936

Source: U.S. Department of Comerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*, Vol. I (Washington, 1941), pp. 846-847.

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Temporal Boundaries: c. 1840-present.

Spatial Boundaries: Modest distribution throughout the state, with concentration in major urban areas.

Related Study Units: None.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

UNITARIANS

Though the Unitarian name originated about 1600 in Poland and Transylvania in connection with a strong Protestant movement, it was first introduced into the English speaking world among English Presbyterians and entered New England at the close of the eighteenth century through the Congregationalist ministers. More specifically, Unitarian ideas were associated with a secessionist movement in the Congregational church during the course of the Great Awakening, a widespread revival movement that began in 1734 under the influence of Massachusett's theologian, Jonathan Edwards. As a liberal reaction to Calvinism, the Unitarians differed principally from the established churches by their belief in the perfectability of human character, and thus, the ultimate salvation of all souls.

From the outset the Unitarians insisted on reason as the only criterion for the measure of faith; each person could be what he/she wanted to be, the captain of his fate, and savior of his soul. Under its tenets, anything which could not be proven by logic was unacceptable. Indeed, it was the rejection of the triune nature of God which gave the Unitarians their name (not trinitarian, but unitarian). While the Holy Spirit was considered merely another name or manifestation of God, the Christ was demoted to human stature.

William Ellery Channing, a skillful orator and Congregationalist pastor in New England, gave the first formal statement of this new "liberal" Christianity in 1819, and in 1825 the American Unitarian Association was born. Among its most distinguished leaders were Joseph Priestly, scientist and Dissenting minister of the English Church; Theophilus Lindsey, Anglican reformer at Cambridge University; and James Martineau, an English Unitarian who pleaded for a faith based on intuition rather than on Christianity and the Bible. Even though it did not maintain extensive missionary fields, or draw the large following of other denominations, its appeal to the liberal and scientific individual won Unitarians influence far out of proportion to their numbers. The Boston Unitarian minister, Theodore Parker, held Eastern crowds spellbound with his oratory; while Ralph Waldo Emerson emerged as a preeminent spokesman, and both figured heavily in the direction and flow of the American Unitarian movement.

Nearly all of the oldest and most important Congregational Churches of eastern Massachusetts moved closer to Unitarian principles in the second half of the eighteenth century, though they called themselves Liberal Christians and accepted the title Unitarian with some reluctance. From its inception in 1825 the American Unitarian Association undertook some missionary work in the interests of the church at large, though it remained a loose federation of groups until a national conference was organized in 1865. Rapid denominational growth ensued, and continued well into the twentieth century, an era characterized by the proliferation of congregations and vigorous church activity. As Unitarianism spread to the Midwest the rationalist biblical tradition was supplanted by an intuitional religion with emphasis on scientific truth, the fulfillment of human aspirations,

and social idealism.

Though considering themselves liberal in theology, the first Unitarian churches in New England were made up largely of the socially conservative elite. The New England churches continued to dominate denominational affairs, with the movement urban and small, and not drawn from a broad cross section of American society (Hardon 1969:228-239). In 1926 there were more than 60,000 Unitarians in 353 congregations across the country, 45 percent of them in Massachusetts. There were two congregations in Wisconsin with 377 members. Totals in other states fell far short of the Massachusetts figure, though a slant to the New England, Mid-Atlantic, and East-North-Central states was easily recognizable (U.S Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1930:1353).

The American Unitarian Association bore the brunt of missionary responsibility, though home missionary work was also undertaken by the Women's General Alliance, the Layman's League, the Young People's Religious Union and the district and state conferences. The Unitarians were not exponents of sectarian education, and of the leading schools and universities under their administration, including the Harvard School of Divinity, none of them were sectarian in purpose or spirit. Unitarians have also left their mark on philanthropic movements as, for example, in the opening and maintenance of hospitals, homes and asylums, although none are recorded in Wisconsin.

The Unitarians are congregational in polity, though they unite toward common ends in the local and state conferences and in an international congress. Thus, the congregations are independent, voluntarily associated in larger bodies which serve only an advisory function. The group has no fixed standards of membership or doctrine, thus its insistence on the absolute freedom of personal belief and its reliance upon the "supreme guidance of reason."

Modern Unitarians have ceased to regard themselves as a Christian church, but do proclaim themselves a scientific and liberal twentieth century body. In 1961 they entered into union with the Universalist Church, a somewhat smaller denomination which arose in New England when a small group insisted that there was no damnation and hell, but that all men would be ultimately saved or partake of "universal salvation." The new body is referred to as the Unitarian-Universalist Association.

UNIVERSALISTS

Universalism is defined by the belief that it is the purpose of God through the grace revealed in Jesus Christ, to save every member of the human race from sin, thus the name "Universalist," and that in the end, the supreme powers of truth, right and love will triumph over evil.

The Universalist faith is of modern vintage, and its membership, which includes only a small proportion of the actual number holding and professing the faith, is confined mostly to North America. John Murray, a former English Calvinistic Methodist, is credited with being the father of the Universalist movement. Joining with two others, the Reverends Elhanan Winchester and Caleb Rich, he spearheaded the formulation of the Universalist Profession of Faith and built up a national plan of church organization at a meeting in Philadelphia in 1790. Later a Convention of New England and New York Universalist Churches and a General Convention were formalized. The principal importance of the church remained in New England, though it was propagated into the rural Midwest, chiefly Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, by a host of farmer-preachers. In the period 1830-1860, the church achieved much popular success, owing chiefly to its renunciation of the hellfire preaching of orthodox revivalism.

From 1805-1852 Hosea Ballou, an itinerant preacher and schoolteacher in Vermont, was viewed as the most effective expounder of Universalist doctrine, particularly through the

Universalist Magazine which he edited, and it was under his direction that Universalism moved closer to Unitarianism in doctrinal content. Universalists were practically Unitarian in the tenets of their faith and practice, and like the Unitarians, were congregational in church polity, maintaining both state and national conventions. Since the local congregations were autonomous in the management of their affairs, the General Convention served only an advisory and supportive role in the instrumentalities of Christian service.

Among the Universalists, home missionary efforts rested primarily in several State conventions, though also devolved to the Women's National Missionary Association, the Young People's Christian Union, and the General Sunday School Association. Denominational philanthropic and educational pursuits ranged from colleges and academies to theological schools and group homes. Preferring the designation of society rather than church, the Universalists very often had no formal membership lists, and thus, the actual number of adherents to the Universalist doctrine was difficult to ascertain. The body was headquartered, together with its publishing house, in Boston (Hardon 1969:228-239). Nationally, the Universalists in 1926 claimed more than 54,000 members in 498 societies, with 80 percent of those societies in the New England, Mid Atlantic, and East North Central states. Massachusetts, New York, Maine and Ohio recorded the greatest numbers (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1931:1379).

UNITARIANS AND UNIVERSALISTS IN WISCONSIN

Unitarians and Universalists made inroads into Wisconsin during the years preceding statehood, and found an "early foothold in Milwaukee, Racine, and Southport (Kenosha)," with the urban social and intellectual elite at the fore (Smith 1973:6ll).

Census records suggest that the Universalists arrived earlier and assumed numerical dominance over the Unitarians during the formative period, with six congregations tallied by the federal census marshal in 1850, five in Rock County and one in Dane (Smith 1973:6l4). By 1860 the Universalists had dispersed to both proximate and outlying counties, with two organizations in Jefferson County; and one each in Dane, Dodge, Fond du Lac, Green, Green Lake, Rock, St. Croix, Walworth, Washington, and Waushara.

In the meantime, the first Unitarian bodies had coalesced in Milwaukee, Racine, and Fond du Lac. With the close of the 1860s, the Universalists had grown to 3,l50 adherents in 12 organizations statewide, and the Unitarians to 1,900 in seven (see accompanying map and table). According to census records the Universalists suffered a steep decline to 544 members in l5 organizations in the period up to 1890, while the Unitarians recorded a much smaller decline to 1,394 members in l6 organizations. The largest Universalist body in the late nineteenth century was located in La Crosse County, with other groups scattered in Columbia, Walworth, Calumet, Dane, Green, Green Lake, Jackson, Jefferson, Marathon, Racine, Rock and Winnebago counties. Dunn County in 1890 housed the largest Unitarian group, with congregations also functioning in Iowa, Rock, Sauk, Buffalo, Chippewa, Clark, Dane, Douglas, Eau Claire, Kenosha, Milwaukee, and Trempealeau counties (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1894:799, 808).

The most distinguished Unitarian leader in the state was Jenkin Lloyd Jones, a crusader for the "social gospel" who won a national audience. Immigrating from Wales with his family and settling in Wisconsin in 1845, Jones was educated at the Unitarian seminary in Meadville, Pa. After a short stint as pastor in Winnetka, Il., he settled in Janesville (1873) and revitalized the All Souls Unitarian Church in that city. At the same time, he "created a Sunday School program for Western Unitarians, invented the United Club, and helped start Unity, the Western Unitarian newspaper" (Graham 1983-84:121).

In 1875, Jones was made "missionary-at-large" and eventually secretary of the Western

Conference. Jones' energy in this capacity brought "new life" to the Western Unitarian Conference, and "set it on a course of aggressive religious liberalism." By 1822, Jones left his Janesville pulpit to devote all his time to Conference activities in Chicago, serving a constituency that stretched from the Rocky Mountains to the Appalachians. In Chicago, Jones organized All Soul's Church and helped develop a highly liberal theology based on tolerance for all religious views. In 1905, his church constructed the famous Abraham Lincoln Center in South Chicago, complete with sanctuary, gymnasium, classrooms, and library. His national role as a leader in the pre-World War I movements for peace, prohibition, and other social reforms earned him international recognition. Throughout his career, he returned to his Wyoming Valley roots, serving as family preacher at the Jones clans' Unity Chapel in Spring Green and establishing a summer school at his Tower Hill retreat where well known speakers addressed large audiences. Jones died at Tower Hill in 1918 (Graham 1982-83:121-125).

Membership continued to wane in the twentieth century, with eight Unitarian bodies and 919 members in 1906 and only two congregations, one each in Milwaukee and Madison, with a combined membership of 321 in 1940. The Universalists declined less dramatically during the same period, from 14 congregations with 1,342 members in 1906 down to eight congregations and 1,047 members in the census of 1926; retaining a more widely dispersed site pattern (United States Census Office. Religious Bodies:1926, 1353,1379). By 1940 seven congregations were active in the state, namely, Augusta, Markesan, Monroe, Mukwonago, Racine, Stoughton, and Wausau (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project 1941:305,308).

THE UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION

Union of the Universalist Church with the American Unitarian Association was effected in May 1961 with the formation of the Unitarian-Universalist Association. Like it antecedents, this body has not adopted a creed and does not require its members to profess a particular doctrine, nor is there uniformity in worship services, religious practices and religious beliefs amongst individual congregations. It has national headquarters in Boston, but is served at the intermediate level by district organizations with boards and executives that are responsible to the district congregations.

The advancement of Unitarian-Universalism is aided by a number of supporting organizations, among them, the Unitarian-Universalist Women's Federation. This auxiliary is charged with educational, interfaith, and lay leadership activities. The Layman's League counts among its duties the recruitment of prospective young people for the ministry. The Fellowship for Social Justice, founded in 1908, bears the major responsibility for supporting its members in matters of social injustice, and at least two youth-oriented organizations aim to condition young people to a life of Christian service in the name of the Unitarian-Universalist fellowship. Nationwide, it claimed 265,000 members in the early 1970s. In 1980, 20 congregations with a membership of 3,034 were active in the State of Wisconsin (Wisconsin Council of Churches 1980:1).

Unitarians and Universalists in Wisconsin

	UNITARIAN		UNIVERSALIST	
Year	Number of Organizations	Number of Members	Number of Organizations	Number of Members
1850	no data	no data	6	no data
1860	3	no data	12	no data
1870	7	1,900	12	3,150
1890	16	1,394	15	544
1906	9	919	14	1,342
1916	4	508	9	843
1926	2	377	8	1,047
1936	2	321	5	654
1957	6	732	6	1,311

SOURCES:

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1853:934-936; 1866:490-493; 1872:504-526, 559-560; 1894:795-799, 801-808; 1910:288-291; 1919:233-235, 327-328; 1930:270-273, 1353; 1941:306-3ll, 1353.
Current 1976:547.
National Council of Churches. Churches and Church Membership in the United States: 1957, series C, nos. 18-19.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Meeting houses, Sunday school buildings, homes of prominent Unitarian-Universalist leaders.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Historically the Unitarian and Universalists churches exhibit a very light distribution, generally concentrated in urban areas of the southern and western portions of the state.

Previous Surveys. No thematic surveys have been undertaken dealing specifically with Unitarian and/or Universalist churches. However, the Milwaukee Houses of Worship Survey and the Wisconsin Historical Records survey do contain some relevant historical and architectural data. The "Religion" chapters in the intensive survey reports may also provide information for specific localities.

Survey and Research Needs. None have been identified.

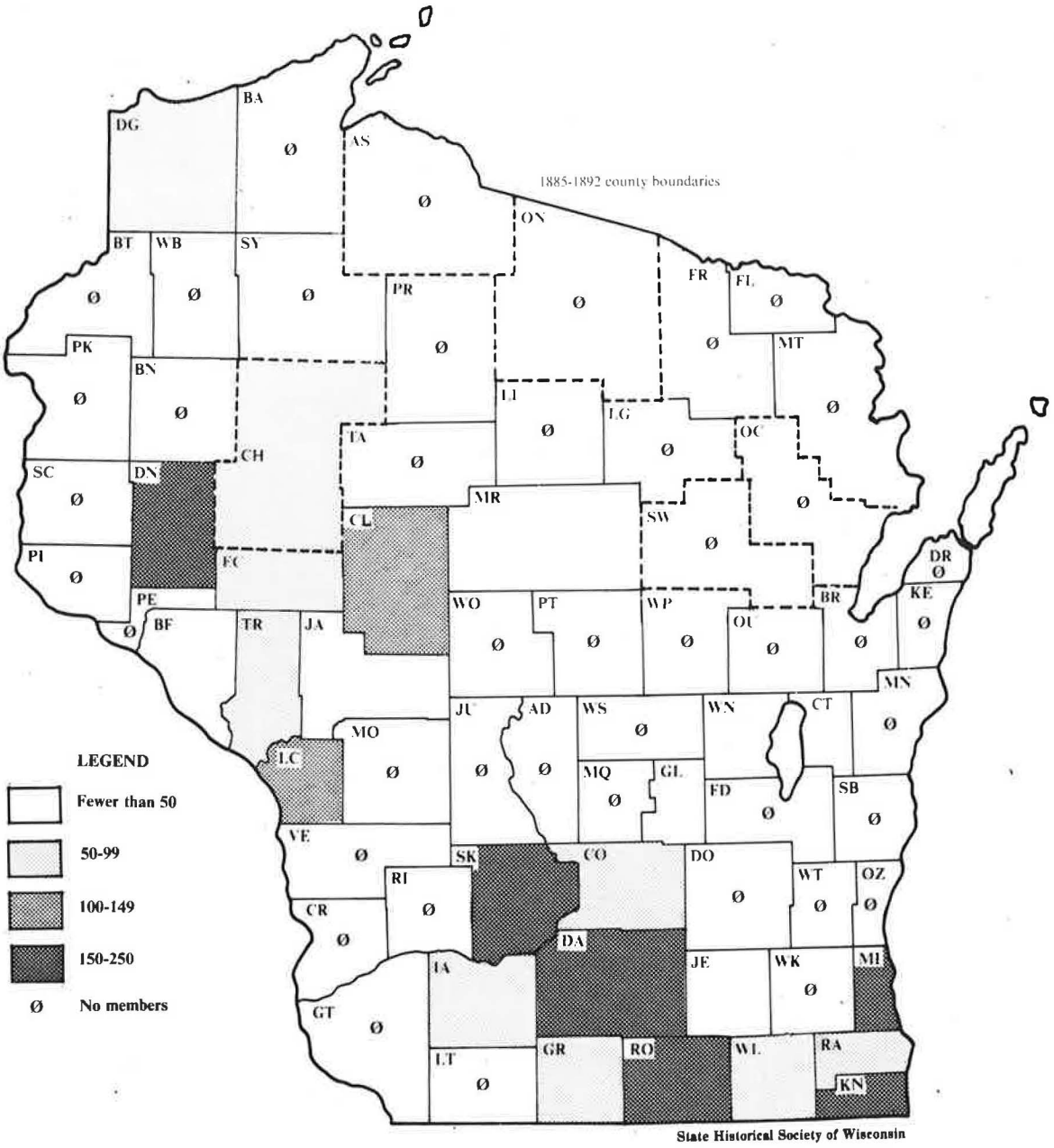
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

First Unitarian Society Meeting House (1951), 900 University Bay Dr., Shorewood Hills, Dane County (NRHP - 1973)
Stoughton Universalist Church (1858), 324 S. Page St., Stoughton, Dane County (NRHP 1982)
First Unitarian Church (1891-1892), 1009 E. Ogden Ave., Milwaukee, Milwaukee County (NRHP 1974)
Universalist Church (1860), 1617 Ninth St., Monroe, Green County (NRHP 1982, Monroe Commercial District)
First Universalist Church (1914), 504 Grant St., Wausau, Marathon County (NRHP 1980, Eschweiler Thematic Resources)
United Unitarian and Universalist Church, (1878), 216 Main St., Mukwonago Waukesha County (NRHP 1987)

Context Considerations. The majority of Unitarian and Universalist meeting houses will possess local significance. Structures dating from the nineteenth century will possess the most historic significance; those from the twentieth century will probably be significant only in the area of architecture.

THE UNITARIAN AND UNIVERSALIST CHURCHES



Members of the Unitarian and the Universalist Churches in Wisconsin, 1890

Source: *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890:* Vol. II, Statistics of Churches: p. 808; and Vol. I, Statistics of Churches: p. 87.

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1894 Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Report on Statistics of Churches in the United States. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1910 Religious Bodies:1906. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1919 Religious Bodies:1916. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1930 Religious Bodies:1926. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

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Includes figures on number of organizations and memberships for the major denominational bodies in the state; names and addresses of headquarters and leaderships.

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1936-1942 Church Directory of Wisconsin. Madison.
Chronological, county, church- and place-name listings of churches by denominational status.

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Temporal Boundaries: 1759-1950, with particular emphasis on the period of 1840-1945.

Spatial Boundaries: Jewish immigrants prepared to settle in urban areas, especially Milwaukee.

Related Study Units: German Immigration, Fraternal Organizations, Labor Organizations, Services for the Poor and Handicapped.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of Jews in Wisconsin parallels the general history of pioneer groups in the state. Like the French, English, Germans, and Scandinavians, Jews came to Wisconsin as immigrants and participated in and contributed to the development of the state. Jewish immigration to Wisconsin occurred in three basic segments. The first few Jewish immigrants were of English or Canadian background and came beginning in the mid- to late eighteenth century. The second group came from Central Europe, largely from Germany, between the mid-1830s through 1880. The third and largest group came from Eastern Europe, beginning in the 1880s and continuing through the first two decades of the twentieth century. These segments are not absolute. Some Jews from Central Europe, for instance, arrived in Wisconsin after 1880. But nevertheless, most of the immigrants from each group came during the specified periods.

Like other immigrant groups, Jews brought with them various cultural and religious heritages and were compelled to adapt their outlooks and customs to the way of life in the United States. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, the latter two groups of Jewish immigrants confronted each other with their varying, and often conflicting, views of Judaism and the meaning, significance, and requirements of being Jewish in modern society. The first Jewish immigrants were not faced with this dilemma, both because they generally were not as religiously oriented as the latter two groups and because they never established any organized Jewish communities.

While many Jews continued to practice their religion in the various forms it took in the United States, others did not. Yet, Jews as a group seem to have maintained an identity and cohensiveness that other immigrant groups, such as the Germans, Irish, Italians, and others, lost in the process of assimilation. Even many of those who were ambivalent about their religion seem to have retained a sense of belonging in some way to the Jewish community. The tendency of many Jewish immigrants who initially moved to small towns or rural areas to relocate to larger cities with more flourishing Jewish communities reflects such a feeling. In some instances, Jews who did not wish to be associated with Judaism were nevertheless looked upon as Jews by non-Jews. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly why this is so. While anti-semitism does not appear to have been as threatening an obstacle against Jews in Wisconsin as it was towards those in other states, the fact that it did emerge occassionally shows that many people did in fact look upon Jews as a group within themselves. In any case, in spite of the fact that Jews assimilated quite rapidly into American life and became a highly successful group, they seem to have retained a special identity.

Judaism in the United States developed from the manner in which the latter two groups of Jewish immigrants to the country combined the views and way of life in the United States with the various beliefs and customs they brought with them. The interplay between the Jewish immigrants' beliefs and habits and the customs and practices of the United States

is evident in the formation of Jewish communities, congregations, and fraternal, social, and charitable organizations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the process of assimilation, Jewish immigrants contributed elements of their culture to the general culture of the United States, while their traditions were simultaneously changed to varying degrees through contact with ideas and customs prevalent in the United States.

This study unit consists of five major sections. The first section deals with early Jewish immigration, while the second section concerns the second wave of Jewish immigration. The third section, which is also subdivided within itself, describes the third major influx of Jews into the state. The fourth section discusses Jewish charitable and social welfare organizations in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, while the final segment deals with Jewish unions and workingmen's associations and Jews in the socialist and Zionist movements. Because sources on the history of Jews in Wisconsin are somewhat limited, this study unit relies heavily on papers from the Wisconsin Jewish Archives and on several histories listed in the bibliography. Some information was also obtained from miscellaneous papers on file in the Archives Division of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

EARLY JEWISH IMMIGRATION

The first Jews to settle in the United States were Sephardic Jews, or Jews of Spanish or Portuguese ancestry, who came from places such as Spain, Portugal, South America, Central America, Holland, and the West Indies. The first of these Jews came around 1654 and congregated on the east coast; none came to the Wisconsin area. The history of Jews in Wisconsin began in 1759 when France surrendered the Northwest Territory to the British. Before this time, any professing Jew living or trading in the area now encompassed by Wisconsin was subject to the penalties of France's Black Code of 1724 which outlawed Jews and Judaism in all French colonies from New Orleans to Wisconsin (Postal and Koppman 1984:251).

The first Jew to come to what is now Wisconsin was Jacob Franks, an English-Canadian fur trader sent by Olgilvie, Gillespie, and Company of Montreal to set up a branch post on the western shore of Lake Michigan. Franks came to Green Bay (then part of the Illinois Territory) from Toronto around 1794. In 1797, after securing a 999 year land grant from the Menominee Indians, Franks went into business for himself (Postal and Koppman:251). By 1800, Franks was one of the most influential men among the Wisconsin area's 200 white residents. In 1797, Franks opened a trading post at Fond du Lac which attracted other fur traders to the area. Among other activities, Franks also owned one of the first blacksmith shops in Green Bay, became an exporter of deer tallow, erected Wisconsin's first grist and sawmill near De Pere (Brown County), and was one of the early traders at the "gathering place by the river," which later became Milwaukee (Postal and Koppman 1984:251-252).

Upon Franks' return to Canada around 1812, his nephew, John Lawe, assumed his position in the community as a successful merchant. Lawe became one of the leading figures in the Wisconsin Territory between 1820 and 1840. Among his contributions to the area, Lawe greatly expanded his uncle's business and was an organizer of the Fox River Hydraulic Company, formed in 1836 to build a dam across the Fox River. He founded the first temperance society west of the Great Lakes in 1831 and became associate justice of the first court held in Brown County in 1836. Lawe was also elected to Wisconsin's first Territorial Legislature. Married to the daughter of an Englishman and a Chippewa woman, Lawe abandoned his family' faith and financed the first Protestant Episcopal mission at Green Bay in 1825; Lawe's children became Catholics. Nevertheless, Lawe belongs to the history of Jews in Wisconsin, since he was of Jewish origin and considered Jewish by his contemporaries (Postal and Koppman 1984:253).

THE SECOND WAVE

Until the mid-1830s, the only Jews in Wisconsin besides Franks and Lawe were probably stray traders or peddlers along the Mississippi River and around Green Bay. These early Jewish settlers left no record of organized Jewish activities and had little contact with their fellow Jews around the state (Congregation Cnesses Israel, Green Bay, Wi., papers 1940-1975).

In 1836, shortly after the Wisconsin Territory was separated from the Michigan Territory, Gabriel and Emmanuel Shoyer and Henry Newhouse opened a clothing store in the town of Milwaukee. These three represent the vanguard of Jews who migrated to Wisconsin with the great influx of appoximately five million German immigrants who came to the United States between 1840 and 1880. But because there was no such country as "Germany" until the latter part of the nineteenth century, those individuals described as "German" by English speaking American census takers came from various German-speaking regions and states in Central Europe whose cultural traditions often varied. Some of the people labelled as Germans also included minority groups such as Alsatians, Poles, and others who had backgrounds that differed widely from the other "Germans." During the this period, groups of Bohemian and Hungarian immigrants, including some Jews, also came to the United States.

Poor economic conditions, resulting in a large degree from the transition between a feudal society and industrialization, motivated many of these immigrants and the Jews among them to come to the United States. During this period, Germany experienced dramatic changes that affected the way people lived. Agricultural reforms, industrialization, the rise of capitalism, a substantial increase in the birth rate, a disastrous potato blight, and other crop failures conspired to create a society in turmoil (Zeitlin 1977:4). The failure of the revolutions of 1848 also contributed to some immigrants' decisions to abandon Europe for the United States. The political upheavals that spread throughout many areas of Europe at this time were inspired by liberal democratic principles, among them full civil and political equality for Jews. Although governmental policies towards Jews differed in the various states of Germany during this period, Jews as a group generally did not enjoy the same civil, political, or economic rights as their fellow countrymen. In some states, for instance, Jews were subjected to enforced taxations, prohibited from marrying non-Jews, or restricted to certain occupations, such as petty trade and peddling (Paul Kovenock, papers).

After the revolutions, there was an attempt to unite the German states under a liberal, parliamentary system, and in 1849 a constitution incorporating a section on the fundamental rights of all citizens, including Jews, was promulgated. The constitution, however, became obsolete within only a few months after which the German states experienced a conservative reaction to the revolutions. Anti-Jewish movements emerged as part of this backlash. Many liberals who had promoted the revolutions and their ideals were left disillusioned. Jews in particular were disappointed when their newly gained rights were rescinded (Mendes-Flohr 1980:137). Together with the poor economic conditions, the unstable political situation provided the impetus for many, including approximately 200,000 Jews, to immigrate to the United States (Swarsensky 1955:2).

A substantial number of these immigrants ultimately settled in the Midwest. Many who eventually came to Wisconsin first arrived in New York City and remained there or in some other place in the East until they accumulated enough money to leave. A variety of factors attracted newcomers to Wisconsin. Articles by German Americans emphasizing Wisconsin's fertile soil and optimistic letters from new immigrants to relatives and friends contributed to movement into Wisconsin. The city of Milwaukee and the state itself actively promoted German settlement during the 1850s and 1860s. In addition, the publicized sympathy of Milwaukee's German community for the German revolutionary movement attracted some to that city.

Within a single decade, German Jews, and those who came along with the Bohemian and Hungarian immigrants, made their way to all corners of Wisconsin. Many of these adventurers were relatively poor and uneducated single males, but the immigrant group also included families, the elderly, and the financially secure. Restricted to petty business and trade in many German states, a great number initially adopted the familiar occupation of peddling in their new homes. But because of abundant opportunities for success and advancement during this period in the United States, within a relatively short time, many of these Jews prospered and pioneered in activities such as the retail and wholesale textile trade, dry goods, department stores, the mail order business, and in various other similar occupations. Generally, this group of Jewish immigrants was quite successful in assimilating in the relatively open and expanding social and economic structure of the period (SHSW, miscellaneous papers).

Included among this group of German immigrants were a minority of Jewish intellectuals and professionals who were steeped in German culture, highly educated, and politically liberal. Several of these cosmopolitan Jews became influential both among their fellow Jews and in their non-Jewish communities in Wisconsin and in the United States. One such man, David Blumenfeld, originally from Wurtenberg, made his way to Watertown (Jefferson County) in 1853 via Hamburg, New York, Philadelphia, and Milwaukee. In Watertown, Blumenfeld belonged to the community of German intelligensia who settled there at the time (see German study unit). Together with a friend, Blumenfeld founded a German newspaper Anxeiger. After Anxeiger's suspension, he started a new newspaper, Der Watertown Weltburger which became one of the most notable German weeklies in the country (Paul Kovenock, papers). In 1864, Blumenfeld began to publish a literary monthly magazine, the Westliche Monatsschrift which enjoyed a wide distribution in Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and Missouri.

In addition to his literary and publishing activities, Blumenfeld was active in Watertown's civic affairs, serving as a member of the School Board and Common Council of Watertown from 1868 to 1872. One of Blumenfeld's sons, Ralph, born in Watertown, was introduced to journalism by his father and ultimately became reknowned as the editor of the London Daily Telegraph and for introducing American newspaper methods to England.

Besides Blumenfeld, several other German and Central European Jews distinguished themselves throughout Wisconsin during this period. Lyon Silverman arrived in Mequon in 1845 and became a leading businessman in Washington County. He served in the State Legislature in the early 1850s and again in 1858 and as postmaster of Port Washington from 1849 to 1852. He was elected sheriff in 1852, became a state senator in 1858, and was a Democratic nominee for state treasurer in 1859. Silverman's campaign in 1859 reflects the fact that while Jewish immigrants during this period generally assimilated rapidly, anti-semitism nevertheless existed. During his unsuccessful campaign, Silverman's fellow Democrats promoted him as a German candidate. After election day, however, the "Jewish issue" emerged. The Democratic Madison Patriot maintained that his own party defeated Silverman because he was a Jew:

> He was charged with being a Jew, and his Protestant and Catholic countrymen voted against him almost to a man on that account. As the Democratic creed fully tolerates all religious sentiments, no one thought of making that a test until it was too late to remedy the matter, and Mr. Silverman was brought forth to the slaughter without reserve or compunction on the part of his political and religious opponents (Swichkow 1963:22).

Another newspaper, the Milwaukee News, however, maintained that Catholics and Protestants did not oppose Silverman as a Jew. In actuality, Silverman was a weak candidate. Yet, the way that the issue of anti-semitism emerged in this matter shows that it existed in contemporary thought even though it usually remained latent.

As one of Wisconsin's pioneer machinery manufacturers, Charles Alschuler, who arrived in Racine in the 1850s, was another notable Jew of this period. Bernard Schlesinger Weil came to Wisconsin around 1845 and engaged in farming and land speculation. Elected to the State Legislature in 1852, Weil was the first Jew to serve in that body. He also held stock in the Prairie du Chien Railroad Company and was involved in many other industrial enterprises. In 1855, Weil became brigadier general of the state militia. His small town, originally called Polk, was later renamed Schlesingerville in his honor (Postal and Koppman 1984:253-254).

Edward Poznanski arrived in Chippewa Falls in 1854 and served as the town's mayor from 1874 to 1882. Marcus Otterbourg who arrived in Wisconsin from Bavaria in the 1840s distinguished himself as the second Jew in the United States to be appointed minister to a foreign country. Otterbourg's first undertaking was a vinegar distillery in Milwaukee, but he later became the official reporter for the State Legislature in Madison. Otterbourg was involved in organizing the Republican party in Wisconsin and made the acquaintance of Abraham Lincoln during the presidential campaign of 1860 after which Otterbourg went to Washington as a newspaper correspondent. Lincoln eventually appointed Otterbourg as United States consul to Mexico, a post which he retained throughout the Civil War. In 1867, he was appointed Minister to Mexico by Andrew Johnson. Otterbourg served in that capacity for several months but was never confirmed by the Senate (Postal and Koppman 1984:255-256).

Wisconsin's first organized Jewish community emerged in Milwaukee. Until the last few years of the nineteenth century, Jews in Milwaukee were part of the German community in America's "Deutsch Athens." They moved in the same circles as the other German newcomers whose language and basic cultural orientations they shared. By 1850, at least 70 Jewish families lived in Milwaukee. By 1852, there were 100 families and in 1856 about 200 resided in the city (SHSW, miscellaneous papers). Apparently, the anti-semitic tendencies of Imperial Germany, which affected German circles in America, did not seem to take root in Milwaukee as much as in other American cities (Swichkow 1963:64).

Nevertheless, Milwaukee's pioneer Jews, enjoying full rights for the first time, openly condemned any slurs against Jews that arose. In 1858, the Milwaukee Daily News referred to many "anxious Jews," at a police station, "so greatly excited" as witnesses and observers in a trial concerning a local row. Viewing the article as an anti-semitic attack, one outraged Jew wrote to the Sentinel:

> . . . being withal a "Jew" myself, I should like to ask of the editor of that benighted paper (the News) what he means by saying a lot of "anxious Jews?" Does he wonder so much at seeing a Jew at the Police Station? (A thing which indeed so rarely occurs that the editor of the News thinks it is a treat for his readers, to inform them that for once they have found a Jew before the Police Court). Or do we live in the fifteenth century yet, to throw a stigma of hatred on the Jews? (Swichkow 1963:23).

As Milwaukee's population and economic base expanded, Jews found work in the dry goods business, as cigar makers, and in such specialized fields as the manufacture of hats, caps, and straw goods. Jews predominated in the manufacture of clothing and footwear. By 1895, practically all of Milwaukee's 13 clothing factories were Jewish-owned and remained so until around 1920 (Swichkow 1963:97).

Throughout the nineteenth century, a substantial number of Jews in Milwaukee continued to be merchants, manufacturers of consumer goods (generally dry goods and garments), and retailers of liquor, tobacco, and groceries among other items. Some slowly diversified by speculation and investment in local real estate, insurance, Great Lakes mines, and public utilities for the booming city. Milwaukee Jew Jacob E. Friend was a founder of Nordberg Manufacturing Company, which made engines and mining machinery, and

became its president in 1895. Bernhard Stern was one of Milwaukee's largest flour millers, and Julius Lando was prominent in the jewelry and optical trade. Three Jewish-owned firms--Goll and Frank (Goll was not a Jew), Landauer and Company, and H. Stern, Jr. and Brother Company--sold $7,000,000 to $8,000,000 annually in the 1890s and competed successfully with some large Chicago firms (Swichkow 1963:97).

During the nineteenth century, Jewish businessmen moved freely within the local business community. Jews served on Milwaukee's Chamber committee which attempted to attract eastern capital to the city and participated in bodies such as the Association for the Advancement of Milwaukee, the Merchants' Association, and the Manufacturers' Club. Relatively few immigrant Jews became professionals during the nineteenth century. A notable exception, however, was Nathan Pereles, a lawyer whose investment business became "one of the soundest private moneyed institutions in the city" (Swichkow 1963:109).

The foundation for Milwaukee and Wisconsin's first Jewish congregation was established with the formation in 1848 of the Emanu-El Cemetery Association whose members held services in various locations in Milwaukee. In 1854, some members of Emanu-El who desired to adopt the Polish Minhag, or the common Jewish liturgical customs of Poland, broke away from Emanu-El, which followed the German Minhag, to form a new congregation, Ahabath Emunah. The adoption of a particular Minhag during this period implied the predominance in a congregation of immigrants from that region in Europe and was a matter of pride among the various immigrant groups (Swichkow 1963:34).

In 1855, a group within Ahabath Emunah left the congregation to form a new one, Anshe Emeth, which followed the German Minhag. In 1856, Emanu-El and Ahabath Emunah resolved their differences and consolidated to form another congregation, B'ne Jeshurun which built Wisconsin's first synagogue building. When Anshe Emeth voted to merge with B'ne Jeshurun in 1858, Milwaukee had only one synagogue.

When the first Jewish congregations formed in the United States, not all of their preachers and teachers were ordained rabbis; some did not possess even a common school education let alone any Hebrew learning. Milwaukee's pioneer rabbi, Isidor Kalisch, came to the United States from the Duchy of Posen in 1850. He first went to Cleveland and afterwards to B'ne Jeshurun. Educated in German universities, Kalisch contributed frequently to German periodicals. He immigrated to the United States after his writings were condemned as seditious in Germany.

In Cleveland, Kalisch attempted to institute reforms in the congregation over which he presided. His efforts reflect the changing attitudes of many Jews in Western and Central Europe and in the United States. Socially and culturally isolated for hundreds of years, Jews in Western and Central Europe in the nineteenth century were progressively becoming more involved and accepted into mainstream European society as they gradually obtained more civil and political rights as a result of, among other factors, the emergence of more liberal, egalitarian political and social ideologies. As they became more socially integrated, a number of Jews began to feel the need to change some of the traditional ritual practices of Judaism that deflected from Jewish assimilation into Western society.

The primary result was the elimination, or at least a blurring, of the ethnic and national features of traditional Judaism, such as the omission or modification in Jewish services of traditional prayers for the coming of a personal Jewish Messiah and national prayers that expressed the Jews' longing for a homeland, or nation, of their own. These Jews, who ultimately became known as Reform Jews as opposed to traditional, or Orthodox Jews, also attempted to make their services, considered by many of their contemporaries to be overly emotional and indecorous, more acceptable by incorporating many of the customs of Protestant churches. For instance, they relinquished some of their traditional chants and began to employ organists and choirs. Many reform-oriented Jews also included prayers

in the language of their nations, rather than stressing the use of Hebrew, and allowed men and women to sit together at services, a practice opposed by more traditional Jews.

As rabbi of B'ne Jeshurun, Kalisch promoted Jewish integration into American society and instituted reforms in the synagogue's services. He established the practice of mixed seating, employed an organist and choir, and even preached a sermon in English on Independence Day in 1858. (Worshippers throughout the 1860s heard sermons in their native German and only rarely in English). In 1866, the congregation adopted a specifically American Jewish prayer book, Minhag America, written in 1855 by a rabbi dedicated to Jewish assimilation into the United States. Commenting on B'ne Jeshurun's practices, one liberal rabbi remarked, "The old men [in the congregation] are not as stubborn as elsewhere so as to object to a choir, organ, and a divine service agreeable to modern views" (Swichkow 1963:50).

But despite the fact that B'ne Jeshurun had left Orthodoxy far behind by the late 1860s, the congregation was not sufficiently liberal for some Jews. Because it was Milwaukee's sole congregation, it encompassed Jews with a variety of views; controversies periodically emerged between traditionalists and proponents of completely Reform belief and practice. As a result, a group of 35 members withdrew from B'ne Jeshurun in 1869 to form a more liberal congregation, Emanu-El. Besides religious differences, the division was also based upon social cleavage; members of Emanu-El tended to be wealthier than those from B'ne Jeshurun.

Emanu-El followed a path of consistent Reform Judaism and worshipped almost entirely in English, while B'ne Jeshurun changed more slowly and was known as a more conservative congregation (Swichkow 1963:187). Both synagogues, however, promoted Jewish integration into American life by holding regular Thanksgiving Day services and by celebrating Washington's birthday. Remarking upon the practices of these two congregations, Milwaukee Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow wrote in 1963, "The Milwaukee civic-religious services demonstrated the sense of full citizenship and uninhibited participation which American Jews felt, or desired to feel" (Swichkow 1963:189).

But not all Jewish Milwaukeans were affiliated with a synagogue. Many, particularly exiles of 1848, together with enthusiastic champions of liberal thought, joined no church. Moreover, religious interest declined after the period of congregational beginnings. There was no increase in synagogue membership in Milwaukee between 1857 and 1870 despite an increase in the Jewish population. Yet, most of the leading Jews in the community were affiliated with the synagogue. Influential in civic and fraternal affairs and prominent in commerce, their connection with the synagogue enhanced the status of membership in a Jewish house of worship (Swichkow 1963:49).

After synagogues were organized, further communal activity, especially charity, emerged among Milwaukee's Jews. Beginning in the middle 1850s, women's groups began to appear in many areas throughout the United States, and Milwaukee's Jewish women similarly began to organize themselves into charitable groups. Their participation in such organizations reflects the fact that Jewish women at this point were gradually emerging from their exclusively domestic lives and becoming active in the socially acceptable sphere of philanthropy (Swichkow 1963:111). Anshe Emeth Deborah Ladies' Hebrew Society existed as early as 1856, and the Benevolent Society of the True Sisters (Die Treue Schwestern), organized by Rabbi Kalisch in 1857, became one of the largest benevolent organizations in Milwaukee. Both societies existed to prevent "misery and pauperism ... [to] support ... the needy, the sick, the widow, and fatherless" (Swichkow:54).

Unlike many of the early Jewish charitable organizations, the Hebrew Relief Society, founded in 1867, was not affiliated with a synagogue but gradually dominated Jewish charity in Milwaukee and laid the basis of the city's structure of Jewish philanthropy. The Hebrew Relief Society's goal was "to contribute to the relief and maintenance of the

sick and destitute people of the Hebrew faith." It did not, however, confine its scope to residents of Milwaukee; as early as 1868, it donated $20 toward the relief of Jews in Russia. Besides specifically Jewish charitable groups, local needy Jews of Milwaukee could also turn to general welfare groups, such as the Milwaukee Relief Society or the Ladies' Benevolent Society among other such organizations.

By the 1850s, Jews belonged to the mainstream of Milwaukee's fraternal life. They moved in circles of other German newcomers who supported a great variety of lodges, such as the Sons of Hermann, Druids, Harugari, Knights of Pythias, Diamond Brothers, Sons of Freedom, Sons of Liberty, Masons, Odd Fellows, and Turnverein Milwaukee (Swichkow 1963:55). But even though Milwaukee Jews were welcome in German organizations and enjoyed a considerable degree of social acceptance among the general population, many seem to have preferred to socialize primarily among Jews. While Waukesha was a popular Milwaukee summer resort area in the 1880s, a number of Jews chose to patronize the Rose Hill Park Summer Resort instead (Swichkow 1963:111). Even many of the wealthiest Jews, recognized members of Milwaukee Germandom, preferred social ties with one of the city's two Jewish clubs. The Harmonie Club emerged in 1866; it changed its name to the Concordia Club in 1876. When the Concordia Club dissolved in 1884, the Phoenix Club took its place. Its membership consisted of the "elite of Jewish society" (Swichkow 1963:118). Other clubs attracted less wealthy and socially prominent Jews. Founded in 1877, the Progress Club sponsored debates, public readings, musicales, dancing, and other amusements. The Standard Club, a successor of both the Harmonie Club and the Progress Club, enrolled business and professional men.

Jews also created a network of specifically Jewish fraternal societies that served as integrating forces in the life of the Jewish community. In 1843, the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, the first Jewish fraternal order in the United States, was founded by German Jews in New York as a society "based on the teachings of Judaism [which] would banish from its deliberations all doctrinal and dogmatic discussions, and by the practice of moral and benevolent precepts bring about union and harmony among Jews" (Swichkow 1963:56). B'nai B'rith, whose earliest members also belonged to non-sectarian orders, adopted the idea of a secret ritual from the Masons. The first B'nai B'rith lodge was Gilead Lodge No. 41, formed in 1861; two others followed in less than 10 years. Thus, by 1870, a Jewish non-synagogal environment existed in Milwaukee; it granted material benefits, encouraged social intercourse, and supported charitable activities. As a German Jewish group, B'nai B'rith enjoyed its greatest popularity in the 1880s and 1890s. By 1900, German Jewish interest in lodges had declined, elaborate rituals were no longer vogue, and the generally prosperous German Jews could dispense with the mutual aid that had initially been so important in the formation of the fraternal association.

In addition to charitable and fraternal activities, a German Jewish press also existed in Milwaukee. Two national newspapers, the American Israelite and Die Deborah, began to print correspondence from Milwaukee in 1855. Between 1880 and 1883, a German Jewish publication, Der Zeitgeist, "a family paper for Israelites" was published in Milwaukee as an organ for Reform Judaism. Many well known rabbis throughout the United States submitted articles dealing with the Jewish situation to the newspaper (Swichkow 1963:125).

Wisconsin's second Jewish community emerged in Madison. Like the German Jewish immigrants to Milwaukee, those who came to Madison adapted quickly and within a few years became fairly well integrated into the general community. The first Jew to arrive in Madison was Samuel Klauber whose experiences generally reflect those of his fellow immigrants to the city (SHSW, miscellaneous papers). Klauber settled in Madison in 1851 when it was a village of about 2,306 people. Moved by a spirit of adventure, Klauber left his native country of Bohemia and landed in New York in 1847. In 1848, he moved to Lake Mills (Jefferson County) where he started as an itinerant peddler. (It is not known what motivated Klauber to leave New York for Wisconsin).

After moving to Madison, Klauber continued in trade, starting a clothing and dry goods store, Samuel Klauber and Company, with money he had saved. Klauber prospered in Madison; he ultimately built what became known as the Klauber Block in the downtown area. In 1872, he founded the firm of Levi, Klauber, and Company, and in 1885, he became a member of Klauber and Hudson, Madison dealers in leaf tobacco. When Klaubers' brothers later came to Madison, they also became successful businessmen in the community.

Klauber also participated in Madison's civic life. In 1887, Klauber, as a member of the Republican party, ran for State Senator but lost by a narrow margin. He also served as treasurer of the Madison Masonic Lodge No. 5, as Chief Patriarch of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was a member of the Elks Club, the Turnverein, Maenner Chor (male choir), and the Contemporary Club. As in Milwaukee, Jews in Madison joined the organizations of non-Jews. There was no chapter of B'nai B'rith in Madison at this time.

Two years after Klauber arrived, other Jews began to come to Madison. As some of the newcomers were natives of Klauber's birthplace, it seems probable that they may have come to Madison at his suggestion (Swarsensky 1955:17). Like Klauber, these immigrants also prospered. One practiced dentistry; another was a wholesale and retail dry goods and clothing merchant. Madison's most notable Jew of this period was Simon Sekles, a native of Prague. In 1858, he and F.A. Pfaff founded the Madison Democrat, a German language newspaper that Sekles edited. Sekles held several public offices, frequently contributed to the Jewish press, translated several Jewish books from Hebrew into English, and was president of Madison's sole congregation of the period, Shaare Shomaim, or the Gates of Heaven, as it was more commonly called.

In 1856, Madison's 17 Jewish families met to form Shaare Shomaim which they originally named Ahavath Achim (Brother Love) but later changed to Shaare Shomaim. Services were held at Samuel Klauber's home until a synagogue was erected in 1863. Built in the German Renaissance Revival style, the Gates of Heaven synagogue reflects the fact that Jews never developed a distinct architectural style of their own in Wisconsin (SHSW, miscellaneous papers).

Although the congregation considered itself Reform, services tended to follow the fairly traditional rituals that the majority of members knew from the areas from which they came. Nevertheless, the congregation made an attempt to adapt to the Reform Judaism of the United States; Shaare Shomaim's minutes show that the congregation promoted the increasing use of English for prayers and sermons. Shaare Shomaim never had a permanent or full-time rabbi, either because it was impossible to get one or because there simply was no need for a full-time religious leader (SHSW, miscellaneous papers). The congregation which never had more than 20 member families, was plagued by a continuous loss of members due to an exodus from the city. In 1879, Shaare Shomaim rented its synagogue building to the Unitarian Society and held its meetings, which became increasingly rare, at the homes of members.

By 1888, only five of the original Jewish male immigrants remained in Madison, in addition to the widows and children of several others. Among other possible reasons, it seems as if Jews left Madison because the Jewish community was not large enough to ensure its own continuity. Some Jews also left Madison to seek greater economic opportunities elsewhere, primarily in larger cities. Few of those who remained had enough children to make the community viable. By 1904, only three Jewish families remained in Madison.

In La Crosse, where Wisconsin's third Jewish community emerged, a phenomena similar to that which occurred in Madison developed. In 1891, a community of nearly 100 German Jews flourished among a population of approximately 25,090 people (Blue Book

1901:495). Its members were economically secure and enjoyed a high degree of social acceptance by the general La Crosse populace. But 30 years later, all but one of the original Jewish families had disappeared. Though one or two had married non-Jews and assimilated into the larger La Crosse community, most moved to larger cities with more flourishing Jewish communities. With the decline of La Crosse's lumber industry in the 1890s, many lost hope that La Crosse would one day become a thriving metropolis. In their attempt to become part of a functioning Jewish community, one large enough to furnish their children with spouses, to provide various social and philanthropic activities, and to support a viable synagogue, most of La Crosse's German Jewish settlers and their children eventually moved to larger cities such as Milwaukee, Chicago, New York, St. Louis, and Minneapolis (Paul Kovenock, papers).

The initial rapid social acceptance and assimilation of the German Jewish immigrants was partly due to the fact that one of La Crosse's outstanding citizens, John Meyer Levy, a Jew, had lived and prospered in the city from the time that it was a trading post. Born in London of German Jewish parents, Levy participated actively in building the town and twice served as its mayor. At various times throughout his career in La Crosse, Levy was a fur trader, an agent for steamboat companies, a hotel owner, opened a bank, and built two docks. In 1847, Levy was one of two delegates from Crawford County to the Democratic state convention. In 1854, when this lone Jew in La Crosse was joined by other Jews, Levy had achieved a high degree of acceptance from his neighbors.

Louis Hirshheimer, who fought in the revolutions of 1848 in Germany, was one of the Jews who ultimately came to La Crosse with his family. Hirshheimer was a well educated man whose father had been a rabbi, linguist, and Hebrew scholar. Not all of La Crosse's early Jewish immigrants possessed the idealism or intellect of the Hirshheimers. One immigrant was a harness-maker, one had participated in the mercantile business in Bavaria, and many were accustomed to earning their livings through petty trade.

As in other cities, the Jewish immigrants to La Crosse also became involved to a high degree in business and trade. Henry Gutman opened a "readi-made clothing and dry goods store," Abraham Patz established a clock and jewelry store, and in 1855 Isaac Tuteur and Louis Hirshheimer opened a small grocery store as they sought to gain enough capital to build a saw mill. Hirshheimer and his sons later opened a small foundry which grew into the La Crosse Plow Company, the largest manufacturing firm in the entire area. Other tradesmen set up semi-permanent buildings close to the docks to supply the thousands of immigrants who passed through La Crosse on their way to the Minnesota area.

In 1857, La Crosse's Jews organized a Reform congregation, Anshe Chesed, which was an outgrowth of the Anshe Chesed Cemetery Association, founded several years earlier. With only 16 charter members, Anshe Chesed was not large enough to support a permanent rabbi. In about 1875, a reporter to the American Israelite commented that he was "sorry to say services are held only twice in a year, New Years and Yom Kippur" (Paul Kovenock, papers). In addition to its synagogue, La Crosse's Jewish community also supported a B'nai B'rith lodge, a Ladies' Benevolent Society, a Sabbath School, and a Hebrew Indigent, Sick, and Burial Society.

By 1860, nearly 1,300 Jews lived in Wisconsin among approximately 775,881 people (Blue Book 1901:491). Over 300 served in the Civil War after which new Jewish communities emerged in places such as Appleton, Oshkosh, Two Rivers, and Wausau. The majority of Wisconsin's Jews, however, tended to live in the larger towns and cities, especially Milwaukee, where more vital Jewish communities existed.

Russian Jewish Immigration: Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

Between 1880 and 1920, millions of Jews from Eastern and Southeastern Europe and

Russia immigrated to the United States. This group differed in many ways from the German Jewish group of immigrants. Whereas German Jewish immigrants tended to come from an urban, secular environment, the Russian immigrants were more rustic and uneducated; most were raised in the isolation of tightly-knit ethnic communities. They were much more traditional or orthodox in their practice of Judaism in comparison with their German coreligionists. Their mother tongue was Yiddish, a folk language derived from German. Many men continued to wear their traditional Russian Jewish costume that featured peaked caps, coats with long tails, long hair with side licks, and heavy beards (Swichkow 1963:80).

To the assimilated and generally urbane German Jewish community, these new immigrants seemed quite foreign. Many of the earlier immigrants disdained their Russian coreligionists as uncultured. Some feared that the new arrivals, with their odd dress, Yiddish language, and rustic ways, might awaken in the American consciousness a concept of the Jew as an undesirable alien, a view that would reflect badly on the German Jews and perhaps stimulate an outbreak of anti-semitism.

Jews left Eastern Europe for a variety of reasons. The primary motivation for emigration was, however, economic. Despite a fivefold increase in the Jewish population in the nineteenth century, Russian Jews, with few exceptions, were allowed to live only in specified provinces, called the Pale of Settlement. Even in these areas, they could not live in the larger cities where new industry was developing; nor could they live on the land. Confined in small towns and cities, they could engage only in petty trade and handicrafts, which new economic developments were undermining.

The situation in Russia deteriorated with the May Laws of 1882, a fresh outbreak of pogroms, or violent attacks upon Jews, and the Decree of April 1891. Immigration to the United States, which had been fairly insubstantial in comparison to later periods, increased drastically at this time. The May Laws forced many Jews out of the villages of the Pale into larger towns that were already overcrowded with tailors, innkeepers, and tradesmen. Unable to find employment, about 25,000 Jews left Russia for the United States by the end of 1882. The Decree of 1891 further restricted Jews. Their urban residences were limited to certain cities, they could not engage in agriculture or attend universities, and they were to be dispossessed of long-held real estate. Thousands of Jews left Moscow and other principal cities in that year (Swichkow 1963:70). Jews also emigrated from Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and other areas of Eastern Europe during this period due to famine, cholera epidemics, pogroms, and economic difficulties.

Upon arriving in the United States, some of these Eastern European immigrants passed fairly rapidly through New York to other cities, such as Chicago or Milwaukee. In Wisconsin, Russian Jewish communities began to emerge in smaller towns, such as Ripon, Monroe, Madison, Oshkosh, Beloit, Superior, Janesville, Kenosha, Sheboygan, Hurley, Appleton, Eau Claire, and other areas. In 1880, 2,559 Jews lived in Wisconsin. By 1889, 10,000 resided in the state among a population of 2,069,042 (Blue Book 1901:493, Postal and Koppman 1984:258).

Despite the fact that Jewish communities began to develop throughout Wisconsin, the great majority settled in Milwaukee. During the 1880s and 1890s, Milwaukee contained the largest and most diversified Jewish community in the state. The first Russian Jewish immigrants, a group of 218 sent by New York's Hebrew Russian Aid Society, arrived in Milwaukee in 1882. The reaction of Milwaukee's Jewish population, and especially of the Milwaukee Immigrant Relief Society, reveals the tension that developed between the settled Jewish community and the newer immigrants.

Viewing their Russian coreligionists primarily as unwelcome foreigners and fearing that it would not be able to handle the situation, the Relief Society wrote to New York to insist that no more immigrants be sent. Referring to the immigrants as "unfortunates, thrown

upon our mercy" and as "Europe's paupers," the Society called upon the general community to help the immigrants.

Ultimately, the refugees received aid from both Jewish and non-Jewish sources. Milwaukeans donated food, clothing, and beds among other items. As more newcomers arrived, the Relief Society attempted to find homes and employment for the immigrants, primarily outside of Milwaukee. Of the 300 refugees in Milwaukee on July 4, 1882, 200 reportedly left for various points the following week. Among other places, the immigrants were sent to Wausau, Fond du Lac, McGregor, Appleton, Eau Claire, Davenport, Stevens Point, La Crosse, and Rock Island. In some cases, immigrants who had been peddlers and craftsmen were told to become farmers. Unable to do so, many returned to Milwaukee.

Viewing the influx of Russian immigrants of 1881 and 1882 as an isolated phenomena, the Relief Society disbanded in 1882. It was established that any additional service to refugees would be furnished by the Hebrew Relief Society (which, as mentioned above, had been formed in 1867 by the German Jewish community). Russian Jewish immigration to Milwaukee, however, continued. Friends and relatives of immigrants arrived in Milwaukee throughout the 1880s. It was estimated that in 1887, the city's "colony of Russian Jews" contained 100 to 500 families which lived amidst a total population of about 204,468 people (Blue Book 1901:495, Swichkow 1963:87).

Between 1891 and 1892, 1,500 additional immigrants reportedly arrived in Milwaukee. Although some scattered throughout the city, the group settled primarily in concentrated areas. German Jewish immigrants had lived among Germans, sharing their language and cultural traits. But Jews from Russia and Poland had little in common with Russian and Polish Christians and lived separately (Swichkow 1963:166). In 1895, between 2,500 and 3,000 Russian Jews lived in Milwaukee, mainly in two wards. By 1898, two settlements of Russian and Polish Jews existed in the downtown district. Housing problems arose in these crowded areas. Nearby residents complained to the mayor's office that the immigrants' quarters were "unfit for human beings" and likely to produce epidemic contagion. A report in Evening Wisconsin added that there were pools of stagnant water under a particular building occupied by Jews, and "the whole place is reeking with filth, emitting a most horrible stench" (Swichkow 1963:84).

But even though the influx of immigrants in the early 1890s was considerably larger than earlier groups, it attracted less attention and caused less extreme reaction on the part of Milwaukeans. Most of the immigrants tried to find jobs on their own and became self-supporting. Only a few sought assistance from the Hebrew Relief Society, usually in cases where a husband left a family to seek work elsewhere. Many adopted the occupation of peddling; a considerable number found work in tanneries, planing mills, and foundaries. Others became carpenters, blacksmiths, or locksmiths.

Immigrant Jews in Milwaukee in the early twentieth century earned their livings through various means. Until about 1910, peddling prospered in Milwaukee, the "golden land" for peddlers, especially for rags and dry goods (Swichkow 1963:161). Many Milwaukee Jews found work as itinerant traders of waste goods. They would bring a day's pickings to a dealer who disposed of the material to a paper mill or iron foundry. Immigrant Jews also became grocers, delicatessen proprietors, clothiers, hardware dealers, pharmacists, jewelers, roofers, and participated in various other retail related professions.

While many became involved in small business activities, industrial work also became important among Milwaukee Jews. Cap making, for instance, became a specifically Jewish trade in the first decade of the twentieth century. Local 16 of Milwaukee's Cap Makers Union had only two non-Jewish members. Jews also became bakers and house painters. During this period, some Jews tended to shift businesses frequently. A peddler would abandon his horse and wagon to sell horses and hay to other peddlers, or a scrap metal collector would enter the iron, plumbing, or heating business. A Milwaukee

newspaper estimated in 1910 that "one does not yet see any great wealth among the immigrant Jewish population" (Swichkow 1963:164). The estimate reported that 500 households were supported by peddling, about 300 by labor, and 100 by independent business. Approximately 60 householders owned workshops.

Religious Practices of Early Russian Jewish Immigrants

Between the 1860s and the 1880s, Jewish orthodoxy almost disappeared from Milwaukee. Only Anshe Emes, a little group that met in rented rooms from 1871, maintained the forms of orthodoxy. And shortly after 1894, the congregation, which never obtained its own building, disappeared. With the influx of Eastern European Jews to Milwaukee, however, orthodoxy was revitalized. Eastern European Jews attempted to transplant their religious customs, which were quite traditional, to their new home. Their custom encouraged small, separate places of worship; arrangements were highly informal. The Eastern European Jews' synagogues differed entirely from the formality of worship in a Jewish Reform temple. Because no clergy was required, it was possible to pray almost anywhere, including in private homes. In older European communities, one synagogue was regarded as central, and othern places of worship were under its tutelage. At the central synagogue, the communal rabbi would worship and possibly preside over a religious tribunal.

This loose structure of synagogue organization emerged in the United States wherever Eastern European Jews settled in considerable numbers, including Milwaukee where many small immigrant congregations developed among Eastern European Jews. At this time, such congregations were usually based upon a common town or region of origin (Swichkow 1963:170). Immigrants' synagogues were not only places of worship but also "clubs," founded and maintained by a society which also granted sickness and death benefits. The first synagogue building erected by Eastern European Jews was Beth Hamidrosh Hagodol, subsequently renamed Beth Israel, which opened in 1893. In 1898, another congregation, Anshe Sfard, laid its cornerstone. In 1900, three immigrant synagogues existed; one was a rented hall.

The tension that existed between the earlier Central European Jewish immigrants and the Eastern European Jews also emerged on the topic of religion. Reform Jews viewed the newer immigrants' forms of worship as uncouth and out of touch with modern society. The newer immigrants, on the other hand, thought that Reform Judaism was a caricature of the religion, designed for those who would make no sacrifice for their religion and hoped merely to court Christian favor (Swichkow 1963:171).

Twentieth Century

The new century brought more Eastern European Jews to the United States than ever before. To deal with the situation, the Industrial Removal Office emerged in New York in 1900. Financed through the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Office at first concentrated its efforts on establishing agricultural colonies and vocational training for immigrants. Those who administered the Office hoped to draw Jews away from tailoring and peddling and into other fields; they wanted Jews to disperse from their immigrant quarters in the cities and move into the countryside. Those who directed the Industrial Removal Office appear to have been attempting to dispel the traditional stereotypical image of the Jew as businessman by encouraging Jews to adopt "honest" and "healthy" occupations and lifestyles, such as farming and living in the country rather than the city. In this way, they probably hoped to diminish the possibility of outbreaks of anti-semitism in the United States.

In the fall of 1904, 18 Russian and Roumanian immigrant families moved from Milwaukee to Arpin (Wood County) with the aid of money from the Industrial Removal Office. A.W. Rich, a Milwaukee shoe manufacturer, directed the move by organizing

Milwaukee's Jewish Agricultural Aid Society which received funding from the Industrial Removal Office. Rich purchased 720 acres from the Arpin Lumber Company on the outskirts of the small farming community, populated primarily by German and Swiss immigrants. Each settler received 40 acres, a cow, two horses, a "comfortable dwelling," and five dollars a week to cover expenses. The 40-acre plots sold for $400 which the refugees were expected to repay when they were able.

Although some Jews remained in Arpin until about 1924, the farming colony was not a success. One of the original settlers, Max Leopold, who served as justice of the peace for more than 30 years, described his experience in Arpin to the Milwaukee Journal in 1976:

> Mr. Rich made a terrible mistake ... there was not a single acre of land that he contracted for that had ever been tilled. It was timber land used by the lumber company. And what was worse, perhaps, we were 18 Jewish families without a single farmer in our midst. Most of us had apprenticed as tradesmen in the old country.

Arpin Jews also found it difficult to maintain their orthodox religious traditions in such an isolated locale. In Leopold's words:

> It proved to be nearly impossible to remain an Orthodox Jew in Arpin . . . At first we would send someone to Milwaukee periodically to bring back kosher food. Or we would have it shipped by train. But in the end, we had neither the money nor the time to maintain our Orthodox ways (SHSW, miscellaneous papers).

But while most may have abandoned their kosher eating habits, weekly religious services were strictly maintained. For the first 12 years of settlement, Saturday services and high holidays were observed in private homes. After a synagogue was constructed in 1917, Jews worshipped in it each Saturday. On high holidays, Jews from the surrounding areas of Pittsville, Vesper, and Wisconsin Rapids came to worship.

Ultimately, however, Arpin's Jewish settlers did not adapt to the farming lifestyle. By 1922, only five of the original families were still farming. And in 1924, when the roof of the synagogue collapsed after a heavy snowfall, the remainder of the Jewish farm families moved. According to Rabbi Rokita who served the synagogue, "the people did not take well to farming and eventually they became disgusted and moved family by family back to Milwaukee and other large population centers" (SHSW, miscellaneous papers).

After a series of attempts in the early twentieth century to establish Jewish farm colonies such as the one at Arpin, the Industrial Removal Office began to redirect its efforts. It was extremely expensive to resettle families on farms, and Jews, accustomed to urban living, seemed to prefer to remain in cities. The Industrial Removal Office thus began to attempt to draw Jewish immigrants out of larger cities, such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and into smaller urban areas. The Office ultimately sent 76,000 people throughout the United States. Approximately 3,700 Jewish immigrants were placed in 74 Wisconsin towns and cities, a greater number than those settled in any other states except New York, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, Illinois, and California (Postal and Koppman 1984:257). Of those settled in Wisconsin, 2,300 became residents of Milwaukee (Swichkow 1963:158). Refugees were sent only when there was a fair certainty that they could find employment. After becoming settled, they could send for their families.

In other contemporary Wisconsin communities, Jewish immigrants earned their livings in much the same way that Milwaukee Jews did. The first Eastern European Jew to settle in Madison was Aaron Richman who came from Russia to the United States in the early 1880s and to Madison in 1890. At this time, there were approximately 13,426 people living in Madison (Blue Book 1901:495). In Madison, Richman became a junk peddler.

Saul Kasdin, another Russian Jewish immigrant to Madison, opened a fruit, vegetable, and confectionery store; he later operated a general store (Swarsensky 1955:27).

The arrival of the Sinaiko family to Madison is an example of the pattern of family migration that was common at this time. One Sinaiko son, Sam, came to Madison in 1896. Sixteen years later, his mother, six brothers, sister, and their spouses and children all lived in Madison. The Sweet family was another family who migrated in the same way. David Sweet from Russia was the first to arrive in Madison. A blacksmith by trade, Sweet worked as a clerk when he first came to town. Members of his family subsequently followed him to Madison, and the Sweet family ultimately became one of the largest Jewish families in town. Like their contemporaries in Milwaukee, Madison's Eastern European Jewish immigrants clustered in a compact unit. About half of Madison's Eastern European Jews in the early twentieth century lived on one block; the rest resided in the immediate vicinity (SHSW, miscellaneous papers).

In Fond du Lac, Eastern European Jews peddled, owned small shops, or worked at the Mc Millan Furniture Mill. Some initially came to the city as a result of the work of the Industrial Removal Office; others came because relatives had already settled in the community. Similarly, most Jewish settlers came to Manitowoc at this time because they had relatives there; others simply found Manitowoc a pleasant place in which to settle (SHSW, miscellaneous papers). The presence of a shipyard in Manitowoc contributed to the economic wealth of the general community and probably influenced Jews as well as non-Jews to move to the area. Some Manitowoc Jewish immigrants worked at the Manitowoc Seating Company; a few found employment at the Hamilton Manufacturing Company in nearby Two Rivers. Others worked as peddlers, scrap collectors, and small businessmen, and a few were laborers at the shipyard (SHSW, miscellaneous papers).

Solomon Levitan was an exceptionaly successful early Eastern European Jewish immigrant to Wisconsin. A peddler who migrated to New Glarus (Green County), Levitan opened a country store in 1887. Well liked by his farmer neighbors, he was elected as the town's justice of the peace even though he had no knowledge of law (Postal and Koppman 1984:259). While visiting the home of a neighbor, Levitan met Robert La Follette, Sr., the nephew of a New Glarus farmer. Levitan and La Follette formed a friendship that lasted 40 years. Levitan's popularity in Green County became an asset to La Follette. Levitan campaigned with and for La Follette for governor and United States senator, becoming a political power in his own right. Elected state treasurer on the Republican ticket in 1922, Levitan was reelected every two years until the Democratic landslide of 1932. Levitan was reelected again in 1936 and retired in 1938. In 1912, he was a Republican presidential elector; he also helped organize the Progressive Party.

Religion in the Twentieth Century

As the twentieth century progressed, immigrant congregations in Milwaukee began to acquire buildings, either by constructing them or by purchasing and adapting Christian churches. In 1900, three congregations existed in the immigrant neighborhood. A heavy influx of Eastern European Jews in 1904, 1905, and 1906 resulted in the foundation of new congregations. After World War I, even more congregations emerged. But by the standards of wealth, building, and communal prominence, the oldest Russian Jewish synagogue, Beth Israel, still ranked first. In 1924, it had 315 members, a Mishnah study society, a psalms study society, a ladies' auxiliary, and a burial society. The other immigrant congregations of the period were B'nai Israel Anshe Hungari, Anshe Lubavich, Anshe Sfard (152 members), Agudas Achim Anshe Polen (140 members), Degel Israel Anshe Roumania (150 members), and Beth Medrash Hagodol Anshe Sfard (170 members).

When congregations first emerged in Milwaukee, membership generally coincided with countries and regions of origin. Gradually, however, the regional origins of congregations

became diluted. One Milwaukee newspaper noted in 1919 that "Congregation B'ne Israel Anshe Ungarn is Hungarian only in name ... there you find Jews from Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Germany, and some also who were once in Hungary" (Swichkow 1963:208).

The "ackowledged rabbi of immigrant Jewry par excellence" in Milwaukee at this time was Solomon Isaac Scheinfeld (Swichkow 1963:208). Born in Lithuania, Scheinfeld was Beth Israel's rabbi in 1892 and 1893 and from 1902 until his death in 1943. Scheinfeld came to the United States in 1891 with his wife and two children. The immigrant community was Scheinfeld's main field of action. He was regularly called upon to settle domestic, institutional, and business disputes and to promulgate Jewish bills of divorce when necessary. He also contributed frequently to the Yiddish press.

Ultimately, however, through his studies, Scheinfeld reached views fundamentally different from Orthodox Judaism. In Swichkow's words, "Rabbi Scheinfeld was not zealous in advocating difficult ritual observances, and preferred to stress, within his own family and to others, the moral and ethical duties of Judaism" (Swichkow 1963:210). Despite his views, Scheinfeld maintained a high degree of personal popularity and was designated as "the only Milwaukee orthodox rabbi" by Agudas Hakhilos, or the Associated Congregations, which was organized in 1917 and included all immigrant synagogues. In his study of the Milwaukee Jewish community, Rabbi Swichkow suggests that Scheinfeld must have been troubled and influenced by the hardships of maintaining orthodox traditions in modern society and with the contemporary widespread abandonment of Jewish religious and intellectual interests.

Throughout this period, Jewish orthodoxy was steadily ground. Scheinfeld's outlook reflects the fact that increasinly more young men and women found the meticulous practices and cherished beliefs of orthodoxy stale and outmoded in urban, industrial, scientific civilization. Many redirected their spiritual energies towards philanthropy, politics, and other causes (Swichkow 1963:212).

But it appears that most Jews wanted to remain within the boundaries of the Jewish community. The growth of Conservative Judaism in Milwaukee reflects many Jews' desire to adapt rather than to abandon Judaism. Conservative Judaism appealed to those who wished to preserve a Jewish lifestyle and identity while simultaneously participating in modern society in a way that they could not if they maintained traditional Orthodox customs. They felt that Orthodox Judaism should be reformed to allow them to integrate into American life, but they believed that Reform Judaism was too far-reaching.

Conservative Judaism first appeared in Milwaukee in 1923 when B'nai Israel Anshe Hungari shifted to Conservative practice and an explicitly Conservative congregation, Beth El, was founded. In Beth El, men and women sat together, a few English prayers were introduced, and a rabbi from Chicago was installed. The experiment did not, however, succeed, and B'nai Israel ultimately returned to orthodoxy.

But another group, the Oer Chodosh, or New Light, Society proved to be more successful. Composed of Jews living in the Washington Park area, the Society appealed to "those whose spiritual wants cannot for one reason or another be taken care of by existing temples and synagogues of the city. [The group wants to build] a house of worship whose ritual will be more liberal than the orthodox synagogues and yet not reaching as far in the realm of liberalism as the Reformed temples" (Swichkow 1963:214).

At the same time that Orthodox and Conservative congregations changed, adapted, and developed, Reform congregations in Milwaukee also experienced alterations. While orthodoxy adapted some of its traditional customs to conform to modern society, Reform congregations began to revive some of the traditions they had abandoned. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, only a minority of German Jews in Milwaukee held membership in a synagogue. Either indifferent or rebuffed by high dues, they turned to

the synagogue only on high holidays, or for weddings and funerals. But contact with the much more religiously oriented Eastern European Jewish immigrants seems to have influenced the earlier group of Jewish immigrants to revitalize their communal identity and traditions as Jews. Reform leaders felt that contemporary Jewish youth desired closer adherence to tradition and increased ceremony; not less. In 1900, two Reform temples--B'ne Jeshurun and Emanu-El--existed in Milwaukee. Another, Temple Sinai, emerged in 1900 but lasted only until 1915 and never rose to importance. In 1927, B'ne Jeshurun and Emanu-El joined together to enable themselves to create the type of environment that their congregants desired. The two congregations realized that in order to afford to promote the wide range of Jewish activities in demand at the time, they needed to form one congregation. B'ne Jeshurun's minutes for March 1927 explain that without consolidating "we could not build what we all wanted to have and what everybody agrees a modern temple must have, namely ... a house of worship, and a community center" (Swichkow 1963:204).

Congregations and synagogues were also emerging and changing in other areas in the early twentieth century. In Green Bay, Congregation Cnesses Israel organized a Ladies' Society in 1902 whose main objectives were fundraising for a new synagogue building and supporting worthy causes, such as hospitals, orphanages, and needy families. In 1903, 20 Jewish families belonged to the congregation which performed its first services in its new synagogue in 1904.

In 1914, the Fond du Lac Daily Commonwealth reported that a Jewish society named "Jacob's Congregation" was organized. It had 25 to 30 families whose immediate goal was to erect a synagogue. But it was not until 1923 that the community's synagogue was dedicated. Along with Rabbi Samuel Hirshberg, a Reform leader from Milwaukee, two Orthodox rabbis from Sheboygan and Oshkosh participated in the dedication. Reflecting on the Fond du Lac congregation, one commentator remarked that "devotion to religion ... had given Fond du Lac a foundation of Orthodoxy, but with the years was to come some moderation." By 1955, there were nearly 60 Jewish families in the small city. But not all of the original families remained. Once again reflecting the trend of Jews to prefer larger urban areas with more thriving Jewish communities, some moved to Chicago, Milwaukee, and other large cities. New settlers, however, arrived to fill the deficit. One observer described Fond du Lac's Jews: "a stable and united community, the Jews of Fond du Lac have a history and tradition typical of many Jewish communities in Wisconsin."

Jews in Manitowoc met informally for religious service between 1895 and 1900 after which Anshe Palia Sadik Congregation was organized and incorporated. Based on Orthodox tradtion, the congregation began with a charter group of approximately 25 members. In 1902, it purchased a school house from the First Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church to house itself. In 1925, the congregation replaced the school house with a brick building which was succeeded by a larger synagogue building in 1955. Through the first half of the century, the community matured and became stable. As in Fond du Lac, however, some of the early Jewish settlers did not remain in Manitowoc. For reasons of family untiy or economic well-being, they moved to cities such as Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Chicago. But in view of the balanced ratio between emigration and immigration, the Manitowoc Jewish community remained fairly static through the first half of the century.

The way the Jewish community in Madison developed in the twentieth century reflects more diversity than the communities of Green Bay, Fond du Lac, Manitowoc, and other such smaller cities, primarily because Madison's Jewish community was larger than that of the others. In 1904, when Madison's total population was about 30,000, 18 men who recently came from Eastern Europe founded Congregation Agudas Achim Anshei Madison. These immigrants had no contact with the few German Jewish immigrants who remained in town. The congregation held its first services in its own synagogue in 1906.

As Jewish immigrants continued to arrive in Madison, the synagogue became too small; there was also demand for a Mikveh, or ritual bath. As a result, the building and its facilities were enlarged in 1912.

In the 1930s, after Agudas Achim dropped Anshei Madison from its name, the congregation drafted new articles of incorporation which defined the synagogue's function as a provider of "Orthodox religious services; Orthodox religious education of the youth; supervision of the Jewish dietary laws pertaining to meat, etc.; [and] supervision of all Orthodox religious activities of the Orthodox Jewish community" (Swarsensky 1955:44). The contribution of women was significant in the development of the congregation. In 1926, a Ladies' Auxiliary, the Eva Sisters, developed to assist in the synagogue's fund raising activities. In 1934, Rabbi Abraham Hurwitz, the first rabbi of Agudas Achim to graduate from a theological seminary, assumed leadership of the congregation. For its first 25 years, Agudas Achim was served by only teachers and cantors. In 1949, the congregation sold its original facility to the Knights of Pythias and established itself in the Beth Israel Center.

For a quarter of a century, Agudas Achim was the only Jewish congregation in Madison. In 1939, however, another Orthodox congregation, Adas Jeshurun, emerged. Another congregation, Beth Jacob, also developed around this time. Some members of Madison's Orthodox community favored modifications in the mode of traditional worship and organized Beth Jacob to fulfill their needs. Beth Jacob was designated a Conservative Orthodox temple. While it ultimately collapsed, it allowed a considerable number of Madison's Jews to clarify their religious sentiments and ideas. According to Rabbi Swarsensky of Madison in 1963, Beth Jacob "contributed to the emergence in this community of more clearly circumscribed Reform and Conservative congregational philosophies and institutions" (Swarsensky 1963:53).

Beth Jacob's members spent considerable time discussing what it meant to be Conservative Orthodox. Many who belonged to the older generation, though Orthodox in background, saw a need for adaptation of traditional ideas and forms to the intellectual and social requirements of the American environment. They, like those moving towards Conservative Judaism in Milwaukee, realized that traditional Orthodoxy did not appeal to the younger generation involved in contemporary, urban society. They believed Reform Judaism was too radical and viewed Conservative Judaism as the answer to their needs.

Rabbi Swarsensky indicates, however, that while Beth Jacob professed a "middle-of-the-road" Judaism, it remained in reality Orthodox (Swarsensky 1955:53). Liberal Jews never felt comfortable in Beth Jacob, and in 1939, 15 members resigned from the congregation to form Beth El Temple, a Reform synagogue. Some of Beth Jacob's original members reaffiliated with Agudas Achim. By 1942, Beth Jacob no longer held services; in 1945, Beth El bought its building but resold it in 1946 to the Madison Bible Fellowship Church.

Dedicated to the advancement of Liberal Judaism, Beth El Temple promoted the integration of the "unchanging values of Israel's spiritual heritage and eternal Jewish faith with the intellectual and social climate of the age" (Swarsensky 1955:54). With a steadily expanding membership, Beth El purchased a site in 1948 on which it built a synagogue building. A Temple Men's Club and a Sisterhood are affiliated with the temple which maintains a comprehensive program of religious, educational, and social activities.

Charity, Welfare, and Service Organizations

Discussing Jewish philanthropy in Milwaukee, Rabbi Swichkow remarked that "not by common religious beliefs and practices, nor by cultural environment, did most Milwaukee Jews identify themselves as Jews. They did so through the medium of financial aid to other Jews within the city and beyond its boundaries, in which more Jews participated

than in any other Jewish activity" (Swichkow 1963:336). Swichkow is referring to the period between 1925 and 1950, but charity was and is an important factor in Jewish communal life. As Swichkow also notes, "the cardinal rule of the Jewish poor was to look to fellow Jews for aid, as the cardinal rule of the Jewish giver was to bear responsibility for him" (Swichkow 1963:217).

The organizational structure of charitable effort among Jews in Milwaukee changed little from its original forms until the 1890s at which point radical transformations developed. By this time, an immigrant majority requiring extensive service over a prolonged period existed in the city. During the same period, charity throughout America was slowly beginning to deal with social problems that resulted from decades of untrammeled urban growth, and rudimentary social work techniques were evolving. In Milwaukee, the immigrants' needs and the new approaches to handling such requirements reinvigorated Jewish charity and slowly transformed its structure.

Aside from the steady but limited work of various ladies' societies and mutual aid groups, charity prior to the 1890s was primarily an ad hoc affair; assistance was provided to cases as they arose. A typical group of the period, Chevra Bikur Cholim, known as the Hebrew Benevolent Society, emerged before 1873 to provide sick and death benefits to its members. It aided needy families with coal, food, and Passover supplies in addition to helping occassional transients. Long-established ladies' groups, such as the True Sisters, Gemilath Chesed Society, and the Hebrew Widows' and Orphans' Association, aided local needy as well as victims of misfortune outside the city; the leading group of the 1880s and 1890s was the Widows' and Orphans' Society. The spontaneous manner in which the Ladies' Relief Sewing Society, founded in 1878, emerged typified contemporary charity formation:

> Only a few months ago, many families in this city, driven by cold and hunger, destitute of the very garments to clothe themselves, appealed to the benevolent for help. To answer this appeal, the Relief Sewing Society was called into existence" (Swichkow 1963:219).

A notable feature of Jewish charity in Milwaukee at this time was the patronizing attitude of the givers, primarily native Milwaukee Jews, towards the recipients, the newer Eastern European Jewish immigrants. The philanthropic gospel of American charity in the 1890s dictated that to eradicate poverty, charity givers, typically middle class women, should develop personal relationships with the poor who would be uplifted through such contact. Organized in 1893, Milwaukee's Sisterhood of Personal Service reflected this philosophy. Each Sisterhood member weekly visited, counseled, and reported on the plight of one poor family. Among their activities, they taught the "daughters of the poor" millinery, dressmaking, and cooking and formed a night school for teaching English to Jewish immigrants. Commenting on the habits of immigrant charity recipients, one Jewish woman of the period displayed a condescending attitude when she remarked that "the Jews of a higher social grade may not be insistent upon a strict enforcement of the old Mosaic laws concerning the preparation of foods, but the Jews of the lower class, especially the Russian Jews, are as particular in their observance of the 'kosher' laws as high caste Brahmin" (Lizzie Black Kander, papers).

During this time, the Hebrew Relief Society managed its affairs in much the same manner as did the other charities, living a hand-to-mouth existence. In 1878, it became slightly more organized when it formed a committee of seven to distribute relief jointly. Before this point, funds had been distributed and collected personally by members of the organization. But as massive numbers of European Jews crowded into the city, this personal form of operation became obsolete. In 1889, the Society changed its name to the Hebrew Relief Association. The items dispensed during the busy years of 1891 and 1892 reflect the nature of relief supplied by the Association: bread and provisions; coal and wood; meals, lodgings, rent; stoves and house furnishings; cash and other relief (Swichkow

1963:222).

Organized cooperation for charitable purposes in Milwaukee began in 1893 with the founding of the United Hebrew Charities, composed of delegates from the Hebrew Relief Association, the Widows' and Orphans' Society, and the Sisterhood of Personal Service. The United Hebrew Charities had an Executive Board and a secretary to maintian lists of beneficiaries. It began systematize Jewish charity by such steps as blacklisting certain applicants, probably because of dishonesty, and recommending further investigation of others.

In spite of the developing welfare system in Milwaukee, needy immigrants turned first to the many charities which throve in the immigrant quarter. As in other aspects of their relations, tensions emerged between the established and immigrant Jews concerning charity. The native Jews patronized the immigrants who were in turn hostile towards their benefactors. A German Jewish Milwaukee rabbi complained in 1897 that clients of the Hebrew Relief Association "were insolent and imperative in their demands, freely criticizing and even cursing the almoner when their wishes were not acceded to" (Swichkow 1963:223).

Because of such poor relations between the two groups, the immigrants relied whenever possible on the network of societies, lodges, clubs, and synagogues that had charitable auxiliaries in the immigrant quarter. The specifically Russian Jewish Hebrew Benevolent Association emerged in the 1890s with an ambitious program of free loans and an employment bureau aimed at making applicants self-supporting. In 1899, the Gemilath Chesed Society, or Hebrew Free Loan Association, also developed in the immigrant neighborhood as did Hachnosas Orchim, or the Hebrew Sheltering Home, which offered food and temporary lodging to strangers and the homeless. In 1903, immigrant Jews founded Mount Sinai Hospital which served kosher meals. They could not, however, maintain it, and it was ultimately taken over by native Jews who changed its name and abandoned the kosher diet.

Some of the immigrant charities aimed to preserve a Jewish atmosphere for children and the aged who required institutional care. Moshav Zekanim, or the Home for the Aged, was founded in 1904 for this purpose. Later, the same spirit animated the women who founded the Society for the Care of Dependent Children in 1919. At a time in which contemporary opinion was becoming increasingly negative towards institutional care of dependent children, the Society opened a Jewish Children's Home which managed to survive until 1948 when it merged with the Jewish Social Service Association to form the Jewish Family and Children's Service.

For some difficulties, however, such as in cases of widowhood, hospitalization, or problems requiring medical treatment, immigrants were forced to turn to the developing Jewish welfare system dominated by the established Jews. In 1902, the Hebrew Relief Association, the True Sisters, the Ladies' Relief Sewing Societies, the Sisterhood of Personal Service, the Widows' and Orphans' Society, and local branches of the Cleveland Orphan Asylum and Hebrew Home for Consumptives in Denver joined together to form the Federated Jewish Charities (FJC). The FJC's goal was "to provide a permanent, efficient and practical method of collecting, administering and distributing the contributions of Jewish residents and others of the city of Milwaukee for private, local, and national charitable and educational purposes" (Swichkow 1963:229). The FJC's foundation in Milwaukee opened a new period in the city's Jewish philanthropy in which the emphasis shifted away from emergency aid towards a systematic social service. The transition is symbolized by the Hebrew Relief Association's change of name in 1921 to the Jewish Social Service Association.

The Federated Jewish Charities did not, however, advance far beyond its first steps. The FJC had a series of superintendents, most trained as social service professionals; none

wished to stay with the organization for long. Superintendents were supported by only a handful of people and required to be both fundraisers and social service executives for the entire community. Moreover, the FJC did not draw many more organizations into its orbit and retained its image as an exclusively "German" and "Reform" institution during a period of rising immigrant assertivenss (Swichkow 1963:231). Yet, in spite of its failure to develop with the times, the FJC survived until 1937. In 1938, the Jewish Welfare Fund emerged to take its place. Like the FJC, the Jewish Welfare Fund strove to raise money to be distributed locally, nationally, and overseas.

One of the most notable people involved in Jewish charity in Milwaukee during this period was Lizzie Black Kander. Kander was a native of Milwaukee, born there in 1858, and one of the first women in the city to undertake social work activities with the Russian Jewish immigrants. In 1896, Kander established the Milwaukee Jewish Mission which merged in 1900 with the Council of Jewish Women and the Sisterhood of Personal Service to form the Milwaukee Jewish Settlement. The way the Settlement's goals and services evolved from an organization geared to meeting the immediate needs of new immigrants to a more systematically organized association mirrors the development of other contemporary charitable groups. A large part of the Settlement's early activities revolved around "Americanizing" the Eastern European Jewish immigrants. Among its great diversity of offerings, the Settlement held cooking, sewing, and housekeeping classes for young girls, attempting to instill in them the values of contemporary middle class womanhood. One of the Settlement's reports stated that "practical lessons in housekeeping, such as scrubbing and dishwashing, the preparation and the actual cooking of food; setting the table and serving the meals properly, were the thing to be impressed on these future mothers" (Lizzie Black Kander, papers).

Classes in clay modeling and whittling were offered for young boys. The Settlement also held a night school that taught English and American history to immigrants. Baths, a penny savings bank, literary and political club, and mothers' clubs were among the various other Settlement activities. A 1904 Settlement report claimed that "when the season is at its height, fully 1,000 people, every week, visit the Settlement in the various classes and clubs, the library, penny savings bank, and the baths" (Lizzie Black Kander, papers).

Dominated heavily by middle class Jewish women, the Settlement, like other charities at the time, tended to patronize those it helped in its early years. Referring to the friendless immigrant, a 1901 report stated that the Settlement hoped "to keep him off the streets, to shorten his idle moments, to have his mind and hands constantly busy, ... to lessen his chances for vice and immorality and cultivate in him a love and respect for work that shall make him a useful and honorable citizen, a credit to the community" (Lizzie Black Kander, papers).

But like other contemporary charities, the Settlement gradually altered its approach and evolved into a more professionalized social service agency as the century progressed. A 1922 report on the establishment indicates how the Settlement exchanged its help-the-poor, crisis oriented approach for a more systematic, long-term problem solving one:

> There are existing social agencies organized to meet specific needs of the neighborhood ... however, case work usually begins with some crisis, for instance, the need of relief, the control of delinquency, or the solving of specific family difficulties. The Settlements' contacts begin more often when family conditions are normal, and continue over a long period of time. Thus the Settlement is especially useful in studying neighborhood conditions, in forming contacts and exerting influences. When difficulties arise, the Settlement should act as a switchboard connecting individuals and families with the agency especially fitted to meet the situation and should pick up the thread when the

crisis is over" (Lizzie Black Kander, papers).

With the establishment of the Jewish Community Center in 1931, the Settlement movement eliminated any semblance of patronage to particular groups; it became a community-wide institution rather than a service from wealthier Jews to their poorer brethren. Funded partially by the sale of the Settlement House, the Jewish Community Center (the Settlement's new name) also benefitted from the sale of the Settlement Cookbook, written by Lizzie Black Kander and published experimentally in 1896. The simple recipes in the book, the same ones Kander taught to her immigrant classes, won national success and allowed Kander to contribute $75,000 towards the establishment of the Jewish Community Center. The Center offered a program that included open forums on problems of the day, courses with cultural and vocational content, and discussions of Jewish problems. It also had a child guidance clinic and sponsored various athletic and social activities.

Charity and service organizations also existed in other Wisconsin Jewish communities, but none were nearly as complex as Milwaukee's. In 1928, the Manitowoc Jewish Foundation, dedicated to raising money for a diversity of charitable needs, emerged. The Federation arose in response to the Manitowoc Jewish community's desire to fill both local needs and to make themselves part of an American and world Jewry (SHSW, miscellaneous papers). The Manitowoc branch of the National Council of Jewish Women, the oldest Jewish women's organization in the United States, developed in the city in 1930. The Council is dedicated to a six point program of community social work, service to the foreign born, the study of contemporary Jewish affairs, cooperation with all women's organizations in striving to attain good international relations and peace, religious education, and action for social legislation (Swarsensky 1955:79).

Other service organizations in Manitowoc are B'nai B'rith, founded in 1927, and the Temple Sisterhood, founded in 1951. Ten members of the Manitowoc Jewish community formed the Manitowoc Coordinating Committee in 1938. The MCC was a local chapter of both the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugess and Emigrants coming from Germany, founded in New York City in 1936, and the Wisconsin Coordinating Committee. These organizations emerged to aid Jewish refugees who came to the United States to escape Nazi persecution. It aimed to expedite the immigration process and to provide financial support, retraining, and employment for the refugees. The Manitowoc Coordinating Committee functioned until 1941 when it probably combined with a regional organization located in Chicago (SHSW, miscellaneous papers).

In Green Bay, the Ladies' Aid Society that emerged in 1902 primarily to raise funds for the erection of a synagogue later became known as the Sisterhood and supports a variety of community causes, such as hospitals, orphanages, and needy families. Green Bay Lodge No. 618 of B'nai B'rith, founded in 1906, is also dedicated to serving community causes. Like Green Bay, Fond du Lac also supports a B'nai B'rith chapter along with a Sisterhood and a Junior Congregation.

In Madison, the development of charity and welfare organizations mirrored that of Milwaukee but on a smaller scale. As in Milwaukee, Jewish charity in Madison was at first done on a more or less individual and unorganized basis. Jewish philanthropy existed in the city from the time of the early German Jewish immigrants who cared for Jewish transients. In 1862, the Shaare Shomaim congregation informed the directors of the local "lunatic asylum" that they were prepared to "support their dear persons of Jewish faith in that institution" (Swarsensky 1955:83).

When the larger groups of Eastern European Jewish immigrants arrived in Madison, they too developed and joined organizations that provided charitable services. In 1908, King David Lodge No. 641 of B'nai B'rith emerged; in 1909, the Lodge's Ladies' Auxiliary, known as Queen Esther Ladies' Auxiliary No. 1 of Madison, was founded. Both

organizations were dedicated to social welfare work in Madison. The Auxiliary also represented Jewish women in the general community. In 1921, the Queen Esther Ladies' Auxiliary relinquished its affiliation with B'nai B'rith to form the nucleus of the Madison chapter of the National Council of Jewish Women. The younger women in particular in the Auxiliary felt that their group could derive greater impetus by affiliating with a national organization.

As the twentieth century progessed, Madison's Jewish community, like Milwaukee's, began to organize and systematize its charitable organizations. In 1933, when Hitler came to power, the 14 existing Jewish organizations in town formed the Jewish Central Committee of Madison to instill unity and cooperation among Jewish organizations and to promote the welfare of the Jewish people of Madison and of Jewry as a whole (Swarsensky 1955:85). Aside from fundraising, however, the Committee's activities were limited.

The Madison Jewish Welfare Fund, on the other hand, proved more successful in adopting a centralized organizational structure for charity. Organized in 1940, the Madison Jewish Welfare Fund was "born out of the desire to co-ordinate local fundraising activities for national and overseas Jewish agencies, thus eliminating the confusion and inefficiency of many separate drives" (Swarsensky 1955:86). By 1955, the Welfare Fund contributed annually to over 70 national Jewish health, welfare, educational, cultural, and civic protective organizations. It sponsored a summer day camp for children, an annual concert series, conducted surveys on matters concerning community welfare, and worked with the Army and Navy Committee of the National Jewish Welfare Board on behalf of patients in Veterans Hospitals.

Through the years, Jewish charitable organizations in Madison have contributed significantly to local, national, and overseas Jewish causes. During World War I, B'nai B'rith raised $10,000 for Jewish relief and spearheaded the sale of war bonds in World War II. Through both individual contributions and its "package fund," it has supported such national B'nai B'rith activities as the Youth Service Appeal, Bellefaire Cleveland Orphan Home, Leo N. Levi Memorial Hospital and other such concerns. In 1933, the Madison branch of its youth organization, designed to instill in young people the ideals of the Order through programs of religious, cultural, communal, and athletic activities, emerged. The B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, on the campus of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, founded in 1924 as the second Hillel Foundation in the country, is part of a network of more than 200 foundations and counselorships in the United States, Canada, and Israel.

Socialism and Zionism in the Jewish Community

In their efforts to establish places for themselves in modern society, Jews participated in both socialist and Zionist movements. Some Jews viewed socialism as a way to become part of mainstream radical and liberal political life; other Jews looked toward the establishement of a specifically Jewish state as a means for Jews as a nation to find their place among the world's other nation-states. The influx of Eastern European Jews brought life to both movements. The new immigrants came with new ideas which originated from their native environments and became politically active in a way that the much more conservative thinking German Jewish immigrants did not.

Socialism. Jewish socialism first appeared in Milwaukee between 1891 and 1892 with a short-lived organization of Jewish tailors in the city. Israel Glassman, a young socialist leader who had been active in Chicago and St. Louis, came to Milwaukee and founded the Milwaukee Tailors Union of Jewish tailors who worked from Jewish contractors. The union staged a strike on Barnett Goldstein's firm, accusing it of wage-cutting and opposing trade unions. The union appealed to strikers with its "Call to Workers": Here, too, the workers can no longer endure the bad treatment and oppression of the parasites, who wish to save up capital through the workers' toil, sweat, and blood!" (Swichkow

1966:236).

The strike succeeded but was not extremely significant in a period in which neither a defeat or victory lasted long. Glassman also organized a Jewish Workmen's Education Club in 1892 which had close connections with German radical elements. But after Glassman married into a German Christian family in 1892 and disappeared from sight, the organizations he formed also dissolved.

For a decade after Glassman's activities, Jewish socialims and trade unionism sank into near oblivion. But in 1906, a large emigration of Russian Jewish intelligensia arrived in the United States after the failure of the Russian Revolution of 1905 and a chain of pogroms in Russia. Those who came to Milwaukee fit well into an atmosphere in which the Social Democratic Party was gaining strength at the same time that La Follette's Progressivism was making Wisconsin a state of national political significance. While some of the refugees initially presented themselves as radicals, they began to move towards reformism when their ideas could not gather significant appeal among Milwaukee's Jews.

Milwaukee's socialist movement drew its strength from a firm alliance with the city's trade unions. While specifically Jewish socialists similarly appealed to Jewish workers, they did not fare as well. Jews in Milwaukee generally did not pursue occupations conducive to the growth of trade unionism. Native Jews belonged to general unions of their trades, and immigrant peddlers, junk dealers, and petty businessmen were not union material. Many immigrants who worked for wages also belonged to general unions. As a result, unions composed entirely of Jewish workers did not develop far in Milwaukee (Swichkow 1963:250).

In some unions, however, Jews accounted for a significant part of the membership. Local 16 of the United Cloth Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers' Union, founded in 1902, had many Jewish members. During the same period, a Jewish labor council emerged to help the Jewish cap-makers, painters, and bakers organize themselves. Like Local 16 of the cap-makers union, the ethnic composition of Local 151 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was heavily Jewish. Founded in 1914, Amalgamated Clothing Workers enrolled Milwaukee clothing workers in Local 151 in 1916. In 1917, it struck the non-union bastion of pioneer clothing firms, David Adler and Sons. This strike failed, but in 1919 Amalgamated began to thrive in Milwaukee when the Milwaukee Clothing Cutters' and Trimmers' Union abandoned the United Garment Workers to join Amalgamated. Following this development, most of Milwaukee's clothing firms, including Adler, signed three-year contracts with the union which contained 1,495 workers (Swichkow 1963:252). All of the companies but one were owned by Jews. Once organized, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Milwaukee were reputed "among the most steadfast of Amalgamated members" (Swichkow 1963:252).

In addition to trade unions, the Arbeiter Ring, or Workmen's Circle, was an important development in Jewish socialism. Around 1900, a few socialist lodges in New York federated as the Workmen's Circle, and branches of the group began to spread throughout the United States. Emergining in Milwaukee in 1907, the Workmen's Circle was dedicated to "the struggle for justice to the workingman and for the triumph of the socialist ideal" (Swarsensky 1955:248). By 1916, the group claimed 500 members in Milwaukee.

Like the traditional religious society, the Workmen's Circle supported its members in illness and distress and arranged burials. It also promoted a wide variety of cultural activities, including a lecture series sponsored jointly with the Jewish section of the Social Democratic Party "to raise the cultural level of the Yiddish-speaking public" (Swichkow 1963:248). The group also supported various educational and charitable concerns.

In addition to containing socialists, many lodges formed on the basis of towns from which

immigrants came. Many members in the Bobruisker Branch 166 in Milwaukee, for example, probably felt more attached to their old town of Bobruisk than to socialism. Due to such town affiliations, some branches cooperated with groups such as native Jews, Zionists, and religious Jews who did not agree with their views but who came from the same areas in Europe. After World War I, the Workmen's Circle acquired a large house for its lyceum. By 1925, the group had four branches in Milwaukee with 84,791 members.

The Workmen's Circle was also popular in Madison. In 1915, a group of 16 Madison Jewish men organized Branch No. 479 of the Workmen's Circle. In 1930, the branch built its Labor Lyceum and in 1932 organized the I.L. Peretz School which subsequently changed its name to the Frieda Weinstein School of the Workmen's Circle.

Some individual Jews also made significant contributions to the socialist movement in Wisconsin. An immigrant from Hungary in 1882, Victor Berger moved gradually from German free-thought and liberalism to socialism. The principle founder of the Milwaukee Social Democratic Party in 1897, Berger was its undisputed leader until his death in 1929. Berger edited Milwaukee's Social Democratic newspaper, The Leader and in 1911 became the first Socialist member of the House of Representatives, elected by a primarily German and Jewish district. He sat in the House until 1915. He was reelected in 1918 and again in 1923. But even though Berger was a Jew representing a significantly Jewish constituency, he did not present himself as a Jewish candidate or associate himself with the Jewish community.

Besides Berger, two Jewish lawyers made important contributions to labor and socialism in Milwaukee at this time. William B. Rubin came from Russia with his family in 1881 and won a courtroom reputation as a counsel to labor unions and to workers in compensation cases. Reportedly, Rubin was interested in but not deeply committed to Jewish affairs (Swichkow 1963:254).

Joseph A. Padway, born in Leeds, England, spent his early years as a lawyer with primarily Jewish immigrant clients and was, unlike Berger and Rubin, actively interested in Jewish concerns. Padway served briefly as a judge and on the legislature, later becoming General Counsel of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor. Padway occupied these positions during a time in which the constitutionality of labor legislation had to be defended up to the Supreme Court (Swichkow 1963:254).

The national divisions of World War I splintered the international socialist movement. After this point, socialism, including Jewish socialism, began to decline, never recapturing the hope and vigor of its earlier days. Gradually, socialism in Milwaukee became a merely local movement with local goals (Swichkow 1963:255).

Zionism. In addition to viewing the establishment of a Jewish state as a way for Jews to take their place among the nations of the world, some Jews also saw it as a remedy for anti-semitism (Laqueur 1972:86). Believing that prejudice towards Jews would continue to exist whereever they lived in appreciable number among non-Jewish populations, such Jews agitated against their fellow Jews who persisted in denying their backgrounds in their efforts to integrate themselves into American society. Many Zionist were also concerned with preserving Jewish culture which they feared would disapper through the assimilationists' efforts.

In 1896, Theodor Herzl published the Jewish State, an event that many view as the beginning of modern Zionism. The first Zionist Congress met in 1897. American Zionism, divided between the Federation of American Zionists in the East and the Order of the Knights of Zion in the West, emerged in 1898. Zionism developed in Milwaukee with Gate No. 8 of the Order of the Knights of Zion, which subsequently adopted the name of Judah ha Levi. By 1902, two more Knights of Zion groups existed in Milwaukee. But after this

point, Milwaukee Zionist membership did not increase significantly in numbers, even during the World War years (Swichkow 1963:237-238).

At this time, German Jewish immigrants to Milwaukee did not join the Zionists. While Zionism was generally not popular among German Jewish immigrants throughout the United States before World War I and the Balfour Declaration which established British support for a Jewish state in Palestine, some individual Jews of German Jewish background did participate in the movement. But in Milwaukee, no prominent native Jews became involved in the cause during this period.

The city contained, however, several different groups of pro-Zionists. The Knights of Zion was a primarily middle class organization whose appeal remained within the parameters of Jewish religious traditions. Socialist Poale Zion, on the other hand, was a radical group that promoted a break with Jewish tradition. Poale Zionists strove to reconcile the Socialist doctrine of class struggle with Jewish national aspirations; they believed in maintaining the necessity of Palestine while rejecting religious tradition. Poale Zion emerged in Milwaukee in 1906; its membership consisted primarily of Russian Jewish intellectual refugess of the 1905 Revolution. Members of Poale Zion actively raised money for Idisher Kemfer, their party organ, and the Palestine Labor Fund to aid the Jewish workingmen and labor colonies in Palestine.

In 1910, the Max Nordau Branch of the recently founded Jewish National Workers Alliance, subsequenly renamed the Farband-Labor Zionist Order, developed from Poale Zion to counter the attractions of non-Zionist fraternal organizations, especially the Workmen's Circle. It strove to create a Socialist-Zionist milieu with social and cultural activities that would attract a wide variety of participants, including workers. Poale Zion prided itself on its appeal to Jewish laborers: "Milwaukee Poale Zion consists of true workers, with wives and children, who work a full day in a factory and are enthusiastic for Poale Zionism. They have not belonged to any party before" (Swichkow 1963:245). Politically, Poale Zion was able to prevent the Social Democratic Party from nominating anit-semites for public office. It was not, however, influential in civic affairs. Rather, it was important for its cultural influence and as a force for democratization of the community (Swichkow 1963:245).

After World War I and the Balfour Declaration, interest in Zionism and immigration to Palestine increased with the hopes that the establishment of a Jewish state was actually possible. Between 1918 and 1919, approximately 4,961 people from the United States and Canada applied to immigrate to Palestine. Among them were 72 Wisconsin Zionists, including Golda Meir (nee Maboritz), prime minister of Israel between 1969 and 1974. Born in 1898 in Kiev, Meir immigrated to the United States in 1902 with her family after surviving an early childhood of poverty, oppression, and pogroms. By 1907, Meir and her family lived in Milwaukee. She attended grade and high school in Milwaukee, after which she attended Milwaukee Teachers' Training College. In high school, she became intensely active in Poale Zion. In 1921, Meir and her husband left for Palestine.

Gradually, the Zionists acquired increasing support within Milwaukee's Jewish community. While many native Jews opposed some of Zionism's political aims, many approved of its cultural and social goals and became supporters of a reborn Palestine in the 1920s. The Milwaukee Zionist District, comprised of the Knights of Zion groups, contained about 250 members in the early 1920s. By the 1950s, Zionism in Milwaukee centered in the Milwaukee District of the Zionist Organization of America and in Poale Zion and its fraternal organization, the Farband.

Zionists also sponsored a variety of women's groups. After 1925, practically all women Zionists enrolled in Hadassah, which emerged in Milwaukee in 1920. Hadassah, part of the Women's Zionist Organization of America, developed in 1912 in New York City, primarily through the efforts of Henrietta Szold. The group is named for Hadassah (the

Hebrew name for Esther), the biblical heroine who saved Persian Jewry from annihilation. The group stated it goals as the study and discussion of Jewish problems, particularly the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. Hadassah's first project was to send nurses to Palestine, the beginning of a medical commitment to Israel which later resulted in the establishment of two large medical centers. The creation of a Youth Aliyah, which helped transport and settle Jewish refugee children from Europe in Israel in the 1930s, was another important Hadassah project.

Other Zionist Women's organizations included the David Pinsky Women's Club which emerged in Milwaukee in 1922. The Pioneer Women's Organization developed in 1926 as part of the Poale Zion group and claimed a membership of 1,000 by 1948. Another organization, Mizrachi Women, part of an orthodox religious Zionist group that never achieved significant influence in Milwaukee, also existed. Like Hadassah, these women Zionists sponsored charitable projects, parties, fashion shows, theater benefits, and other such activities to raise funds for a Jewish homeland.

In Madison, the Rachel S. Jastrow chapter of Hadassah, organized in 1917, was the fourth Hadassah chapter in the country. Jastrow was Henrietta Szold's sister. As in Milwaukee, Madison's group conducted various activities to promote the establishment of a Jewish state and to support settlers in Palestine.

Hadassah chapters also emerged in other Wisconsin communities. In 1917, Green Bay's chapter organized itself and directed its early efforts towards building a medical center in Palestine. Fond du Lac's Hadassah has also had an active and successful career.

Conclusion. Between 1925 and 1950, the character of Wisconsin's Jewish community changed and evolved in response to pressures from both within itself and from political, social, and economic developments throughout contemporary society. In 1924, the Johnson Act ended the era of free immigration; restrictions dictated which groups and how many immigrants from them could enter the country. As a result, by 1940, for the first time since the census was taken, the majority of American Jews were born in the United States (Swichkow 1963:290). As an increasing percentage of the country's Jews were natives rather than immigrants, "Americanization" programs became obsolete as did other forms of immigrant aid with the exception of that directed towards the relatively small groups of Germans and post-World War II refugees. Throughout this period, the distinctions between immigrant and native Jews faded and began to disappear while greater social homogeneity emerged.

In addition, the small shopkeeper became less visible, while the peddler and junk collector nearly vanished. Jews increasingly became business and professional people. The Jewish proletariat was increasingly replaced by clerical employees, civil servants, real estate and insurance agents, accountants, teachers, lawyers, engineers, physicians, dentists, scientists, and scholars (Swichkow 1963:299).

As far as religion was concerned, orthodoxy became less influential during this period. The numbers of Reform Jews remained fairly steady, but Reform practice itself changed somewhat with the re-infusion of some previously discarded traditions. Conservatism, on the other hand, expanded, inheriting much of the stength of the Orthodox congregations.

Although Jews, like many other immigrant groups, succeeded in assimilating into mainstream American society, they nevertheless faced sporadic outbreaks of anti-semitism. The sources used for this study unit did not discuss the issue at length, leading one to believe that perhaps anti-semitism in Wisconsin has not been as potent as in other areas of the country. According to Swichkow, the anti-semitic hostility that emerged in other areas of the country in the 1860s and 1890s had very little effect on Milwaukee (Swichkow 1963:302).

Beginning in the 1920s, however, Milwaukee's Jews found their relatively secure status threatened. Swichkow attributes hostility against Jews to a general resentment of the small town against the big city that was emerging throughout the country at this time. Jews, traditionally associated with urban areas and business, became a target for those who feared that the expansion of cities and corruption was encroaching upon the rural way of life. Early in the 1920s, the appearance of Henry Ford's anti-semitic Dearborn Independent greatly disturbed Milwaukee's Jews. The difficult economic situation of the 1930s exacerbated the situation as did the fact that some members of Milwaukee's most substantial ethnic group, the Germans, sympathized with Adolf Hitler at this point. During this period, certain banks and firms would not hire Jews, and some businessmen's clubs excluded them.

While some Jews believed that ignoring the issue was the best way to deal with it, others, especially Zionists and socialists, chose to sponsor anti-Nazi demonstrations. In response to the rise of German Nazism and the fear that anti-semitism would become more important locally, the Milwaukee Jewish Council emerged in 1938. The Milwaukee Jewish Council aimed to channel democratic traditions against anti-semitism and group hatreds in general. The group's main tactic was to distribute masses of printed materials defending democracy and Jewish rights.

In the 1940s, anti-semitism diminished after people learned about the atrocities of Hitler's regime. Wartime and post-wartime prosperity also served as buffers against anti-semitism. In 1944, the Milwaukee Common Council passed an ordinance banning the public distribution of literature bearing a message of group hatred, and the Milwaukee Journal began to refuse to publish discriminatory advertising (Swichkow 1963:306-307). Although anti-semitism continued to exist after the 1940s, it appears that it was no longer as threatening a force as it had been in the 1920 and 1930s.

In many ways, the history of Jews in Wisconsin mirrors the experiences of other immigrant groups to the state. As with other immigrant groups, the Jews' various backgrounds and prior experiences influenced what they did when they came to the United States and Wisconsin, how easily they assimilated into the general population, and how they absorbed American ideas and customs. Like the French, English, Germans, Scandinavians, and others, Jews participated in and contributed to Wisconsin's development. Jews have been active in cultural, political, and economic activities, in social welfare, and in other area. Thus, although Jews are not as numerous as other ethnic groups in the state, they have proved successful and important to Wisconsin.

IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Synagogues, religious schools, halls, lodges, Mikuehs (baths), publishing facilities, hospitals, settlement houses, structures associated with Jewish charity and welfare, societies, homes of prominent Jews.

Locational Patterns of Resource Types. Most structures associated with the Jewish population in Wisconsin will be located in major urban centers, especially Milwaukee.

Previous Surveys. No specific thematic survey dealing with the Jews in Wisconsin has been undertaken to date; however, the intensive surveys of Superior and Kenosha do contain some information relating to Jewish settlement in those areas.

Survey and Research Needs. Very little has been written about Jewish settlement and cultural development in the state. Initial research should focus on the roles of the settlement house, synagogue, charitable institutions and other similar organizations in Jewish aculturation.

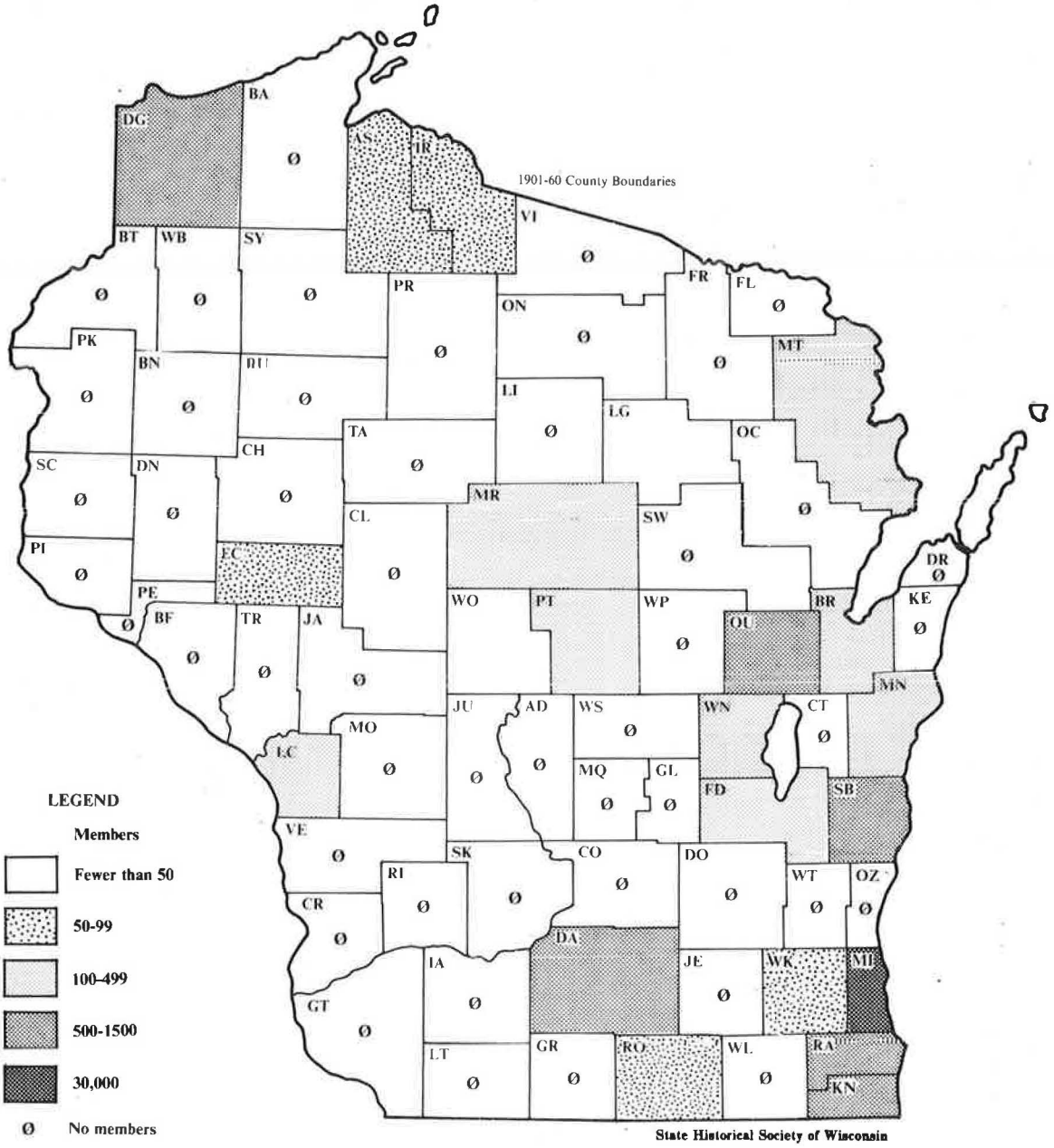
EVALUATION

National Register Listings and Determinations of Eligibility

Old Synagogue (1863), E. Gorham and Butler Sts., Madison, Dane County (NRHP 1970).
Temple Zion and School (1883-1884), 320 N. Durkee St., Appleton, Outagamie County (NRHP 1978).

Context Considerations. In some instances, Jewish associated resources will possess local significance; however, those resources associated with early settlement by Jewish groups and those that housed active Jewish congregations for long periods may be historically significant at the state level.

JEWISH



Members of Jewish Congregations in Wisconsin, 1936

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1926*, Vol. I, *Summary and Detailed Tables* (Washington, 1930), pp. 846-847

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