INTRODUCTION

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
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.
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 its 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
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 Orthodox 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.
**BAPTISTS**

**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.
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,
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**

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

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).
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
Members of the Northern Baptist Church in Wisconsin, 1926

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.
Harden, John A.  
A survey of the beliefs and practices of the Protestant denominations in America; recent national statistics.

Harrison, Harold D., ed.  
State-by-state history of the Free Will Baptists; no specific section devoted to the Church in Wisconsin.

Hayne, Coe Smith  

Killam, Edgar L.  
1944 *The Centennial History of the Wisconsin Baptist State Convention*. Oconomowoc, WI.  
History of the "Regular" Baptists in Wisconsin, including reference to the Free-Will churches.

Leonard, Richard D.  
References to cooperative efforts with Baptists.

Mead, Frank S.  
A sketch of the denominations in America; includes useful bibliography.

National Council of Churches  
Denominational statistics by states (Wisconsin) and counties; number of churches and church members.

Scott, James Leander  
Account of Seventh Day Baptists in Wisconsin.

Smith, Alice  

Smith, Justin A.  
Numerous references to early organization in Wisconsin, including sites and personalities.
Youmans, Theodora W.
Account of early meetings and accessions to this Free-Will Baptist Church in Waukesha County; founded in 1840.
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:
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; 1904-1905).

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
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 episcopal 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
Roman Catholics in Wisconsin: Organization and Membership Figures

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

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 interethic 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Milwaukee Diocese</th>
<th>Green Bay Diocese</th>
<th>La Crosse Diocese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>65*</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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**

- 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.
- 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**
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 was the first health care facility operated by the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration and one of the earliest hospitals in the state.
- St. Francis Training School for Nurses, established 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 Wisconsin 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.
- 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.
- 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
-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).
-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 Center 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, Menominee 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).
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" accommodated 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 division of the major seminary (Immaculate Conception College, Oconomowoc, 1911).
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
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).
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 Guadalupe) (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 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)
Members of the Catholic Church in Wisconsin, 1926

Blejwas, Stanislaus and M.B. Biskupski, eds.
Good discussion of the Polish immigrant church, including its role in immigration.

Blied, Benjamin

1976 Catholicism in Wisconsin. Fond du Lac, WI.

Brophy, Don and Edythe Westenhauer, eds.

Burns, James Aloysius
Several references to the development of schools in Wisconsin under the direction of Father Mazzuchelli.

Byrne, Stephen
Includes figures on the diocesan population of Wisconsin in 1873. (originally published 1873).

Cada, Joseph
Listing of early congregations and priests by state; random selections of prototypes of Bohemian urban and country churches.

Cadden, John Paul
Includes information on Catholic historical societies and archives.

Chapple, John Bowman
1975 The Catholic Foundation, Wisconsin. n.p., Ashland, WI.
Emphasizes diocese of Superior and Ashland churches.

Clarke, Richard Henry

Dolan, Jay P.

Draper, Lyman C., ed.


Kellogg, Louise P.

Kittell, Sr. M. Teresita

Kohler, Sr. Mary Hortense

Kuznicki, Ellen Marie

Kuzniewski, Anthony J.

1980 Faith and Fatherland in the Polish Church War in Wisconsin, 1896-1918. University of Notre Dame Press, South Bend, WI. Excellent account of the friction between Polish and German Catholics and their combined efforts toward resolution.

Laska, Vera, ed.
O'Hare, Edwin Vincent  

Platt, Warren C.  
Summary of the church's birth, extension, and doctrinal and procedural peculiarities.

Prisland, Marie  
Best available account of the group in Wisconsin. Includes figures on the migration and summary of religious and ethnic associations.

Radzialowski, Thaddeus C.  
Includes references to St. Joseph Junior College in Stevens Point (1945-1955). (St. Joseph's was affiliated to St. Norbert's College in De Pere).

Rothan, Emmet H.  
A section devoted to settlement in the Midwest.

Rummel, Leo  

Saueressig, Yda  
Detailed study of a "transplantation." Includes information on provincial origins, socio-economic status, kinship networks, and adaptation in Wisconsin. Also has bibliography and maps.

Scanlan, Peter L.  
Covers the period from 1768 to about 1840.

Schiavo, Giovanni E.  
Includes sketches on the development of two Milwaukee parishes (Church of the Blessed Virgin of Pompeii and Church of St. Rita) and mentions parishes in Kenosha, Madison, and Beloit.
Trisco, Robert Frederick
1962 The Holy See and the Nascent Church in the Middle Western United States, 1826-1850. Gregorian University Press, Rome, Italy.
Includes good maps of dioceses; good bibliography.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census
See pp. 934-936 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.


See pp. 490-493 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.


See pp. 504-526 and pp. 559-560 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.


See p. 229-265 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.


See pp. 233-235 and 327-328 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.

See pp. 270-273 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.

See pp. 306-311 for statistics on Catholics in Wisconsin.

Wisconsin Conference of Churches, comp.
Includes figures 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

1942
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 spiritual 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 resurrection, 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
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Organizations</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>474</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>1936</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>5,094</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>9,000</td>
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**SOURCES:**


**Christian Science Congregations in Wisconsin as of 1985**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Place</th>
<th>Name of Congregation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appleton</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashland</td>
<td>Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baraboo</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beloit</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brookfield</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burlington</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cedarburg</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chippewa Falls</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
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<td>Eagle River</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eau Claire</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elkhorn</td>
<td>Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evansville</td>
<td>Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fond du Lac</td>
<td>First Church of Christ, Scientist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4-3  RELIGION
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.
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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.
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 expel 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
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 priesthood (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
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 Zenas 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
Mormons in Wisconsin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>CHURCH JESUS CHRIST LDS</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>1926</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>987</td>
</tr>
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<td>730</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

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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.
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; ten additional 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...
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
(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 1953:146-148,160-163). 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 plagued 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)
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 along 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, e.g., 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)
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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Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project

1942 Chronological county, church- and place-name listings of churches by denominational status.

Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project

   Chronological county, church- and place-name listings of churches by denominational status; includes names and addresses of church headquarters and leaderships.
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
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 1,286,849 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.
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 (1901); 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 1911. 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 1942:10).

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 1941; 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 Chrzeszczanski (Wisconsin Historical Records Survey 1942:11).
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 Considerations: The majority of sites and structures associated with the Disciples of Christ will merit local significance.
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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.
1942 Disciples of Christ. Madison. Short history of Disciples in Wisconsin; brief sketches on the history of each congregation founded in the state; and chronological, county, church- and place-name listings of churches.
EASTERN ORTHODOX

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).
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
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 1936, 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 renown 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.)
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 Orthodox 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.
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**EPISCOPAL CHURCH**

**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).
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 1955:193).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO. ORGANIZATIONS</th>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>no data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>10,457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>16,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>18,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>30,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>28,472</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCES:

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), Genesee 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.
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De Mille, George E.
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Forsbeck, Filip A.
Gustaf Unonius, first graduate of Nashotah House, and his Episcopal congregations.

Greene, Howard
1936 The Reverend Richard Fish Cadle. The Davis-Green Corp., Waukesha, WI.
Biographical account of early Episcopalian missionary; considered second in influence and accomplishment to Bishop Kemper.

Hardon, John A.
A survey of the beliefs and practices of the Protestant denominations in America; recent national statistics.

Kemper, Jackson
Missionary Bishop Kemper's account of his visit to early parishes and missions.

Lacher, John H. A.
A Wisconsin seminary which became the "cradle" of Episcopalian work in the old Northwest; includes good sketch of Kemper's career in the Mississippi Valley.

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A sketch of the denominations in America; includes useful bibliography.
Wisconsin Conference of Churches
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
1942 Chronological, county, church and place-name listings of churches by
denominational status.

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

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).
IDENTIFICATION

Resource Types. Churches, halls, parsonages, preaching places, camp meeting sites, educational facilities, homes of prominent Evangelical and United Brethren 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 Brethren 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 Brethren 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 Brethren'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 Brethren in Christ Church will generally merit local significance.
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1910 History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. United Brethren Publishing House, Dayton, OH.
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Abundant references to the relationship of the Methodists and United Brethren, and efforts toward and consequences of their union.

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Harden, John A.
A survey of the beliefs and practices of the Protestant denominations in America; recent national statistics.

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1868 The History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. 2 vols. W.J. Shuey, Dayton, OH.
References to the founding of the Wisconsin Conference.

Mead, Frank S.
A sketch of the denominations in America; includes useful bibliography.


Wisconsin Historical Records Survey Project

1936 Church Directory of Wisconsin, Madison.

1942 Chronological, county, church, and place-name listings of churches by denominational status.

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.

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.
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
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Number of Congregations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racine</td>
<td>Racine</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Ableman</td>
<td>Baraboo</td>
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<td>Chippewa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crandon</td>
<td>Forest</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Crosse</td>
<td>La Crosse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>Dane</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwalk</td>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsville</td>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reedsburg</td>
<td>Sauk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice Lake</td>
<td>Barron</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheboygan</td>
<td>Sheboygan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sparta</td>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springbrook</td>
<td>Barron</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley</td>
<td>Chippewa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomah</td>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarnell</td>
<td>Sawyer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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-Tennesseee, 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).
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

11-5

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

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

**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 1941: 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).
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.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Statistical data (1936) on character and distribution of the Pentecostal denominations; extensive bibliography; good treatment of inter-denominational conflict and distinctions.

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1949 A History of the Church of God (Holiness). Herald and Banner Press, Overland Park, KS.
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Synan, Vinson
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United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

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

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

1941 Church of the Nazarene. Madison.
Historical sketch of church, including its appearance in Wisconsin, sketches on individual congregations; chronological, county, church- and place-name listings.

1942 Assemblies of God. Madison.
Historical sketch of church, including its appearance in Wisconsin; sketches on individual congregations; chronological, county, church- and place-name listings.

Yahn, S. G.
Useful discussions of church extension, educational work and publishing interests.
Temporal Boundaries: 1851-present.

Spatial Boundaries: Light representation throughout the state.

Related Study Units: Norwegian Settlement, Other Scandinavian Settlement.

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 ingenious 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 (1821-1881), 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
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 351 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, directs the general conference and oversees 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 millennium 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
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 Icebergs 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.
Adventists in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures

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<th>Year</th>
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SOURCE:
Chilson 1976:183-186
Members of Seventh-Day Adventist Churches in Wisconsin, 1926

Harden, John A.
A survey of the beliefs and practices of the Protestant denominations in America; recent national statistics.

Herndon, Boott
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Hoekema, Anthony A.

Martin, Walter

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Mitchell, David

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Office of Publication and Distribution, New York.
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Review of the Millerite movement; extensive bibliography.

Olsen, Mahlon E.
Very complete treatment; emphasis on work among foreign groups in the United States as well as worldwide outpouring.
LUTHERAN

**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
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 mosaic 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).
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 Kirchhain (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. Otto Fr. 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 1967:51).

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
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, "stadtsmission" (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 1895, 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 1856, 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" (Suelflow 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.
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 1968:16-23). In a recent tally, the Wisconsin Synod, headquartered at Milwaukee, recorded a baptized membership of 402,573, and operated 1,105 congregations in 47 states. About two-thirds of the Synod congregations lie within Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan (Mead 1980:167).

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 Eielson'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 Eielson'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 Eielson in the Fox River Valley of Illinois and in southern Wisconsin. Lay preacher Eielson 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, Eielson led a conference at Jefferson Prairie, Rock County, in 1846 from which emanated the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America or the Eielson 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),

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RELIGION
the State Church of Norway," enjoyed preeminence, essentially unrivalled 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).
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
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

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

SOURCE:

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

DANISH LUTHERANS IN WISCONSIN

The preservation of "Danskheid" 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 0,181 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 approximately 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
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 1977:1).

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 1941, 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: 1) The Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church, emanating from the early nineteenth century Laestadian revival movement which was noted for its adherence 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 12.9 percent of the foreign-born Finns voiced membership in the Suomi Synod, while the others were distributed between the National and Apostolic Churches.
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 1941:67,172).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>894</td>
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<td>1,383</td>
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<td>1916</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,534</td>
<td>484,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1,527</td>
<td>512,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,588</td>
<td>952,409</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCES:

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.
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One chapter devoted to Danish settlement in Wisconsin; also useful summary of immigration and Danish-American cultural life.

Norelius, Erik
1890 De Svenska Lutherska forsamlingsarnas och Svenskarnes Historia: Amerika.
1916 Lutheran Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, IL.
Many references to institutional development in the Wisconsin communities; a chapter devoted to the Vasa-Red Wing-Stockholm, Wisconsin communities; St. Croix Valley district history.

Nyholm, Paul C.
Particularly good for binding ecclesiastical developments to the growth and maturation of Danish-American communities.

Ollila, Douglas J.
Charts the development of the "daughter synod" of the State Church of Finland, particularly its role in the preservation of a national heritage.

Concentrates on the extension and consolidation of the American cohort of the State Church of Finland.

Olson, Oscar N.
1950 The Augustana Lutheran Church in America. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, IL.
A history of the primary Swedish-American synod; including its educational facilities.
Suelflow, Roy A.
Concentrates on the major developments in Wisconsin Lutheranism, especially
the alliances between the Wisconsin, Missouri and Buffalo Synods; a chapter
devoted to the Scandinavians.

1967 *Walking with Wise Men: A History of the South Wisconsin District of the
Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod*. South Wisconsin District of the Lutheran
Church, Missouri Synod, Milwaukee.
Includes complete list of Missourian congregations in the present circuit system;
good references.

Thorkelson, Willmar

Minneapolis.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census
1853 *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850: Statistics of Wisconsin.*
Armstrong, Washington, D.C.

1866 *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860: Churches in Wisconsin.* Government
Printing Office, Washington, D.C.


1894 *Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890: Report on Statistics of Churches in


Vig, P. S.
1899 *Danske i Amerika*. Blair, NE.
Description and list of early Danish churches in America; biographical sketches
of early Danes in Wisconsin.

Wenzl, Abdel R.
Authoritative piece on American Lutheranism; treats both social and theological
sources of denominational development.

1933 *The Lutheran Church in American History*. United Lutheran Publication
House, Philadelphia.
**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
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
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 unprecedented 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).
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, moreover, 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).
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 meeting 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.
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).
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 Wesleyan 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)
MEMBERS OF METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN WISCONSIN, 1926

Current, Richard N.  

Graham, J. H.  
Covers the history of blacks in Methodist bodies from 1758 to 1974; packed with information on church conferences, schools, and personalities.

Haagensen, Andrew  

Hallam, Oscar  
Life in the Dodgeville (Iowa County) circuit; Bloomfield-Methodist Episcopal and Laxey-Primitive Methodist.

Hardon, John A.  
A survey of the beliefs and practices of the Protestant denominations in America; recent national statistics.

Haw, William  
1886 Methodist Episcopal Church History: Early Methodism in the West Wisconsin Conference. Eau Claire, WI.

Jones, George H.  
1966 The Methodist Tourist Guidebook, Through the 50 States. Tidings, Nashville, TN.  
Wisconsin, pp. 276-282; churches and missions by site.

McLeister, Ira F. and Roy S. Nicholson  
1976 Conscience and Commitment: The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of America. The Wesley Press, Marion, IN.  
Comprehensive account of the church's development to date; bibliography and notes; several references to the Wisconsin Conference.

Maser, Frederick E. and George A. Singleton  
Discussion of African Methodist and Primitive Methodist churches, including the Primitives in Wisconsin; volume includes bibliography.

Mead, Frank S.  
A sketch of the denominations in America; includes useful bibliography.
Sweet, William W.
Sizable collection of source materials (letters, reports, manuscripts, etc.) relating to the church including Wisconsin; good bibliography.

Tyrrell, Charles W.
Relates the story of the early Primitive Methodists in northwestern Illinois and southwestern Wisconsin.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census


Walls, William J.
Authoritative treatment of the church's development from inception to the early 1970s; good bibliography.

Willett, George Henry

Wilson, Elizabeth
1938 Methodism in Eastern Wisconsin. Wisconsin Conference Historical Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Milwaukee, WI.
Covers period up to 1850.

Wisconsin Conference of Churches, comp.
Includes figures on number of organizations and memberships for the major denominational bodies in the state; names and addresses of headquarters and leaders.
MORAVIAN CHURCH

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 reformation 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 Count, 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
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. Frueauf 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 "idealistic 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).
Moravians in Wisconsin: Organizational and Membership Figures
The Moravian Church in America (Unitas Fratrum)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Organizations</th>
<th>Number of Members</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>4,294</td>
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<td>4,648</td>
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<td>1936</td>
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<td>4,442</td>
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<td>1960</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4,961</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCES:

Moravian Congregations in Wisconsin, c. 1940


National Council of Churches

Neisser, George

Schafer, Joseph

Titus, W. A.

United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census


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 Netherland, 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

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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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congregation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Log Chapel</td>
<td>Wales (Waukesha County)</td>
<td>1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pike Grove</td>
<td>Racine County</td>
<td>1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabernacle</td>
<td>Racine</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skunk Grove</td>
<td>Mount Pleasant (Racine County)</td>
<td>1843</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engedi</td>
<td>near Randolph (Columbia/Dodge counties)</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>near Columbus (Columbia County)</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union</td>
<td>Rock County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoar</td>
<td>Delafield Township (Waukesha County)</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethesda</td>
<td>near Wales (Waukesha County)</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixonia</td>
<td>Jefferson County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watertown</td>
<td>Jefferson County</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmet</td>
<td>(perhaps Dodge County)</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milwaukee</td>
<td>Milwaukee County</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh Hollow</td>
<td>near Dodgeville (Iowa County)</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proscairon</td>
<td>north of Randolph</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake Emily</td>
<td>Dodge County</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Rock Hill (Green Lake County)</td>
<td>1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moriah</td>
<td>near Columbus (Columbia County)</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zion</td>
<td>Cambria (Columbia County)</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerusalem</td>
<td>near Cambria (Columbia County)</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethesda</td>
<td>near Oshkosh (Winnebago County)</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledonia</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>Columbia County</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bera</td>
<td>Scott Township (Columbia County)</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethania</td>
<td>near Wales (Waukesha County)</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmel</td>
<td>near Cambria (Columbia County)</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon</td>
<td>Neenah (Winnebago County)</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>Blue Mounds (Dane County)</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tekoa</td>
<td>Waushara County</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salem</td>
<td>near Wales (Waukesha County)</td>
<td>1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodgeville</td>
<td>Iowa County</td>
<td>unknown</td>
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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" (Presbyterian 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)
Port 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)
### Presbyterians in Wisconsin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.</th>
<th>United Presbyterian Church of North America</th>
<th>Orthodox Presbyterian Church</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Number of Organizations</td>
<td>Number of Members</td>
<td>Number of Organizations</td>
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<td>85</td>
<td>11,019</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>18,077</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>23,459</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>34,932</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>34,900</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>48,602</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1957</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Reformed Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.</th>
<th>Welsh Calvinist Methodist</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Number of Members</td>
<td>Number of Organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2,641</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2,547</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2,543</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>26,610</td>
<td>248</td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>36,424</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1957</td>
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<td>194</td>
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REFORMED CHURCHES

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
*Congregations dissolved prior to 1966

SOURCE:


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. Muehlmeier, a representative of the Tiffin Classis in 1853, and that same year Muehlmeier 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

17-3

RELIGION
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 Classic 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 Mission 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).
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 throughout the southeastern tier of counties.

Reformed (German) Church was primarily concentrated 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.
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UNITARIAN-UNIVERSALIST

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 Massachusetts'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 Martinea, 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.
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 devoted 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 1973:66). 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 1973:614). 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 3,150 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 15 organizations in the period up to 1890, while the Unitarians recorded a much smaller decline to 1,394 members in 16 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, Ill., 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
# Unitarians and Universalists in Wisconsin

## UNITED STATES

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</table>

**SOURCES:**


Members of the Unitarian and the Universalist Churches in Wisconsin, 1890

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United States Census Office


Wilbur, Earl Morse

Wisconsin Conference of Churches, comp.
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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.

Wright, Conrad
**JEWISH**

**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 cohesiveness 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 occasionally 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
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 Cneses Israel, Green Bay, Wi., papers 1940-1975).

In 1836, shortly after the Wisconsin Territory was separated from the Michigan Territory, Gabriel and Emmanuel Shoyver 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 approximately 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 (Zeilin 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 taxation, 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 (Swarzensky 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.
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 18 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

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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. Remarkings 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 Milwaukeeans 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
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 1886, 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
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 locks, 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 Kopman 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
newspaper estimated in 1910 that "one does not yet see any great wealth among the immigrant Jewish population" (Swichtow 1963:164). The estimate reported that 500 households were supported by peddling, about 300 by labor, and 100 by independent business. Approximately 60 householder 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 other places of worship were under its tutelage. At the central synagogue, the communal rabbi would 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 (Swichtow 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 (Swichtow 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
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 exceptionally 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 Lubavitch, Anshe Sfard (152 members), Agudas Achim Anshe Polen (140 members), Degel Israel Anshe Roumania (150 members), and Beth Medrash Hagocol 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
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’nai 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’nai 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’nai 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" (Swickow 1963:204).

Congregations and synagogues were also emerging and changing in other areas in the early twentieth century. In Green Bay, Congregation Cneses 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 Pala Sadik Congregation was organized and incorporated. Based on Orthodox tradition, 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 unity 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.
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 occasional 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 1963:219).
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 acculturization (Swiechlow 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 whistling 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
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 progressed, 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 establishment 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
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 wherever 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 disappear 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
Hebrew name for Esther), the biblical heroine who saved Persian Jewry from annihilation. The group stated its 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, Mizrahi 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 strength 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).
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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.